Turns for Conversation and Voice Overlap: a Teaching Proposal to Work with Orality in the Classroom

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Abstract:

This article aims to show how overlapping voices can be configured in levels of complexity in interaction during the textual production of the genre debate in the classroom and proposes the applicability of conversational turns as an oral category for teaching orality, for means of activity about turn taking. To support this research, we relied on concepts of Conversation Analysis, such as conversational turns and overlapping voices (GALEMBECK, 1999; MARCUSCHI, 2003; PRETI, 1999; SACKS; SCHEGLOFF; JEFFERSON, 2003; URBANO, 1999). The research, of a qualitative nature, has as subjects a class of the 6th and a class of the 7th year of elementary education from two schools in Fortaleza, Ceará. The data collection process took place from the audio and video recording of the students' oral textual productions, which were transcribed according to the NURC standards. These procedures led to the construction of a corpus of 30 class hours. For this work, however, we selected only three classes from the corpus to demonstrate that there are at least three levels of overlapping of voices, which evolve gradually from initial to advanced overlapping. The last two levels are configured, therefore, as a shift assault.

Keywords:
Turns for conversation. Voice overlap. Teaching.

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1. Introduction

In 1989 Brazil yearned to be able to choose, for the first time after the dictatorship, a president of the Republic by direct vote. Open television networks invited the candidates to debate their proposals in a sequence of debates, which began in July and continued until November. A memorable scene happened during the 3rd Meeting of the Presidential Candidates, held on October 16th of that year, when the then candidates Leonel Brizola (PDT[1]) and Paulo Maluf (PDS[2]) traded barbs live, so that the former intervened in the latter's speech, causing confusion and leading the debate mediation to request an immediate break. We bring this example because it highlights the theme we propose to discuss here: the overlapping of voices and their limits.

From our most straightforward ideas of what conversation means, we have in mind that it is carried out using a rotation between people and that the timing of each of them needs to be respected. This movement is called turn-taking (SACKS; SCHEGLOFF; JEFFERSON, 2003). In times like the ones we have experienced in the last decade in Brazil, when political polarization has increased significantly, leading to extreme cases of physical aggression, it seems to be more than necessary to resume this kind of discussion in the academy to reach the school: more than ever, we assume the relevance of the undertaking, so that our students understand the complex operation of elements typical of face-to-face conversation and present in practically all predominantly oral genres that require turn-taking, such as the different types of debates and interviews. We also point out that this theme already crosses the axis of orality in BNCC[3] (BRASIL, 2017) since the early stages of elementary school[4], so it is more than justified to bring this debate to the classroom.

We aim, in this article, to highlight how the overlaps of voices can be configured in levels of complexification in the interaction during the textual production of the genre-regulated debate in the classroom and propose the applicability of conversational turns as an oral category for the teaching of orality, through activity on turn robbing. Our thesis is that the overlapping voices constitute a continuum of categories that oscillates between what is more or less accepted during an interaction in the regulated debate genre.

We organized this work in five moments, besides these initial and final considerations: in the subtopic *The place of speech*, we expose the theoretical basis that supports this study; afterward, *The conversational turns*, we direct our attention to the concepts on which we are focused; in *The methodology*, we describe the research corpus and the operationalization with the data; in *The continuum of overlaps*, we discuss the data, demonstrating the argumentation to support our thesis and, finally, we present a proposal for applicability with activity on turn taking.

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[1] Partido Democrático Trabalhista (The Democratic Labor Party).

[2] Partido Democrático Social (Social Democratic Party).

[3] The Common National Curricular Base is a normative document for the education networks and their public and private institutions, a mandatory reference for the preparation of school curricula and pedagogical proposals for early childhood education, elementary school, and high school in Brazil.

[4] The skill EF15LP11, of the Portuguese language teaching from 1st to 5th grade, is the first to bring the work with speech shifts, which will be extended in a spiral knowledge model, to the 7th grade of elementary school.

2. The Place of Speech

There are several strands of work investigating human interactions. Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2006) points out that conversational analysis, as a field of knowledge, dates back to the 1970s, and is transdisciplinary by nature:

> [...] the analysis of conversations was partially related to the following disciplines: social and interactionist psychology; micro-sociology, cognitive sociology, sociology of language, sociolinguistics; linguistics, dialectology (mainly urban dialectology), folklore studies, philosophy of language; ethnolinguistics, ethnography, anthropology, kinesics, etiology of communications [...] (KERBRAT-ORECCHIONI, 2006, p. 17, our translation).

It is a very versatile field, with dialogues with different human sciences disciplines. In Brazil, works such as Garcez (2008) and Marega and Jung (2011) shed light on the differences between the two main currents that study conversation: Ethnomethodological Conversation Analysis (ACE) and Conversation Analysis (CA), regarding the theoretical and methodological fields. As far as ACE is concerned, its focus is on describing the procedures used by the interlocutors both in terms of the behavior of the conversationalist and in terms of understanding how to proceed with the behavior of the other members of the interaction. The attention would not be, thus, centered "on language itself, on its description, but on the articulation of the methods of human social action (analysis of socially organized conversation) according to the perspective of the participants, what is spoken and how it is spoken." (MAREGA; JUNG, p. 322-323, 2011, our translation).

Concerning CA, the authors also point out that its great exponent in Brazil is Professor Marcuschi (2003). It is focused on the spoken text's description and the issues involving the passage from the spoken to the written modality.

Frazão and Lima (2017) resume the discourse already undertaken by Garcez (2008) about CA and suggest that this theoretical-methodological approach initiated by Marcuschi can be called Textual and Discourse Conversation Analysis, which shifts "the focus of interest of researchers to the study of linguistic and paralinguistic mechanisms involved in the production of spoken text" (FRAZÃO; LIMA, 2017, p. 627, our translation). This line of research unveils theoretical-methodological principles from Text Linguistics[5], Interaction Sociolinguistics, and Discourse Analysis, combined with the ethnomethodological approach (SACKS; SCHEGLOFF; JEFFERSON, 2003)[6], also constituting what Leite and Negreiros (2014) characterized as "Brazilian CA.".

In recent years, other theoretical marriages have been developing, such as with New Literacy Studies (OSTERMANN; PEROBELLI, 2020) and with Multimodality (CRUZ et al., 2019; FORTE-FERREIRA; SOARES; LIMA-NETO, 2021), besides naturally having very fine-tuned links with Text Linguistics, in whose intersection we have been inserting ourselves.

In short, from this place of speech, we assume our positions, engaged in the enunciative frameworks of language (VOLÓCHINOV, 2018), from which we refine the conceptions of conversational turns and overlapping voices, on which we now turn.

3. Conversational Turns

Janson (2015), when studying the origin of languages, hypothesizes linking speech to the emergence of the first tools two million years ago. It is assumed that, for the manufacture of tools, a minimal interaction

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[5] At the National Association of Graduate Studies and Research in Letters and Linguistics (ANPOLL), there is even been a Working Group entitled Text Linguistics and Conversation Analysis since 2013.

[6] We used the translated version of this article, published in 2003 in *Veredas* magazine, available at www.ufjf.br/revistaveredas/files/2009/12/artigo14.pdf, but the original date of publication is 1974.

between our ancestors was necessary to search for these objects' functionality. Here, then, is the first possibility of the uses of conversational turns, which are at the foundations of human communication. Although studied in the language sciences just over forty years ago, with Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (2003), shifts have been structuring human conversation for millions of years. Here, turns are understood as "any intervention of the interlocutors (dialogue participants), of any length" (GALEMBECK, 1999, p. 60, our translation).

In his considerations about conversational turns, Galembeck (1999) understands it as an intervention, whatever it may be, made by each of the participants taking part in a conversation.

> The idea of turn-taking – according to common sense – is linked to the various situations in which the members of a group alternate or succeed each other in achieving a common objective or in a dispute: chess game, relay race, round table. In all these situations, each participant has a period (fixed or not) at his disposal to accomplish his task, called a turn. (GALEMBECK, 1999, p. 60, our translation).

We infer then that a speaker has the turn when they have at their disposal a time, determined or not, to talk about a subject. In short, during the production of a predominantly oral genre, such as everyday conversation, we are aware that it takes place through the alternation of interlocutors, who decide to discuss or talk about a given discursive topic, and, therefore, each one will have their turn to speak or their right to the turn. In a regulated debate, the genre used for the present reflection, the alternation principle is this, considering that there are some characteristic elements and specific rules of the genre. In short, turn-taking would be the moment of speech of each participant or the intervention the speaker makes in the space of time, which can be established or not (FERREIRA, 2014). However, not predetermining the time that the interlocutor has available in a conversation does not mean it is appropriate to take undue possession of another participant's turn when overlapping voices may exist.

4. VOICE OVERLAP

By systematically describing conversation, Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (2003) propose that turn-taking is constituted by a set of rules and two elementary components: *the turn construction component* (henceforth TCC), which may correspond to "units, such as sentences, clauses, isolated words, phrasal locutions or prosodic features." (MAREGA; JUNG, p. 323, 2011); and *the turn allocation component* (TAC), which concerns the moment at which the turn is allocated to another participant.

In what concerns the TCC, we have two elementary notions: *projectability*, which has to do with interlocutors perceiving the moment of completion of the ongoing shift, and *the relevant place for transition* (RPT), which comprises the place of completion of a unit, in which the interlocutor perceives a possible moment of shift transition so that it is possible to insert themselves in the situation with their speech. It is an important category that can establish the limits of acceptability between turn-taking by the interlocutors.

Let us look at, on the next page, how these categories are operable, taking the example of the debate at the beginning of this text between the presidential candidates Maluf and Brizola[7]:

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[7] The discussion starts at 50:08 of the video available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ME42kd-2wOE&t=3052s. Accessed: Sep 25th. 2022.

Figure 1 - Paulo Maluf and Leonel Brizola in debate.

Source: 3º Encontro... (1989).

[...]
1. **Maluf**: *Anyone who is a candidate cannot be a candidate for president of the republic [audience laughter] So, what do I think... I make an appeal... we have ten, twelve, fifteen million people listening to us*
2. **Brizola**: *[you give me a chance to speak... excuse me... a chance]*
3. **Maluf**: *I do not give you the chance to speak... because I have this minute... I do not give you a chance*
4. **Brizola**: *[(inaudible) cannot give the part]*
5. **Maluf**: *I won't give you a chance... I won't... I won't give you a chance...*

6. **Brizola**: *You can't because you can't*

It is possible to see the *projectibility*, by Brizola, in line 2: the politician feels offended by Paulo Maluf and asks for a chance to speak, which is vehemently denied in line 3. Although Brizola had seen there a space of possibility to start his turn, there was a sanction in the communicative tract – that of being repudiated –, corroborating the idea that his perception about the projectibility was not adequate. In 4, Brizola insists, even knowing that the RPT was still unsuitable. Here is a good example of overlapping voices: by insisting on a non-existent RPT, Brizola breaks the reasoning of his opponent, who changes his topic and even his interlocutor – since, until then, Maluf spoke to the public and not to his political opponent – and moves to other attacks now directing his words to Brizola. The RPT, therefore, does not happen, since both are interrupted by the mediator of the debate almost a minute later.

Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (2003) do not use the term *turn robbery*, used by other authors, such as Freitag and Santana (2019) and Preti (1999), to whom we now turn:

> Voice overlap: communication situation in which, for a few seconds, simultaneous speeches occur, which indicate great involvement of the interlocutors, until one of them gives up and the other remains definitively in possession of the shift. (PRETI, 1999, p. 234-235, our translation).

> Turn robbery: case of exchange of speakers where the intervention of the listener was not requested or consented. In this chance, the listener "invades" the speaker's turn out of a relevant place for transition. (PRETI, 1999, p. 229, our translation).

We consider turn robbery to be a turn taken as undue overlap at an unsuitable time. This is the case of Brizola, who assaults Maluf's shift, which does not give up. Turn robbery is an unsolicited take and can be considered invasive. This reminds us that it is necessary to consider "the empirical universality of the rule 'speaks one at a time'", of which Marcuschi (2003, p. 17, our translation) refers. Once the fundamental concepts were explained, let us turn to the methodology of research.

5. Methodology

The context of this research consists of a 7th grade classroom of an elementary school (School 1), with 25 students, and a 6th grade classroom of another elementary school (School 2), with 30 students, both from Fortaleza, Ceará. The choice for those groups is justified because it is at that stage that, in general, textbooks begin to bring content that addresses the genres and especially because it is when opinionated genres begin to gain space, such as debate.

Participants were identified with the acronym STUDENT + 00X + MT/ STA, where: STUDENT (A) + 001, which indicates the gender and number of the (a) student (a), and MT or STA indicate the acronyms of the two schools where the research occurred.

The corpus of the research is constituted of the recording, in audio and video, of the oral texts produced by the participants, over three months, besides the records in field diary, totaling 30h/a of material (FERREIRA, 2014). We also use specific software for video editing. All footage was recorded on the laptop, DVD media and external hard drive[8].

Because we work with human beings, we submitted the research project to the Research Ethics Committee of the Federal University of Ceará (REC/UFC/RESPRO) and after analyzing the project and all the documentation, received the Consubstantiated Opinion number 153,757 approving the research.

As for the methodological procedures, first, we taught classes on genres, in which we discussed how they are characterized and how they differ from the texts[9], and we presented the step-by-step for the realization of a ruled debate, understood here as gender. Then, we asked students to prepare the debate, based on the content of the class taught, to present in the next class. For this realization, we launched a theme, which was betrayal. To raise the discussion, we quote the betrayal performed by actress Kristen Stewart, caught cheating on her boyfriend, then actor Robert Pattinson, with the director of the film she was recording at the time, Snow White and the Huntsman. The choice of theme arose from the perception of the researcher, in union with the teachers of the class, who perceived the interest of young people by the two Hollywood actors, at the time taken as a perfect couple in fiction and reality, in the eyes of students.

With this, we screened two videos, one with debate among adolescents who were in favor and against the betrayal, conducted and screened by the television magazine *Fantástico*, broadcast by *Rede Globo*[10], and another that announced what happened among the young actors. The guidelines considered setting up two groups – one opposite and the other favorable to the thesis that there was betrayal –, choosing the mediator and adjusting the rules of speech time of each participant. A week has been made available for the preparation of this debate. The participants were instructed to mobilize their views on the subject and bring them to the next class. The next Subtopic will bring the analysis of excerpts from only two of these debates, which were transcribed according to the standards of the Urban Standard Culta Project - URSC[11] (PRETI, 1999).

6. The Continuum of Overlaps

The thesis we defend in this work is that the voice overlays present levels of gradation, which can range from brief to long overlaps, the latter being called turn robberies. The three graded levels for the overlaps we have established are: **initial**, **intermediate** and **advanced**. In the course of the analysis, we explain how each of them is characterized.

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[8] This research was authorized to be performed after having an opinion substantiated by the Ethics Committee of the Federal University of Ceará, under the number 153,757.

[9] We assume gender as a sociosemiotic, interactional, historical and cultural artifact of language (BEZERRA, 2022), directly linked to the text, as a material element, built in each enunciation situation, which is effective from the conventions of a genre.

[10] Available in: https://globoplay.globo.com/v/2064237/. Accessed: Nov 20th. 2022.

[11] More information from the Culta Urban Standard Project can be found at https//nurc.fflch.usp.br

6.1. Overlap levels: initial

Note the following excerpts:

> Student 0022MT: ( )... the (aspect) that I noticed that no one commented yet ( ) the subject of the photos... it could be a photo montage...
> Student 0023MT: because, like, nobody knows what it was that happened between them two... nobody knows of their life... nobody has a proof...
>
> Student 0022MT: no one has concrete proof... concrete...
>
> Student 0023MT: It's a fact that no one knows it was true... if he ever cheated on her... if she ever cheated on him... no one knows if it's true... these photos simply came out of nothing without knowing...
> Student 0022MT: no one knows if it's the story behind the photos...

In this example of the debate on the theme of betrayal, there are two interlocutors, 0022STA and 0023STA, who make overlaps, but they occur cooperatively with each other's turn. In this excerpt, we can observe brief overlaps, carried out in opportune moments, which contributed to the construction of the meaning of the debate held among the participants of the research. Here we have an apparent RPT, by the presence of cooperation and notion of collectivity existing among the debaters. It is not a robbery itself, being characterized by Preti (1999) as an unsolicited or consented intervention. Here, although it was not requested, it was consented, the thesis is supported, albeit by the same arguments, by two overlapping and consenting voices.

Notice, therefore, that the first level is characterized by brief overlaps, which are acceptable for this genre in question and have apparent RPT. Thus, it is possible to observe the levels of overlapping, which, in this case, contributed to the realization of the construction of the arguments of the debate, and this can be assured by the very fact of someone being willing to corroborate with the idea that was passed on by another, as 0022STA and 0023STA did during their turns when demonstrating the concretization of an idea that was co-constructed. Next, we will demonstrate the example of the intermediate level.

6.2. Levels of overlap: intermediate

At the intermediate level, we analyze the following excerpts:

1. Student 004STA: *Caio said it could also be because of the media... but not always the people who are going to watch the movie... want to watch it because of that... like, my uncle forbade his sixteen-year-old daughter to watch the movie because this had happened to the actors... he didn't like it and forbade his daughter to watch the movie*

2. Student 006STA: *May I speak?*

3. Student 004STA: *the same way my brother forbade his daughter too*
4. Student 006STA: *may I speak? humm::*

5. Student 004STA: *not always (this occurs)*
6. Student 006STA: *now... as (Felipe) said... they ( ) humm:: didn't let us... but if we (had watched this video before)*

7. Student 004STA: *no... but it can happen that people don't ( )*

8. Student 006STA: *Let me talk*

9. Student 004STA: *I'll let you.*

10. Student 006STA: *or... people (want to see the movie) to:: see how it is ( ) in the movie if they did (acted) differently*

11. Student 007STA: *But one thing they didn't do together... no ( ) they didn't act ((laughs))... they didn't act... no... but there is... THERE IS a prohibition by many parents... because many think that... ah I'm going to... my daughter is going to have a bad example if she sees this girl grabbing in public with the director of the movie... cheating on her boyfriend*

12. Student 006STA: *yes but*

13. Student 0013STA: *let me talk*

14. Student 006STA: *it's fast... it's fast... these people who:: their parents didn't let them... they can... and if they want to watch it even sometime... they... can (watch) the movie without their father's permission*

15. Student 007STA: *yes... I know... but they are talking about marketing... already at the beginning of the movie's release... to have more money... so that when people go to the theater to watch it... ah, he launched it.*

16. *((some students speak at the same time))*

17. Student 004STA: *like Fabiana said... like this... the problem ((a lot of noise))... like Fabiana said... they could because it was at the beginning of the movie... but it has nothing to do with just because of the beginning of the movie they wanted to do this to make money... then,like, he declared the truth and the way it was... she already gave another version of another way it was... so you don't know which one of the two is telling the truth... but there was one of the two... who was... a little guilty... he also was because there have been some rumors of Robert himself cheating on her with another actress from the movie he starred Twilight... the first*

18. Student 006STA: *that's right... (may)*

19. Student 0013STA: *And also... aunt... it could have happened that Amanda said about betrayal ( ) and she could also have fought with him... there are (two) possibilities that he betrayed her or they had a fight and she got even with the director of the movie she was making... that could have happened... right?*

It is noticeable that from line number 1 to line 10, the overlaps are performed by 004STA and 006STA. These two participants engage in a problematic sequence of overlaps, as a succession of attempts by student 006STA to express his opinion is noticeable. In lines 2 and 4, for example, we have the order of the following collocations of this student: "may I speak?"; "may I speak? is". Only in line 6, he manages to take advantage of the RPT to make his point, which he was unable to conclude because student 004STA robbed his turn. Soon after, student 006STA expresses annoyance when he makes the request: "let me talk", a request that is answered with "I'll let you", manifested with a tone of irony because 004STA knows that, somehow, he is interfering in the conclusion of his colleague's reasoning.

We are not here to defend the position of one debater or the other but to show that interventions during the turns, which cause long overlaps, can be detrimental to the elaboration of a debate. Let's observe that the assaults were so recurrent that one of the interlocutors even practically begged the right to the turn when it should still be his by saying "may I speak? is::" (line 4); "let me talk" (line 8). The statements confirm that this lack of respect for the turn caused a breach of the rules necessary for the full functioning of the regulated debate, a genre that requires attention and respect for the turn granted to each of the debaters.

Although the two performed rounds of each other's turns, we consider this example as an intermediate-level case because neither of them let their reasoning run out, as each was able to conclude the intended idea. In the order of the discussion, student 007STA uses a social practice to strengthen her argument, which was almost rebutted at this point by 006STA (line 12). We claim that it was almost fought back by the fact that student 0013STA committed a turn-robbery on their classmate 006STA, who, as a result, had his turn suspended again, but this time by someone else.

However, the student does not respond to his colleague's request by answering "it's fast... it's fast... these people that: their parents didn't let them... they can... and if they want to watch someday... they... can (watch) the movie without the father's authorization". By stating that he will speak his argument quickly, this student shows fear of losing, once again, the domain of the word. With this action, 006STA manages to

present his position about 007STA's argument. This student consequently exposes her counter-argument to her colleague's idea, however, the other interlocutors do not respect the moment of speech that, at this moment, should be hers alone.

By overcoming all the voices hovering in the classroom, 004STA affects a turn takeover and thereby makes an important placement, in line 17. We think that, because there was a lot of noise, this may have contributed to the student's failure to organize the information above, because, as we can see, the ideas were relevant to the arguments presented by the participants, but the planning of the ideas was not done properly and, in a debate, the interlocutors should be precise and objective in their statements.

Finally, student 006STA shows agreement about this argument of 004STA, and student 0013STA, who had asked student 006STA for the right to speak, in line 13, when she said: "let me speak", only gets her turn back in line 19, a moment in which she has the opportunity to resume and/or to start her turn, since, on that occasion, she did not even get to present her thesis.

We want to emphasize with these reflections that these robberies, although detrimental to the elaboration of the debate in the excerpts highlighted above, were not enough to the point of dissipating the ideas that the students intended to expose, and that is why we consider these cases as belonging to the intermediate level of the overlaps. Let us look at one more example.

6.3. Levels of overlap: advanced – and problematic

Let us look at the excerpt below:

1. Student 007STA: *But we need money a lot because without money we cannot survive... but the world does not revolve around money... I think that if she did it for marketing or financial reasons... this is a sign that money and marketing are more important than him to her... so if this is: true then it is a sign that she... she doesn't love him*

2. Student 005STA: *although*

3. Student 007STA: *done... Much better she arrives and talks than she is doing this... no... it's over... all right... happy ((student laughs))*
4. Student 0013STA: *and... auntie... so it happens like (   ) some people said rumors... ((a lot of noise)) Caio... shut up... I want to talk now... some rumors say that he was with a girl and everything... then nobody said anything... then when it is her everyone talks... there is also another thing... right... Caio... money brings happiness... but it only brings happiness for good things.*
5. Student 006STA: *yeah... like I said... that not everyone... not everyone is::*
6. *((noise)) hey:::::*
7. Student 006STA: *CAN I END SPEAKING? CAN I?*
8. *((laughter)) ((everyone speaks at the same time))*

In this excerpt, we have examples of turn robbing. In line 1, the student seems to finish her turn and, perhaps thinking there is an RPT, student 005STA starts her speech, but student 007STA invades her colleague's turn (line 3) probably without realizing that he had started to present his argument. We have this information from the access to the video recording because, by looking only at the transcripts, we cannot perceive these details that are fundamental to the understanding of the context. However, this robbery, committed by the debater, was not a simple overlap because the student 005STA, after this attitude of 007STA, did not take the floor to counter-argue this argument presented by the student, that is, he did not recover his turn in time to organize his ideas to present them. When he got space to speak, although the theme was the same, the discursive topic was not the same anymore.

The data show that this reaction of not trying to regain the turn at this moment is because this interlocutor lost the argumentative thread and, in this way, his ideas may have faded away because he continued

participating in the debate, but without making arguments about this topic. One hypothesis for this to have happened may be related to the fact that they did not give space to the student, but also possibly because he lost the line of reasoning, an option also plausible, in our view, due to the active participation of this student during the debate.
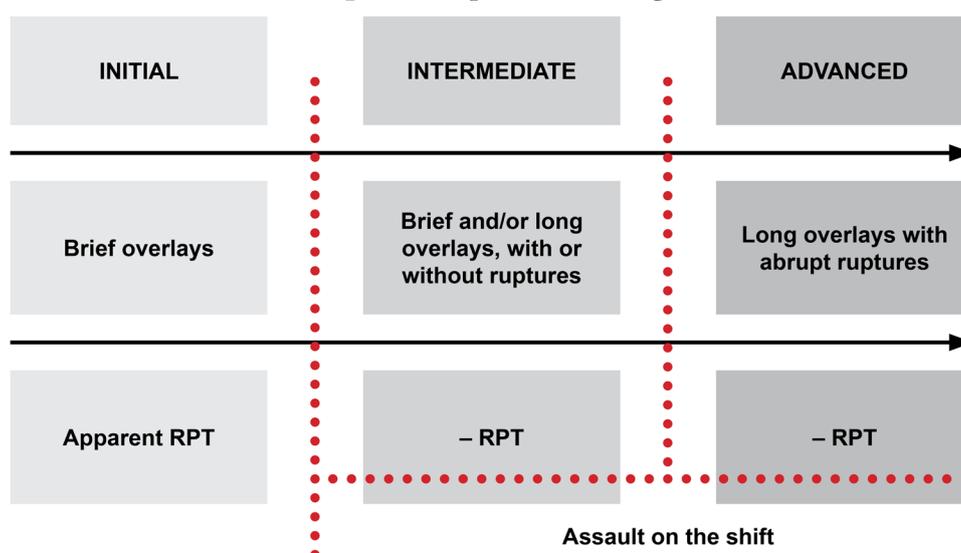
In the continuity of the debate, in order to complain about the lack of silence of her classmates and of some classmates, student 0013STA says: "*and... teacher... so it happens as ( ) some people said rumors... ((much noise)) Caio... shut up... I want to talk now... [...]*". This statement shows how the mood of the participants was at that moment, because the student who was trying to dominate the turn treated her colleague, who was disturbing her turn, in an aggressive way and ended up being disrespectful.

These attitudes, in our view, are harmful not only because they damage the construction of the argument or because they hurt the principles of the situation in which these interlocutors are inserted, but mainly because it is a matter of disrespect for the other. This tends to cause serious damage to any activity of educational and intellectual development. For this reason, we consider this example a case in which the overlaps reach such proportions that they can be considered advanced and difficult to reverse and circumvent.

At the end of this step, student 006STA says: "*yeah... as I said... that not everyone... not everyone is::*". Nevertheless, as a way to strike back at the noise of the class and especially at what 0013STA has ordered, the debater gives firmness to his tone of voice by speaking "*CAN I FINISH SPEAKING? CAN I?*". With this example, we have disrespectful situations that may cause not only disruptions in the speaker's reasoning, but also block the participation of students when they have to perform oral productions in other situations, especially those who are shy by nature. Moments like this can have a negative repercussion in the lives of these students, which was not the case of student 006STA, who, for not being respected, presented a tendency to replicate the offensive order.

In short, in our analysis, we investigated conversational turns in levels of overlapping that can be characterized as undue turn-taking or turn-robbing. For this, we selected a sample of our corpus that allowed us to verify that turn-taking, typical of some oral genres, can be detrimental to the construction of the regulated debate. The chart about our reflections summarizes the obstacles encountered regarding shift robbing during the production of the genre in question.

Graph 1 - Degrees of overlaps.

Source: Ferreira, with adaptations (2014).

As we have pointed out, the phenomenon of overlapping presents, in our view, a scalarity, with gradation levels that tend to vary from short to long overlaps; the latter of a more problematic nature in formal and public oral genres, as is the case of the regulated debate. We consider, therefore, three graded levels for overlaps:

initial, which is characterized by presenting brief overlaps, acceptable for the debate genre because they are of natural occurrence in orality, and with no disruption of the ongoing speaker's reasoning; **intermediate**, which can present either brief or long overlaps, with or without disruption of another's reasoning. Depending on the context, they can be acceptable if they do not cause damage to the construction of meaning and reasoning of the interlocutor who has the turn at the moment; and **advanced**, whose overlaps are long and with breaks in the reasoning of the speaker in turn. These last two are also characterized as turn robbing, since they do not present an RPT.

It is crucial to point out that we are fully aware that this oral category is proper of oral texts and that, therefore, it is the nature of orality to speak at the same time as the other, however if it is taught in systematic activities in the classroom, they can dispel the image of problematic or chaotic as constituents of orality.

We must emphasize that, in addition to the intervention of an interlocutor that was not requested, much less consented to, the non-existence of a relevant place for the transition (RPT) favors the characterization of the takeover that we consider as shift assault. Thus, in our graph, the sign of – for RPT indicates that the overlap occurred in an unpropitious place. On the other hand, the apparent RPT indicates that there is also no relevant place for transition, but the takeovers are not configured, in this case, as turn robbing because the overlaps can occur simply because the interlocutor, responsible for the overlap, has no notion of *projectability* or has the intention to cooperate to achieve the interaction.

7. Proposal for Classroom Applicability - *turn-taking*

The proposal we now present is organized as follows: there are four columns, divided into: *the obstacle*; *the activity: what to do*; *how to proceed*; *what for*. The first column shows what the obstacle is in the classroom. Then we briefly show what can be done. The third column shows the methodological instructions for the activity; finally, the objective of the proposal is shown.

This particular activity was proposed to be developed in five stages, in at least five classes. The target audience is elementary school II, a period in which there are discussions about argumentative genres, stances, and defenses of points of view, a scenario for the production of various debates. Let's see:

Table 1 - Activities about turn robberies.

Obstacle: Assault on the shift	The activity: *What to do?*	Step-by-step instructions: *How to proceed?*	Objective: *What for?*
1st Stage **Introduction to the topic** - *learner perception of how shift-taking takes place frequently, but shift-robbing can be avoided.*	1. To present the turn as a category of orality and also as a resource that must be practiced to be well used in interactions. 2. Address the concepts of turns, voice overlapping, turn-taking and RPT and, by doing so, demonstrate the importance of knowing the role that these resources can play in a regulated debate by mastering what the turn is.	Bring examples in which it is possible to show when each speaker is entitled to speak. These can be seminars, interviews, Final Graduation Project (FGP) defenses, or a jury trial. It is important here to show genres in which there is not necessarily room for combat so that the students realize the RPTs.	The goal is to teach students about the concepts mentioned so that they can have the necessary agility when producing genres, such as the regulated debate or any other production of oral, formal, and public genres that demand the common use of these resources, which come from the shifts.
2nd Stage **Polemicization** - *highlighting the importance of respecting the interlocutors' speaking time.*	Encourage discussion with everyday situations of speech use, such as asking if everyone listens to their	To show examples of interactions in which people do not give their interlocutors the right to speak and, as a result,	Work on the issue of respecting each other's speaking time by using videos to stimulate discussion.

Continues

	classmate while he or she is talking or if they wait for their classmate to finish speaking before they can start giving their opinion in class.	the reasoning is broken, shifts are exchanged, and the interaction is compromised. In Brazil, political debates or some talk shows are good examples to be explained.	
3rd Stage **Sanctions** - *show that disrespecting genre conventions and conversational turns causes damage to the interaction.*	Discuss with the students the possible sanctions for those who break the rules established for full interaction in the debate and the damage caused to those who have their turn invaded (in the sense of shift robbery).	Present examples of interactions in which there are sanctions for those who break the rules established in the genre. In debates, for example, one of the sanctions is to cut the microphone of the person who has committed any of these breaks. In legal courts, there is sanctioning by the judge, threatening removal from the courtroom. In television programs, society itself makes fun of those who do not respect the turn of others. Based on these videos, it is interesting to start a discussion about some types of behavior and how they can be harmful to those whose speech is interrupted.	Show the possible sanctions for those who break the established rules by exceeding the set time, committing turn-taking and aggression against participants in the interaction, and emphasize that attitudes like these can hinder the construction of meaning or the formulation of arguments, for example.
4th Stage **Production** - *elaborate the genre on the agenda.*	Propose the first production of a regimented debate.	Choose a controversial issue that generates social discussion, organize the class into two large groups that support antagonistic positions, ask the groups to split up and organize arguments that support the thesis they will defend in the debate. Suggest that a student be the mediator. Allow a space of time – no more than a week – according to the mood of the class for the preparation of the debate. This debate must be recorded, in audio and/or video, and made available on digital platforms of the school, the class, or some pedagogical project, so that, in the next step, it can be analyzed by the class itself.	Show students how the concepts are used in practice, wanting them to realize that overlaps can exist, but not to the point of unduly taking another's shift.
5th Stage **Reflection** - *show about the production itself.*	Present the debate produced by the students so that they can analyze whether they have realized overlapping voices and shift robberies in the debate.	Resume the concepts presented from the first day of class to have students identify whether or not they have performed voice overlapping and shift assaults, paying attention to the	In order to make evident in practice the concepts that we worked on during the previous classes and, thus, have them analyze their own interactions based on the

		rules they devise for the debate they have produced.	resources that involve the turns in a regulated debate.
6th Stage **New production** - *elaboration of another debate based on the reflections generated by the previous stage.*	Produce another debate based on what was discussed in the previous step.	Production of the regulated debate genre, resuming the same rules elaborated previously.	The new production aims to provide production with a new look at what should and should not appear in a debate.
7th Stage **Resumption and review** - *reflection on the concepts and applicability of the activity.*	End with the resumption of the purpose of the activity, which is to mitigate shift robberies.	Recap what was discussed in the other steps to show how turn-taking damages the construction of argumentation. In addition, turn-taking is a lack of respect for the other who should have dominion over the speech at a given moment of the interlocution.	To make the students reflect on practices that can be seen as normal because they are constant and recurrent, or that are not worked on as essential for a good social coexistence, because reviewing the issue of shift robberies should not be of interest only for the production of public formal oral genres, but for any communicative situation for the simple fact that we should respect the speaking moment of all participants in the interactions.

Source: Ferreira, with adaptations (2014).

As we can see, the proposal can be adaptable, depending on the needs of the class, because concepts such as turns, voice overlapping, and turn robbery, usually minorized in Portuguese language classes but widely used in everyday life, can be didacticized and applied to the lives of these students, also contributing to the teaching of orality in the classroom.

We must also consider the productivity of classroom debates, their potential to develop argumentation and, consequently, the criticality and persuasive capacity of those involved. Moreover, we must also consider planning, which is a crucial point for textual production and orality categories such as turn exchange, which was the focus of this proposal, but also conversational and/or discourse markers, centering, retaking, and discourse topic change to achieve purposes in the production of the genre in question.

(Semi)Final Considerations

In this paper, our goal was to show how overlaps can be configured in levels of complexity in interaction, i.e., the more they overlap, the more severe and more detrimental they will be for effective communication. Our data prove that overlaps at the initial level are brief, even occurring without an RPT; turn-taking, in this case, is not configured as shift-robbing. Intermediate level overlaps may be brief and/or long, but they are seen as takeovers since they occur without an RPT and may cause brief disruptions of the conversation participant's reasoning. Advanced level overlaps, those comprising the highest level of overlaps, are those that also occur without an RPT and we term them as extremely improper for discourse, precisely because they are long and cause abrupt disruptions in the reasoning of the one who should have the mastery of speech during the meaning construction processing of the spoken text. The teaching proposal shows that it is important and possible to work on turn-taking in the classroom, having the conversational turn as a category to teach orality.

The genre chosen in this research was the regulated debate and the turns comprise one of the categories that we can address in this genre, because from the moment we teach how this category can be

used positively, we will have the possibility of making our students instrumentalized to act through speech in the most diverse situations in which they have to act communicatively through some oral genre, especially the formal and public ones.

The practice of this category, as well as of the resources that comprise the notion of taking turns, can make a difference in the life of a person who has to produce or watch a regulated debate because the strategies can be used and observed by those who produce and those who watch. With this, we will also have the possibility of making these students use these resources in their favor and realize the debaters' intentions when they use certain oral resources in the interaction because nothing in speaking and writing should be used by chance, unless one doesn't have the slightest notion of the power of language resources, and this should also be one of the purposes of the language classes when we work on the social uses of speaking and listening with the goal of developing our students' orality.

In times of fake news, science denialism, deep political polarization, and the advance of more retrograde agendas and practices in society, such as machismo, it is important that themes like this are discussed and leveraged not only in academia, but especially in school. Brizola and Maluf, in the late 1980s, were just one example of how harmful turn-over can be, but it doesn't stop there. This discussion should be deepened for critical studies, since in certain contexts, advanced level overlap can surface cases of mainterrupting[12], such as that suffered by then-presidential candidate Manuela D'Ávila in 2018[13], when she was interrupted more than sixty times in an interview for the *Roda Viva* program. But that is a matter for another time.

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[12] Mainterrupting happens when men interrupt women's speech, causing them to lose their train of thought. It is a case of advanced level overlapping.

[13] Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bjiup7kdfJQ. Accessed on: March 4th. 2022.

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