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LANGUAGE AND THE AGEING SELF

A Social Interactional Approach to Identity Constructions of Greek Cypriot Older Women

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LANGUAGE AND THE AGEING SELF

A Social Interactional Approach to Identity

Constructions of Greek Cypriot Older Women

Anna Charalambidou

A thesis submitted to King's College London in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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ABSTRACT

This study sheds light on the largely under-investigated area of older women's identity constructions in peer-group conversations, focusing, in the first instance, on age identities. Self-recorded conversational data of a group of elderly female friends are used, supplemented by ethnographic observations, interviews and a sample of Greek Cypriot media. A social interactional approach to identities, within an ethnomethodological theoretical framework, and a toolkit from membership categorisation analysis and conversation analysis are employed. The discussion focuses on certain phenomena that make relevant old-age identities, either explicitly or as evident from previous research, and also on practices that constitute a very frequent conversational routine of the participants. More specifically, the use of old-age categorisations, painful tellings and tellings of homemaking activities are investigated.

Firstly, age identities, as they emerge from the situated use of explicit old-age categorial references and terms of address, are analysed. It is shown that, through the employment of age categorisations, the participants repeatedly disassociate the self from decline-related old-age identities. Secondly, tellings of painful experiences of oneself, an activity that has been found, in earlier research, to be inextricably linked with elderly discourse, as well as their humorous rendering, are examined. It is shown that ill health, bereavement and death are constructed as non-problematic topics of discussion and as normal and expected states. Thirdly, the interactional construction of homemaking activities is investigated. It is found that the informants place great emphasis on claiming the identities of culinary expert and good homemaker and by doing so they also negotiate a host of other extra-situational identities, such as gender, friendship and family roles and ultimately age. On the whole, this bottom-up analysis contributes to ageing and communication research by foregrounding the importance of peer-group interactions and by giving a rare view into older women's communicative practices and situated understanding of self.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CA	Conversation Analysis
CBA	Category-Bound Attribution
CG	Cypriot Greek (language variety)
EM	Ethnomethodology
FN	First Name (as a term of address)
G/C	Greek Cypriot(s)
h	Hour(s)
l.	Line
lit.	Literally
MCA	Membership Categorisation Analysis
MCD	Membership Categorisation Device
min	Minute(s)
n	Sample Size (hours of recordings or data objects in the sample)
PSD	Painful Self Disclosure
PT	Painful Telling
RS	Reported Speech
SMG	Standard Modern Greek (language variety)
SRP	Standardised Relational Pair
TFN	Title First Name (as a term of address)
ToA	Term(s) of Address
TRP	Transition Relevance Place

TRANSCRIPTION SYMBOLS

[	Onset of overlapping or simultaneous talk
]	End of overlap
=	Latching
(.)	Pause shorter than 0.5 seconds
(3)	Pause in seconds
.	Falling or final intonational contour
?	High rise in intonation
,	Low rise in intonation (continuing intonation)
;	Rise stronger than a comma but weaker than a question mark
!	Exclamatory intonation
::	Prolongation or stretching of the preceding sound; the more the colons the longer the stretching
-	Cut-off or self interruption
<u>Underlined</u>	Stress or emphasis, usually by increased loudness
<u>CAPITAL UNDERLINED</u>	Stronger stress or emphasis
°talk°	Talk markedly quiet or soft
↑	Markedly higher pitch of the following syllable/word
↓	Markedly lower pitch of the following syllable/word
< >	Markedly slowed or drawn out talk
> <	Compressed or rushed talk
(h)	Hearable aspiration which represents laughter
ha/χa	Voiced laughter
()	Inaudible or hardly audible talk; in the case of hardly audible talk it is the transcriber's best guess
“ ”	Quotation marks indicate direct quotations by the interlocutors of third parties
<i>italics</i>	Utterance to which the following transcriber's comment refers, or transliterated (untranslated) words
(())	Transcriber's comments about preceding (italicised) talk or additions to complete the meaning

LIST OF CULTURE-SPECIFIC WORDS¹

<i>geros/i</i>	γέρος/οι: old man/men
<i>gria/es</i>	γριά/ές: old woman/en
<i>ilikiomeni/es</i>	ηλικιωμένη/ες: elderly woman/women
<i>ilikiomenos/i</i>	ηλικιωμένος/οι: elderly man/men
<i>kojakarou(a)/es</i>	κοτζακαρούα/ες: the diminutive of <i>kojakari</i> with similar meaning
<i>kojakari/es</i>	κοτ ζάκαρη/ες: a derogatory term for old woman/women
<i>kopella/es</i>	κοπέλλα/ες: young woman/women
<i>kopellua/es</i>	κοπελλούα/ες: the diminutive of <i>kopella</i> , meaning girl(s)
<i>kori</i>	κόρη: an invariable term of address directed at women of same or younger age
<i>korua/es</i>	κορούα/ες: girl(s)
<i>kumera</i>	κουμέρα: bridesmaid, or one's child's godmother, a kinship tie maintained throughout one's lifetime
<i>megali/es gineka/es</i>	μεγάλη/ες γυναίκα/ες: grown-up woman/en
<i>megalos/i</i>	μεγάλος/οι: grown up man/men
<i>re</i>	ρε: an invariable term of address directed as men and women of the same or younger age
<i>smili</i>	σμιλί: a small metallic needle used in traditional embroidery, also known as crocheting

¹ Certain words in the original data do not have a direct English equivalent and a paraphrase or circumlocution would not benefit the analysis. Therefore, these words are not translated but merely transliterated in the translation text that succeeds each data excerpt. A list of such words, which are recurrently encountered in the excerpts cited, is given here.

PREFACE

0.1 *Research motivations*

When, as a Masters student, I first started reading on language and identities, it struck me that there is comparatively very little emphasis on the language and communication of older adults. The fact that older adults are still an under-investigated social group in sociolinguistics is a documented observation (see e.g. Nussbaum & Coupland 2004b; Coulmas 2005:62; J. Coupland 2009a). Also, in many sociolinguistic and social sciences studies on older adults there is an underlying expectation of decline in social, mental and language functioning of older adults, which is, unproblematically, employed as an explanation for research findings (see e.g. chapters in Hummert, Wiemann & Nussbaum 1994; Oh 2003). This is what sparked my initial interest in later life identity constructions and, in particular, in how older adults themselves construct their ageing self through talk-in-interaction and manage widely circulating expectations of age-related decline.

As is shown in Chapter 1.2, socially minded linguistic research on older adults has researched extensively the decrement in linguistic and communicative ability. Also, research on interactional data concentrated, for the better part, on inter-generational interaction between the aged and younger populations (N. Coupland, Coupland & Giles 1991a; Hummert, Garstka, Ryan & Bonnesen 2004; Pecchioni, Ota & Sparks 2004). *Peer, casual interaction* of healthy elderly participants, on the other hand, has received little attention. Therefore, studies, that investigate peer interaction of older adults, tackle a scantily researched area and also provide an alternative line of inquiry to research on language and ageing, which does not focus on the linguistic deficiencies of older adults or on their interactions in institutionalised settings (e.g. care homes). The exploration of ageing in peer-group conversations is significant for one more reason. It has been argued that, since there is no definite biological criterion for differentiating middle and old age, people interactionally construct with friends and contemporaries the meaning of the changes they experience and the age group they belong to (e.g. Hepworth 2004a).

I have decided to concentrate my investigation on *women* because they are more susceptible to stereotyping than men in western societies (as is discussed in Chapter 1.1.2 and 1.1.5) and because there is a lot to be said about older women's socialisation

with same-gender friends. It has been argued that older women have been found to be prone to have same-gender friends more than any other age group (O'Hanlow & Coleman 2004:38). Psychological research has reported that older women typically have more social contact than men, especially more intimate friends and confidants and that the loss of a partner can renew close female friendships (Andrews 1991:5; cf. Rawlins 2004:286). Generally, friendships have been found to be the primary source of enjoyment for the elderly and conversation one of the main activities of female friendship and also source of female identity, power and intimacy across the life span (Nussbaum 1994; J. Coupland 2000; Rawlins 2004).

Finally, I have chosen to work with *Greek Cypriot* participants, in the district of Nicosia (Government controlled part of Cyprus), because of my cultural familiarity and easier access to data (I come from Nicosia, and consider myself to be a member of the Greek Cypriot community of Nicosia).

0.2 Research Questions

The aim of this research is to contribute to the literature on identities and ageing, from a social interactional perspective. The central research question is:

How are identities of old age discursively constructed and how does old age intersect with other identities?

The discussion focuses on specific phenomena that make relevant old-age identities, either explicitly or as evident from previous research, and also on practices that constitute a very frequent conversational routine of the participants. Therefore, the more specific research questions are shaped as follows:

- 1) Which explicit (old)-age categorisations are made relevant, in which contexts and to what ends?
- 2) How are painful tellings negotiated in interaction and how are they connected with age identities?
- 3) Which are the most salient conversational practices and what identity implications do they have?
- 4) How do local constructions of the ageing self compare with widely circulating discourses about ageing, the aged and older women, in particular?

0.3 *Thesis organisation*

This thesis is organised in six chapters: the first two chapters map out the theoretical and methodological framework of the thesis, Chapters 3-5 provide analyses of different discursive phenomena and the final chapter provides a concluding discussion.

In particular, Chapter 1 discusses the theoretical framework focusing on research on ageing in society, language and ageing, and theoretical conceptualisations of identity. Firstly, it presents an overview of social science research on ageing identity management and then investigates the portrayal of older adults in Cypriot and international mass media. Moreover, the intersection of culture and ageing is discussed and ethnographic studies that provide the cultural context of this study are presented. Also, research on language and ageing is reviewed and taxonomised in three broad categories: the deficit paradigm, its challenge and practice-based approaches on language and ageing. Finally, the ethnomethodological perspective on identities employed in the thesis is explored.

The second chapter provides a description of the informants, the data collected, as well as the analytical frameworks employed. It outlines the collection method and processes, the transcription and translation conventions. Subsequently, it provides background information on the main and peripheral participants, their relations and their joint practices. In addition, the methodological framework applied in the data analysis is discussed. More specifically, the analytical toolkits of Membership Categorisation Analysis and Conversation Analysis are critically presented.

Chapter 3 aims to address the first specific research question (see Section 0.2, above) and analyses the construction of explicit (old) age categorisations. Firstly, the different categorial references for old women, their bound attributions, and the rules of their application, which members make relevant in interaction, are examined. Next, the focus turns to old-age categories directed at the self and then to the collection of old-men categorisations. Finally, the terms of address employed in interaction are examined, and their consequentiality in the negotiation of age and other identities is discussed.

Chapter 4 investigates tellings of painful experiences by the speaker, especially ill health, an activity found in the literature to be an old-age identity marker. Thus, it answers the second specific research question. It investigates the topics, frequency,

contexts, and structural and interactional organisation of painful tellings. In addition, the humorous appropriation of painful tellings is researched. In particular, painful tellings constructed in humorous key or as a resource for sexually-explicit joke telling, are analysed. Members' understanding of ill health and death, as emerges from such tellings, is also explored.

The fifth chapter analyses an extremely frequent conversational routine: the interactional construction of homemaking practices, namely cooking, cleaning and knitting, and therefore addresses the third specific research question. Recipe tellings, food assessments and reports of past, current and future domestic activities are examined and their implications in the construction of categories such as culinary expert and good homemaker are investigated. Also the more or less implicit categorisations that talk about these topics make relevant, such as family, friendship and gender roles, and age identities are researched.

The fourth specific research question is discussed in all three analytical chapters. It is important to note that the micro-ethnographic work is situated and 'bottom-up', rather than 'top-down', and establishing connections between micro- and macro- (overarching cultural) discourses is by no means the main focus of the thesis. Therefore, the analysis of selected aspects of relevant media discourses is merely intended to provide some (minor) contextualization of the conversational data. Also, all analytical chapters contribute to the exploration of the central research question. Chapter 6 provides a concluding discussion which revisits the central and the four specific research questions and summarises the findings of the thesis. It also provides further interpretations of the findings and discusses a multi-layered model that members employ in age categorisations.

1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter offers an overview of the theoretical framework of the thesis. It examines sociological and psychological studies on ageing, culture, and society, research on language and ageing, and, finally, identity theorising. To begin with, a distinction between biological and social ageing is made and subsequently different discourses about old age and ageing are examined. Drawing on these discourses, the effects of age on identity management are mentioned. The importance of culture specificity in ageing research is underlined and the portrayal of age and ageing in the media is examined. Also, ethnographic and anthropological studies on Cyprus are presented in an attempt to understand practices, norms and expectations related to older women in Cyprus.

The second part focuses on the language of older adults, from different social sciences perspectives, and categorises the development of this research in three different waves: the deficit model, its challenge and the practice-based accounts. It is shown that same-age, casual interactions of community-dwelling older adults remain a largely neglected area in language and ageing research. Finally, Section 1.3 discusses the theoretical conceptualisation of identities that informs this inquiry: the ethnomethodological perspective, a bottom-up approach which treats identities as an achieved phenomenon of interactional practices.

1.1 *Ageing in society*

1.1.1 Dimensions of ageing

De Bot and Makoni have argued that ageing encompasses three dimensions: biological, psychological and social (De Bot & Makoni 2005:1; cf. Hockey & James 2003:214). Biological ageing has to do with bodily change, most often evaluated as decline, which is associated with advanced chronological age. Psychological ageing addresses the mental processes of the ageing individual (Andrews 1991). Research has shown that ageing is often regarded as a process of gradual and inevitable bodily and cognitive decline (Butler 1975:especially chapters 7 and 8; Westerhof & Tulle 2007:235). This conceptualisation of ageing is often referred to as the decline paradigm. However, a number of studies have supported that the majority experience today is closer to what is referred as the 'terminal drop' model; i.e. a very short time of dependence and physical

health deterioration in advanced old age leading to death (Wilson 1991:35; O'Hanlow & Coleman 2004).

The third dimension of ageing, social ageing, is the object of this thesis. Social age has to do with how people, as members of society, evaluate signs of biological change and how they construct themselves and others as members of different age groups, primarily through communication experiences in a variety of domains: everyday conversations, institutional interactions, policy and media discourses (Hepworth 2003:90; Nussbaum & Coupland 2004b:xi; Westerhof & Tulle 2007). Depending on the theoretical framework one subscribes to, social ageing can be seen as inextricably linked with biological ageing or as a construct independent of biological constraints. In the subsequent section an account of the most salient constructions of old age and ageing is given.

1.1.2 Discourses of ageing and later life

In Foucault's sense, *discourses* are structures of meaning and value which produce utterances, concepts, effects etc. (Mills 1997:17; Foucault 1999 [1978]). In other words, discourses are ways of speaking, thinking and acting which reflect but also contribute towards the (re)production of particular conceptualisations of reality (Lorenzo-Dus 2009:192). 'Discourse' is also used in this thesis in the sense of Gee's 'discourse' with a lower case d, which signifies language-in-use, whether spoken or written and seen as a social practice (Gee 1999:6; see also Fairclough 1992:28; Garrett & Bell 1998:2). The context of use indicates in which sense 'discourse' is employed in the text. Discourses, in Foucault's sense, do not exist in vacuum as they are products of social histories and cannot be studied in isolation, but only in specific contexts, through their effect on peoples' practices, talk and conceptualisation of themselves, others, the 'truth' and their social world in general (see e.g. Foucault 1999 [1978]). Truth and knowledge are not objective, essential qualities that represent the 'real', but rather socially produced discourses, reinforced in interactional work. In addition, it has been shown often conflicting discourses circulate in society and even affect the same social members (Foucault 1972).

Similarly, Fairclough's version of discourse is 'at once socially constituted and socially constitutive, against the synchronic backdrop of socio-cultural and political forces' (Teo 2000:11). However, certain discourses, which are sanctioned by institutions and are

respected by populations as a whole, become dominant in a society. These discourses are dispersed throughout social relations and categorise behaviours as possible, appropriate or restricted (Mills 1997:20). On the whole, discourses which are circulated and negotiated through language perform a categorizing and stereotyping function of people, places, objects, concepts (Canakis 2010:3). The importance of discourses on age and ageing in language-based research is that they affect members' understanding of ageing, age-appropriateness, their aged self; but they also influence linguistic behaviour in intra- and inter- generational interactions (N. Coupland 2004:80). It has been documented that in western cultures the dominant discourse on human ageing is the biomedical model of ageing, which is essentially a reductionist model of progressive, unwanted and inevitable decline, also called 'downhill all the way' (Wilson 1991; Hepworth 2003; Westerhof & Tulle 2007).

Ageism has been shown to be one of the most pervasive discourses of ageing. The term 'ageism' was first introduced by Robert Butler in the mid 1960s as:

'a process of systematic stereotyping of and discrimination against people because they are old, just as racism and sexism accomplish this with skin colour and gender. Old people are categorized as senile, rigid in thought and manner, old-fashioned in morality and skills... Ageism allows the younger generation to see old people as different from themselves; thus they subtly cease to identify with their elders as human beings' (Butler 1975:12).

N. Coupland (2004) has shown that ageist stereotyping exists in a number of more specific discourses. Gerontophobia, which is fear and repulsion towards the elderly and their subsequent alienation from society, is one of such discourses, which has not yet been examined from a sociolinguistic perspective. A second discourse is that of age appropriateness, where certain activities, attitudes and characteristics are viewed as being appropriate for older adults. For example, sexuality and physical attractiveness are generally portrayed as non-legitimate in old age. A third discourse is the 'inverted u' where old age is regarded as a second childhood (N. Coupland 2004:82; cf. Settersten 2005). This construction of ageing has been associated with intergenerational interactions, where secondary baby talk, over-accommodation and patronising talk can be employed by younger participants towards older interlocutors (these strategies are discussed in Section 1.2).

It has also been documented that stereotyping of older people occurs and is reinforced in a variety of settings. Butler was the first to show that in medicine much of what is often attributed to old age, with regard to bodily and mental functions, can be instead the result of certain diseases, social adversities and even personality variables (Butler 1975:174; Westerhof & Tulle 2007; cf. De Bot & Makoni 2005). In addition, ageist discourses have been found to be prominent in the mass media (which I discuss in detail at Section 1.1.5), in the arts (Hepworth 2004b) and also in social policy documents (Wilson 1991; Westerhof & Tulle 2007:238). Moreover, the sociolinguistic behaviour and communicative competence of older adults has been shown to be negatively evaluated and stereotypically processed by the general(99-106) public (Giles 1991; see also Section 1.2, below).

In social sciences, ageist discourses and stereotyping have affected the research agenda. It has been shown that psychological theories about ageing (e.g. the theory of disengagement, which emphasises the ubiquitous introversion of older people) mirror dominant (ageist) ideologies about the aged of the society in which they were developed, rather than ‘independent’ scientific findings (Andrews 1991:12). In addition, theories about positive development and growth in old age have been scarcely tested due to the traditional emphasis on problems and setbacks in later years in gerontological research (as O'Hanlow & Coleman 2004:53 have argued). Furthermore, sociolinguistic research on age and ageing has largely concentrated on the early parts of the life course (N. Coupland 2004:69; J. Coupland 2009a:849).²

Older women have been found to be even more susceptible to ageism (see e.g. Hurd 1999:419). For instance, it has been argued that older women are systematically excluded from most social science research (Andrews 1991). ‘It is the male experience that tends to be taken as the norm’ even though among people aged 60+ women outnumber men, and older women have been found to be at greatest risk of poverty and in need of social services (Andrews 1991:5; see also Evandrou & Glaser 2003; Estes 2005; Phillipson 2005; Zaidi 2006; Peace, Dittmann-Kohli, Westerhof & Bond 2007). In addition, it has been shown that social policies are designed to refer to elderly men and do not account for older women’s particular needs (Wilson 1991:39; Paoletti

² The fact that ageing is an under-research area in sociolinguistics could be partly attributed to the fact that age, in general, is an overlooked social identity and sociolinguistic condition, compared to other social identities such as gender and ethnicity (Androutsopoulos & Georgakopoulou 2003b).

1998a). Also, as is discussed in Section 1.1.5, below, older women are depicted in the mass media in more stereotypic ways than older men. Finally it has been argued that sexuality and nudity in later life are a taboo for mainstream culture; however the notion of ‘unwatchability’ of elderly sexuality and nudity applies more to women than men (for a discussion on the notion of ‘unwatchability’ see Woodward 1991; see also Vares 2009)

On the other hand, late modernity notions have reappraised ageist assumptions and have emphasised potential access to greater opportunities of self definition as new and changing identities are made possible for older adults through consumerist goods and services, e.g. cosmetic and recreational surgery, hormone replacement therapy, ‘smart environments’ (Appadurai 1996; Biggs 1997b; Powell & Longino 2002). Correspondingly, it has been shown that in social policy documents and in the mass media third age appears to be a period of active reengagement and consumption; however gender and class continue to marginalise older people, and especially people in advanced old age, the fourth agers³ (Westerhof & Tulle 2007:254). Therefore, in late modernity conceptualisations, social differentiation and inequality of older adults still persist, but they are regarded as visible through patterns of consumption and other aspects of lifestyle. Thus, the decline model of ageing is in fact not deconstructed but only delayed until the fourth age (Hepworth 2004a:129). These discourses on ageing have been largely conceived within a framework of western societies, globalisation, human mobility, commodification, new communication technologies, and although these developments are not absent from contemporary Greek Cypriot society, they might not necessarily affect older populations to the same extent.

On the whole, research on discourses and stereotypes of old age contributes to identifying some of the resources the participants of this study might draw upon when they are doing ageing and other aspects of self in their interactions.

1.1.3 Ageing and identity management

Psychological and sociological research has yielded some interesting findings about ageing and identity management. It has been shown that when people reach retirement age they may experience a sense of loss of identity, especially if leaving work was not

³ For an outline of how the term ‘fourth ager’ or ‘old-old’ is treated in the literature see Chapter 2.1.

freely chosen and their occupational identity was instrumental in the construction of their social status (Rosow 1974:114; Coleman, Ivani-Chalian & Robinson 1998:6). Women have been shown to experience less discontinuity in their identities as they enter third age and retirement, compared to men, because, owing to traditional gender roles, their employment career might have been fragmented and relatively unimportant throughout their adult life and also they can continue to identify with the occupational role of housewife and family carer (Rosow 1974; Kline 1975; Barnes & Parry 2004; Fischer, Norberg & Lundman 2008). Identities that stem from political commitments can also provide continuity of identities in third age, as Andrew's research on 70-90 year-old British people, who have dedicated their lives to socialist activism, has revealed (Andrews 1991).

Widowhood has been shown to have a great impact on elderly women's identities (Rosow 1974; van den Hoonaard 1997). Van de Hoonaard (1997) has researched autobiographies of North American women about widowhood and has found that widows undergo a process of 'identity foreclosure' which strips them of their identity at every level, creates a tension between self definition and social expectation and eventually involves the creation of new identities. A number of studies have shown that (older) widows might experience widowhood as an opportunity for growth, independence, and formation of more and closer friendships (Wilson 1991:45; Hurd 1999:423).

On the whole, it has been argued that adults' attitude towards their own ageing can have a significant effect on later life health and quality of life (O'Hanlow & Coleman 2004:31; Carstensen, Turan, Scheibe, Ram, Ersner-Hershfield, Samanez-Larkin, Brooks & Nesselroade 2011). Westerhof and Tulle (2007), who have explored the effects of ageing on personal identities from a social psychology perspective, have shown that self-views of the elderly correspond with wider cultural perceptions about old age and ageing. Older adults have been found to either align with and reinforce negative stereotypes of old age or employ a variety of self management strategies; such as deny one's age, tinker with bodily appearance, distance oneself from bodily ageing (perceive self as ageless) or divert attention from the ageing body (Westerhof & Tulle 2007).

Furthermore, late modernity⁴ conceptualisations of flexible, blurred identities have influenced social and discursive gerontology (Biggs 1997b; Nikander 2000, 2009; Powell & Longino 2002). Self is not perceived as a biological entity but as a narrative construct in which biological changes can be accommodated in various ways through life style choices and consumption patterns (Hepworth 2003:103). These conceptualisations have produced the mask motif. The mask of ageing represents a fixed and oppressive cage, a mask, covering a young soul; it is an effort on behalf of the ageing social actor to deny/efface age. In other words, as the ageing body becomes unresponsive to consumer opportunities, while the inner self is not experienced as correspondingly old, older adults would distance themselves from their ageing bodies (Biggs 1997a). Hepworth (2004b) has revised this approach, proposing two more types of masks (the youthful mask concealing an older self and the playful mask) and has supported that older people do not necessarily experience themselves as ageless all the time but only in response to certain situations (see also Westerhof & Tulle 2007:252). Also, Hepworth, answering to critics, has argued that the mask motif does not constitute an untested, dualistic separation of body and the self but conceptualises embodied agency in later life, or, in other words, the limitations that the ageing body poses over different identity performances (Hepworth 2004a).

The reason for the resilience of the decline model, as has been outlined in the previous section (1.1.2) is the appeal it makes to realism (Hepworth 2003, drawing upon Margaret Gullette). It has been argued that the resolution of the shifting balance between positive and negative stereotypes and change/diversity/decline constructions of ageing may be found in the vision of the postmodern self, where self is a discursive construction in which physical changes can be drawn upon in a variety of ways (Hepworth 2003:103). In fact, it has been documented through research interviews that older adults are not necessarily interested in projecting a single coherent identity, but rather employ several strategies (such as employing conflicting perspectives in a single narrative) to simultaneously construct multiple identities (Fischer et al. 2008; Norrick 2009). On the whole, narrative research (most frequently with data elicited in interview

⁴ By late modernity here I refer to what Powell and Longino have called postmodernism with a modernist agenda. This perspective views reality (and identities) not as an absolute, universal truth but as contextual, situational, fragmented constructions, malleable through marketing ploys and consumer choices (Powell & Longino 2002:221). Yet these postmodernist conceptualisations of identity are also employed to understand what Powell and Longino classify as modernist issues, such as gender and the ageing body.

settings) has showed that older adults may resist ageist discourses and instead project positive identities of their ageing self (see e.g. Phoenix 2009; Gubrium 2011).

Moreover, certain studies have shown that the same individual can switch between radically different personas, one endorsing and another reverting ageist stereotypes. N. Coupland et al. have shown how the same, 79 year-old woman in two succeeding interactions projected two completely different aspects of self: a positive, counter-decline self-presentation in an interaction with an 82-year old woman, and one ratifying ageist assumptions with a 38-year old woman (N. Coupland, Coupland & Grainger 1991b).⁵ It is then apparent that same- or cross-age interaction is an important factor in identity work. The importance of peer-elderly interactions is further explored below.

1.1.4 The importance of peer-group sociability

The terms *peers* and *peer group* have been largely associated with younger populations, e.g. children, adolescents, young adults (see e.g. chapters in Androutsopoulos & Georgakopoulou 2003a). Nevertheless, they can be extended to describe same-age socialisation in later life, and a number of studies have used the terms for older people (e.g. Seguin 1973; Paoletti 1998a; Biggs, Bernard, Kingston & Nettleton 2000; Pecchioni, Ota & Sparks 2004; Degnen 2007; also in the Greek context, see Poulis 2005; and even in brochures e.g. Biggs & Tinker 2007). In common with younger people, elderly have been found to befriend age contemporaries, people with similar lifestyles, values, experiences, gender and marital status; also older adults have been found to befriend people who reside in the same vicinity for a long period of time, more so than their younger counterparts (Oh 2003; Rawlins 2004; cf. Pecchioni et al. 2004:182). Friendship with peers in later life has been argued to be a source of emotional intimacy and companionship and interactions with same-age friends have been associated with psychological wellbeing and self esteem to a greater extent than interactions with family members (Nussbaum 1994; Coleman et al. 1998; Hauerwas & Yordy 1998; Rawlins 2004). Also, it has been argued that peer-group interactions are a facilitator of socialisation into different old-age identities (Rosow 1974; Degnen 2007). As has been shown in the Preface (Section 0.1), older women's friendships have been found to be overwhelmingly same-gender, more intimate than men's, and a source of female identity (Nussbaum 1994; Rawlins 2004; O'Hanlow & Coleman 2004).

⁵ Language-focused research on age and ageing is discussed in detail at Section 1.2, below.

However, peer interaction of elderly people is under-investigated and the focus of gerontological research has been on peer-group communication in institutionally 'prescribed' settings. It has been suggested that residents in nursing homes develop rich friendships (Nussbaum 1991). In retirement residential complexes, peer-group identity has been found to be prominent and the peer group facilitates socialisation to new/alternative roles and functions in old age; therefore this lifestyle is presented by some authors as the most preferable for third agers (see e.g. Seguin 1973). Also in Biggs et al.'s sociological study of a purpose-built retirement community in the West Midlands, tenants reported experiences of a high level of interdependence, while peer support and peer socialisation were regarded as the main sources of self esteem (Biggs et al. 2000). Similarly, Hurd's research on a seniors' centre in Canada showed that the female members of the centre employed for themselves age categories that distanced them from those they categorised as 'old' (Hurd 1999). On the whole, casual peer-socialisation in non-institutional settings, in later life, is yet to be explored. The following section examines the way older adults are depicted in the media.

1.1.5 Media representations of older adults

Media representations of older adults can be an important resource in tracing widely circulating discourses of ageing and later life. Images of ageing portrayed in the mass media have been shown to affect interpersonal behaviours, shape perceptions of social reality and attitudes towards old people and ageing, and people tend to measure themselves against media representations (Vasil & Wass 1993:72; Kessler, Rakoczy & Staudinger 2004:531; J. Robinson, Skill & Turner 2004:423; Milani 2008:35; Lumme-Sandt 2011:45). In fact, although there are gender and income differences in media usage, older adults have been found to use the mass media a lot, mainly for information and entertainment purposes (J. Robinson et al. 2004:439). The portrayal of older adults first in the electronic and then in the print media is discussed below.

1.1.5.1 Electronic media

It has been argued that television viewing increases over the life-span and is considered an extremely important part of older adults' daily lives, especially if they have few other leisure alternatives (J. Robinson et al. 2004:424). The elderly have been found to spend the majority of their leisure time watching television (Kaid & Garner 2004:408; J. Robinson et al. 2004:439). In Greece, in particular, surveys have shown that the

demographic group who watches television the most is women above 65, spending on average almost seven hours a day in front of the T.V.⁶ Nevertheless, various studies have suggested that the portrayal of older adults in the electronic media is skewed and does not correspond to the demographics of the population.

Kessler et al.'s (2004) case study of older characters in TV German series has showed the numerical under-representation of older characters, and their portrayal as a homogenous group with salient gender stereotypes. More specifically, older characters were portrayed as having rich economic resources, high social status and good health. This corresponds with Vasil and Wass' (1993) observation that the elderly are least likely to be depicted in a negative light in daytime serials (as opposed to prime-time television, cartoons, or commercials). Still, older women in Kessler et al.'s data were represented as being in a worse health and psychological situation, and having lower socioeconomic status and level of education compared to their male counterparts; perpetrating stereotypes of 'powerful (older) men' and 'caring, asexual older women' (Kessler et al. 2004:546).

An example of how older adults are portrayed in advertisements is Kaid and Garner's (2004) research on televised political advertising for presidential campaigns in the USA between 1960 and 2000. They have shown that many of the settings where older adults appeared were nursing or retirement homes, followed by formal political settings, such as candidates' offices, rallies, etc. Older adults were portrayed in settings such as work environments or private homes very rarely. Kaid and Garner have argued that 'the message was clear that the older citizens can expect to live a marginal life, not often involved in everyday experiences of working class America' (2004:416).

On the whole, a number of studies have shown that older adults are under-represented in various television programmes and older characters are often underdeveloped and one-dimensional. In fact older women have been found to be particularly under-represented and more likely to be portrayed in a negative light (for an overview of

⁶ The second most frequent T.V. viewers are women 45-65 years old (six hours and 15 minutes per day), followed by men above 65 (six hours per day). The data were taken from an audience measurement survey conducted by Nielsen Company for Greece, since similar data for Cyprus were not available. <http://www.agbnielsen.net/whereweare/dynPage.asp?lang=english&id=315&country=Greece> (last accessed 20/1/11).

research on the portrayal of older adults in television, see Vasil & Wass 1993; J. Robinson et al. 2004).

The participants of this research regularly listen to the radio during the day, and while they perform different domestic activities. Because there is insufficient research about the portrayal of older adults on the radio, I looked at a radio show of the pan-Cyprian radio station *Astra 92.8*, called ‘Χωρίς Ηλικία’/*Without Age*. It is of particular interest to this discussion, because it is the only programme in the Cypriot electronic media which is explicitly marketed to older adults. The programme is advertised as ‘Μια εκπομπή για τους ανθρώπους «χωρίς ηλικία»’/*A programme for the people ‘without age’*;⁷ *without age* is a term oriented to as a euphemism for ‘third age’ both by the presenter and the on-air callers to the programme. This weekly, hour-long, morning show includes music and on-air conversations between the broadcaster and callers from the general public (and sometimes a studio guest) and has a specified subject for discussion every week. The presenter, Andreas Fantidis, is an experienced journalist and was seventy-two at the time of the recordings. The audience consists of people aged from forty to a hundred years old, according to information given by the presenter, in a private telephonic conversation with the researcher. In the recorded programmes, the overwhelming majority of callers were above sixty-five/seventy, including some regulars who phoned in most weeks. Also at the beginning of each show a five-minute long, pre-recorded dramatic monologue is broadcast. This section of the programme is called ‘Συντροφιά από το τηλέφωνο’/*Telephone companionship*, and the heroine is an elderly G/C woman who has telephone conversation with a different family member each time. Therefore portrayals of older adults can be traced in different domains: in the dramatic monologue section, in the topics and music chosen by the presenter and in the way the producer, the callers and the guests co-construct different aspects of self. The programme appears to resonate among the audience, as it is very popular, has been running since 1995 (with the same presenter and similar format) and is listened to by most of the participants of this study.

An investigation of the specific topics the producer introduced in each programme and the callers took up has shown a clear pattern about the types of themes that were constructed as being appropriate for and of interest to older audiences (for an outline of

⁷ In radio advertisements of show and in the website of the radio station *Astra 92.8*
<http://www.astra.com.cy/index.php?pageid=52> (last accessed 20/3/11)

the different broadcasts surveyed and their topics, see Appendix 7.2.3). The overarching theme was association with the past. In most shows, the topic selected by the producer had to do with remembering past experiences (usually from childhood and early youth), or traditions and customs that are now changing or dying. For instance, topics included: ways of keeping warm in the old times, carnival celebrations of the past and old recipes. Even when the topic was about issues that could be extended to the present (e.g. relationships between the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot community) both the guest-speaker and the callers focused on past experiences of peaceful co-existence, before the war of 1974, and not on experiences of meeting up with old friends after 2004, when the borders that separate the two communities re-opened. Recurrent phrases uttered both by the producer, the occasional guest and the callers such as ‘να θυμηθούμε τα παλιά’ ‘τα περασμένα χρόνια’ ‘αφού εν τα παλιά που θυμούμαστι τῶ ερκούμαστι στα τωρασινά’ ‘άλλες εποχές’ ‘τον καιρόν των μανάδων μας’ ‘που ήμουν μιτσής’ (*let’s remember the old times, the past years, it is the old times that we remember and we come to the present, during other times, at the time of our mothers, when I was little*) oriented to this temporal framing and to the addition of time-past perspective on current or recurrent states or topics. This temporal framing and self-association with the past was also done with the callers’ disclosures of chronological age (see also Section 1.2, below and N. Coupland, Coupland & Giles 1991a on similar age-categorisation and temporal framing processes in interaction).

Nevertheless, the presenter also asked the callers about present-day experiences, such as participation in carnival celebrations in the present or recent encounters with Turkish Cypriots, facilitating disclosures of positive current activities. Also, one of the shows surveyed focused exclusively on the present and the future, as it discussed pensions and other state benefits, with the participation of a representative from the pensioners’ trade union. On that show constructions of older adults as empowered pensioners who fight the government, claim and achieve better pensions prevailed. This more empowering construction of ageing is also found in print media targeting older adults (see Section 1.1.5.2, below).

1.1.5.2 Print media

It has been found that in print media, including magazine advertisements and cartoons, newspapers, children’s and adolescents’ literature and magazines, even birthday cards, the underrepresentation of older adults was more pronounced compared to television.

Also, in most studies the elderly were stereotypically and negatively portrayed and older women were particularly underrepresented (Vasil & Wass 1993; J. Robinson et al. 2004:440).

To address whether such findings hold true in the Cypriot print media, I looked at the articles and columns of some newspapers and magazines over a period of one month (March 2008). I focused on the two best-selling, Greek-Cypriot, daily, morning broad sheet newspapers, *Ο Φιλελεύθερος/Fileleftheros* (selling an average of 25.000 copies per day, with weekend sales reaching 40.000 copies) and *Πολίτης/Politis* (selling about 12.000-14.000 copies per day).⁸ I have also examined five weekly magazines distributed for free with the aforementioned newspapers, (and which constitute the body of the widest distributed magazines in the Government controlled part of Cyprus) i.e. *TV Μανία/TV Mania* (with Saturday *Fileleftheros*), *Down Town* (with Sunday *Fileleftheros*), *Capuccino* and *Check-Up* (with Saturday *Politis*), *Purple* (with Sunday *Politis*). I supplemented my research of general interest magazines with *Το Περιοδικό/To Periodiko*, the best selling independent weekly magazine in Cyprus. A total of twenty-four magazine and sixty-two newspaper issues have been surveyed.

A general observation was that, in line with research in western European and North American countries, older adults were under-represented in the press. This was particularly accentuated in the general interest magazines, where only in 3% of the pages was there a picture or mention of older people. Only *Check Up*, a free health magazine, distributed with one of the papers studied, had a dedicated section for/about older adults aiming at discussing different health problems associated with third age. The older adults' voice was not represented, even on issues that affected them directly. For example, in the public discussion about the retirement age or the Easter allowance for pensioners, third agers were seldom heard, and the press approached the issues from a political and economical perspective, focusing on the opinion of the working force, rather than that of pensioners (e.g. *Fileleftheros* 13/3/08, p. 20). Moreover even when older people were heard, e.g. to express their preference regarding the presidential elections, it was usually the male voice that got heard (e.g. *Fileleftheros* 23/2/08, p. 24; 26/2/08, p. 22).

⁸ Figures are tentative, as the newspapers and distribution agencies do not disclose the number of copies sold, and are based on published market research, e.g. <http://www.philenews.com/AssetService/Image.ashx?t=2&pg=13758&> (last accessed 20/3/11). These figures indicate that 45% of the newspapers sold in weekdays are *Fileleftheros* and 25% are *Politis*.

Also, in the Cypriot press, older adults were regularly associated with certain topics of the print media discourses. Firstly, older adults were presented as a vulnerable population (e.g. they were depicted as easy targets for robbers). In fact, in three articles about a robbery of an older woman, the victim of the robbery was only referred to by age-related terms (‘ογδονταπεντάχρονη’/85-year-old, ‘ηλικιωμένη’/elderly), whereas generalisations (cf. Van Leeuwen 1995:98), based on a sole incident, about the vulnerability of the *elderly* in plural (‘ηλικιωμένοι’) were recurrent.⁹ Also, older adults (especially women) were routinely associated with ill health, dependency, hospital and home care. Loneliness was another attribution regularly associated with older populations. Successful ageing, on the other hand, related to good health in later life, had the quality of unexpectedness and marked rarity and therefore constituted a reportable event (cf. Caldas-Coulthard 2003). These counter-stereotypic representations, however, were positioned as exceptions that could ‘be easily discounted as having zero relevance to the general category, older people’ and thus social stereotypes that older adults in general are not fit, healthy, creative (99-106) are not challenged (Giles 1991:104; cf. also Chapter 2.5.1).

Older adults were also associated with folklore stories and the preservation of old tradition. Also, premium was given to older adults residing in rural, pre-technological and under-developed communities. In fact, older women often appeared in pictures wearing the traditional black headscarf, a practice that is almost extinct in Cyprus among elderly women, especially in urban settings. It seemed that older adults were perceived, on the one hand as knowledgeable and gatekeepers of (often dying) traditions and on the other as firmly rooted to the past, with no significant present experiences to share, or a future perspective. Present experiences, when oriented to, were often cast in a negative light, more so than in the radio show examined above. Finally, death was the most prominent theme associated with older people, represented in the media. Announcements of funerals and memorial services about older people constituted the most frequent and stable reference to this age group in the newspapers. To this, articles about fatal accidents involving older adults could be added. I believe that the attributions of ill health, dying tradition, and vulnerability work together to underline the prevailing feature associated with older adults, death. The portrayal of older adults as passive (victims, frail, dying people) was also found in German

⁹ see *Fileleftheros* 14/3/08, p. 28; *Politis* 14/3/08, p. 47; 15/3/08, p. 22.

television news and magazines programmes (Jurgens 1994, mentioned in Kessler et al. 2004:532).

Public figures such as politicians, statesmen, the highest clergy, known businessmen and scientists constitute exceptions to this portrayal in the press and their age is seldom made relevant. For example the late president of Cyprus, aged 74 at the time, was widely commented upon in the news. But although other categorisations such as his marital status, his previous occupation, his economic status, the place of residence and of course his political affiliations were made relevant, his age was not oriented to and he was not categorised with age-related terms, or linked with the attributions older adults are routinely associated with.

In addition, the depiction of older men, in general, as opposed to older women was more favourable in the Cypriot press surveyed. In fact, ‘γέροντες’ (*old men*) often appears with positive actor-focused qualifiers (Georgakopoulou 2008) such as ‘χαριτωμένοι γέροντες’ (*cute old men*), or ‘σεβάσμιοι γέροντες’ (*respected old men*). A further examination of the old-age categories employed to refer to older adults is given in Chapter 3. Also old men were on occasions associated with counter-decline activities, such as actively demanding better pensions, more so than women. This gender differentiation confirms earlier findings about the representation of women, in general, in these two Cypriot newspapers. The research of the Mediterranean Institute of Gender Studies, carried out in 2009, has shown that *Politis* and *Fileleftheros* solidify stereotypical representations of women as *a priori* mothers and non-relevant in discussions of political or economic issues (Mediterranean Institute 2009).

Overall, in print and electronic media in Cyprus and in other Western countries, older adults have been found to be, by and large, stereotypically portrayed and underrepresented. In the Cypriot media examined, general interest magazines had the lowest rate of portrayal of older adults. Underrepresentation has been found to occur even in programmes, such as soap operas, that are most watched by third agers, despite the fact that viewers favour characters of their own age (J. Robinson et al. 2004:428). A number of justifications have been proposed for this phenomenon. Firstly, portrayal of aged people contradicts media discourses that orient to youth looks as a taken for granted and shared aim and value (as they have been documented in work on print magazine advertisements: J. Coupland 2003; J. Coupland & Coupland 2009; and a

television programme: Jaworski 2003). Also, Vasil and Wass have argued that the underrepresentation of elderly conveys the message that ‘the elderly are unimportant and non-contributing members of society and less worthy of media attention than are other age groups’ (1993:80). However, I would subscribe to the viewpoint that it is not so much an indication of how society or media players view the elderly but rather an indication of how producers and writers believe the prime demographic market views the elderly. In fact, producers and programmers (especially in electronic media) try to attract consumers that are appealing to advertisers; in Cyprus the target audience are the so called ‘νεανικά κοινά’/*young audience*, which included 15-44 year-olds. Therefore, the underlying assumption is that the target audience/buyers are not willing to watch, listen to, or read about older characters and older people in the media. This can reveal that programmers and editors think that images of later life can be received as depressing for the audience rather than entertaining (see also Kessler et al. 2004:544).

On the other hand, print and electronic media targeting older adults have been found to portray a significantly more positive image of ageing and later life. For example, Lumme-Sandt’s research on a Finish magazine advertised for 50+ (and whose average reader is above 65), has been shown to focus on the positive aspects of older age, such as the freedom, the spiritual growth and the physical and social activities that can be associated with third age (Lumme-Sandt 2011; cf. T. Robinson, Callister, Magoffin & Moore 2007). Such an extreme counter-stereotypic depiction of ageing, which affords for the creation of totally new identities, was not found in the Cypriot radio show ‘Χωρίς Ηλικία’/*Without Age*. However, the portrayal of older adults was much more positive in *Without Age* than in the other Cypriot media surveyed (newspapers and magazines), which did not target third-agers exclusively.

The types of older adults portrayed in the media have been shown to entail more negative characteristics, compared to evidence from gerontological research (see e.g. Kessler et al. 2004). In studies about western media and also in my own survey, older adults were stereotypically associated with the topics of folklore, vulnerability, poor health, immobility, loneliness, bereavement and most importantly death. Ageing is then constructed, through media representations, as a progressive physical, psychological and social decline. The fact that ageing brings about unwanted bodily deterioration is also reflected in media data that deal with external appearance of (younger) adults, such as magazine adverts of cosmetics and make-over television shows, as J. Coupland’s

research shows (2009b). Thus, constructions of the ageing process as an unwanted decline are not exclusive to the portrayal of older adults but permeate representations of younger individuals, as well.

On both accounts (quantity and quality of representation) older women seem to be particularly disadvantaged. In most studies, as well as in my own survey, they were more prone to minimal coverage and stereotypically typified representations. It has been argued that social beliefs that equate women's social status and attractiveness with their age could account for the fact that older women are virtually invisible (J. Coupland 2009b). In the Cypriot media examined, in particular, older women's views regarding current affairs were muted and they were more likely than their male counterparts to be associated with physical, mental and social decline, lack of education, loneliness, dying traditions and dialectic language varieties. Both in the Cypriot and in the international media, programmes or publications that were explicitly targeted at third agers differ both quantitatively and qualitatively with regard to their representation of older adults.

Finally, it is important to mention that the Cypriot media surveyed (press and a radio show) are only a supplementary source among a host of other potential ones (e.g. popular media, notably sitcoms and soap operas, electronic media etc.), a detailed analysis of which would abstract away from the main focus of the thesis, i.e. the micro-ethnographic exploration of local categories in every-day interactions. Thus, in the analytical chapters of this thesis (Chapters 3-5) the main focus is the local interactions and practices of the participants and media data are only secondarily investigated to investigate whether and to what extent the different discourses about ageing and older women, oriented to in the construction of self in everyday interactions, are also circulating in the media..

1.1.6 Culture and ageing: ethnographies of Cyprus

It has been noted that it is crucial for all ageing research to 'incorporate a cultural reflexivity, identifying how ideologies of ageing are inevitably embedded within specific cultural frameworks of time and space' (Nussbaum & Coupland 2004b:xiii). Most of the notions about old age and ageing mentioned in the sections above, especially Section 1.1.2, are situated in modern western societies (transatlantic -British and US-, mostly white), and therefore might not always be readily applicable to the

data researched here. Pecchioni and colleagues have discussed cultural issues in communication in later life and have shown that culture may indicate how salient age is as a factor contributing to group identification and what roles are appropriate for older adults within family, friendship circles, organisations, mass media, public policies, and education (Pecchioni et al. 2004). For instance, it has been argued that being old is a stigma in Western cultures, whereas in Eastern cultures being old can be both positive, as it is traditionally associated with respect, and also negative, as the traditional attitudes towards older adults are changing.

Ethnographic studies about Cyprus could help define this culture specificity of Greek Cypriot older women. A classic study exploring values of a pre-modern rural village of Cyprus is Peristiany 1965(171-90). The author has shown that honour and shame as the two axes against which individuals are evaluated and has emphasised the importance of family. It has been documented that women's foremost duty was to guard their modesty (female honour) in dress, appearance, behaviour and speech. For a married woman, her husband is responsible for his wife's honour. This value system is of course hard to apply to older widows, like many of the participants, whose husbands (and also parents) are dead, but whose sexual modesty can hardly be the object of critical allusions. In addition, this study was conducted in the fifties in a rural area and it is not surprising that the findings do not necessarily apply to an urban setting more than half a century later. Yet one could argue that these values could have been prominent when the participants were young women (especially since the participants were brought up in areas that were not considered urban at the time). A study that has further discussed honour and shame, as well as notions of 'traditional' and 'modern' is Crawford's unpublished doctoral thesis (1984). This work employs a feminist approach and investigates the processes of constructing a social identity through the interaction with the material world. The fieldwork was conducted at a Greek Cypriot village in the early eighties, at the interface of tradition and modernity. Again, there is a temporal and spatial distance between the community under research here and Crawford's informants, yet many issues such as social change and, to some extent, social values can be applied to the data at hand.

Another thesis that has also provided an insight to Greek Cypriot culture is Arnold 1982. This is an anthropological study, carried out in the mid seventies at a village in southwest Cyprus. This study has supported that honour and shame do not stem from

the nuclear family (as is argued e.g. in Peristiany 1965b) but depend on a complex nexus of social associations, including social positioning of the family, gendered roles and relations with other relatives, neighbours, friends and affine (that is relatives by marriage). Despite the time span between this study and the present one, many of the findings match with my field observations. For example, women have been found to be usually on good terms with four to five female neighbours, who live in close vicinity and whom they visit informally for coffee and chat, knitting and to borrow things (Arnold 1982:76; also in Cowan 1991 about a village in Greek Macedonia). The group of female neighbours who regularly socialise together are referred to by other members of the community as ‘*κάνουν παρέα*’ (*keep company*), are on occasions joined by men and are expected to know each other’s affairs and keep confidentiality. They do certain activities together such as watching television and going to church. Women have been found to practise more their religion, fast more and carry out traditional religious observances (cf. similar findings about Greece in Hirschon 1983; Dubisch 1992; Hart 1992). Also church is humorously called ‘women’s coffee house’ and provides opportunities to socialise with non-neighbouring women as well (Arnold 1982:79). Daughters are privileged as heirs, as they are expected to receive a dowry-house from their parents, and once married they usually reside near their parents’ home. Uxorilocality-matrilocal¹⁰ pattern kin relationships and hence kinship through females is stronger. Also, women are morally bound by the investment of their parents to care for them in old age (Cockburn 2004:119). In fact, mostly daughters cooperate with their parents and assume the obligation of looking after them in old age (see also Cylwik 2002, discussed below; Dilworth-Anderson & Goodwin 2005 has shown that daughters in African American families assume a similar role). Finally, Arnold has shown that the upholding of traditions, including wearing the mourning dress and traditional headscarf, as well as performing religious and mourning activities, construct a woman as elderly.

One of the few differences between my data and Arnold’s research is that if a woman was widowed, it was her civic duty to mourn wearing dark clothes and withdrawing from social life for the rest of her lifetime (also mentioned in Du Boulay 1991 about island Greece; in Hart 1992 about Peloponnese; and in Panourgia 1995 about Athens). The participants of the present study, however, although they did wear black clothes for

¹⁰ Uxorilocality-matrilocal¹⁰ describes the tendency of married daughters to reside near their maternal home.

a long period (about ten years), they had stopped wearing exclusively dark clothes at the time of the data collection. Only one of the participants, whose husband passed away more recently (five and a half years before the recordings started), was still wearing all black clothes and stockings (even in the summer). Furthermore, the participants of the present research did not withdraw from social life and were participating in gatherings and trips, even while wearing black clothes. Also, the habit of older people residing with their married children, often discussed in this study, is less frequent in my data. This could be attributed to the retirement benefits pensioners receive nowadays that enable financial independence (cf. Hart 1992:24).

A more recent study that focuses on older adults is Cylwik (2002), which has investigated Greek Cypriot immigrants in London, and which has shed some light on family role expectations for Cypriot older women. This sociological research investigated older adults' expectations and attitudes regarding intergenerational relations. Older women appear to be more likely than older men to give and receive care, and the help they would provide would mainly be care of their grandchildren. The prevailing discourse is that children come first and therefore older parents are keen to protect, offer services and not to burden their children. The exceptionally strong mother-daughter bond has been illustrated. Although parents never cease to feel responsible for their children, mother and adult daughter are positioned as 'peers', friends and confidantes. This close mother-adult daughter relation, also documented in Arnold (1982), is also central in the construction of family relations in some parts of Greece (Dubisch 1992:112; Hart 1992:171). The implied resistance of older women to confide in anyone other than their daughters could also be attributed to the belief that relatives and even more friends cannot be trusted with secrets and to the fear of becoming the object of gossip and mockery, as they have been documented in du Boulay's research on a Greek village (Du Boulay 1976).

Later anthropological research that focuses on gender in Greece and Cyprus can also be relevant. Cockburn's study (2004), carried out between 2001 and 2003 in Cyprus has shown how the partition of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities, the resulting militarism and nationalism are not conducive to women's equality and autonomy. In fact, Cockburn has argued that both in South and North Cyprus the prevalent gender order is male dominance and patriarchy. Although South Cyprus has a more prosperous, growth-oriented economy and more women are coming into

employment and politics, it has been found that traditional gender roles in the household still exist: there is strong pressure on women to get married, single parents and gays are not acceptable and domestic responsibilities are women's duties (Cockburn 2004; see Kantsa 2010 about the salience of values of heterosexuality, marriage and motherhood in modern Greece). This research shows that earlier findings about women's role in society may still apply, to an extent, to the current Cypriot society. Also, research in contemporary Greece has also shown the circulation of heterosexual stereotyping among the youth (Archakis & Lambropoulou 2010), the salience of values of heterosexuality, marriage and motherhood for women (Kantsa 2010), and the perception (by young women) of female promiscuous behaviour as un-greek and unacceptable (Kosetzi 2010).

These studies are used as complementary to sociological studies about western cultures and ageing (or on Greek Cypriot communities abroad, like Cylwik 2002) and to my fieldwork, to offer an overview of what it means to be an older woman in Cyprus. This understanding of the community's pervasive ideologies and attitudes regarding ageing and age appropriateness enable an understanding of the larger sociocultural context and the cultural resources the participants may draw upon in their talk-in-interaction. The following section focuses on the interface of language and ageing.

1.2 *Language and Ageing*¹¹

Sociolinguistic research on age and ageing has traditionally concentrated on the early parts of the life course, leaving language in later life under-researched (N. Coupland 2004:69; J. Coupland 2009a:850). It has been argued that 'to the extent that the language of the elderly has been investigated at all it has come into focus mainly from a clinical perspective where various sorts of deficiencies are dealt with' (Coulmas 2005:62). Below an outline of dominant paradigms in language and ageing research is given, starting from the deficit paradigm that Coulmas' above quotation alludes to.

1.2.1 Normative accounts: the deficit paradigm

Within social science, one of the prevailing approaches to age identities has been normative accounts of age as a homogenous, pre-existing and relatively static social category that can be demographically assigned to individuals. In ageing research, in

¹¹ An earlier version of this section is to appear in Georgakopoulou and Charalambidou (forthcoming).

particular, the prevalent paradigm associated with this perspective has been the *deficit paradigm* (N. Coupland & Coupland 1990:453; N. Coupland et al. 1991a:8).¹² This paradigm stems from a longstanding view of human ageing in western culture that sees it in biomedical terms, that is, as progressive, inevitable and unwanted decline (for a discussion of the biomedical model of ageing, see Section 1.1.2, above). Consequently, elderly speech is not seen as a matter of choice but as a result of decline in linguistic and cognitive functioning (Coulmas 2005:62). Studies on language and ageing have focused on decrement in linguistic and communicative ability, with a special emphasis on the language of communicatively and cognitively impaired older adults, i.e. with conditions such as Parkinson's (Obler 1980), Alzheimer's (De Bot & Makoni 2005), aphasia (Korpiaakko-Huuhka & Klippi 2010) etc. Research within this paradigm has typically employed quantitative tools to study talk elicited in experimental conditions (e.g. surveys or research interviews) and detailed scales to measure psychosocial, cognitive and linguistic functioning of the research subjects.

An example of this paradigm is the volume edited by Obler and Albert (1980). In Obler's paper (1980) on the narrative discourse style of older adults, a group of older adults, diagnosed with Parkinson's, were compared with a group of healthy older adults and the latter are in turn compared to a group of younger adults. The older (compared to younger) and the parkinsonian elderly (compared to healthy elderly) participants were found to use a more elaborate narrative style with fewer and more complex sentences and greater 'loquacity' (greater number of words per theme, Obler 1980:78). Although the author has considered as possible explanation for this more 'elaborate' discourse style of the elderly, not only the loss of primary cognitive functions but also the cultural/educational differences between cohorts, it is obvious that what was deemed researchable with regard to language in later life is deviations from the norm, i.e. the language of healthy middle-aged adults. At the same time age was taken as a fixed identity that exists prior and outside of discourse.

The issue of elderly verbosity has also been addressed in a later study that also falls within the decrement paradigm (Gold, Arbuckle & Andres 1994). The frequency and extent of off-target verbosity (i.e. talk that diverges from the nominal topic of the conversation) was measured in four corpora of research interviews with older adults. Detailed scale measurements were also used to measure psychosocial variables (e.g.

¹² Also described as 'functionalist research' in Taylor 1994.

extroversion, levels of stress) and cognitive functioning, while demographic categories, such as gender, socioeconomic and marital status, were also employed to explain verbosity. The results have shown that only 1-12% of off-target verbosity can be explained by age-related factors, whereas the whole model only accounted for 20-25% of the variance in verbosity. However, it was claimed that off-target verbosity is an atypical process that entails declining neuropsychological performance. The problem with this model is the low percentage of variance explained ($R^2=0.2$) and this could be attributed not only to missing variables, as the authors imply (the most striking being, in my opinion, the cohort effect that could explain why in longitudinal studies verbosity does not increase with age) but also to measurement problems. For instance, it is very problematic for the reader to understand which criteria determine 'irrelevance' of an utterance to the 'nominal topic' (not defined), and hence off-target verbosity.

Statistical results of controlled, experimental studies lend themselves to generalisation and can influence social policies (Wilson 1991). However, the validity of the results is open to challenge, not least because language is dislocated from the context in which it naturally occurs (N. Coupland & Coupland 2001). For example, in Gold et al.'s (1994) research, the high occurrence of off-target verbosity could have been encouraged by the situational context (interview), where the interviewee is given the floor without interruption. Also the study did not address the issue that what is regarded as relevant or appropriate by the interlocutors is also context specific. On the whole, what has been investigated in this paradigm is the age-related deterioration of language use or 'an appraisal of residual competence' (N. Coupland & Coupland 1990:453; another example is Cohen 1994, which focuses on problems in the retrieval of proper names in elderly communication). Yet, as N. Coupland and J. Coupland point out, the expectation of decline in speech and cognition that underlines this line of inquiry legitimises and naturalises the deficit model of ageing (1990:455).

1.2.2 The deficit paradigm under scrutiny

The deficit paradigm, as outlined above, has characterised earlier work on age identities. The recent shift towards contextualised views of language and identities has rendered many of the assumptions of this paradigm problematic. To be specific, contextual variables, other than age-related decline, as well as the local situation of the interaction have been employed in explaining the linguistic behaviour of the participants. This has

led to questioning the relation between language in old age and decline in linguistic ability.

For example De Bot and Makoni (2005) have examined the effects of age and education on narrative and syntactic complexity in older Chinese in the USA. The cognitive competence, mental state and narrative complexity of older adults were measured using formalised tests and scales. The assumption that individuals will necessarily continuously decline as they age was challenged and other categories such as bilingualism, gender, space of interaction, ethno-racial grouping, and education were investigated with regard to their consequentiality for language production and comprehension in later life.

Another study that belongs to the same paradigm is Korpiaakko-Huuhka and Klippi's paper (2010). This follows the 'International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health', a new bio-psychosocial model which describes a person's condition from various perspectives. The study has focused 'on functioning instead of disorders or deficits' (Korpiaakko-Huuhka & Klippi 2010:482) and on this basis it has provided an overview of changes in language and discourse skills in later life, comparing them to changes in older adults with aphasia or dementia (e.g. suffering from Alzheimer's). Unlike research in the deficit paradigm, this study did not necessarily evaluate change as decline but placed emphasis on functional impact of change on older adults' life. Also, it has challenged the widely held view that older adults exhibit off-target verbosity (cf. Section 1.2.1, above). Overall, the study has documented the effect of variables such as communication disorders, education, and lifestyle choices on elderly communication which were overlooked in previous studies that classified language change as decline and primarily age-driven.

In addition, a number of socio-psychological studies on elderly communication was developed in the late eighties and in the nineties, which has investigated ageist attitudes and stereotypes in communication and language use of one age group in relation to another (127-48; p. cm.; 99-106; 103-26; 417-40; 465-86).¹³ Much of the research on age stereotyping in interaction has been carried out within the communication

¹³ Examples of this socio-psychological research on ageing are Adelman, Greene & Charon 1991; Coupland, Coupland & Giles 1991; Giles 1991; Williams & Giles 1991; chapters in Hummert, Wiemann & Nussbaum 1994; Ylännä-McEwen 1999; and for an overview see Coupland & Coupland 2001.

accommodation framework (Hummert, Garstka, Ryan & Bonnesen 2004). Communication accommodation theory has been employed to explain modifications in speech, based on various accommodation strategies of the social actors such as *convergence* to or *divergence* from the interactional partner's speech style (N. Coupland et al. 1991a:26; Shepard, Giles & Le Poire 2001). The application of communication accommodation theory to intergenerational interaction has also shown that younger adults perceive older adults' talk as under-accommodating, i.e. extensively diverging from the interlocutor's style, topics introduced, and their own as over-accommodating, that is, as converging to the interlocutor's style and to viewpoint that the recipient will presumably share (Williams & Giles 1991). Some studies applied these notions, looking closely at the interactional organisation of talk. For instance, Ylännö-McEwen (1999) explored interaction in a travel agency between middle aged travel agents and an elderly couple and has found that over-accommodation on behalf of the travel agents contributed to the construction of ageist stereotypes. Also, Paoletti's research (1998b) has shown that in interviews, the (younger) interviewer's over-accommodation contributed to constructing the elderly interviewee as excusably incoherent and therefore senile.

Furthermore, in intergenerational interactions, younger interlocutors have been shown to employ patronising talk due to ageist stereotypes (Williams & Giles 1991; Wood & Ryan 1991). Interactions between doctors and elderly patients or staff and residents in nursing homes have been extensively researched (e.g. Adelman, Greene & Charon 1991). Communication perceived as patronising by the recipient has been found to consist of over-simplified talk, similar to the talk used to address young children.¹⁴ It has been shown to range from less extreme *elderspeak*, which is perceived as inducing dependence, to more extreme *secondary baby talk*, perceived as controlling and severely condescending (Hummert & Ryan 2001; De Bot & Makoni 2005).

Also, with a variety of methods, including tests, questionnaires and interviews, researchers have tried to expose ageist assumptions of the linguistic and communicative ability of the elderly. For instance, in tests employing the 'matched-guise technique' participants were asked to evaluate vocal stimuli of supposedly different speakers.

¹⁴ Patronising talk can entail verbal modifications (e.g. simplified vocabulary, grammar and syntax, repetition, diminutives and nicknames), paralinguistic features (e.g. loud, slow speech, exaggerated intonation and enunciation, high pitch) and non-verbal behaviour suggesting inappropriate intimacy, annoyance and lack of interest (Hummert & Ryan 2001).

Actors who were thought to be elderly were judged as ‘aged’, old-fashioned, and vulnerable (Giles 1991:100). Generally, it was found that older adults’ communicative behaviour was negatively evaluated, stereotypically processed and regarded as less effective. Also ageist attitudes have been argued to occur in and perpetuated talk by and to older people (Williams & Giles 1991).

The above studies have succeeded in bringing into the discussion many variables that affect linguistic competence in later life. Also, ageist assumptions regarding elderly discourse have been exposed and the linguistic characteristics of third agers have been understood as not necessarily connected to decrement in language production and comprehension. However, as with the deficit paradigm, the data have remained largely elicited,¹⁵ the local, interactional organisation of talk has been little researched, and peer-group conversations have been exceptionally scarce. Moreover, age, albeit intersected with other identities, has continued to be seen as a more or less static, pre-discursive entity, or as William and Giles call it a ‘pre-interactional mediator’ (1991:120). More dynamic approaches that document social ageing in earnest are to be found within the practice-based framework, which is discussed below.

1.2.3 Age as a local construct: practice-based approaches

Although research on deficiencies is important to sketch the boundaries of normal ageing, social ageing is much more complex than declining competence (N. Coupland 2004:466). A need for research outside laboratory confines and which is more contextually attuned has led to practice-based approaches to language and (465-86:451-68; p. cm.)ageing.¹⁶ What I call here ‘practice-based approaches’ to language and identities can be brought together by their emphasis on social interaction, on what language does in specific contexts and for specific purposes. They are also characterised by a view of identities as flexible and fleeting categories, agentively constructed and de-constructed *in situ* by the interlocutors. The data used are naturally occurring conversations in informal, everyday situations or institutional settings. Such approaches have increasingly been gaining currency in ageing research, thus appearing as the most serious challenge to deficit-based accounts. The aim is to explore how

¹⁵ With some exceptions, including Adelman et al. 1991 and Ylänne-McEwen 1999.

¹⁶ This data-driven perspective that shifts the focus from age in group terms to very nuanced, contextually contingent, negotiations of age and ageing in naturally occurring interactional practices was initially formulated as an *integrative perspective* on elderly discourse (Coupland & Coupland 1990; Coupland et al. 1991a) and later referred to as *social practice perspective* (Coupland & Coupland 2001).

social actors may accept, resist and negotiate age identities that may be ascribed to them in specific social interactions; also, how age-related positionings (314-41) are shaped by the context at hand. In addition, emphasis is placed on how individuals make specific life-style choices and style themselves in ways that 'construct' them as members of a particular age group, regardless of their chronological age.

In practice-based approaches, the meaning of ageing is culturally and interactionally constructed and only partially driven by biology (cf. Pecchioni et al. 2004:171). Thus the 'reality' of the biological decline is not necessarily refuted (see e.g. Poullos 2009), but the focus is placed on how social actors agentively make sense of their circumstances in interaction. Late modernity conceptualisations of identities underlie this paradigm (for a discussion about age identities in late-modernity see also Sections 1.1.2 and 1.1.3).

Even though there is variation within this paradigm, certain key assumptions underpin practice-based research. First, emphasis is placed on how identities are collaboratively produced in local contexts. Second, linguistic devices are treated as not straightforwardly pointing to a specific category; rather they can simultaneously perform different functions. Third, it is acknowledged that age identities are often co-articulated (i.e. co-constructed or inter-related in interactions) with other extra-situational (e.g. gender) and situational (e.g. institutional) identities. Finally, there is scepticism about generalisations of the kind 'this is how old people talk', not least because there is a great deal of heterogeneity within every age group.

Talk perceived as patronising, over- or under-accommodating is viewed in this paradigm as an achievement of all interlocutors, and not a manifestation of pre-existing ageist attitudes. For example, N. Coupland et al. have shown that the elderly use miscommunication (e.g. with under-accommodation) and self-handicapping strategies towards the young (often caregivers or doctors), by excusing themselves from performing adequately in interaction, saying things such as 'I forget everything these days'. These strategies have been shown to elicit the recipient's sympathy, mitigate criticism, encourage praise (for unexpected good performance) and thus be ultimately face-enhancing for the elderly speaker rather than an index of self-directed stereotyping (N. Coupland et al. 1991a:49). Also, Backhaus' research in a Japanese elderly care facility has shown that the residents can strategically present themselves as frail and

decrepit on certain occasions to achieve specific interactional goals, e.g. to deflect responsibility for non-compliance to the institution's rules (see e.g. Backhaus 2008).

In addition to self-handicapping, N. Coupland, J. Coupland and colleagues' research has yielded a number of phenomena associated with the interactional construction of elderliness (e.g. N. Coupland et al. 1991a; N. Coupland et al. 1991b). Their work was based on a research project carried out between 1985-1989 and analysed forty, videotaped, ten-minute, first encounters of young (in their thirties) and elderly (aged 70-87) female volunteers, in peer-young, peer-elderly and cross-generational dyads. They have foregrounded the significance of *painful self disclosures* (PSDs), that is, telling of ill health, bereavement, loneliness etc., as well as disclosures of chronological age and self association with the past (N. Coupland et al. 1991a). These processes have been shown to be sequentially consequential and, just like self-handicapping, have been argued to be ultimately face promoting and central to the performance of elderly identity. Age identification has been found to be nearer the surface of talk and text than any other social category (N. Coupland 2004:84). Unlike research within the previous paradigms these phenomena are seen as a local interactional accomplishment of both the interlocutors (e.g. PSDs are seen equally as discloser and recipient determined) and age is treated as a category participants can orient to in a variety of ways and not as a pre-discursive parameter that poses limitation on the interaction.

N. Coupland et al.'s work on PSDs (1991a) has influenced research on elderly communication in a variety of contexts. Poulios (2004a, 2005, 2008, 2009) has examined the notion of PSDs, and more generally troubles tellings, in the context of Greek intergenerational and peer-elderly, naturally occurring conversations. Poulios has shown a preference for instances of talk in the context of first encounters (like N. Coupland et al. 1991a) and has provided a thorough investigation of the construction of different elderly identities and the interactional management of stereotypes through troubles tellings. However, although he has worked within a constructivist framework and has highlighted that ageing is culturally constructed, he also assumed *a priori* the 'reality' of the biological decline and that older people have a wider range of painful experiences to talk about (Poulios 2008:161). Also in dialogue with N. Coupland et al.'s work on PSDs is Matsumoto's work (2008, 2009), which has examined PSDs and humour in everyday conversations of older Japanese women. It has been found that the humorous construction of tellings of spousal death enabled the participants to subvert

the stereotype that older women perceive their situation as depressing. The inextricable link of humour and laughter with PSD is absent from both N. Coupland et al. (1991a) and Poullos' work (2004a, 2005, 2008). This could be attributed to the fact the participants of Matsumoto's study had a long interactional history. Instances of tellings of painful experiences, as well as their humorous appropriations are investigated in Chapter 4.

The intersection between age and other identities has also been explored further. The methodological assumption has been that identities should not be studied in isolation in communication, as in fact they seldom work in that way. In other words, speakers communicate not just as members of one particular social category but as members of multiple categories, some of which are age-based, others gender- or ethnicity-based, and so on. This is often described as the co-articulation of identities (Ochs 1992; see chapters in De Fina, Schiffrin & Bamberg 2006) and acknowledging this co-articulation forces the analysts to explore how identities interrelate and are mediated by one another as opposed to singling out one. A study that has investigated the co-articulation of age and gender identities but also institutional roles and sexuality is Paoletti (1998a). This research on older Italian women has tackled issues of peer-group interaction in institutional contexts: committee meetings and theatre workshops. Through the participants' situational enactment of or distancing from socially available age and gender identities, the researcher has shown how institutions affect older women's identity production and how institutions are affected by them. This research has showed that, although there is stability in what is perceived as shared social knowledge associated with old age categories (i.e. 'old people' are bound with negative attributions such as loneliness, dependence, frailty), in fact the interlocutors negotiate positive self-appraisals as an older person through juxtaposition with stereotypical, decline-related constructions of old people.

Paoletti's ethnomethodological and constructivist approach to identities, as well as the co-articulation of age and gender identifications, has also been followed in Tainio 2002(181-206). Tainio has (181-206)explored the sequential organisation of research interviews with elderly couples and has focused on syntactic and semantic elements of language that show actors' agentic performance of gender and sexual identities against ageist stereotypes. The ethnomethodological approach to identities, which is also adopted in this thesis, is further discussed in the following section (Section 1.3).

As already suggested, one of the main contributions of practice-based approaches has been the documentation of the multiplicity and heterogeneity of older people's communication practices, and age identities, even within the same site (e.g. a community centre). Peer-group communication of older adults has shown this clearly. For example, Degnen's research (2007), which focused on a community centre in a British village, showed the process through which older women monitor and ascribe different varieties of oldness to their peers through certain communicative practices. For instance, they would be under-accommodative and not attend to the subject proposed by their interlocutor, if the decline categorisation of 'real old age' and 'not like us' was attributed to that interlocutor. Similarly, members ascribed this decline old-age category would appear unable to hold conversation and social norms when interacting with members ascribed the positively evaluated category of 'normal' ageing. In contrast, members of 'real old age' have been found to shift to a very accommodative discourse style when interacting with incumbents of old-age categories, constructed as bound to more extreme decline. Therefore, a variety of different, locally managed old-age categories have been shown to be ascribed, ratified, but also contested in the context of same-age interactions. In addition, those categorised as belonging to 'normal' ageing constantly enhanced their peer-group identity by monitoring, categorising and marginalising (with communicative practices, paralinguistic behaviour and other social practices) members belonging to different old-age categories.

The peer-group, then, can be seen not as a generalised concept lumping same-age people together but as a situated set of practices, organically linked with settings, participant roles and relations and purposes of communication (Androutsopoulos & Georgakopoulou 2003b). Originating in Wenger's work (1998) the notion of community of practice allows for a more fine-tuned view of a peer group as an aggregate of people who come together around a shared domain of interest and who, through participation in shared activities and regular interaction over time, develop a shared understanding of their bonds shared attitudes to and participation in certain activities, and a shared repertoire of semiotic resources (see also Rampton 2000).

It has been argued that there are comparable paradigm shifts (from normative to practice-based accounts) in the disciplinary trajectories of youth and old age research (Georgakopoulou & Charalambidou forthcoming). However, although youth-age

research has focussed extensively on peer-group communication (e.g. M.H. Goodwin 2006), old-age research has favoured intergenerational interactions. The reluctance of old-age research to extend its remit to the study of peer-group communication, especially in non-institutional settings, could be associated with stereotypical expectations of loneliness, dependence and lack of sociability in old age. On the other hand, it has been shown that older adults perform distinct age identities with peers and younger adults and there is mixed support as to whether negative stereotyping and age adapted communication is used by older participants in peer conversations (N. Coupland et al. 1991b; Hummert et al. 2004). Hence, all findings about elderly discourse need to be (re)assessed by studies of peer-group interactions and also in data from other cultural contexts.

Overall, it has been shown that in the deficit paradigm normative accounts of age have prevailed and age has been treated as an extra-situational identity. The question that this paradigm has addressed is how linguistic and cognitive decline in old age affect elderly discourse style. The initial challenge to the decline paradigm has been twofold:

- a) anti-ageist research that has exposed stereotypical attitudes towards the elderly and their language and
- b) parameters other than age-related decline have been considered to account for language change in later life

In both paradigms, age has been a more or less homogenous social variable, elicited/experimental data have often been used, and the analysis has not paid sufficient attention to the local, situational and even socio-cultural context. The third paradigm reviewed has brought to the fore interactional considerations and has paid close attention to the sequential unfolding of talk-in-interaction. Language of and to older adults has been investigated in an array of settings, using naturally occurring data (though controlled conditions have been employed in some studies), and age has been seen as a resource that can be oriented to by older and younger interlocutors in a variety of ways. The deficit paradigm and its challenge are still strong conceptualisations, yet there is a shifting balance towards practice-based approaches in research on ageing and language, discourse and social interaction. The relation between language and ageing is also inextricably connected with the researcher's perspective on (age) identities. Subsequently, an outline of the theoretical framework underpinning identity theorising in this thesis is given.

1.3 *Identity theorising: the ethnomethodological perspective*

The approach to identities employed in this thesis is informed by the ethnomethodological tradition. Ethnomethodology (henceforth EM) was coined as a term by Garfinkel in the mid-fifties and was developed as a very influential discipline in sociology in the late sixties and early seventies by sociologists such as Garfinkel and Sacks (for overview volumes on EM see Garfinkel 1967; Heritage 1984; Sharrock & Anderson 1986; Button 1991a). EM is an empirical, systematic study of the most commonplace, everyday activities on their own terms. It is believed that people ('social members', or 'members', for short) accomplish local understandings by exploiting the features of mundane interaction (Antaki & Widdicombe 1998a:2). Thus, EM investigates participants' methods for producing everyday activities as orderly and accountable social activities. By 'accountable' activities, Garfinkel means social practices that members can observe and report (Garfinkel 1967:1; 1991:10). The emphasis, therefore, is on a members' observable apparatus or machinery, that is, exactly what they have to do to carry out an action, produce social practices, including talk, and acquire, expand, confirm or revise commonsense knowledge (Sharrock & Anderson 1986:66, 113; Schegloff 1991:152).

Conversation Analysis (CA) and Membership Categorisation Analysis (MCA), which are the main frameworks employed to analyse the data in this thesis and which are discussed in Chapter 2.5, also emerged from the field of EM and share a similar perspective on identities (see e.g. Antaki & Widdicombe 1998a). Ethnomethodology (and also CA and MCA), regard identities as a temporally and locally occasioned interactional achievement and not as a set of essential features that the individual carries across contexts passively and latently. However, what sets EM apart from other anti-essentialist approaches to identities, such as social constructivism,¹⁷ (249p.; 111-14; 351-75) is that it takes a bottom-up approach to identities (Button 1991b; M.H. Goodwin 2006:13). That means that data are not interpreted as *products* of conceptual assumption (namely pre-formulated theories about the social processes that permeate the construction of identities) but the aim is to examine what can be discovered in and from the data about the *production* of witnessable events (Lee 1991:224ff.; Eglin &

¹⁷ Social constructivism emphasizes 'the political economic constraints imposed on processes of identity-making' and that the individual cannot select freely out of a system of malleable identities, since some identities are 'coercively applied' (e.g. race) (Kroskrity 1999:113). Thus, it conceptualises identities as the product of the internalisation of the social structure and are based on extra-situational ideologies and beliefs about social categories, and their features and status (Berger & Luckmann 1967:83; De Fina 2006:353-4).

Hester 2003:7). Therefore, in the present study the aim is not to theorise the function of ageing but to show what ageing and other categorisations are for members and how these categorisations inform locally ordered interactional practices and situated understanding of reality and the self (see e.g. Watson & Weinberg 1982).

Antaki and Widdicombe (1998a:5) give a list of ethnomethodological principles of analysing identities, which are also in line with MCA and CA research.

- 1) For a person to have an identity, they need to be cast into a category, where each category implies a set of features and *vice versa*.
- 2) Ascription/rejection of a category membership is done within a specific context: in local places and at certain times
- 3) Only the categories that people orient to/make relevant and are consequential are analysed.
- 4) Consequentiality is visible in people's exploitation of the structures of conversation.

As Antaki and Widdicombe's first principle suggests, a central notion within EM is that of *category membership*, which is crucially linked with social identities (see also Widdicombe 1998a). Social members construct categories bound to a set of features or attributions in interaction and employ them to categorise self and other (membership categories are further discussed in Chapter 2.5.1). Membership in a category is claimed, ascribed, contested, negotiated and ignored in local places and at certain times. This entails that identities are inextricably linked with and integral to the local context, even in its most specific sense, i.e. the just prior turn, and are to be understood so. Hence, issues about identities are addressed at the level of turn-by-turn unfolding of a conversation (Widdicombe 1998b:202). Also EM does not assume *a priori* the relevance of any identity, power relation, ideology or discourse and concentrates on what is readily *observable* in the concrete details of interaction, or as Moerman puts it the 'dry bones' of talk (Moerman 1990; see also Heritage 1984:6; Sharrock & Anderson 1986:113). Therefore, only identities which are demonstrably relevant but also procedurally consequential, i.e. they have a visible effect on the interaction, are examined (the notions of *relevance* and *procedural consequentiality* are explored in Chapter 2.5.3). Finally, conversation is regarded as a series of invariably relevant parts, and therefore if an identity is made relevant, that influences how the conversation pans out (Antaki & Widdicombe 1998a:8).

On the whole, ethnomethodology (and hence CA and MCA), regard identities as a discursive actions done in talk, and which are constituted by and constitutive of the specific interactional occasion (see also Edwards 1998). For EM, what is important about the self is how a member can constructively deploy discourse, for example, through the manipulation of categorisation devices. In fact, identity categories, their attributions and consequences are treated as knowable to the analyst only through the understanding of these phenomena displayed by members themselves (Antaki & Widdicombe 1998a:2; McKinlay & Dunnett 1998:37).

1.4 *Concluding remarks*

This chapter has provided an account of the theoretical framework of this research. The notion of social ageing has been fleshed out by examining different ideologies on ageing and how they affect the understanding of the ageing self as they have been reported by gerontology and psychology. After illustrating the area of peer-group socialisation, the focus shifted to the effects of culture on ageing and the aged. A presentation of relevant ethnographies that provide an insight into the dominant values and structures of communities similar to the one researched has been offered. Also the under-representation of older adults in local and international media and their stereotypical association with vulnerability and decline were found to be indicative of culturally sanctioned attitudes to ageing. Media or programmes specifically targeting third agers constituted exceptions to the stereotypical and sparse representation of older adults. Ethnographic studies, in conjunction with my observational fieldwork and media survey, aim at providing a more robust understanding of the sociocultural context and the participants' prior social experience.

Moreover, studies in language and ageing were taxonomised in three, broadly defined, categories: the deficit paradigm, its challenge and practice-based approaches. It has been shown that a conceptual and methodological shift from earlier normative accounts of age, based on experimental data, to more recent practice-based approaches which examine naturally emerging language use has occurred. Research within the deficit paradigm has conceptualised the language of older populations as a variety that is more or less 'deficient' and 'deviant' compared to the younger adult language norms. Research on stereotypical attitudes that underpin intergenerational communication has challenged the ageist assumptions of the deficit paradigm. Also, consideration of other demographic categories, such as ethnicity and level of education has shown that

characteristics of older adults' speech can be attributed to factors other than age-related decline. Finally, a variety of studies, grouped together as practice-based approaches, and which view age as a local construct, negotiated in the contingencies of situated activity have been explored. It has been argued that peer-group interaction remains a little investigated aspect of language and communication in later life.

The final section of the chapter has focused on the perspective on identities that informs this project. The ethnomethodological perspective on identities (broadly conceived to include CA and MCA) was reviewed. It has been shown, that with regard to identities, the aim is to examine how they translate 'into witnessable understandings and activities of social action' in and through talk, rather than products of conceptual assumptions (Lee 1991:224). EM is a data-driven, micro-analytic approach that treats identities as immanent parts of the observable processes of interaction and embedded in the local spatiotemporal context. This treatment of identities places this project in the wave of practice-based approaches to language and ageing. In the subsequent chapter a description of the participants, the data, and the collection methods is given. Furthermore, based on the framework developed in this chapter, the main methodologies employed in the data analyses are illustrated.

2 DATA AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter covers two areas: the description of the data and the methods of analysis. The first two sections deal with issues of defining the participants as well as the data and explicate the methods, processes and phases of data collection. Also, the system followed in transcribing the audio data is discussed. Subsequently, background information about the group studied, their relationships and practices and individual information on each informant are supplied. Next, the focus shifts to the analytical framework examining the main methodology applied in the analyses of this research: Membership Categorisation Analysis (MCA). An account of this framework, its potentials and the way it is employed in the analysis are provided. Finally a Conversation Analytic vocabulary that enriches the analyst's capacity to describe ordinary interactions is presented.

2.1 *Defining how old is old*

When deciding about the research participants, the first question that arose was 'how old is old?' The issue of who can be defined as an older subject has been raised quite early on in gerontology (see Seltzer 1975). The argument has been that there is nothing intrinsic about being old that differentiates older from younger populations in an easily categorisable way (Nussbaum & Coupland 2004a:xii). Also the heterogeneity of people categorised as 'elderly' or 'older adults' and the difficulties this imposes on defining old age have been widely attested (Butler 1975; Andrews 1991:4; N. Coupland et al. 1991a:58; Nussbaum & Coupland 2004a:xii; Settersten 2005). In addition, heterogeneity in social, physical and mental functioning of over 60s and in social perceptions about them has triggered the delineation of different 'stages' of old age: e.g. 'young-old' or 'third agers' and 'old-old' or '4th agers'. There is, however, discrepancy in the literature about the cut-off point between the two stages; 'young-old' are defined as individuals from 60 to 74 or from 65 to 75 or from 70 to 84 and 'old-old' can be adults above 75 or 80 or 85 (Hummert et al. 2004; O'Hanlow & Coleman 2004; Pecchioni et al. 2004:173; Estes 2005:552; Westerhof & Tulle 2007).

On the other hand, it has been argued that chronological age is a poor predictor of ageing-related behaviours, and other criteria such as age by experience (a concept of developmental psychology), contextual age (i.e. levels of interpersonal interaction, mobility, life satisfaction, socioeconomic status), social age identity (subjective

perception of self as member of an age group), in addition to biological/functional definitions of old age (biological decline that affects one's capacity to work) have been proposed (Butler 1975:18; Pecchioni et al. 2004; Rawlins 2004:279).

A more radical conceptualisation of age proposes that ageing is in fact exclusively culturally constructed. Ageing is either wholly disassociated from physical decline or it is associated with the body but the body and physical change do not exist prior to or outside language ('critical paradigm', see Taylor 1994; De Bot & Makoni 2005:133). Although such approaches have influenced studies about age stereotypes in areas such as literature, paintings, print advertisements, policies and theories (Taylor 1994; J. Coupland 2003; Hepworth 2004a), this radical deconstruction of age has not fed into sociolinguistic studies of age and ageing. It is interesting to note that even in practice-based approaches to age and language, which I have discussed in the previous chapter (see Chapter 1.2.3), the chronological criterion has not altogether been abolished. In fact, researchers overwhelmingly categorise informants as older adults on the basis of chronological age (often over 65).

Although a chronological definition of old age is an imprecise indicator of social, mental and physical status, and one of the many metrics that can be imposed on self and others, it is a convenient criterion for analytical purposes (cf. Butler 1975:7; J. Coupland 2009a:855). Therefore, I have decided to choose the participants of this study based, on the first instance, on a chronological criterion. I decided to refrain from dividing my participants into young-old and old-old (as there is little consensus in the literature regarding what that means in terms of chronological age and psychosocial functioning) and instead to define as older adults individuals of 65 years old and over, as this is the highest age for the commencement of third age in social and public policy documents in Cyprus.¹⁸ However, the friendship group researched, in addition to the members over 65, also consisted of a 62-year-old woman. I have chosen to include her in my participants firstly because, although she does not fulfil my 65+ criterion, she is considered very much an integral part of this group of friends and secondly because she was present in many of the recordings.

¹⁸ See e.g. a proposed policy for third agers, during the presidential elections of 2008: <http://www.kasoulides.com/index.php?id=351> (accessed 23/3/11)

2.2 *Collection method and processes*

The main corpus of data consists of self-recordings of the daily interactions within the group. A full conversation can be found in Appendix 7.5.1. The method of self-recording deprives the researcher of the opportunity to observe the local context and different paralinguistic elements, such as gaze, and sitting arrangements, which shape the discursive event. However, to compensate for this shortcoming, some conversations were conducted with the researcher present (only some of these have been audio recorded) and additional field work, interacting with the participants in their environments, was carried out. More specifically, the informants were observed in their home environments, when they were interacting with family and friends, at big gatherings to commemorate deceased husbands and during church services. Another disadvantage of the method is that it could result in data not being recorded and stored properly, especially since the participants were not very familiar with digital technology. For this reason, the option of a second and third phase of additional recordings was employed, to ensure sufficient quantity of data collected.

On the other hand, the method of self-recordings minimises the observer's intrusion and effect on the situated activity, and therefore offers a partial solution to the observer's paradox. The observer's paradox, coined by William Labov, describes the contradiction between the aim of examining how people talk and behave, when they are not systematically observed, and the fact that such data can only be obtained by systematic observation (see e.g. Labov 1997:395; Cukor-Avila 2000). Minimising the researcher's intrusion is particularly significant in intimate conversations between confidants, where an out-group observer might militate against obtaining the most casual talk-in-interaction.

This research was approved by the Humanities Research Ethics Panel of King's College London (Protocol number: REP-H/07/08-6) and the conversational data were collected, with the full, informed consent of all interlocutors.¹⁹ Data collection occurred in different phases between January 2008 and August 2009. The first phase comprises recordings of the interactions of the group over a period of one and a half months, whenever the group met. Since the data collected were insufficient, additional self-

¹⁹ The information sheet given to the participants as well as the consent and copyright forms they signed can be found in Appendix 7.1.

recordings were made at later stages. More specifically, self-recordings were made in three phases:

- First Phase: January and February 2008 (length of data collected: 7h15min)
- Second Phase: May and June 2008 (length: 3h39min)
- Third Phase: March 2009 (length: 7h6min)

Self-recordings of the group amount to a total of 18 hours. Because the object of research was the language of older women in peer-group conversations, only interactional sequences, where exclusively older women were present (albeit main or peripheral participants), were regarded as data. A table indicating in detail the time, place and participants of each meeting recorded can be found in Appendix 7.2.1. Gregoria is the member who conducted the group recordings, therefore only the meetings she attended were recorded. The following table shows how many hours each informant participated in the self-recordings (for further information on each participant see Section 2.4, below).

<i>Participants</i>	<i>Hours of participation in conversations</i>
MAIN MEMBERS	
Gregoria	18
Loulla	16
Myria	16
Charoulla	10
Tasoulla	7
PERIPHERAL MEMBERS	
Ketsina	4
Olivia	2
Anthoulla	0.5
N=18hours	

Table I: Participation of main and peripheral informants in the conversations

Fieldwork was conducted in January 2008 and in the summers of 2008 and 2009. Ethnographic methods of data collection were employed, which entailed participant observation in their natural settings and participation in their daily activities (Leeds-Hurwitz 2005; M.H. Goodwin 2006:16). Fieldwork provided additional information for the meaning of the social interactions (for the members), the material conditions of

their everyday practices, members' relations with their families and other friends as well as information about peer socialisation of other older women in the local community.²⁰ Documentation was made primarily through field notes (and some audio-recorded conversations, where the researcher was present) and was supplemented by later interviews with the participants to gather additional information about their life, social activity, interests and understanding of age and ageing.

The interviews were informal and open-ended (Briggs 1986:40; Potter & Hepburn 2005:282). By informal, open-ended interviews I mean interactions where the researcher had drafted a list of possible questions to make sure the different topics of potential interest for this research were covered by all participants. The list of these questions can be found in Appendix 7.3. However, most of the questions asked were follow-ups to the participants' responses, and the informants were encouraged to elaborate on their answers, provide more details, examples, narrate specific events and lead the conversation to the topics they wished to discuss. To ensure a relaxed context, the informants were asked to choose the place and the time of the interview, and all opted for their own houses. The interviews were presented to the informants as informal chats, and although the researcher made an effort for one-to-one conversations, on one occasion (in the interviews with Tasoulla), another participant (Gregoria) was also present for part of the interaction. They were conducted with the participants in July and August 2008 (total duration: four hours).

Following Briggs's guidelines for interview design, the interviews were conducted after the first two phases of the self-recordings and big part of the field work were completed, so that the researcher could develop an understanding of the participants' communicative processes and the categories they use. Also, the interviews were audio-recorded to preserve not only the referential content but also the form of talk; video-recordings were not used as they would be more intrusive and enhance participants' self-consciousness (Briggs 1986:100). In addition, following Potter and Hepburn's recommendations for the analysis of such interviews (2005), and in line with the analytical framework of this research, the interviews were treated as interactional events, where the meaning is co-constructed by the researcher and the interviewee in the situated activity. In the examination of the interviews I refer to myself as 'the researcher', as I do not want to advocate superior understanding of the text, rather I

²⁰ For the relevance of ethnographic fieldwork in EM studies, see Section 2.5.3, below.

base the analysis from what is observable in the turn-by-turn organisation (following e.g. Paoletti 1998a:18).

Also, to better understand the relations between the participants of the group and their social life, the main informants were asked to fill in a log of social interactions for two weeks (16 April 09-30 April 09) recording all telephone and face to face interactions they had with friends and acquaintances, apart from children and grandchildren, exceeding five minutes in duration (for a template of the log see Appendix 7.4). All but one of the primary participants completed this task. Following the log submissions, conversations between the researcher and each participant, which were not audio-recorded, took place in August of 2009. At these follow-up interviews, the participants were asked about their relationships with the people they recorded in the logs, as well as some additional questions about their engagement with technology, their political affiliation, and general social life. I chose not to audio-record this set and to keep detailed written notes instead, because my aim was to use them primarily as a source of factual information, about who the people noted in the logs were, and also because I wanted to ensure the participants felt comfortable enough to answer the sensitive question of political affiliation.²¹ I refer to this set of conversations as ‘second’ or ‘follow-up’ interviews; when I refer to ‘interviews’, with no qualifier, I mean the first set of (audio-recorded) interviews. The following table gives an outline of the data collected and analysed for this project.

<i>Topic</i>	<i>Type of data</i>	<i>Method of collection</i>	<i>Collection period</i>	<i>Length of data</i>
Everyday conversations	Conversational data	Self audio-Recordings	Jan-Feb 08, May-Jun 08, Mar 09	18 h
First interviews	Conversational data	Audio-recordings	Jul-Aug 08	4 h
Participants’ logs of social interactions	Written reports	Self recording	16-30 Apr 09	19 pages

²¹ In fact, although the conversations were not recorded all participants were very hesitant to disclose their party affiliations.

Second interviews	Written notes	Written note-taking by the researcher	Aug 09	14 pages
Field observations	Written notes, audio data	Participant observations (audio-recording, note-taking)	Jan 08, Jul-Aug 08, Aug 09	4 h audio data; 57 pages

Table II: Overview of data collected

2.3 *Transcription and translation conventions*

It has been shown that transcription is a selective process and every transcription system is inherently partial, biased and ideological, in as much as it reflects the theoretical goals of the transcriber (Ochs 1979). Bucholtz (2000) has argued that a phonetic transcription gives a technical aura to the transcripts but might also imply that members language is ‘exotic and alien’, accessible only to specialists (2000:1453). Also, since the focus of my analysis is not on the details of pronunciation, but the categorial and sequential organisation of talk, a phonetic transcription would not only potentially alienate the reader but is also, as Goodwin has noted, unnecessarily burdensome for this sort of analysis (C. Goodwin 1981:47). Therefore, I have chosen to use the Greek alphabet in my transcripts, because it is, in Bucholtz’s terms a more *naturalised transcription* (Bucholtz 2000:1439). A naturalized transcription conforms to the orthographic written discourse conventions, more so than other types of transcription (e.g. a phonetic transcription) and in this case would be more easily recognisable by speakers of CG and especially SMG.

I have chosen to represent the data in standard Modern Greek spelling, and the CG phonemes in the most commonly used, although far from standardised, orthographic conventions (see e.g. Τσιπλάκου 2004; Pavlou 2004).²² The Cypriot Greek dialect (CG)²³ includes the postalveolar fricatives [ʒ] and [ʝ] that do not constitute part of the phonological inventory of Standard Modern Greek (SMG) (Papapavlou 2002:346).²⁴ Following orthographic conventions, these phonemes are represented with a letter of the

²² The orthographic conventions used here are also often followed, with adaptation, in the representation of (oral) literature and testimonies, in Cypriot Greek, in the press, in school textbooks and in certain journals and anthologies. See, for example, the daily poem in the column ‘Τα καθημερινά’/*Ta kathimerina* (*The daily*) in the Cypriot newspaper *Πολίτης*/*Politis*; the journal ‘Λαογραφική Κύπρος’/*Laografiki Kipros* (*Folklore Cyprus*), published between 1971 and 2003; and Καλλίνικος 1951, a seminal collection of Cypriot folk songs.

²³ For a brief discussion of the linguistic situation in Greek-speaking Cyprus see Section 2.4.9, below.

²⁴ For the phonetic symbols, conventions outlined in the *Handbook of the International Phonetic Association* (1999) are followed.

Greek alphabet, modified with a down arrowhead on top of it. In particular, the CG voiceless palatal fricative [ç] is represented as ž (for example: [çɔ] is transcribed as 'žɔ') and the voiced palatal fricative [ʝ] is transcribed as ȝ (e.g. 'ȝóna' for /'ɔnɐ/). Also, gemminates consonants are transcribed as double letters, e.g. /l:/ is written as 'λλ' (for a discussion on geminates in CG see Armosti 2007; Arvaniti 2010:24). Phonetic transcriptions of selected extracts are also provided in the Appendix, in order to better examine register shifts between different linguistic varieties.

For the annotation of the transcriptions, the system designed by Gail Jefferson (see Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974:731-4; Schegloff 2007b:265-9) was followed, with some adaptations, and a list of transcription symbols, as they are employed in this thesis, can be found on page 9. Following Jefferson's system, punctuation symbols are not used to indicate intonation exclusively. Each conversation recorded has a unique number and a full list of all audio recorded data, with numeration, is provided in the Appendix 7.1. Self-recorded conversations are noted with the letter 'A' followed by a numerical (indexing the particular meeting), audio-recorded interviews with 'B', plus number (indicating the specific interview) and recordings of the radio show 'Χωρίς Ηλικία' / *Without Age* with 'C', plus a number (showing the particular show). In the data excerpts quoted in the subsequent chapters the numeration of the conversation/broadcast is indicated at the end of each excerpt. At the beginning and end of each excerpt, at the right hand site, temporal references (e.g. 7.08) show the start and end time of the sequence at hand, in relation to the full recorded conversation. The transcription was not done using transcription software, but was aided by sound manipulation software ('Audacity 1.3 Beta').

All materials are presented in the original language, followed by a translation in English as a separate block of text, which is one of the acceptable ways of presenting data in ethnomethodology and conversation analysis (see e.g. Have 2007:109) and in, my opinion, easier for the reader who wants to follow either the original or the translated text. The numbering of the line in the original normally coincides with the numbering of the translation. The analysis was made on the original transcripts and the audio data and not on the translations. Small chunks of data given within the text are in quotation marks, if they are in the original, or in italics, if they are in translation or transliteration. An effort has been made to balance between translating the original as faithfully as possible and providing a translation that makes sense in the destination

language. Therefore, whenever a verbatim translation would seem ‘unnatural’ in the destination language, I opted for a slightly freer translation that conveyed the meaning, the style and the organisation of the original (e.g. the disfluencies of talk), as much as possible. For words that there is no direct English equivalent and a paraphrase or circumlocution would not benefit the analysis, as is the case with certain old-age categorisations, transliterations in the Roman alphabet are employed in the translation text and the meaning of these words is discussed in the analysis. A list of untranslated words can be found on page 10.

2.4 *Participant profiles*

The main informants are an all-female group of elderly Greek Cypriot friends with a long interactional history. I have chosen to work with healthy, community residents participants because independently living individuals constitute the majority of the elderly today (Wilson 1991:42). A description of the group of informants is given below. For confidentiality and anonymity purposes, personal-identifiable information in the data has been altered and pseudonyms for the participants and other persons referred to, as well as places are used. Antaki’s guidelines for anonymising data were largely followed (Antaki n.d.).

The group comprises of Gregoria (79), Myria (72), Loulla (72), Charoulla (73) and Tasoulla (62), residing in a town I call Atalanta, a suburb of Nicosia, the capital of Cyprus. Although now Atalanta has expanded and is a developed, expensive and central area, when the informants were young adults, it was still a small village, where all inhabitants knew each other. Now all participants live in the same neighbourhood and only Tasoulla lives a few blocks down the road, but still in the same part of the town. In Appendix 7.7 (p.418) a map of the neighbourhood, indicating the participants’ houses can be found. It is evident, in the map that Loulla, Myria, Gregoria and Charoulla reside in very close vicinity. This is in line with earlier ethnographic research on Cyprus, but also other ‘traditional societies’, which found that women’s friendships are constrained by geographical proximity (for Cyprus see Chapter 1.1.6, especially the discussion on Arnold 1982; see also Maclagan 1994 about similar practices in a Yemeni community).²⁵

²⁵ I use the term ‘traditional society’ cautiously and not as representative of an objective, quantifiable reality. I follow Appadurai (1996) who mentions that electronic mediation and mass migration are the larger forces in shaping a collective imagination of globalisation and ostensibly modern societies, as

2.4.1 Gregoria

Gregoria (initial in transcripts: Γ for the original and G for the translations) has been a widow for nearly 30 years, was 79 when the recordings began and has lived most of her life in Atalanta, where the data collection took place. Being the sixth of seven girls, she was brought up in poverty.²⁶ She moved into her current neighbourhood when she got married at seventeen, and a couple of months later she had her first daughter. Within five years she gave birth to her other two daughters.

While raising her daughters she also worked doing the laundry and ironing at a British military camp. Meanwhile her husband worked as a stoker at a dry-cleaners' and later converted the two front rooms of the house and the yard into a coffee shop. Gregoria would work with her husband at the coffee shop, and then when the shop got less busy she started working in the morning as a cleaner and a cook at diplomats' houses. There she learned German, French and Greek recipes, which she still cooks and shares with friends and family. When her husband fell ill, she stopped working to look after him. He passed away soon after, leaving her a widow at forty nine. She then returned to part-time work as a cleaner, childminder or in the kitchen of a nearby restaurant, where she introduced some of the recipes she learned at her previous employers.

Gregoria has three married daughters who live, with their families, in the neighbourhood and seven grown up grandchildren and two great grand children. Her older daughter got married when she was a student in Bulgaria and had a son, Vakis, shortly after. Gregoria brought Vakis to Cyprus when he was a baby, partly because his parents were still university students and raised him, with her husband, until he was seven, when he went to live with his parents in Cuba, his father's country. In the interview, Gregoria gets very emotional when she talks about Vakis, and from the fieldwork it is obvious that she is very attached to him. At the time of the recordings Vakis was 39, twice divorced and living in an apartment in the same town, and Gregoria took upon herself to look after him. Thus she would cook lunch for him and do his washing up and ironing. She characterises him in the interview as her

opposed to ostensibly traditional societies. Therefore, societies, with limited usage of electronic media and limited mobility, are 'traditional' from the perspective of members who understand their world, through their collective imagination and cultural practices, as modern and globalised; hence persons who are taken to be members of traditional societies do not necessarily understand themselves as such.

²⁶ According to the Cypriot tradition, it is the bride's family who is supposed to provide the house (or at least the piece of land for it) for the newlyweds, so that adds an extra financial burden on girls' parents.

‘οικότροφος’ (*boarder*). Gregoria also participated in caring for all her grandchildren and great-grand children. In fact when she was seventy and her second oldest grand-son had a child in Athens, she moved in with him and his wife, for a couple of years to help look after the baby. A year before the recordings started, she was looking after her second great-grandchild during the day.

She has travelled to many countries (Bulgaria, Russia, Greece, Israel, Palestine, Egypt etc.), mostly as part of organised tourist groups, and in some of the trips she went with Loulla. She has not travelled abroad for eight years before the data collection began, and also commented on her inability to travel in the self-recordings (see e.g. Excerpt 4-4, p. 179). In the interview she reported that at about 77 she felt a big change in herself, when she developed diabetes and high blood pressure, and subsequently had to start taking loads of pills and lost a lot of weight. Gregoria constructs in the interview her health issues, her ‘anorexia’ (as she calls her lack of appetite), her high consumption of medication, and the tension brought into her family (because of an argument between two of her sons-in-law) as reasons for the change she felt after 77. She has chronic knee problems, problems with eyesight (she had two eye operations during the second phase and after the third phase of the recordings that improved her condition) and during the second phase of the recordings she developed a hearing problem.

Although she largely prefers to be called Gregoria, other participants (Myria, Loulla and Charoulla) sometimes call her by the idiomatic Gliorou (pseudonyms are used here that preserve the colouring and the commonness or rarity of the real names, following Antaki n.d.). She has reported having a closest relationship with Loulla and also Myria, which extends beyond the pre-arranged coffee meetings and interaction at the church, and this is also confirmed by the participant observation and the interactions she recorded. In fact, when Loulla is on her balcony or passes by her yard and Gregoria is in her garden, they can see each other and often talk. Other people Gregoria keeps company with are Tasoulla, Charoulla and Olivia, whom she meets once a week at the church and whom she sometimes invites at the pre-arranged coffee meetings she organises. Also in the first, audio-recorded interview she reports that she enjoys the company of her female cousins, and as shown from the fieldwork they attend each other’s memorial gatherings. From her log of social interactions, it is also evident that she has a couple more female friends (‘φλενάδες’/*girlfriends*, ‘φίλη’/*friend*, as she

categorises them in the log and the follow-up interview) one of whom she regularly sits next to and talks with during the church service. She sometimes socialises with them outside the church (e.g. at ‘μνημόσυνα’/*memorial services*) and they exchange baked goods at the church (e.g. homemade bread, cheese pies, and cakes).

2.4.2 Loulla

Loulla (initial in transcripts: Λ for the original and L for the translations) is the only participant of the group whose husband is still alive. She was 73 when recordings began, and is agile and dynamic. Like Gregoria, she has three daughters and eight grandchildren. After she got married and had her first daughter at eighteen, she emigrated with her husband to Belgian Congo for five years. There, their second daughter was born and they lived from the produce of the land and the jungle, 50km away from the nearest neighbour. In 1960, when the country gained its independence, Loulla and her two daughters fled to Cyprus as political refugees and her husband was persecuted. A year later she joined her husband in Johannesburg, South Africa, where the couple set up and ran two grocery shops. They had such a good life in Congo that when they moved to South Africa, they were longing to go back to Congo and not Cyprus, as Loulla mentioned at her interview. In Johannesburg, Loulla worked long hours running one of the family-owned grocery shops and could not see much of her three daughters, a memory that brings tears to her eyes in the interview.

In the early 1990s, she returned to Cyprus with her husband and younger daughter who got married and stayed there. All three of her daughters were married off at eighteen. Now, two of her daughters reside in Atlanta; the youngest one is married and the middle one is divorced. Her eldest daughter is remarried, lives in South Africa and at the time of the data collection was considering moving to Cyprus. Loulla has lost one grandson to cancer and mentioned in the interview that this was the worst blow she has ever suffered. She is closest with her youngest daughter with whom she talks on the phone on a daily basis and meets a few times a week and considers her most trusted confidant. She meets with her elder daughter who lives abroad less frequently, every few years when she visits them in Cyprus. Every Saturday, her children and grandchildren visit for lunch. Although all participants cook for their family members, Loulla is the only participant to regularly host such gatherings of her whole family (cooking for family members is explored in Chapter 5.9).

Loulla takes pride in having no chronic illness and likes knitting with '*smili*' (crochet needle), reading literature books (which she repeatedly emphasises at the interview), cooking and going on trips. Between the second and the third phase of the recordings she travelled to South Africa, for the first time since she moved back to Cyprus, to attend a family wedding. Also just after the third phase of the recordings she went on a cruise to the Greek islands with Tasoulla. Every summer she goes on holidays with her husband to a sea-side resort in Cyprus, and they also make shorter trips to the sea and the mountains. Her circle of friends includes women she met through the church circle. The *circle*/‘κύκλος’ or *catechism*/‘κατηχητικό’ are weekly religious classes for women conducted at the local church’s premises. When she wants to have a good time, she reports at the interview that she turns to her friends, Gregoria, Myria, and Tasoulla and also a couple of women she met through the circle. From the logs of social interaction, it is evident that she has a very frequent contact with all the other main participants, through telephone and face-to-face interactions.

2.4.3 Myria

Myria (initial in transcripts: M), 72, has been a widow for over ten years and has one unmarried daughter who lives permanently in Greece and visits her three times a year. She is also from Atalanta. She is the seventh of nine children and grew up in poverty, like the other participants. When her older brothers started emigrating to South Africa to work, they would send back some money, so she did not face as many deprivations as her older siblings (only three of her siblings did not emigrate and stayed in Cyprus). At twenty she got married, the following year she had her only daughter and seven years later they moved into her current house. Her husband first worked at a supermarket and then got a job as a civil servant in a psychiatric clinic. Myria worked from home as a seamstress and she also looked after her elderly parents and aunties. When her daughter went to Greece to study, she started child minding and she helped raise more than twenty kids in total. As soon as her daughter completed her studies she returned to Cyprus, but only for three years, and then, unbeknown to her parents, she applied for a teaching position in Greece which she got and she moved back there. Myria in the interview said that it was hard for her when her daughter left Cyprus, which coincided with her mother’s death.

Her daughter only came back to Cyprus when it was her turn to be appointed as a teacher in Atalanta. Two years later her husband fell ill and died within three months.

Myria reports that this was really hard on her because they loved each other a lot. Soon after her husband passed away and despite Myria's expectations, her daughter decided to return permanently to Greece. Myria evaluated this (in the interview) as a blow equally severe to losing her husband. Subsequently, in the interview she said that she never expressed it (i.e. the extent of her pain because her daughter moved away) to her friends and family, or even her daughter (see Excerpt 7-2, p. 334, in the Appendix).

During the first phase she was suffering from intense back pains and had mobility problems. This got much better when she had a spine operation before the second phase of the recordings. Also she had a major heart operation just before the third phase of the recordings. Most of the meetings, therefore, of the third phase took place at Myria's house, where the other participants visited her to see how she was doing and to offer some help. Her relatives and also a part-time domestic helper assisted her during the post-surgery period. By the end of the recordings, she had already recovered from her second surgery.

In the fieldwork, Myria is the participant who always appears to be smiling and in a good mood. To date, she is very close with some of the children she cared for and they visit her regularly. She also has other relatives (siblings, nieces etc.) residing in close vicinity. Myria is the member who recorded the highest number of interactions in the log the participants completed. She appeared to be socialising with a wide variety of women (old classmates, older and younger relatives, neighbours, women whose children she cared for in the past, children she looked after), partly because at the time of the log-keeping she was still recovering from her heart surgery and that triggered more people to visit her and call to see how she was doing. Myria used to travel to Greece every year, for a few months, to stay with her daughter, but the last couple of years before the data collection started, she stopped going because of health problems and surgical operations. Furthermore, when her daughter comes to Cyprus they go to different trips to the mountains or the beach, where they are often joined by some of the participants, other family members and friends.

2.4.4 Charoulla

Charoulla (initial in transcripts: X for the original and C for the translations), 73, has two children and three grandchildren. She was also born to a very poor family in a town of North Cyprus. She left primary school after completing year five (age thirteen) and

then became an apprentice seamstress with three different mentors for four years and, after a lot of hard work and hardship, she eventually gained her diploma in sewing. Subsequently, she moved to Atalanta to work at the British bases and later met her husband, a local carpenter. They then got married and had two children both of whom they sent to Cyprus' most prestigious private school. Charoulla would only work as a seamstress from home. Meanwhile, because of the war of 1974, her parental home fell into the zone controlled by the Turkish army, and she could only return to visit when the borders opened, thirty years later. Her husband, on the other hand, suffered from alcoholism and depression and ended up committing suicide when Charoulla was fifty years old. She reports that this has hurt her severely (*‘εν τούτον που σε:: σκοτώννει τζαι σε:: κάμνει χώμαν που λαλούμεν’/that is wha::t kills you a::nd brings you down as we say*) and aged her. She started working full-time to get out of the house and she has now managed to get over it. In her early sixties, when she developed high blood pressure, she decided to quit work.

Her daughter is married and lives with her family in a town in the same district. Her son is divorced with a grown up daughter, and now resides, on his own, in an apartment beneath Charoulla's. Because of health issues, he is unable to work now and, as Charoulla reports, at the interview, *he is in a bad shape psychologically* (*‘ψυχολογικά είναι χάλια τζαι τξείνος’*). Charoulla looks after him: she cooks for him, and cleans his house. In the self-recordings she is the least talkative participant. She keeps company mainly with the other participants, Tasoulla, Loulla, Myria, Gregoria, and also Olivia, and a couple of other female neighbours. She also has acquaintances from the church 'circle', but they do not socialise outside the church.

When asked, at the interview, if she observed any changes with age she said that she gets tired more easily and does not do as much anymore. This was also discussed in the self recording (see Excerpt 5-16, p. 248). She claims in the interview that she started feeling this change when her husband died, yet the soul did not age.²⁷ She adds that she likes to dress up, go out, and talk with her friends. During the participant observation other members reported that she would say 'I haven't died yet' and hence would join in the trips. During the third phase of the recordings she was seriously considering going

²⁷ In the interview Charoulla mentions: *‘η ψυχή εν γερνά που λαλούσι δεν γερνά η ψυχή. το σώμα: αδυνατεί. αλλά η ψυχή σκέφτεται όπως εσκέφετεουν πρώτα’/the soul does not age as they say it does not age the soul. the body: weakens. but the soul thinks like it was thinking before*. The reference to a youthful soul in an aged body makes relevant the mask of ageing motif (see Chapter 1.1.3).

on a cruise with Loulla and Tasoulla, but following her daughter's advice and after seeing a dream with Archangel Michael (an object of repeated teasing in the self-recordings) she decided she'd better not join. She also enjoys doing some gardening and sometimes goes on day-trips with the other participants and attends the weekly catechism classes. Charoulla now does only a bit of sewing, but reports that she enjoys cleaning the house. She has no chronic condition apart from high blood pressure.

2.4.5 Tasoulla

Tasoulla (initial in transcripts: T), 62, is their 'young friend' as they call her in the self-recordings (cf. Excerpt 3-2, p. 103). She comes from a village in North Cyprus, where she was born, raised, got married and had her son and daughter. Her husband was a baker, and with his brother owned a bakery where they worked with their wives and some employees. Following the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974, Tasoulla had to flee her house with her husband and two very young children. They left their town thinking it was only for a few days, so everything was left behind, including the large, newly-built, fully-equipped bakery. They ended up in a mountainous village to protect themselves from the bombings. Tasoulla and her family stayed in that village for more than six years working at a bakery they opened there, serving other refugees and the local community.

When the business was no longer viable, they moved to the capital Nicosia and her husband and his brother took over a bakery there. For the past twenty years Tasoulla has been living in her current house. She was working with her husband at the bakery all night and morning, and, as she reports in the interview, she did not even know her neighbours ('για: τους γειτόνους εν τους έξερα'/*abou:t the neighbours I didn't know them*). When her husband retired, they closed the bakery down. Just before the recordings started, Tasoulla returned to work and began working three days a week at a local confectionery. Her daughter lives with her two sons and husband in a house above Tasoulla's house and her son lives with his wife in a different town, managing a tourist resort. She helped raise her two grandsons, especially the youngest one, and now has to look after them only occasionally.

Five years before the recordings started her husband passed away. In the interview she constructs that as a very painful experience; see Excerpt 4-8, p. 190. Since the loss of her husband she started socialising more regularly with the other participants ('με τις

φιλανάδες’/with the girlfriends, as she categorises the other main participants), popping in for impromptu visits (at Loulla’s and Myria’s) and organised coffee meetings. Being the youngest, is the one who usually makes the coffee when the group meets in the different houses. Since she lives a bit further away and is the only participant who drives, she visits the other members more than they visit her. Tasoulla also has other acquaintances from the women’s church ‘circle’, but, as she reports in the follow-up interview and as is evident from the log she completed, they do not socialise outside the church. She is also close, as is also apparent in the log, with a couple of her neighbours (both in their seventies), including Olivia, one of the secondary participants of this research. Other acquaintances she socialises with, but less frequently, are two old colleagues, two *koumeres*,²⁸ old neighbours and her sisters.

Her only health issue is high blood sugar. In the interview she lists as her interests knitting, working, sweeping the road and other house chores, and confectionery. She also goes travelling abroad and spends most of the summers at a sea-side resort, which her daughter-in-law owns and her son manages. After the second phase of the recordings she went with her sister and brother-in-law to a Greek island for holidays and the next summer with Loulla on a cruise, again to the Greek islands. She reports that she is not yet a third ager and especially when she is among others she feels younger and livelier.²⁹

2.4.6 Peripheral members

Also there are some peripheral participants, who are acquainted with the main informants, live in the same town and attend the same church. They are not invited to most of the coffee gatherings, but attended some of the recordings. These informants are Ketsina, Olivia and Anthoulla.

Ketsina

Ketsina (initial in transcripts: K) was seventy-five when the recordings began and lives in the same neighbourhood as the other participants. She is a widow with grown up, married children and is responsible for cooking lunch for them and also looking after

²⁸ Literally: maid of honour or one’s child’s godmother. It is regarded as a kinship tie maintained throughout one’s lifetime. The male equivalent is *kumbaros* (best man).

²⁹ She mentions in the interview that ‘με παρέαν αυτήν αισθάνομαι πκιο: ξεχνιούνται ούλα τα: (.) τζαι νοιώθω πκιο: νέα ας πούμε πκιο: ζωηρή πκιο: (.)’/with company this I feel more: everything the:: is forgotten (.) and I feel more: young let’s say more: lively more: (.)

her grandchildren daily. She is a very close friend to Myria and they meet and talk on the phone on a daily basis, as is also apparent in Myria's log of social interactions. Most of the recordings she attends take place at Myria's house. Loulla also reports in her second interview that Ketsina is her good friend, and they got closer after Ketsina became a widow. She participates in three recordings. In the follow-up interviews, when Tasoulla refers to the 'φιλένάδες' (*girlfriends*), she also includes Ketsina and Olivia (see below) in the group.

Olivia

Olivia (initial in transcripts: O) is a neighbour and close friend of Tasoulla. In fact, Tasoulla characterises her as being in their circle ('μες τον κύκλον μας'/in *our circle*), in the follow-up interviews. She was seventy three when the recordings started, is a widow, and participated in two conversations: one of which took place at her house, when the participants visited her to congratulate her on her grand-daughter's wedding. Although she might get invited to some organised coffee meetings, and to memorial gatherings, she only has close relations with Tasoulla (i.e. exchange telephone calls and impromptu meetings). Apart from Tasoulla, she is the only participant who wears trousers. She often goes for a few months to England to stay with her grand-daughters who study there and cooks for them. When she is in Cyprus she is responsible for cooking lunch for her children and their families. She is also good at sewing and helps Tasoulla with her handiwork.

Anthoulla

Anthoulla (initial in transcripts: A) is in her late seventies and is Gregoria's sister-in-law (their late husbands were brothers). She is also acquainted with the other participants. She lives in Atalanta, but at a different part of town (old part). She only attended one impromptu meeting at Gregoria's house after she visited the cooperative bank, opposite Gregoria's house. The two women meet at the church, but visit each other's house very rarely (e.g. at memorial gatherings). She is not referred to as member of the friendship circle by any of the informants.

Anna

Anna (real name; initial in transcripts: A) is the researcher. She was 24-25 years old at the time of the recordings. She grew up in the neighbourhood that the main participants reside and has known many of the informants since her childhood. Although she is not

a member of this friendship group, she took part as an observant-participant in some of the group's meetings, for the purpose of this research, and conducted the interviews with the participants. The following general observations about the participants do not apply to her.

All participants have only had a few years of formal education, which is typical of their cohort, come from relatively poor families, and have worked full or part time or helped their husbands with their businesses, while also raising children. They got married in their late teens or early twenties and are now either married (with the same husband) or widowed. All except Myria have grandchildren and Gregoria great-grand children, as well. The participants now live comfortably³⁰ off of their state pensions and other sources of income, in privately-owned houses on their own or with their husband. They are in charge of their household and regularly perform domestic activities, such as cooking and cleaning. Loulla and Tasoulla also knit with a medium-size, metallic crochet-needle 'σμίλι'/*smili*, whereas Gregoria and Charoulla have given up on it in the past few years, because, as they report, they no longer have nimble hands and sharp eyesight (see Appendix 7.7, p. 418, for images of *smili*). The participants, at the time of the recordings, did not have grandchild care responsibilities, with the exception of Tasoulla who would sometimes look after her grandchildren. All five informants reported that their daughter is their closest confidant and this was confirmed by field observations. This resonates with previous ethnographic and anthropological work on Cypriot communities, which has been discussed in Chapter 1.1.6.

As to media usage, they do not use computers and internet, and Loulla is the only participant who regularly uses her mobile phone (she started using it four years before the recordings). Myria and Tasoulla were also given mobile phones but they do not use them and Gregoria only started using her mobile phone once the data collection was completed. Fieldwork showed that they all watch television and listen to the radio every day. They read magazines and Loulla also reads popular literature books. Only Tasoulla drives a car, which makes her significantly more mobile than the rest of the participants. Therefore, she is able to be part of the friendship circle, although she does not reside in very close vicinity with the other participants. Loulla has a driving licence but has never driven since she got her licence; nevertheless her husband is still alive

³⁰ Members orient to their current financial situation as comfortable, both in the interviews and in the self-recordings.

and can drive her around. The participants do not use public transport and, with the exception of Tasoulla, spend the vast majority of their time within their neighbourhood, partly because many amenities are within a couple of minutes' walk. Nevertheless, all participants have travelled abroad for holidays and Loulla and Tasoulla still do.

With regard to their appearance, all participants (except Tasoulla and Anthoulla) dye their hair but wear no makeup. The use of makeup in this age group in Cyprus is typical only of women of an urban, middle-class upbringing (Labov 2006).³¹ Members wear pale-coloured clothes (with the exception of Tasoulla who is still grieving and wears all black) and, by and large, no trousers. They appear to take pride in their appearance, especially Gregoria and Loulla, who have an exceptionally large collection of clothes. All participants are confident that they look younger than their age, as they report in the interviews and also discuss in the self-recordings. On the whole, participants' appearance conforms to the expectations older Cypriot women. They neither wear very traditional clothes, i.e. permanently black robes and headscarf, nor do they wear clothes such as trousers, bright colours, make-up, typically associated with middle aged women or women from a higher educational and socio-economic background. Below, an overview of the informants' relations, the group's practices and profiles of each participant is presented.

2.4.7 The main participants' relationships

All informants have been living in Atalanta for decades, and Gregoria, Loulla and Myria were born and raised there. They have known each other for a long time, in fact Charoulla, Gregoria, Myria and Loulla since their childhood. Gregoria, Loulla and Myria are next door neighbours and Loulla and Gregoria second cousins. In addition, Myria and Loulla went to school together, but later lost contact when Loulla immigrated to Africa, and got back in touch when the latter returned to Cyprus, more than two decades ago. Gregoria, Myria, and Loulla knew Charoulla, as she was a neighbour but when she got closer with Loulla, through the weekly catechism classes (the 'circle'), and they started socialising outside the church, she also got closer with Myria and Gregoria. Loulla first met Tasoulla about six years before the recordings started at church services and at the 'circle' and their common interest in *smili* brought them together. Also, their husbands had been friends for a brief time. A year later,

³¹ Social class is employed here as an analyst's category, based on variables of occupation, income and educational level, following Labov 2006.

Tasoulla's husband died, and she got closer to Loulla, then Myria, then Charoulla and then Gregoria and all five of them started socialising as a group on a regular basis.

Charoulla describes this group that meets regularly for coffee as follows:³²

Excerpt 2-1 (participants: Anna, Charoulla)

24.32

1. A εσύ άμα-όταν θα πάεις για καφέν >δηλαδή< πκοιες-πκοιες εν να'ναι συνήθως?
2. X συνήθως άμαν πάμεν για καφέν?
3. A =νναι
4. X η ΚΛΙΚΚΑ μας.
5. A ν(h)αι ↑ΧΑ↓χα (.)
6. X εν τζαι αλλάσσει η κλίικκα μας. ((smile voice)) η Γληορού, η Τασούλλα, η: Λούλλα,
7. η Μύρια. (1.5) ε εν τζ έδει άλλη. μια Ολιβία ποτζεί, τούτες ούλες.

1. A you when-when you go for coffee >I mean< who-who will be usually?
2. C usually when we go for coffee?
3. A =yes
4. C our CLIQUE.
5. A γ(h)es ↑ΗΑ↓ha (.)
6. C *our clique does not change.* ((smile voice)) Gliorou, Tasoulla:, Loulla,
7. Myria. (1.5) well there are no more. one Olivia there, all these.

(from interview B4)

24.53

It is notable that she uses the word 'κλίικκα' (*clique*), line 4, to describe the group. Tasoulla when asked about Olivia, in the follow-up interviews, she includes her in their *circle* ('μες τον κύκλον μας'), but when referring to *the girlfriends* ('φιλενάδες'), she only mentions Gregoria, Loulla, Charoulla and Myria. Myria when she talks about her social life mentions that lately she got close with her *neighbours* ('γειτόνισσες'), and goes on to list the other four main participants and Ketsina (one of the peripheral members). Loulla, when asked who she turns to to have a good time, she says *my friends* ('με τις φίλες μου'), and goes on to mention Gregoria, Myria, Charoulla and Tasoulla, and many women from the church 'circle' (she does not name them and notes that some of them gossip and backbite). In a similar question, Gregoria responds 'my neighbours' ('σε καμιά γειτόνισσά μου περνώ καλά'/at some female neighbours' I have

³² An extended transcript of this interview can be found in Excerpt 7-3, p.337, in the Appendix. The sequence cited here is at lines 61-67 of the extended extract of the Appendix.

a good time), and categorises them as of her own age (‘συνομήλικές μου’), on their own and widows (‘που εν μόνες τους τζαι τούτες θηράτες οι παραπάνω’/*who are on their own also and widows most of them*), and names Myria, Loulla and Charoulla.

Also in the logs, where the participants recorded their social interactions once the self-recordings were completed, at least two thirds of the interactions were with the main and peripheral participants (more specifically Myria recorded interactions with Ketsina and Tasoulla with Olivia). That indicates that, even at the end of the data collection, the participants constituted the main pool for social interaction for each other, outside their families. Finally, the main participants are expected to know about each other’s affairs but not to disclose any information to third parties (cf. Arnold 1982, discussed in Chapter 1.1.6). For example, Loulla will refer to her divorced daughter’s partner in front of e.g. Gregoria and Myria, but not in front of other acquaintances who might occasionally attend their meetings. Nevertheless, participants would not necessarily confide their *very* serious family issues, only less serious problems. As participants report in the interviews and as is evident from self-recordings, issues that are regarded very serious may be disclosed to one’s daughter or kept to (xviii, 292 p.; 389-406)oneself.³³ (389-406; xviii, 292 p.)

On the whole, the terms employed to refer to this group of five in the interviews and in more informal interaction of the researcher with the participants are ‘η κλίκα’/*clique*, or ‘ο κύκλος’/*circle* and, most frequently, ‘η παρέα’/*the company*. Also in the interview they would often refer to the other participants as ‘οι φιλενάδες’/*the girlfriends*, ‘οι φίλες (μου)’/(*my*)*friends*, ‘οι γειτόνισσες’/*the neighbours*, ‘κοπέλλες που κάμνουμεν παρέα’/*the (young) women we keep company*, ‘γυναίκες δικές μας’/*our own women*. All of these categorial terms, with the exception of ‘η κλίκα’/*clique* and ‘ο κύκλος’/*circle*, were also used in the self-recordings, especially when a member was reporting to a conversant on the telephone who she was with at that moment.

2.4.8 Group practices

As can be concluded from the interviews and additional fieldwork, the main participants started socialising together, *as a group* (‘σαν ομάδα’, as Gregoria puts it in

³³ This reflects cultural values which discourage women from confiding family issues, especially in non-relatives, partly because of the danger of becoming the object of gossip and being laughed at. This is also documented in ethnographic work on Greece (Du Boulay 1976; Hart 1992).

her follow-up interview) on a regular basis, with meetings at each other's houses for coffee, chat and treats about three-four years before the recordings began, soon after Tasoulla's husband passed away. The frequency of the meetings can be anything between four times a week and once every two to three weeks, getting less frequent over the summer when some of the participants go on holiday. In the pre-arranged meetings, 'καφέ(δ)ες' (lit. *coffees*), all five participants are invited and sometimes other female friends of the hostess (usually of similar chronological age). The hostess is expected to provide a variety of treats (at least one sweet and one savoury) to go with the Cyprus coffee served. There is quite a set order of serving treats at the meetings, especially the pre-arranged ones. When everyone arrives, the hostess and Tasoulla, if she is present, make and serve the coffee with the treats (first the savoury and then the sweet), and at the end water is offered.

There are also impromptu, meetings when one or two participants pop into a neighbour's house, often unannounced. In such cases simpler treats would suffice and the hostess would be expected to continue her ongoing work (e.g. cooking). The impromptu meetings of female neighbours for coffee are also recorded in the older ethnographic work on Cyprus (see Chapter 1.1.6) and as the field work revealed, they are a common practice among older G/C women. However, as fieldwork revealed, regular, pre-arranged meetings with a large variety of treats on offer, although not uncommon, are not typical of the majority of older women in Cyprus. Instead they are more common among middle-aged women, or older women from a middle-class background. Also, the participants themselves (especially Gregoria and Charoulla) did not regularly engage in such pre-arranged meetings, before the members started socialising as a group. The participants meet in private space (houses), the church, where they go every Sunday, and less frequently at the local health centre and the grocer.

During the first phase of the recordings, the participants had pre-organised coffee meetings, which all five main participants would attend, every week or every two weeks and all the participants took turns in organising them. They also held impromptu meetings, in smaller groups, a few times a week. However, by the third time of the recordings such pre-organised meetings became less frequent, although still occurred. Instead, the participants engaged in impromptu meetings at each other's houses, and especially at Myria's house, who at the time was house bound, as she was recovering

from heart surgery. Although pre-organised meetings decreased, participants would meet, in smaller groups, as often as in the first phase; for example, Gregoria visited Myria every two-three days, and she was often joined by other informants. The participants also noted in the interviews that pre-arranged meetings as a group became less frequent, when they were asked about how often the group meets. Gregoria in her follow-up interview also mentions that they still do ‘καφέδες’ (i.e. pre-organised coffee meetings of the whole group), but less frequently (‘αραιώσαμε’/*we dwindled*) because of the hot weather, because they are getting older (‘μεγαλώννουμε’/*we are getting older*) and because she got bored of it (‘εβαρέθηκα’/*I got bored*). Even, before the third phase of the recordings Gregoria reported to the researcher that their group (‘ο κύκλος’/*the circle*) no longer meets, but she still sees Loulla and Myria. In addition, Loulla also mentioned, in both interviews, that organised meetings of the group (‘καφέδες’/*coffee-meetings*, ‘τσάγια’/*tea parties*) became less frequent at the time of the recordings. Loulla also mentions advanced age (‘ένεκα ηλικίας’/*because of age*) and health related problems as the reason for the decreased frequency of pre-arranged meetings. Therefore, at least two of the participants appear to construct pre-arranged tea and coffee parties, with all the main participants, as an activity incompatible with advanced old age and poor health.

When the participants meet, apart from sitting, chatting and having coffee they might simultaneously perform other activities as well, such as knitting. In addition, whenever Loulla bakes something, she might invite Tasoulla to come for coffee and help. Moreover, during the third phase of the recordings, the participants developed the practice of gathering at a member’s house when they wanted to make cocktail olive-rolls and all participated in the preparation and the baking (see Chapter 5.8). Also the members participate in reciprocal exchanges of food gifts, such as fruit preserves, sweet or savoury treats and bread, and also produce given to them by family members. This practice of food exchanges is typical between female neighbouring friends as has been documented in earlier ethnographic work on Cyprus and other traditional societies (see e.g. Arnold 1982 for Cyprus; Maclagan 1994; and Yamani 1994 for the Middle East).³⁴

In addition to going for coffee, all participants meet every Sunday at church. The local church is frequented by middle and third age women and church-going provides the opportunity to dress up (cf. Hart 1992:156), socialise with neighbours and non-

³⁴ For what I mean by ‘traditional societies’, see footnote 25, above, p.58.

neighbours alike and get updated about the community's news. Church is reportedly humorously called, by members of the Greek Cypriot community, as 'the women's coffee house' (Arnold 1982:79). Loulla, Tasoulla and Charoulla also attend the church 'circle'. Loulla is the informant who most frequently goes to the church, is the most observant with regard to religious practices (e.g. fasting) and urges other members to do the same. In fact, at the follow-up interviews she projected her identity as a good Christian, by bringing up the issue of religiosity, without being prompted, and mentioning that since she started going to the 'circle', in her early sixties, she became a better person and closer to God. It is expected of members to attend the Sunday mass and, if someone misses it, it is noticed and commented upon by the other members, or as Gregoria puts it 'βάλλουν μας απουσίαν'/we are marked as absent.

Another occasion for interaction is when the participants go on *day trips* ('ταξίδι'), where they would all gather and sit together, along with a couple of other neighbours, tease each other, have fun, talk etc. Charoulla reports at her interview: 'εν να κάτσουμεν στο τραπέζιν, να:: πειράξει η μια την άλλην, να αστειέψουμεν, να γελάσουμε, τα χωρκάτικά μας, τα λόγια μας, τα αυτά μας, (.)'/we will sit at the table, tease:: each other, make jokes, laugh, ((say)) our peasant ((talk)), our words, our that, (.). Her account coincides with the other participants' accounts of what happens on these trips. The informants usually go to one-day trips for pensioners organised by the local council or the town's cooperative bank, or to day-long pilgrimages organised by the 'circle'; each trip takes place once a year. However, during the period of the recordings, Myria and Gregoria, because of health problems, missed the trips, yet at the follow-up interviews, after the completion of the recordings, they reported that they still go on trips, and enjoy doing so.

Furthermore, on occasions, the participants might organise day-excursions themselves; for example in the summer, after the second phase of the recordings, Tasoulla invited the other participants to her son's rental apartment in a holiday resort, and Charoulla, Myria with her daughter, and Loulla with her husband visited her and spent the day together. Gregoria, usually, does not join in these excursions. Moreover, they have travelled together abroad for holidays in the past (Loulla, Myria, Ketsina, and Myria's sister-in-law went to Greece together two years before the recordings; Gregoria and Loulla went to the Holy Lands). Also towards the end of the fieldwork, Tasoulla and Loulla went on a five-day summer cruise to the Greek islands.

‘Μνημόσυνα’, or memorial services, are a prime site for socialisation and, for some of the participants, the only time of the year they host a large-scale social gathering.³⁵ The widows hold such yearly gatherings in memory of their husbands and Loulla in memory of her grandson. The participants are expected to invite all their friends and acquaintances and offer a large variety of treats and coffee at their house after the service. These memorial rituals offer the opportunity to the participants to socialise with acquaintances, outside the circle of friends they would normally visit or invite for coffee, and also to meet new people (overwhelmingly women of similar age). Peripheral members of the group and women with whom the informants talk at the church are invited at memorial gatherings organised by the participants. Close friends are not only expected to attend, but also to contribute a treat. For instance, Myria and Loulla would each prepare a cake or pastry and give to Gregoria to offer at the gathering, and Gregoria would return the favour at their memorial gatherings. Also Tasoulla contributes baked goods to Myria’s and Loulla’s gatherings and *vice versa*. People, who cannot make it on the day of the gathering, often visit the next day, and also close friends re-visit the next day for a more relaxed coffee.

The practice of holding such large gatherings after the memorial service is not uncommon, but is not required in Cyprus. Part of the reason the participants organise such big gatherings, is because it is a common practice among their immediate and more distant circle. In fact, as has emerged from the field work, for Gregoria, the years after her husband died, the reception after the memorial service was a very low-key affair for the immediate family only. It only became a significant affair, with many guests and treats and lengthy preparations the last decade or so, when her circle of friends expanded and they would go to each other’s memorial gatherings. This indicates that the participants are part of a wider social network of same-aged women who regularly socialise with each other in smaller groups. An important meeting point for women who are members of different smaller friendship circles is the church and coffee meeting at memorial services. This regular socialisation with friends appears to be a relative recent development; in fact all participants reported that when they were raising

³⁵ In Cyprus, the Sunday before the yearly anniversary of the death of someone, the memorial service is held. This comprises of the priest mentioning the deceased person’s name towards the end of the Sunday service which is followed by distribution of bread (‘ἄρτος’) and boiled wheat with fruits and nuts (‘κόλλυφα’) to the congregation, outside the church. After the church service, the person who organises the ‘μνημόσυνο’, for their close family member, invites their friends and family for coffee and snacks at their house.

children and working fulltime they did not have any opportunity of meeting up with friends.

Prominent topics discussed when the group meets, as they have emerged from the self-recordings, include food recipes seen on TV, food recently cooked by the speaker or acquaintances, cooking plans, food preferences and consumption habits. In fact, recipes are a topic that could bring about very lively discussions (see Chapter 5.3). Also references to past and future cleaning, knitting and sewing activities are frequent, and especially discussions about knitting patterns (usually between Tasoulla and Loulla). Speaker's recent or planned visit to the doctor or the hospital, test results, including levels of blood sugar, blood pressure and weight are frequently reported and discussed as well as doctor's/dietician's appointment and updates about one's health and medicine consumption. Health and mobility issues are also talked about and are examined in Chapter 4 of the thesis. Encounters with acquaintances and relatives and stories about others non-present, especially neighbours are often referred to.

Also stories about what happened in the church, at work (for Tasoulla) or when the speaker was abroad (usually Gregoria and Myria narrate stories in/about Greece, and sometimes Loulla about Africa), or even during the speakers' childhood and youth are encountered in the self-recordings. Other frequent topics include discussions about acquaintances (young and old) who are ill, have declined physically and mentally, have had an operation, an accident, or a funny incident (including discussions of their age). Furthermore, past and future excursions and trips are talked about in length as well as stories about inheritance, house amendments and grandchildren. Other salient topics are clothes and shoes bought, TV series, pensions, the weather, cost of living and information about the voice-recorder. Finally, water shortage and usage, social commentary, arrangements to meet up, go to the shops or find a lift, books and celebrations and, less frequently, issues about the Cypriot dialect/language and politics are also brought up. Teasing and joke telling usually occurs when four or more participants are present and are often initiated by Tasoulla or Loulla, but also Myria and Charoulla. Below a brief discussion of the linguistic situation in Greek-speaking Cyprus and the register the participants employ in the interactions is given.

2.4.9 Participants' linguistic resources

In order to better understand the linguistic resources of the participants, a brief overview of the linguistic situation in Greek-speaking Cyprus is given. The 2001 population census showed that nearly 90% of the population of the Cyprus Republic identified themselves as Greek Cypriots and 92% answered that the language they speak the best is Greek. The census, however, does not differentiate between Standard Modern Greek (SMG) and Cypriot Greek (CG), the variety of Greek spoken, primarily, by Greek Cypriots in Cyprus and which is normally classified as a dialect (see e.g. Goutsos & Karyolemou 2004).³⁶ CG is acquired at home and used in all face-to-face interactions among G/C, whereas SMG is taught at school and used in writing and formal oral discourse, e.g. public speaking, broadcast speech (Pavlou & Papapavlou 2004).³⁷ Because CG is largely reserved for oral use, 'it does not have a generally accepted orthography' (Arvaniti 2010:20). There are a number of phonological, morphological, semantic, pragmatic and lexicon differences between SMG and CG (for an overview, see e.g. Terkourafi 2005b).

Greek Cypriots perceive from childhood the relation between Cypriot Greek and Standard Modern Greek in diglossic terms, as two categorically distinct varieties, with functional differentiation (Goutsos & Karyolemou 2004:7; Arvaniti 2010:21). Also the two varieties have been found to be associated with a set of distinct values. In matched-guise tests Papapavlou (1998, 2002) has shown that SMG speakers were regarded as more educated, modern, pleasant, intelligent, interesting and CG speakers as less educated but more friendly, sincere and humorous. The influence of English is also very prominent in Greek-speaking Cyprus. Although the official languages of the country are Greek and Turkish, English has also been employed in official documents until the early 1990s (Karoulla-Vrikki 2009) and code-switching into English is prevalent in everyday and institutional interactions, including media discourses (Goutsos 2001; cf. Georgakopoulou & Finnis 2009).

³⁶ Being the Cypriot version of Greek, I refer to this variety as Cypriot Greek (CG), a term often used in the literature (e.g. Goutsos 2001; Terkourafi 2002; Karoulla-Vrikki 2009). Nevertheless, this is not the only term employed to describe this variety and other terms include Greek Cypriot Dialect/GCD (Pavlou & Papapavlou 2004); Cypriot Dialect/CD (Pavlou 2004); Greek Cypriot/GC (Georgakopoulou & Finnis 2009); and Cypriot (dialect) (Papapavlou 2002; Τσιπλάκου 2004).

³⁷ Although SMG is widely used in writing by CG speakers, it has been shown that in *informal* online communication CG is also widely used (see e.g. Themistocleous 2005). Also, CG is used, to a small extent, in the mass media, either unintentionally or for humorous effect (Pavlou 2004). Finally, the form that SMG takes in Cyprus (e.g. in official documents, newspapers) is slightly different from the SMG used in Greece, and has been described as *Cypriot Standard Greek* (Arvaniti 2010).

There is also significant variation within CG. Research conducted in the sixties has shown that the basilectal end of the CG continuum consists of 18 regional patois varieties (Κοντοσόπουλος 1969:97). However, in recent years, and especially after the dramatic geodemographic changes that ensued after the summer of 1974,³⁸ regional variation has been in retreat, giving prominence to a generalised CG *koine*, based on the regional variety of Mesaoria (Goutsos & Karyolemou 2004:4).³⁹ Although there is little regional variation in current CG, there is, however, differentiation between ‘town speech’ and ‘village speech’ (Τσιπλάκου 2004:3; Terkourafi 2005b:319; Arvaniti 2010:18). ‘Village speech’ (‘χωρικάτικα’) is the basilect of the dialect continuum, that is the variety which is further away from SMG and is stereotypically associated with low levels of education, the elderly, and rural areas, whereas ‘town speech’ is the acrolectal variety of CG, which is closer to, but still distinct from, SMG (Pavlou 2004:11). Speakers are aware of the different varieties of CG and often understand themselves as speakers of a mesolectal variety (Goutsos & Karyolemou 2004:4).

In practice, however there is a continuum of usage between local SMG, acrolectal and basilectal CG (Goutsos & Karyolemou 2004:7). Also, as Terkourafi has argued, the variations of CG rather than being associated with the rural-urban continuum, are more related to register shifts: more basilectal varieties index a more informal style and more acrolectal varieties a more formal style (Τσιπλάκου 2009:1198; cf. Terkourafi 2005b:326). In fact, because of the historical similarities between SMG and CG and the continuum-internal variation of CG, it is very hard to differentiate between speakers’ continuum-internal switches and linguistic moves outside the continuum (Tsiplakou 2009). Tsiplakou (2009) proposes phonetic (as opposed to morphological, syntactic and lexical) variants as a mostly reliable indicator of the two types of code-switching.

The participants of this study mainly talk in CG, employing a ‘baseline’ register of mesolectal *koine*, with some (especially those who do not come from Atalanta and most

³⁸ Data from 1960, when Cyprus was granted its independence from British rule, shows that 78% of the population were Greek Cypriots and 18% Turkish Cypriots, with ethnic minorities and foreigners making up the remainder 4%. Following inter-communal violence, as well as a Greek and G/C- led coup in July 1974, Turkish troops invaded Cyprus in July and August of 1974, resulting in the occupation of one-third of the island. As a consequence of the invasion, the country was partitioned into the government-controlled, almost exclusively G/C area (in the South) and the Turkish-controlled area (in the North, later self-declared as Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus) and forced dislocation of the two communities occurred (see e.g. Δρουσιώτης 2010).

³⁹ In fact, as Terkourafi 2005b argues, a generalised CG *koine* came into existence as early as the 14th century.

notably Tasoulla) drawing on a more basilectal variety. Also, some participants and especially Loulla, on occasions, switch intra-sententially to English. The large pool of linguistic resources that participants deploy is also associated with the attributions bound to the different age-related constructs. Heavily basilectal terms tend to have more negative connotations, whereas terms shared with SMG tend to be more generic and unmarked. This is further discussed in Chapter 3.2.

The next part of this chapter gives a critical account of the framework that will be used to analyse the data.

2.5 Analytical framework

2.5.1 Membership Categorisation Analysis

As was mentioned in Chapter 1.3, the analysis of membership categorisations has emerged from ethnomethodology and focuses on the situated and reflexive use of the different categories of people, places, things that members (interlocutors) employ in interaction. This apparatus was conceived by Harvey Sacks in the 1960s and was first named ‘MIR device’, an acronym for membership, inference-rich and representative (lxv,818p, lii,580p.)(Sacks 1995:A40). According to Sacks, the categories members use in interaction are inference-rich, since the knowledge and experiences members have about the society are stored in these categories. Any member of a category is presumptively a representative of that category for the use of whatever knowledge is stored by reference to that category. Moreover, Sacks concludes that members’ knowledge about categories is collected through an internal system of social control that accumulates information about what each category entails (see Sacks 1995:A40-47). People create new knowledge about a specific category according to the actions of its presumptive members. For example, if it is *repeatedly* reported that persons categorised as old do X, then X is considered as typically expected of the category old or, in Sacks’ terms an *activity bound to the category* old (Sacks 1995:A42). Nevertheless, members’ knowledge about categories is protected against induction; i.e. if a member of a category appears to contradict what is assumed about members of such a category, then, rather than revising understanding of that category, that particular member is considered an exception (Schegloff 2007c:469).

Sacks’ theorisation on members’ categories has been developed and expanded into a field of identity analysis, *Membership Categorisation Analysis* (MCA) by researchers

such as Hester, Eglin, Watson, Jayyussi and Silverman (see e.g. Watson 1978; Jayyussi 1984; Hester & Eglin 1997b; Silverman 1998; Eglin & Hester 2003; Housley & Fitzgerald 2009).⁴⁰ In practice, MCA is employed to locate the categories members use in carrying out their activities in and through talk, in organising knowledge and in assigning social identities. On the whole, members' categories might be explicitly stated or tacitly oriented to by category-bound or category-implied activities (Sacks 1995:A300). Baker (2004) outlines three steps for the analysis of members' categories:

1. First, the researcher locates the categories members employ in interaction. They can either be explicitly mentioned or implied through reference to activities bound to them.
2. As a second step, the researcher through the related activities tries to work out the 'attributions' or 'features' or 'natural predicates' of each category, whether they are hinted at or explicitly stated.
3. Through the analysing of the central categories and associated activities that members produce, the examiner defines the local understanding of how categories of actors do, could, should behave and, consequently, the speakers' social world, in which their categories have a central place. This enables the researcher to make statements about how the social order might be arranged, whether or not it really is (Baker 2004:174ff.).

Members' categories usually come in sets. Categories that go together (e.g. infant, adolescent, adult, old person) are organised into *collections* (Benwell & Stokoe 2006:65; Schegloff 2007c:467). A *membership categorisation device* (MCD) is a collection of categories plus the relevant rules of application (Schegloff 2007c:3). For example, for the collection mentioned above the MCD would be 'age'. Sacks developed two basic principles that members may employ when they use membership categories: the economy and the consistency rule. The *economy rule* dictates that a single category is adequate to describe a person. According to the *consistency rule*, if a category term from an MCD is used to categorise a member of a population, a term from the same MCD should be used to categorise other members of the same population (Sacks 1995:A239; Hester & Eglin 1997c:4; Silverman 2001:141). An important concept that builds on Sacks' work is *collectivities*. Collectivities are categories of non-personal (abstract) objects including social structures, institutions, and events, e.g. school, coffee, the state, working class. These social configurations provide the context for membership categories, category-bound activities etc. (Jayyussi 1984:6; Hester & Eglin 1997b:157; Eglin & Hester 2003:94).

⁴⁰ For Schegloff's opposition to the field, see Section 2.5.3, below.

No category is ever unambiguous but category-bound activities help resolve ambiguities (Silverman 2001:144). Sacks' notion of category-bound activities has been further explored and fine-tuned. Watson and colleagues regarded category-bound activities as one class of predicates, and conceptualised other classes of predicates, including motives, rights, entitlements, obligation, knowledge, abilities and competences (Watson 1978:106; Watson & Weinberg 1982:60; Stokoe 2003:321). In this thesis, the terms *attributions* or *features* are used to collectively refer to all the above variants that can be oriented to as bound to or expected of different categories (Jayyusi 1984 also uses the term 'features' this way). *Category-bound* attributions (CBAs) are made relevant explicitly or implicitly as conventionally accompanying a category. Yet certain attributions provide a very strong warrant for a certain category and their absence can challenge membership to a category. Such attributions are defined by Jayyusi as *category-constitutive* (1984:45).

Categories in MCA are taxonomised in different varieties. Sacks identified a class of category sets, *Pn-adequate* categories, where each set (sex, age, race, religion and perhaps occupation) can characterise any member of a population (Schegloff 1992b:107; 2007c:467; Sacks 1995:A40). Another collection Sacks' has identified is the *collection K*, which is constructed by reference to distribution of specialised knowledge on a particular issue, e.g. how to deal with an attempted suicide (Silverman 1998:82; Schegloff 2007c:466). In addition, *collection R* consists of pairs of categories with rights and obligations to each other and where one category makes programmatically relevant the other (e.g. husband and wife, teacher and student). These paired categories are called *standardised relational pairs* or *SRP*, for short (Sacks 1995:A326; Silverman 2001:143; Stokoe 2003:321).

Also certain categories, when claimed, foreclose membership in a contrastive category. These categories position members on opposite sides of the category bifurcation and have been referred to as *contrast pairs* (McKinlay & Dunnett 1998:40; Housley & Fitzgerald 2009:353ff.). Sacks, at least in his earliest lectures, showed a preference for binary concepts of members' identities. He has suggested that categories might be organised in a two-set class where the members of the first category in each set is in power, such as 'white-negroes', 'old-young', 'men-women' (Sacks 1995:A47). However, I would argue that binary distinctions no longer work as member's

categories, as much. On the one hand, more nuanced distinctions are used in categorising self and other, for instance with regard to race (e.g. for the participants' use of the term 'Hispanic', as an additional racial category in the black-white distinction, see De Fina 2006). On the other hand, an obscuring between different categories has been noted. For example, gerontologists conclude that people perceive a blurring between age boundaries, namely mid-life and later life, and many people in their mid life would be very sceptical about categorising themselves or accept category ascriptions that fall within the young-old binary distinction (for attitudes towards ageing see Biggs, Phillipson, Leach & Money 2007).

Finally, categories may be explicitly stated or made relevant with reference to category-bound activities, but they may also be very implicitly *hinted at*, with visual, verbal or other hints; for example a magazine about fashion on one's table could be hinting at the category homosexual and may or may not be oriented to in conversation (Sacks 1995:A579ff.; Stokoe 2003 refers to them as implicit categories). Also certain categories may be minimally oriented to in a session but are continually made apparent in an unquestioned way. This in Sacks' terms is called the *omni-relevance* of a collection, e.g. the omni-relevance of the MCD therapist-patient in the context of a therapy session (Sacks 1995:A594; Schegloff 2007c:473). Finally, *categorical identities* are membership category-based identities speakers produce for themselves and others (Edwards 1998; Benwell & Stokoe 2006:71ff.).

According to MCA, members' categories are at the core of identity work not least because each identity entails an explicit or implicit categorial reference (Paoletti 1998a). In fact, a number of studies have emphasised the crucial link between social identities and categories (see e.g. Widdicombe 1998b:52; Nikander 2000; Stokoe & Edwards 2007). For the purpose of this thesis I use the term identity in the case of repeated (stated or implied) category claims (cf. Brubaker 2004). On the whole, MCA conceptualises category identifications as flexible and context-shaped and allows for their agentive management. In fact, Sacks has showed that members constantly monitor each other's categorial references and regulate what categories and CBAs can be employed in conversation (see e.g. Sacks 1975). Below, a complementary analytical apparatus, Conversation Analysis, is presented.

2.5.2 The Conversation Analytic apparatus

Conversation Analysis (CA) is a field of studies that also emerged from the EM tradition and was developed in the 1960s through the collaboration of Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (C. Goodwin & Heritage 1990). CA has produced a toolkit for the examination of the sequential order, or in Sacks et al.'s term the 'technology' of talk (Sacks et al. 1974:718). As is discussed in the following section (2.5.3), I subscribe to the school of thought, within MCA, which supports that categorial and sequential analysis can function as compatible and complementary analytical frameworks. CA, due to its descriptive power, can help investigate how categories emerge and are negotiated in the detail of turn-by-turn interaction and can thus complement the analysis of how categories are organised in talk. Because I am *using* CA, with the end aim of analysing members' categories, rather than *doing* CA, with the ultimate objective of examining the sequential organisation of talk, it is beyond the scope of this section to give an in-depth account of CA, as an independent field of discourse analysis (for the distinction between 'using' and 'doing' CA, see also Have 2007:49). Instead I focus below on some configurations of talk and notions that are employed in the analyses of the three subsequent chapters.

The organisation of talk is based on the premises that each turn is 'context shaped' and 'context creating' (Heritage 1997:162); context being, in the 'pure' CA approach prior and upcoming text.⁴¹ Therefore, talk by each party is designed to emerge from what has been said in the previous turns, thus talk is *locally occasioned*. Also it creates the conditions for the next turn, it is then *sequentially implicative* (Jefferson 1978:220; Drew 2005:86). There are classes of utterance that conventionally come in pairs. They are called *adjacency pairs* and are consisted of a sequence of two adjacent (one after another) utterances, produced by different speakers and ordered as a *first pair part* and a *second pair part*. The first pair part makes *conditionally relevant* a particular second (or range of second pair parts), e.g. questions require answers or disclaimers, apologies require greetings, and so on, and the absence of the second is noticed by the speakers. Ideally the two pair parts are produced the one next to the other, however insertions between first and second pair parts can occur. The *adjacency relationship* can also operate outside adjacency pairs, i.e. an utterance can display its understanding of the

⁴¹ 'Pure CA' analyses talk-in-interaction independent of its context, whereas 'applied CA' analyses data in terms of their context or particular interests (see Have 2007:174). The present study could be classified as employing 'applied CA', since this analytical framework is used with the interest of researching identities. The notion of context is further discussed in the next section.

prior turns even when the prior was not a first pair part (for adjacency see Sacks et al. 1974:716; Levinson 1983:303; Hutchby & Wooffitt 1998:40; Silverman 1998:105).

In adjacency pairs out of the range of possible SPP, some are more preferred than others, e.g. in the case of an invitation acceptance is often oriented as the preferred next turn and decline as the dispreferred. In fact, *preference organisation* is a quintessential notion of CA. According to preference organisation, when more than one actions are possible, one may be ‘preferred’, which mean it is oriented to as invited by the previous speaker and is chosen if possible (Pomerantz 1984:63; Have 2007:137). The dispreferred next action is the action oriented to as not projected by the first speaker and possibly as impolite, uncomfortable, unpleasant, difficult, or risky (Pomerantz 1984:77). The preference and dispreference are demonstrated in the shape of the turn. A preferred action turn shape encompasses a design that maximises occurrences of the actions performed, can include explicitly stated actions and minimises gap with prior turn. On the other hand, dispreferred action turn shape minimises the occurrences of actions performed, may involve nonexplicitly stated actions (in a mitigated or indirect form), and delay devices, such as silences, repairs, prefaces and qualifiers; also the dispreferred action is often accounted for (Levinson 1983:334; Pomerantz 1984:64; Silverman 1998:160). The notion of preference organisation is employed, throughout the thesis, e.g. in Chapter 3, to investigate which old-age categorisations are constructed as preferred or dispreferred.

On the whole, talk is made up of *turn constructional units*; these are syntactic units (sentences, clauses, phrases) identified as turn-units by primarily intonational, but also prosodic means (Levinson 1983:297; Silverman 1998:128; Schegloff 2000:42). The point where a turn construction unit ends and the speaker may change is called a *Transition Relevance Place* (TRP). Participants can project when a turn construction unit is likely to end, and therefore the *projectability* or *predictability* of TRPs are inherent in the design of turns (Sacks et al. 1974:707; Levinson 1983:297). Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson in their classic 1974 paper about the organisation of talk compiled a list of *turn-taking rules* as follows:

- 1a. If the current speaker (A) has identified or selected a particular next speaker (B), then
A must stop speaking at the next TRP and B must speak next.
- 1b. If the current speaker does not select a next speaker, then any other speaker may self-select

- 1c. If current speaker does not select a next speaker and no one self-selects then the current speaker may continue after the TRP
2. Rules 1a-1c come into place at the next TRP (Sacks et al. 1974:704)

Sacks et al. (1974) make a number of additional observations. Firstly, the number of parties in conversation can vary. Although turn order varies, there is a bias for the current speaker to select the just previous speaker to be the next one, even in multi-party conversations. In two-party conversations only the turn size varies, as there cannot be a differentiation in the distribution of the turns. Also, in three party conversations, there is a preference for smaller turns than in two-party interactions, because the current non-speaker is not guaranteed the next turn. Hence, if he/she wants to speak, he/she is under constraint to self select at the next possible TRP. In four-party conversations (and above) there may also be variability in the turn-taking systems in operation. In other words, there is a systematic possibility for a schism of the conversation in two or more, i.e. *multiple/parallel conversations* (see also Schegloff 2000:5). Therefore, distribution of turns to all participants needs to be facilitated, if there is an interest to retain a single conversation. The notion of parallel conversations appears to be a useful tool in the examination of recipe tellings and talk about *smili* (see Chapter 5.3 and 5.6).

It is noteworthy that these ‘rules’ are expectations that participants have about each other’s conduct; participants themselves draw attention in some way or other to deviation from these rules (Hutchby & Wooffitt 1998:50-51). Hence, they are not a set of regularities that one can observe in behaviour or a set of psycholinguistic rules for assembling well formed utterances. In addition to these rules for turn-allocation, Sacks and colleagues identify some additional ones in the organisation of turn-taking in conversation, including the preference for one speaker at a time and the preference for the transition from one turn to the next to be done with no or slight overlap or gap. In fact, CA has devised a nuanced taxonomy of overlaps and silences.

Silences (absence of vocalisation) are categorised into three types, depending on their locus of occurrence:

- a) *gap*: a brief silence at a TRP, before the next speaker self-selects
- b) *lapse*: a silence during or after a TRP when no-one is (self)selected (non-application of rules 1a-1c)

- c) *attributable silence*: a silence within a participant's talk, attributable to that person. It can occur after the next speaker has been selected (rule 1a) (Levinson 1983:299; Moerman 1990:72; Nofsinger 1991:94)⁴²

The type of silence can affect the negotiation of meaning, as is shown in Excerpt 4-8, in Chapter 4.

Overlap is simultaneous talk that results from normal operation of turn-taking rules. There are three types of onsets for overlaps as follows:

- a) *transitional onset*: 'when a next speaker orients to a possible TRP' (Hutchby & Wooffitt 1998:56)
- b) *progressional onset*: 'when there is some kind of disfluency in the current turn and the next speaker suggests a completion in order to move the conversation forward' (*ibid.*)
- c) *recognitional onset*: 'when the next speaker recognizes what the current speaker is saying and can project its completion' (*ibid.*)

An *interruption*, on the other hand, is simultaneous talk which does not occur at or near TRP and apparently violates turn-taking norms (Nofsinger 1991:102). As is shown in Chapter 4.5, recognitional overlaps are one of the distinguishing characteristics of jointly drafted painful tellings.

As implied above, there is a preference for a quick resolution of overlaps; and Schegloff defines 'quick' as within one to three syllables, or 'beats' (Schegloff 2000:19). There is a preference for the speaker who started speaking first during an overlap to maintain the floor. If there is a longer overlap then this constitutes a completion for the floor and might imply that the interlocutors have special interest in reserving the next turn position. It may be resolved with the schism of the conversation into two conversations (if the number of participants allows for that), or speakers might employ certain devices to resolve the overlap. These devices include *hitches* and *perturbations*, which are essentially disfluencies in the production of talk. Schegloff defines them as 'deflections in the production of the talk from the trajectory it had been projected to follow'; hitches are momentary deflections, and perturbations marked departures from the projected production of talk (Schegloff 2000:11). Hitches and perturbations can take the form of sudden changes in the loudness and pitch of voice (louder volume and higher pitch), sudden change in the pace, sudden cut-off of utterance, marked elongation of a sound, repetition of just prior element, or a

⁴² Sacks et al. (1974:715) refer to these intra-turn silences as 'pauses' and not as 'attributable silences'.

combination of the above. These devices, although they may also be a subverted production because of the overlap, they often function as strategic moves to resolve the overlap and secure the next turn (Schegloff 2000:13). In addition, perturbations could signal hesitation and indicate trouble in the categorisation process (Paoletti 1998a:32).

Therefore hedges and perturbations can *repair* an overlap. In interactions there is a variety of *trouble-sources* that need to be repaired, including mishearing, misunderstandings, mistakes, turn-taking errors and violations etc. (Sacks et al. 1974:723). Any utterance may be repaired and thus be treated as a *repairable* (Silverman 1998:133, 219). Repairs can be categorised in the following types (ordered from the most preferred to the least preferred type):

- 1) *self-initiated self-repair*: repair initiated and carried out by the speaker of the trouble-source
- 2) *other-initiated self-repair*: repair initiated by the recipient (with a next turn repair initiator, see below) and carried out by the speaker of the trouble-source
- 3) *self-initiated other-repair*: repair initiated by the speaker and carried out by the recipient of the trouble-source (e.g. when the speaker exhibits difficulty remembering a name and invited the recipient to repair the trouble)
- 4) *other-initiated other-repair*: the recipient of the trouble initiates and carries out the repair (correction). This is the least preferred repair variety and is often mitigated (Hutchby & Wooffitt 1998:61; cf. Jefferson 2007).

A repair sequence begins with the trouble-source or repairable item and can be followed by a *next turn repair initiator* by another participant. Next turn repair initiators include elements such as ‘huh?’, ‘who?’, or quizzical looks and invite repair of the previous turn in the next turn (Hutchby & Wooffitt 1998:62; Levinson 1983:339). The organisation of repairs in category ascription can reveal members’ rules for applying different categories, as is discussed in Chapter 3.4.

I have referred to the one-at-a-time rule as well as the fact that the speaker may change at each TRP. However, there are some routine exceptions to these rules. With regard to laughter, the one-at-a-time rule is suspended, since laughter is an activity which is regularly produced simultaneously or ‘chordally’ and not serially (Sacks 1974; Schegloff 2000:6). *Stories* also momentarily suspend some of the turn taking rules. Sacks concluded that stories are canonically prefaced following a tripartite structure:

- 1) Teller: Story preface (the speaker proposes to tell a story)
- 2) Recipient: Request to hear a story

3) Teller: Story (see e.g. Hutchby & Wooffitt 1998:134)

Jefferson (1978) shows that narratives are methodically introduced (economically or elaborately), emerging from the turn by turn talk. Once a story is launched, self-selection at TRPs is temporarily suspended and thus the story-teller reserves longer turns, to allow him/her to complete the story. This suspension of the turn-taking rules is the major function of the preface, which acts as a *pre-sequence* for the story-telling.⁴³ A similar bias in turn allocation towards the teller is demonstrated in joke tellings (Sacks 1974; Jefferson 1978), and is explored in Chapter 4.7.2. Finally, stories are methodically exited and the task of the audience is to produce topically coherent subsequent talk, which can also include a sequentially contiguous, thematically related *second story*, as is shown in Chapter 4.5 (Sacks 1995:A767).

I follow the small stories research, which does not define narratives exclusively as one-teller accounts, of non-shared, past, personal experiences (Bamberg 2006; Georgakopoulou 2006b, 2007; cf. Herman 2009:96; Freeman 2006). Instead, small stories is an umbrella-term that treats storytelling as an interactional accomplishment and includes a variety of narrative activities, including tellings of *shared/known* events, *hypothetical scenarios*, *projections* (tellings of future events), tellings of ongoing events, and even *allusions* to telling or refusals to tell a story (Georgakopoulou 2006b:122). Since stories can then be more fully co-constructed than in the case of a main story-teller and audience, or very short (*elliptical*), elaborate story openings and closings, like the ones Sacks and Jefferson suggest need not apply. In the thesis I abide by the above definition and I use the terms narratives and (small) stories interchangeably.

Finally, a literature has been developed, partly within the EM tradition, which created a specialised vocabulary for the different roles participants assume in interaction. Zimmerman (1998) coined the term *discourse identities*, meaning the interactional, turn-generated roles that interlocutors continuously assume and leave, e.g. speaker-listener, story teller-story recipient etc.⁴⁴ The allocations of discourse identities such as

⁴³ Pre-sequences are sequences that are design to prepare or test the fitness of the base-sequence. Usual pre-sequences are pre-invitation (e.g. checking if someone is free, before moving to the base-sequence, the invitation), pre-requests etc. (see e.g. Have 2007:131).

⁴⁴ Zimmerman (1998) identifies discourse identities as the first level of a three-layered identity analysis model. Discourse identities are rooted in the 'proximal context', the local interaction. On a second level, Zimmerman places 'situated identities'; these are identities shaped by the institutional, 'distal' context, and project/revise assumptions about the activity type and the role expectations (e.g. doctor-patient).

troubles teller-troubles recipient and jokes teller-jokes recipient are discussed in Chapter 4 and the identities of recipe teller-recipe recipient in Chapter 5. In addition, Goffman's work on the *participation frameworks*, the configuration of participants around an utterance (1981:131ff.), provided a fine-grained categorisation of the different roles of the recipients of talk as they shift turn-by-turn. Participants can be segregated into:

- a) *Ratified participants*, including *addressed recipient* (addressee) and *unaddressed recipient* (side-participants).
- b) *Target*, the member who is the 'excluded' in innuendo and other deceptive acts
- c) *Overhearers* (Goffman 1981; M.H. Goodwin 1997; for a more critical account of the participation framework see C. Goodwin 2007)

The segregation between addressed and unaddressed recipients is particularly addressed in talk about *smili*, in Chapter 5.6. Also, according to Goffman, the speaker can be laminated into four aspects of self: the *animator*, the physical 'emitter' of talk, the *author*, the self who selects the words and meanings, the *principal*, the self who subscribes to the message being transmitted, and the *figure*, the character represented in a scene described (Goffman 1981:144; Schifffrin 1990:242). This lamination of self gives the speaker great flexibility to assume the different aspects of self or delegate the role of the author/principal/figure to others and thus diffuse responsibility for what is said (Γεωργακοπούλου 2006). Below I discuss some of the issues arising from employing the MCA and CA analytical frameworks and examine whether they can indeed work as complementary methods of analysis.

2.5.3 Discussion of the analytical framework

In Sacks' work, the discussion of members' categories receded after 1967, as is evident from his lectures (Sacks 1995), although he did not completely abandon related issues such as 'doing describing'. Schegloff's explanation of why Sacks discontinued the exploration of members' categories to concentrate on the sequential organisation of conversation has to do with a methodological shift in Sacks' work, as he mentions in his introduction to the volume of Sacks' lectures and in a later paper (Schegloff 2007c). More specifically, Schegloff mentions that, whereas CA follows well-thought out standards of rigour in analysing what is demonstrably relevant in interaction, MCA can rely on analysts' unelaborated assumptions that certain categories are bound to certain

Lastly 'transportable identities' are larger, latent identities such as age, gender, ethnicity that people carry across different contexts and which might be explicitly oriented to or tacitly apprehended in the local interaction.

attributions, without showing that participants make such categorisation devices relevant or that such devices affect the workings of the ordinary talk (see Schegloff's 'Introduction' in Sacks 1995:Axliiii; Schegloff 2007c:477). This 'promiscuous' analysis of members' categories is Schegloff's main objection to the independent field of MCA.

In fact, issues of empirical demonstrability and analytical rigour with regard to the analysis of identities and other contextual factors have been well discussed in the literature (C. Goodwin & Heritage 1990; Schegloff 1992a, b, 1998; Silverman 1998:163; Wetherell 1998; Benwell & Stokoe 2006:63). Schegloff formulated these issues as follows:

- a) *The problem of relevance*: the problem of 'showing from the details of the talk or other conduct in the material' that the categories/aspects of context we analyse are the ones the participants are oriented to/make relevant (Schegloff 1992b:110)
- b) *The issue of procedural consequentiality*: the issue of showing that the identities/categories made relevant have 'determinate consequences for the talk' (Schegloff 1992b:111)

On the other hand, the fact that EM, and especially 'pure' CA, are reluctant to bring into the analysis anything that comes before or after a conversation, contextual factors and background knowledge that are not made demonstrably relevant in the interaction at hand, but can cast a further insight on social life and provide a richer interpretation of the data, has been a repeated point of critique (see Mehan 1996; Briggs 1998; Wetherell 1998, 2009). Also MCA is not inflexible regarding the rule of 'empirical demonstrability' and it recognises that members do not necessarily orient to the different identities they construct in interaction explicitly. In fact, categorisations may be achieved without the explicit or implicit use of MCDs (brought about with the use of explicit categories, or CBAs). Categorial references can be 'setting appropriate' or 'self-explicating in context' or 'selected via an orientation to a relevant category environment' (Hester & Eglin 1997c:10). Also, Sacks' notion of hinted-at categories, (see Section 2.5.1, above), enable the researcher to tackle non-activated categorisations and identities, while the focus is still on identities as a participants' resource (cf. Widdicombe 1998b).

The requirement of empirical demonstrability is also connected with the role of the sociocultural context or macrostructure in ethnomethodological research. Garfinkel does not treat context as anterior to and determining of an activity that takes place within it, and members are not seen as ‘cultural dopes’, who represent the world in the ways a sociocultural structure demanded (C. Goodwin & Heritage 1990:286; Silverman 2001:151). Garfinkel’s position, with regard to the investigation of context, is that it should be treated as endogenously generated in and through interactions, and not as something exogenous to talk that members and researchers bring about (Heritage 1984:280; Eglin & Hester 2003:92). Lee has also argued that the sociocultural context can be analysed, but only if it has been located *in situ* and formally described (Lee 1991:224; Hester & Eglin 1997a). Therefore, social structures are analysed as articulated in interaction and not as they exist in and of themselves, outside the situated practices.

As suggested above (Section 2.5.2), context for ‘pure’ CA is linked to the idea of sequence, and is limited to what the prior talk (especially immediately preceding talk) projects or requires as next action (Heritage 2005:105; see also Schegloff 1992a). Therefore the emphasis is on how talk-in-interaction is responsive and proresponsive to the context, rather than treating talk as a way to find about the sociocultural context (Sharrock & Anderson 1986:69; Schegloff 1991:155). This, in my opinion, does not necessarily mean that CA rejects the notion of an extra-situational, sociocultural context which may affect the local talk-in-interaction. It just highlights the fact that no aspect of the sociocultural situation can be treated as *a priori* relevant by the researcher, if there is no evidence that members understand it as such. In ‘applied’ CA, however, it is recognised that a significant amount of cultural knowledge and sensitivity is involved in the early stages of data analysis and that a combination of CA and ethnography is constructive for the analysis (Silverman 1998:195). Similarly, Cicourel (1992), one of the founders of EM, has highlighted the importance of ethnographic fieldwork; knowing about members’ activities, objects, settings, and other environmental conditions of the interaction, provides a recognition of members’ prior social experience, which they (implicitly) draw upon to make sense of the local interaction they are engaged in. This position is also adopted in this thesis, and therefore ethnographic observations are employed in the analyses to better account for what goes on in talk-in-interaction.

In addition, the issue of context opens up the question whether categories can only exist in their situated use or whether knowledge about categories can exist outside the local occasion. Sacks' initial development of members' categories included a tendency towards decontextualisation of the phenomena analysed; for example Sacks referred to pre-given categories, 'natural devices' (Hester & Eglin 1997c:13; Watson 1997b:63). This concept of categories as culturally available concepts that can exist outside their situated use is also implied by Jayyusi (1984:20). However, Hester and Eglin have illustrated that a careful reading of Sacks, especially of his later work, shows that he recognised the situated and contextual character of categories (Hester & Eglin 1997c; see also Sacks 1995, e.g. lecture 15 of Spring 1967, volume A, and lecture of April 19, 1971, volume B). In fact, categorisations and identities are treated as constitutive and constituent features of their social context and the circumstances they describe (Watson 1997a:94), and this perspective is followed in the present study.

Hester and Eglin's version of MCA, what they call an 'ethnomethodological perspective on MCA', emphasises the *indexicality* of categories, i.e. that a good part of their 'colour' is taken by their local context (Hester & Eglin 1997b; see also Garfinkel 1967:10). In fact, Hester and Eglin emphasise that no category, device or category-related knowledge exists outside their local use, and categories' meaning is temporally and locally contingent (Hester & Eglin 1997d; see also Antaki 2007). Nevertheless, although they define categories as an exclusively *in situ* accomplishment, in their data analysis, they construct categories' meaning drawing on prior assumptions of what certain MCD and categories e.g. schoolboy and teacher mean (Hester & Eglin 1997d; see also Johnson 2006). Therefore, even though devices and collections are taken as locally constructed and the meaning of categories is situationally managed and contextually contingent, this does not mean that categories 'manifest' only within the interaction at hand, as terms free of any associations (De Fina 2006:355). Instead members do bring about presuppositions about categories, which I take as the accumulated knowledge from their different contextual uses and which allow categories to convey a rich nexus of implicit meanings, ideologies and beliefs (cf. Widdicombe 1998a:67).

A final issue is whether the categorisational and sequential aspects of interaction are analytic alternatives or whether members' categories and turn-by-turn organisation can be concurrently analysed. Schegloff's objections to the field of MCA include a

problematization of the complementarity of CA and MCA (Schegloff 2007c; cf. Carlin 2010). Firstly, this does not appear to be a position other CA analysts of the first generation take (see e.g. Jefferson 2004). In addition, Sacks showed that certain categories, in fact, emerge from the distribution of turns in the beginning of talk; e.g. in a telephone conversation the first speaker is the ‘caller’ and the second speaker the ‘called’. Also, categories such as caller and called do not just emerge from turn allocation but are also bound to rights of categories (or identities as Sacks calls them in this instance), such as gender, social status, professional role, interactional history etc. (Sacks 1995:B361). These are what Watson calls turn-generating categories, which bridge the divide between membership categorisation and sequential, turn-by-turn organisation (Watson 1997b:59). Watson, but also Hester and Eglin and Silverman, argue that the sequential and categorial aspects inform each other, are ‘reflexively tied’ and ‘mutually constitutive’ (Watson 1978; 1997b:54; Hester & Eglin 1997c:2; Silverman 1998:152). In fact, the combination of MCA with CA has been widely employed to research categorisations in interaction (see e.g. Watson 1997b; chapters in Antaki & Widdicombe 1998b; Tainio 2002; Stokoe 2003; Johnson 2006; Stokoe & Edwards 2007). This research adopts the viewpoint that the sequential organisation of talk (*sequential order*) is inextricably linked with the negotiation, ascription and rejection of categories (*categorial order*). Therefore, both the MCA and the CA apparatus are employed at the same time, further exploring the interrelation between the categorial and sequential aspects of everyday conversations.

In this thesis, first, through a close examination of the sequential and categorial order, explicitly stated categories are investigated. Explicit age categorisations are the unit of analysis of Chapter 3. Secondly, identity work at the level of category-bound attributions (CBAs) is investigated, looking at the categorisations such attributions make relevant. Age and other categorisations that might not be explicitly stated, but oriented to or hinted at through reference to CBAs, are examined in the context of painful tellings, and tellings of homemaking activities in Chapters 4 and 5. The examination of sequential aspects of talk (e.g. turn allocation, turn design, patterns of interactional sequences), employing the CA toolkit discussed in Section 2.5.2, are examined concurrently with members’ explicit and implicit categorisations. The sequential organisation of talk-in-interaction helps examine members’ orientations to different categorisations, especially when the categorisations are not explicitly stated, as is the focus of Chapters 4 and 5. Overall the MCA and CA apparatus are used with

the aim of closely studying aspects of the everyday talk-in-interactions and how members orientate to, take account of and negotiate their own, their interlocutors' and third parties' identities.

2.6 *Concluding remarks*

This chapter has discussed the data that are examined in the subsequent chapters, and the analytical categories that are employed. First, the chronological criterion for defining older adults has been supported, and an overview of the data collected has been provided. More specifically, the dynamics of the group, as they emerge from the interviews, the logs, the self-recordings and the additional fieldwork, were examined. It has been shown that although the group is an evolving organisation and the participants have complex relations with each other, their family and other friends and acquaintances, in fact, there is a significant amount of interaction among the main participants that occurs in different contexts. Based on these observations about participants' relational history, shared interests and activities and regular socialisation with each other, and on the fact that can be crudely categorised as members of the same generation, the term 'peer group' is employed in this thesis. This *researcher's* categorisation is employed because the socialisation patterns of this group are comparable to what has been referred to as 'peer-group' in research on language and youth (see Chapter 1.2.3, above). The analyses, however, examine the nuanced age categorisations *members* make relevant at different contexts and whether and how they orient to notions of in-groupness.

Also the methods of analysis that are employed in this research have been presented. First the framework of membership categorisations was examined, focusing on basic terminology, and taxonomies of different categories. It has been argued that it is essentially a participants' resource in organising knowledge and negotiate categorisations of self and others. In addition, CA has devised a specific vocabulary to show in detail what goes on in talk-in-interaction and it can therefore provide a very rich descriptive apparatus of the turn-by-turn organisation of talk, in which categories are situated. Nevertheless, CA does not provide a toolkit to examine members' identity work and assemble the participants' social worlds, as they emerge from the conversations, the way MCA does. Hence, the significance of categorisation in identity work has been highlighted. Also Schegloff's golden rule of empirical demonstrability has been discussed with regard to its consequentiality to the analysis of talk, identities

and also the larger sociocultural context. It has been suggested that MCA allows for the examination of categories that may not be made demonstrably relevant and that background ethnographic knowledge can be a valuable resource in making sense of members' situated activity.

The following chapter investigates the issue of explicit old-age categorisation. The MCA and CA toolkits are put to use and categorial identities from the MCD age are explored.

3 NEGOTIATIONS OF (COUNTER-) DECLINE

ATTRIBUTIONS IN AGE CATEGORISATIONS

3.1 *Introduction*

There are many instances in the casual conversations of the participants where members ascribe old-age categorisations explicitly or implicitly. Discussions involving age categorisations can be quite heated, humorous or serious and can last anything from seconds up to several minutes on each occasion. In fact, in all but one of the conversations recorded, in some way or another, the categorisation device of age and, more specifically, categories of *old* age were made explicitly relevant. Here I present the findings from the analysis of *explicit* old-age categorisations, and by that I mean instances where old-age categorial terms in noun form were used, such as ‘κοτζάκαρη’ (*old woman*), ‘ηλικιωμένη’ (*elderly woman*), ‘γέρος’ (*old man*) etc. I have also taken into consideration, categorisations in verb form such as ‘εγέρασεν’ (*she has aged*), ‘εμεγαλώσαμεν’ (*we have grown up*) and also categorisations of chronological age ‘έκλεισα τα εβδομήντα τρία’ (*I turned seventy-three*). Both self- and other-referential categories are taken into account. Finally, the age and other categories the participants employ to address others present are also analysed. More implicit orientations to old-age categories, e.g. through references to activities or features that could potentially be taken as ‘hinting at’ (Sacks 1995:A579) old-age categories, are not taken into account in this chapter, in order to refrain from bringing in prior assumptions that certain activities (e.g. poor physical health) are understood by the participants as bound to old-age identities, when the connection is not made relevant in the interaction at hand.

The conversational data have been analysed employing the MCA apparatus. The analytical steps as they are laid out by Baker (2004:174), and discussed in the methodology chapter above (Chapter 2.5.1) were followed. Although the data have been analysed in detail, with regard to both their sequential and categorial organisation, in the examples cited only the aspects of the sequential organisation of talk which contribute to our understanding of the categorisation work in each sequence are discussed. In a total of eighteen hours of audio-recorded conversations, 90 instances of generic old-age categorisations (in noun and verb form) were explicitly employed.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ In these figures mentions of chronological age are not included because, unlike generic old-age categorisations, they do not explicitly denote third age.

Firstly, an overview of different categorial terms used for categorising, describing, and identifying older women is given, with emphasis on the two most often used terms *kojakari* and *megali*. A complementary collection of categories, those of age-in-years (e.g. ‘eighty year old’), are then considered. Subsequently, members’ rules for applying these categories are investigated and their consequentiality for the interactional work going on is shown. After focusing on instances of *self*-categorisation, explicit old-age categorisations of men are briefly examined. Then, age categories that function as terms of address, as well as other types of address terms are discussed. To conclude, the implications of categorisation processes in identity construction are discussed.

3.2 *Generic old-age categories*

3.2.1 *Culture-specific age labels and their distribution in the data*

In this section I focus on the most frequent form of explicit old-age categorisations, that is, *generic* categorisations in noun (or adjective) form. By generic, I mean categories that do not refer to a particular chronological age. Members use a variety of generic age-membership category labels and each term has different ideological loading in CG. One term used is ‘μεγάλη (γυναίκα)/*megali* (*gineka*)’, pronounced /mɛˈɣɛli ɣiˈnɛkɐ/, which in Greek (both SMG and CG) means big or grown-up. It can therefore be employed to categorise members of the full range of ages. A possible English equivalent would be age categorisations such as ‘grown up’ or ‘mature’ (woman) which, as Katz (2001) argues, blur the boundaries between middle and old age, avoid old-age categorical ascription and can thus be employed in marketing to older people.

Kojakari., pronounced /kɔˈtʃɛkəri/, on the other hand, is a basilectal term of CG. Etymologically it derives from the Turkish words *koca* and *kari* meaning big woman. The term *kocakari* exists in Turkish and Turkish Cypriot and is a derogatory term for old women, similarly to its use in CG. The diminutives ‘κοτζακαρούα’/*kojakaroua* or ‘κοτζακαρού’/*kojakarou* have similar connotations in CG, but could also be seen as emphasising age-related loss of body mass. This term is generally used in CG to refer to traditional Cypriot women, wearing headscarf and black mourning dress and holding a cane, of rural origin and low educational level. Therefore, *kojakari* is not just a descriptive term, as it has a marked low register (basilectal) and can function as a derogatory person reference. An English ‘near-miss’ could be ‘crone’.

Ilikiomeni, pronounced /iliciɔ'meni/, is a term that is not exclusively found in CG, but is also used in SMG to refer to older adults. This term, along with ‘third age(r)’, is also employed on formal occasions, e.g. in news reports about pensions and in policy documents (see Chapter 1.1.5). An English term with similar ideological loading would be ‘elderly/older (citizens)’. Finally, *γριά*’/*gria*, pronounced /ɣri'ɐ/, is also part of both the CG and SMG inventory, but is a more colloquial and less euphemistic term than *ilikiomeni*. An English near-miss would be ‘old woman’.

The table below shows which specific category term is used to refer to whom; categorisations may be directed to the self, to the self and others simultaneously (using an inclusive plural), to others present (excluding self), to others non-present (acquaintances who are not part of the group or to strangers) and to people in general. The original terms (transliterated) are reserved for most old-age categories and an English translation can be found on page 10. The numbers indicate how many times each term has been used overall in the eighteen hours of self-recordings. Columns with an F in the second row indicate categories in the female form or directed at women and columns with an M indicate categories employed in the male form.

<i>Categorisation</i>	<i>Kojakari/ou</i>	<i>Megali/os</i>		<i>Ilikiomeni/os</i>		<i>Gria/Geros</i>		<i>Third</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>directed at:</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>Age</i>	
<i>Self</i>		1							1
<i>Self and others</i>	3	4		4				1	12
<i>Other(s) present</i>				1					1
<i>Other(s) non present</i>	13	14	5	7	2	8	4		53
<i>Other(s) in general</i>	1		1			1	1		4
<i>Total per gender (f:female/m:male)</i>	17	19	6	12	2	9	5	1	f:58 m:13
TOTAL	17	25		14		14		1	71

n=18hours

Table III: Distribution of explicit old-age categorisation in noun form

It is noteworthy that most old-age categorisations are reserved, primarily, for others non-present (53 out of the 71 categories). Furthermore, the overwhelming majority of old-age (58 out of 71) categorisations refer to women, as is evident from the numbers in the seventh row (totals per gender). This is predictable, since all the participants are

women and hence all categories directed at self and interlocutors would be in the female form. Also, the participants socialise primarily with women and in their conversations they also talk mostly about other women and not men, hence the large majority of categories directed at third parties are female. Another observation is that both categorising the self exclusively, as old, or one's interlocutors, excluding oneself, regardless of the specific term employed, are exceptionally rare (they appear only once each) which might be an indication that both activities are oriented to as dispreferred. The issue of self-categorisation is further discussed in Section 3.5. The most frequently used old-age categorisations seems to be *megalos/i* ('μεγάλη/ος') used 25 times, followed by *kojakari* and its diminutive *kojakaou* ('κοτζάκαρη, κοτζακαρού'), which is encountered 17 times. Other terms employed in the data are *ilikiomenos/i*, ('ηλικιωμένη/ος') and *geros/gria* ('γέρος/γρια'), encountered 14 times each. The least frequently used term is 'τρίτη ηλικία'/third age. For women in particular, *kojakari/ou* are employed almost as frequently as *megali* (17 and 19 times each), followed by *ilikiomeni* (12 instances) and *gria* (9 times).

Below the two most frequently used terms *kojakari* and *megali* and the ways participants use and contextualise them are investigated in detail.

3.2.2 'Κοτζάκαρη': a decline category

'Κοτζάκαρη'/*kojakari*, (and also the diminutive 'κοτζακαρού'/*kojakaou*) is the most frequent female old-age categorisation, used 17 times. Subsequently, the CBAs of this category are illustrated. The following excerpt is part of a pre-arranged coffee gathering that takes place in Gregoria's house on the occasion of her name-day⁴⁶ and which the hostess (Gregoria), Loulla, Myria, Charoulla and Tasoulla attended. This excerpt was recorded a few minutes into the conversation when only Loulla and Myria had arrived at Gregoria's house. Loulla had been to the accident and emergency section of the local hospital for a neck problem the morning before and is describing the different people she saw in the hospital with different conditions. At this point she talks about a patient she categorises as *kojakari*.

Excerpt 3-1 (participants: Gregoria, Loulla, Charoulla)

4.56

⁴⁶ Name-day is an Eastern Orthodox celebration, traditionally of greater significance than one's birthday. One's acquaintances are expected to call and wish them well for their name day and to be subsequently given a treat or invited to the celebrant's house for a treat.

1. Λ μια κοτζάκαρη μες το κρεβάτιν πο'τζει: (.) καντζελλωμένον. (.) ↑'κόρη κοπελλούες
2. ανοίξετε το κόρη. κατεβάστε με.' '>μα πού εν νά πάεις< γιαγιά' 'κατεβάστε με.'
3. μα <θυκο ώρες> Χαρούλλα μου ήταν απέναντι μου, [τζ ε]φώναζεν;
4. Γ [α:-]
5. = >εμάχουμουν να σου πω< μα πού τις είδες μες το κρεβάτι αλλά επήες εις
6. [το κρεβάτι]
7. Λ [↑μά:να μου.]ε(.)να την κατεβά:σουν τζειαμαί κούρταλον <κοβάριν>ε 'περιμένουμεν
8. ↓τη::ν (.) την άμπουλανε να'βρει καιρόν να'ρτει να την πάρει στο γηροκομείον' (.)
9. Χ φέρνουν τες τζαι παίρνουν τες
10. Γ °αχ° (5) ((sounds of cups))
11. Χ ↓εχ.
12. Γ θεέ μου τζαι μεν το δείξεις [να-]
13. Λ [να] μεν μας ρίχνει ο θεός. να μεν μας ρίχνει
14. Γ =να υποφέρνει το πλάσμα:, κα:λλύττερα να τελειώννει [γλήορα:. παρά] να μασεται
15. Λ [νναι. νναι νναι.]
16. Γ >ε είντα 'μ που< εν (.) χρόνια τούτα να τα: ζείς τζαι να τα-?
17. Χ έτσι τύχη-
18. Λ σαν τζείνην την γυναίκαν που είδα σήμερα τι θέλει την ζωή?
19. τι την θέλει τη ζωή? ένα τυράνιον (.) τζαι ένας πόνος.
20. Γ καλό:.

1. L a *kojakari* in a bed over there: (.) with bars. (.) ↑'kori⁴⁷ girls
2. open up *kori*. put me down.' '>but where are you going< grandma' 'put me down.'
3. for <two hours> Charoulla she was opposite me, [and] was shouting;
4. G [a:-]
5. = >I was about to tell you< where did you see them in the bed but you went to
6. [the bed]
7. L [↑oh: dear.] em (.) to pu:t her down there an old crone <a tangle> em 'we are waiting
8. for ↓the:: (.) the ambulance to find time to come and take her to the care home' (.)
9. C they bring them and they take them back
10. G °ah° (5) ((sounds of cups))
11. C ↓oh.
12. G my god may you do not show [that-]

⁴⁷ 'Κόρη'/Kori is an invariant term of address, employed in CG to address female members of the same or of younger age. Because it does not have a direct English equivalent it is only transliterated in the extract translations. The term is discussed in Section 3.7, below.

13. L [may] god not cast up on us. not cast up on us
14. G =if a person suffers, it is better to end [quickly:. rather] than struggle
15. L [yes. yes yes.]
16. G >well what< are (.) these years worth living and-?
17. C such luck-
18. L like that woman that I saw today what does she want to live for?
19. what does she need life for? just torture (.) and pain.
20. G sure:.

(from conversation A9)

5.58

In line 1, with no indication of hesitation Loulla categorises the figure of her story: *kojakari*. *Kojakari* is the first term employed to categorise this woman, and thus its function is to do identifying. Therefore, *kojakari* is treated by Loulla as an appropriate categorisation for a person associated with all the attributions of decline she describes in her story in lines 1-8. Because Loulla has assumed the discourse role of the story teller, from 1.1 onwards that suspends competition for the floor at each TRP, and therefore Loulla can reserve longer turns. A number of devices are employed here by the narrator to emphasise the decrepitude CBAs and also to lend tellability and high involvement to her story. More specifically, Loulla employs reported speech of different figures in her story: of the *kojakari* (1.1-2), the nurses (1.2) and doctors (1.7-8); repetition (1. 2); and paralinguistic devices, such as intonational variation (1.1, 7, 8), and increased loudness in voice (1.3, 7). These devices have been documented in literature on (Greek) storytelling as involvement strategies, i.e. seeking to involve the story recipients in the storytelling, and as internal evaluation, that is, conveying non-explicitly the narrator's assessment of the story and the characters).⁴⁸ In addition, Loulla's '↑μά:να μου'/↑oh: dear. (1.7) functions as an external evaluation as it explicitly expresses the narrator's pity for the figure.

A number of other categorisations are also employed to emphasise the decrepitude of the *kojakari*. Firstly, the nurses are reported to address her as 'γιαγιά'/grandma (1.2), implying both significant age difference and also inappropriate intimacy (as a kinship term is employed to address as stranger in an institutional setting), a characteristic of patronising talk directed at older adults (cf. Hummert & Ryan 2001) Also, in line 7 two

⁴⁸ For involvement strategies in Greek storytelling see Tannen 1986; Georgakopoulou 1997, 1998; for internal evaluation see Labov 1972:369. The device of reported speech is further discussed in Section 3.5.1 and in Chapter 5.4.1

additional categorisations, with emphatic intonation, are ascribed to the woman: *old crone* and *tangle* which emphasise the attributions of a distorted almost non-human external appearance of the *kojakari*, and thus function as assessments. It is noteworthy that the markedly basilectal term for old crone, ‘κούρταλον’, is employed here to emphasise extreme age-related decline. In addition, she is associated with the locational formulation⁴⁹ *care home* (l.8), also making relevant features of frailty and dependence. It is interesting that, once Loulla completes her story, Charoulla, referring to the *kojakari*, employs third person plural (female form), placing the figure of the story as a member of a larger group of institutionalised old women (*kojakares*). In the following sequence death is co-constructed, by all three interlocutors, as preferable in cases of deep dependence, where life is torture and pain. In this extract, attributions of decay, very poor physical and mental health, old-looking, distorted appearance, dependence, life in a care home and inability to interact appropriately with others are co-constructed as associated with the category *kojakari*. Also, all members wish that they never reach this stage (in l.13, using inclusive plural in the first person) and by doing this they also distance themselves from the old-age category of (institutionalised) *kojakares*.

To sum up, the category *kojakari* is associated in the first example with attributions of frailty, poor physical health, mobility problems, poor mental state (from loss of primary cognitive functions of memory and attention to loss of awareness of the environment), very aged appearance etc. These negative features are also made relevant in sixteen out of the seventeen instances, where the term *kojakari* is employed (for additional examples of the use of *kojakari* in the conversations, see also Excerpt 7-4, Excerpt 7-5, Excerpt 7-6, p. 345, in the Appendix). In other interactional sequences, *kojakari* is associated with loneliness, deep dependence, being close to death, incontinence, wearing a headscarf, holding a cane and is disassociated from high sociability, and smooth, youthful skin. In addition to decline attributions, this categorisation has connotations of being a traditional Cypriot woman, indexed primarily through dress, especially the headscarf. This constitutive attribution of the categorisation is, hinted-at in Extract 3-4 (p. 107), where a stiletto-wearing octagenarian is not characterised as *kojakari* and is explicitly made relevant in Extract 3-7, p. 116, where headscarf-wearing *kojares* of yesteryear could well be chronologically young. Therefore, the salient Cypriot cultural construct that upholding traditions is constitutive of elderliness is made

⁴⁹ This is Schegloff’s term for geographical locations, such as street addresses, ‘the cafe’, ‘my school’ etc. (Hester & Eglin 1997c:9; Silverman 1998:133).

relevant here, but is also re-negotiated as associated with decline attributions, as well (cf. Chapter 1.1.6). On the whole, because the term is always bound to decline characteristics, it cannot be seen as a multi-valent term that only sometimes is associated with decline attributes. Also, because of its negative associations, in all these cases women categorised as *kojakari* are either strangers or distant acquaintances and not friends or relatives (I discuss the one deviant case below). Furthermore, interlocutors skilfully try to disassociate themselves from this negatively loaded categorisation and its attributions.

The one instance when *kojakari* is not constructed as bound to decline attributions is the following. In this interactional sequence, Loulla claims for herself and also for Myria, Gregoria and Charoulla the category *kojakari*. This is during an afternoon meeting at Myria's house, where all five main participants are present, and also another close friend of Myria, and peripheral member of the group, Ketsina. Tasoulla has been making and serving coffee to the participants and this excerpt comes just after Tasoulla started collecting used cups to do the washing up and urges Charoulla to finish her coffee.

Excerpt 3-2 (participants: Tasoulla, Charoulla, Gregoria, Loulla, Myria, Ketsina) 26.47

1. T >πικιέ 'ον καφέν σου< κόρη μου! (.) [έπικιας την κουβένταν] τζαι:((stylised anger))
2. X [ε ήπικια τζέινον ()]
3. Γ α! φχαριστούμεν πάρα πολύ! [να'σαι καλά
4. Λ [χαχαχα
5. T =Ναί! μου! ((stylised anger)) πικιέ τον καφέν σου ε::
6. X έν θα τον πικω κόρη
7. T γιατί?
8. X ε τον μισόν. ήπικια τζέναν το πρωί
9. Λ =είδες ο θεός [πώς τα οικονομά.]
10. Μ [εν σου άρεσεν?]
11. =°εν σου άρεσεν?°
12. Λ εμείς [ούλλες κοτζάκα]ρες
13. Χ [°όι ήταν καλός°]
14. Λ τζαι να μας πέψει μιαν [φιλενάδαν νέαν! ((smile voice)) (.)
15. T [χαχαχα
16. Λ [εί]δες ο θεός πώς τα οικονομά? ((smile voice))
17. T [(h)]

18. *εν που σας αρέσκει να'στε νέες φιλενάδες ((smile voice))*
19. X [έλα έλα!]
20. Λ [χαχαχα]
21. T [άησ' τον τζαμέ-]
22. M [φαινούμαστιν]τζ'εμείς νέες!
-
1. T >drink your coffee< kori! (.) [you started chatting] a:nd ((stylised anger))
2. C [well I drank that ()]
3. G oh! thank you very much! [bless you
4. L [hahaha
5. T =mother of Jesus! ((stylised anger)) drink your coffee e::m
6. C I will not drink it kori
7. T why?
8. C well half of it. I drank one in the morning as well
9. L =you see how god [arranges things.]
10. M [you didn't like it?]
11. =°you didn't like it?°
12. L we [all kojaka]res
13. C [°no it was good°]
14. L and he sent us a [young girlfriend! ((smile voice)) (.)
15. T [hahaha
16. L [see] how god arranges things? ((smile voice))
17. T [(h)]
18. T it is because you like to have young girlfriends ((smile voice))
19. C [come come!]
20. L [hahaha
21. T [leave it there-]
22. M [we look]young as well!

(from conversation A5)

27.10

Here the MCD 'age' is focal with two categories: *kojakares* and 'νέαν'/young (l.12,14). These categories are also linked with another categorisation device that has to do with 'social relations' and which includes the standardised relational pair (SRP) friend-friend; or rather 'female friend'-'female friend', so that the MCD gender is also implied (for a definition of SRP see Chapter 2.5.1, above). The question is why is this negative

categorisation *kojakares* claimed by Loulla and is not being contested by the other members to whom it is also ascribed.

In this excerpt Tasoulla, acting as a host in Myria's house collects the coffee cups and urges Charoulla to finish off her coffee in line 1. With her stylised angry voice she tells Charoulla off for talking and not drinking the coffee and Charoulla responds with the excuse that she has drunk as much as she wanted. Here the two interlocutors perform an adjacency pair of activities (reprimand/apology) typically associated with the 'adult-child' SRP (for a definition of adjacency pairs see Chapter 2.5.2, above). Gregoria also picks up on Tasoulla's reprimand with an animated oh! and with a shift to stylised SMG (in l.3). This stylisation contributes to the construction of a playful, humorous frame⁵⁰ and so does Loulla's latching laughter in line 4. Therefore, a teasing context is constructed, where Tasoulla with her 'angry' reprimands (l.1 and 5) assumes the adult role and Charoulla and Gregoria the role of the recipient of Tasoulla's instructions. In line 6 Charoulla uses a more assertive tone and the term of address *kori*, which signals equality, makes relevant the SRP friend-friend, and hence no longer ratifies the discourse identity (see Chapter 2.5.2, above) of instructions recipient that Tasoulla projects on her. With a latching utterance in line 9, Loulla follows up on Charoulla's introduction of this relational pair and seeks to interpret in a different way the role of instructions/reprimands recipient that Tasoulla teasingly projected onto Charoulla.

Loulla draws on the SRP girlfriend-girlfriend but also introduces a contrast pair, 'κοτζάκαρες (φιλενάδες)/*kojakares* (girlfriends) vs. 'νέαν φιλενάδα'/*young girlfriend* placed at the very extremes of adult age categorisations (l.12 and 14). The two categorisations seek to praise Tasoulla for doing house chores in someone else's house and justify it by using the two contrasting age-categorisations, to exaggerate the age difference. Thus they might not hold to be valid outside this comparison context. In fact, they are initially only taken up by Tasoulla with a laugh (in l.15). Only after Loulla's invitation for comment (l.16), Tasoulla orients to this SRP, but only to the 'νεαρή φιλενάδα'/*young girlfriend*, part of it, and that while smiling. Tasoulla's response orients to the fact that it would be a dispreferred activity to ratify the ascription of the categorisation *kojakares* onto her interlocutors, even if it has already

⁵⁰ Frame is Goffman's term for members' understanding of the utterances exchanged, the social activity and the situation they are involved in, based on an endless stream of social messages exchanged in interaction, see Goffman 1981:152; Tannen & Kakava 1992:32.

been claimed by her coparticipants, and it is oriented to in a humorous frame. This apparently occurs because of the term's negative attributions, as they have been constructed on other occasions. Finally, in line 22, Myria claims membership for herself and also the other members previously categorised as *kojakares*, to the category young-looking, presenting it as one of the rights associated with the SRP girlfriend-girlfriend. Again this exaggeration also hints at the humorous and locally contingent context in which all these age categorisations have been negotiated. Therefore, the claim for self and others of the derogatory old-age category *kojakari* is only done in this context of teasing and exaggeration, but the dispreferredness, which its ratification entails (shown by Tasoulla's response), indexes that it still brings about implicit associations of decline CBAs.

3.2.3 'Μεγάλη γυναίκα': The all-encompassing category

While *kojakari* is a category associated with a more or less defined set of category-bound activities and features, and the participants would avoid categorising themselves as such, unless for a joke, these attributions do not apply to the other often-used term *megali (gineka)*, which is mentioned 19 times in total. As mentioned in Section 3.2.1, this is a euphemistic term for old age and it could be extended to middle-agers and also it lacks the low/dialectal register of *kojakari*. In the data *megali gineka*, although overwhelmingly associated with women of third age, has a much diffused and locally contingent meaning as far as category attributions go, and participants do not hesitate to claim it for themselves and others present. In the following example, Loulla and Myria are visiting Gregoria and the former is recounting her experience at the local health centre, where she went for an eye check-up, the day before.

Excerpt 3-3 (participants: Loulla, Myria, Gregoria)

11.48

Λ ε:χτές που'μουν τζειαμαί ήρτεν μιν: είδεν αποκόλλησιν.

1. M ↓α.

2. Λ μεγάλη γυναίκα σαν εμάς καμιν εβδομηνταπενταρκά. °τζαι παραπάνω αν ήταν°.

3. (.) τζαι: ήταν τζείνη η Αγάθη η παχουλλή: (.)

1. L ye:sterday when I was there came a: she had a detachment.⁵¹

2. M ↓oh.

3. L mega:li woman like us around seventy five. °she might be older°.

⁵¹ Gynaecological problem

4. (.) a:nd there was that Agathi the chubby one: (.)

(from conversation A12)

11.59

In line 3 Loulla categorises a woman as *megali* to do describing, since the person referred to has already been identified as a patient at the hospital, with a certain condition, in line 1 (for the different functions of categories see Schegloff 2007a). Loulla further specifies the age category *megali gineka* a) with the relational *like us* and b) with an age-in-years feature (75 or older), in line 3. The fact that *megali gineka* is complemented by two additional age features suggests that it is a very broad age-category, insufficient to adequately identify a person's chronological age. Also, this person is categorised *like us*, thus the other participants, Gregoria and Myria are also presented as co-incumbent of the category *megali gineka*. No hesitation is indexed by the shape of the turn in line 3 and no contestation of the categorial ascription is indexed by the coparticipants. This then suggests that *megali gineka* is apt for other- as well as self-categorisation, presumably because it is not necessarily bound to a set of decline attributions. The following example further illustrates this point.

This excerpt takes place in Myria's house, where Myria, Gregoria, Loulla and Charoulla are present. In this stretch of talk Myria is describing a woman named Elenou, whom she saw recently at church and with whom all the interlocutors are acquainted.

Excerpt 3-4 (participants: Myria, Loulla, Gregoria, Charoulla)

59.46

1. M είδα την τζείν'την Ελενού του παπά προχτές έμπηκεν μες την εκκλησάν με
2. τόσον τάκκον
3. Λ =νναι!
4. M >τίκκι τίκκι τίκκι τίκκι< ((animated voice))
5. Λ =νναι.
6. M επροσκύνησεν, έρεξεν που κάτω, [>τίκκι τίκκι τίκκι τίκκι<] ((animated voice))
7. Λ [νναι νναι νναι.]
8. [πολλά.]
9. Γ [°εν πάνω] που ογδόντα°
10. M ε και? πκιο μεγάλες που την Βικτωρία
11. Γ [νναι.]
12. Χ [εν]μεγάλες. [Ναΐα μου μια φορά που το νοσο]κομείον,

13. M [τζαι με το τακκούνι τζαι ούλλα;]
14. ↓ ξιχάννουν όμως λαλεί μου η Ειρην(η)ιά χα
15. Γ μμ.
-
1. M I saw that Elenou ((the wife)) of the priest yesterday she went into the church
2. with heels this high
3. L =yes!
4. M >click click click click < ((animated voice))
5. L =yes.
6. M she bowed, she passed underneath, [>click click click click <] ((animated voice))
7. L [yes yes yes.]
8. [indeed.]
9. G [°she's over] eighty°
10. M so? older than Victoria
11. G [yes.]
12. C [they] are *megales*. [mother of Jesus one day at the hos]pital,
13. M [heels and all;]
14. they ↓forget though says Irin(h)a ha
15. G mm.

(from conversation A10)

1.00.04

In this excerpt Myria emphasises Elenou's high heels and agility employing animated sound-words (in 1.4, 6) and Loulla with her emphatic agreement tokens (1.3, 5, 7, 8) also orients to the fact that Elenou's activities are unexpected, or at least highly reportable. The first age categorisation is offered by Gregoria in line 9 which categorises Elenou as a member of the age-in-years category *above eighty*. In line 10 Myria receives Gregoria's age categorisation with a contestation ('ε και?'/so?). Myria is treating Gregoria's age categorisation as implying the incongruity of the activities she has been describing with the character's chronological age, and is thus contesting this incongruity. However, she is not actually denying the validity of Gregoria's categorisation as she goes on to categorise Elenou (and Elenou's sister) as older than Victoria, Myria's sister, who is 80 yearsold (1.10). Gregoria, with an agreement token, ratifies Myria's age categorisation and Charoulla, in line 12, resolves the clash between the sisters' chronological age and their counter-decline characteristics, by offering the generic age-categorisation *megales*, in which both counter-decline CBAs and advanced

age-in-years features can coexist. Charoulla will go on to narrate a different story about Elenou, indicating that she is extremely talkative. At the same time, in line 13, Myria summarises the activities that differentiate Elenou and her sister from a *kojakari*, adding forgetfulness in line 14. It is telling that Myria uses the contrastive conjunction ‘ὅμως’/*though*, also indicating the incompatibility of the two attributions (wearing high heels and forgetfulness), which can be attributed to the fact that they are CBAs of two different age categories. Myria’s laughter in line 14, also indexes the incongruity of the two activities. Here the two sisters are categorised as *megales*, who as far as appearance and mobility go are non-*kojakares*, but whose mental state could be associated with *kojakares*. Thus *megales* is constructed here as an umbrella term to categorise a woman of above 80, which has both decline and counter-decline attributions.

In both examples above (Excerpt 3-3 and Excerpt 3-4) *megali* is accompanied with explicit mentions of chronological age, which suggests that it is too general a term to be a sufficient indicator of age-in-years. In fact on two occasions in the data *megali* is employed not as an old-age categorisation, but as an age category signifying adulthood as opposed to childhood (see Excerpt 7-7, p. 349, in the Appendix). Nevertheless, on another occasion being fifty-three is constructed as too young to be categorised as *megali* (see Excerpt 7-8, p. 350 in the Appendix). Finally, *megali* and its male equivalent *megalos*, are frequently juxtaposed to young-age categories, such as ‘κορούα’/*girl*, ‘μιτσά’/*girl*, ‘κοπέλλα’/*young woman*, ‘νεαρή ηλικία’/*young age* (see for example, Excerpt 7-9 and Excerpt 7-10, p. 350, in the Appendix). On the whole, in most instances (19 out of the 21) *megali* (*gineka*) categorises women above sixty-five and seventy, therefore it could be classified as an old-age category.⁵²

On different instances of use, *megali* can be associated to both decline and counter decline CBAs. For example in Excerpt 3-4, above, and Excerpt 7-14 (p.353, in the Appendix), *megali gineka* is oriented as a category bound to absentmindedness and memory loss. However on other occasions, *megali* is oriented to as an age with no decline CBAs, see, for instance, Excerpt 7-11 (p.351 in the Appendix), where the term is employed to categorise a TV chef. In fact, in half of the instance *megali* is employed, no age-related negative attributions are constructed as bound to the categorisation. It could thus be concluded that this old-age category is not as inference rich as *kojakari*

⁵² In Table III, p.98, only the instances where *megali* is employed as an old-age category are included.

and its attributions are very much locally contingent. Owing to its generality it is not apt for doing identifying, and therefore it is often employed along with other (more specific) old-age categories in order to identify a third party (for further elaboration see Section 3.4). Furthermore, because of the fact that this term is not necessarily bound to decline attributions, it is employed for the categorisation of self and other present, as has been shown in Excerpt 3-3, above. In fact, *megali* is the only generic age category employed for self-categorisation outside the frame of reported speech, humour and hypothetical scenarios (for a further discussion see Section 3.5.1, below).

Finally, in the self-recordings, this category is consistently employed in SMG morphology, and therefore in the plural it never takes the dialectal form of ‘μιάλες γεναίτζες’ but retains the SMG form of ‘μεγάλες γυναίκες’ (see for example Excerpt 3-8, p. 117, below). This is another indication that register can be employed as an additional linguistic resource that participants deploy to index age. As argued elsewhere in this chapter, basilactal register is used emblematically by participants to emphasise elderliness and age-related decline (see discussion on *kojakari*, above and also Section 3.3, below). In the case of *megali*, the acrolectal register appears to be deployed in order to emphasise the unmarkedness of this age categorisation (cf. Papapavlou 1998; Eckert 2008).

3.2.4 Additional generic categories and their appropriation in the media

Other old-age categories that are used with lower frequency are ‘ηλικιωμένη’/*ilikiomeni* meaning elderly woman (employed 12 times), ‘γριά’/*gria*, the SMG equivalent of *kojakari* (used nine times) and ‘τρίτη ηλικία’/*third age* (employed once). Both *kojakari* and *megali gineka* are not found in the Cypriot media surveyed, to categorise old women (for an overview of the Cypriot media surveyed and their portrayal of older adults see Chapter 1.1.5). However, *ilikiomeni* and to a lesser extent *gria*, and related terms, are categories employed in the media discourse. Below an outline of the use of those terms in the data and the Cypriot media will be given.

Unlike *megali gineka*, which, in contexts others than the data at hand, is not necessarily associated with old age, *ilikiomeni* explicitly denotes third age. In the data *ilikiomeni* is also constructed as an exclusively old-age category. The following is an example of the use of *ilikiomeni* in the data. It takes place halfway through a meeting at Charoulla’s house and all five participants are present. Myria had asked Tasoulla if her friends

make a lot of treats at their coffee meetings. Here Tasoulla talks about her *kumera*⁵³ and the treats she offers at the coffee gatherings she organises.

Excerpt 3-5 (participants: Tasoulla, Charoulla, Myria, Gregoria, Loulla)

55.08

1. M τζείνες <κάμνουν> πολλά α?
2. T ↑ε η κουμέρα η:: Λιμπουρίνα που πάω: ανοίγει την τράπεζαν της, (.)
3. M τζαι κάθεστε τζειαμαί?
4. T ανοίγει την τράπεζαν της. έσσει έναν τραπέζιν τζαι ANNOIEI που δα πάνω
5. ως τζει πάνω,
6. X >είν'α'μ που θέλεις. νερόν?< ((speaking to Loulla))
7. T τζαι καθ[ούμασταν γυρώ]
8. Λ [νναι. νναι ευχαριστώ.]
9. T τζαι φέρνει που την Καραμέλλα⁵⁴ τυρόπιττε:ς, καμνει μια τδίσσκεϊς η κόρη της
10. κάμνει κολοκοτές [η] κουμέρα;
11. M [α.]
12. T η κουμέρα μόνον κολοκοτές [κάμνει]
13. X [(°να βρο]μί[σουν είντα?°)]
14. M [η ηλικιω]μένη τζεινη::?
15. T νναι >να την δεις κάθε λλίον< κάμνει καφέ-
16. κάθε λλίον καλιεί με τζαι πάω.
17. M =α.
18. Γ ↓χμ.

1. M they <make> a lot right?
2. T ↑well the *kumera* the: Limbourina when I go: she unfolds her table, (.)
3. M and you sit there?
4. T she unfolds her table. she has a table and it UNFOLDS from up here
5. to over there,
6. C >what do you want. water? < ((speaking to Loulla))
7. T and we [sit around it]
8. L [yes. yes thanks.]
9. T and she brings cheesepies: from Karamella⁵⁵, and her daughter makes
10. a cheesecake *kumera* makes pumpkin [pie]s;

⁵³ See footnote 28, p.66.

⁵⁴ Καραμέλλα/Karamella is a bakery in Nicosia.

⁵⁵ See footnote 54, above.

11. M [ah.]
12. T *kumera* only makes pumpkin [pies]
13. C [(°so that] they [don't get dirty is it?°)]
14. M [the *ilikiomeni* the::?
15. T yes >you should see her she makes< coffee so often-
16. she invites me so often and I go over.
17. M =ah.
18. G ↓hm.
- (from conversation A4) 55.35

Tasoulla has so far categorised the person she talks about as *kumera Limbourina* (1.2, 11). The other participants were introduced to Limbourina, at Tasoulla's house, a few days before this meeting, and have also discussed her age on a previous occasion (see Excerpt 3-9, p. 120, below). The MCD age is explicitly oriented to in line 14, where Myria asks if Limbourina is the *ilikiomeni* friend of Tasoulla. However, assuming that Myria has already identified who *kumera* Limbourina is out of Tasoulla's friends, then *ilikiomeni* at line 14 is not intended at doing identifying. Rather it functions as 'hinting on' (Sacks 1995:A579) the incompatibility of Limbourina's age membership and the activities Tasoulla has described so far (hosting very frequent coffee gatherings etc.). In line 15, Tasoulla after her agreement token prefaces Limbourina's activities with 'vα την δεις'/you should see her; thus she orients to Limbourina's activity of inviting friends to her house frequently as reportable and atypical of her age categorisation. Therefore, the category *ilikiomeni* is locally constructed as a category, which is not bound to the activity of hosting frequent coffee meetings, but is appropriate for categorising a person close to at least one interlocutor. The fact that *ilikiomeni* is not as generic as *megali gineka*, is documented in Section 3.4, below.

Because this category is not as generic and malleable as *megali*, speakers do not claim it for themselves directly, and its ascription can incite, at least on the first instance, some contestation (see Section 3.5.1, Excerpt 3-11, below). Overall, this category is never constructed as bound to heavy decline attributions (like *kojakari* is), and in fact in most instances it is not associated with *any* decline CBAs (see e.g. Excerpt 7-11 and Excerpt 7-12, p. 352, in the Appendix). Therefore, it can be used for categorising close friends and relatives. In the Cypriot press, this term is the most often encountered old-age category (for a discussion of the Cypriot press surveyed see Chapter 1.1.5). It

overtly demarcates third age, and is most frequently used to categorise people above seventy, although it can be ascribed to adults as young as sixty-five. In the press, however, the term is also associated with heavier decline attributions, such as vulnerability, mobility problems and dependency.

Gria is another old-age category encountered both in the conversational data and in the Cypriot media (including radio). In both contexts, however, the category is encountered relatively rarely. In the conversational data it occurs only in two interactional sequences. It is associated with attributions such as mobility issues, holding a cane, senile dementia and extreme old age (see Excerpt 7-13, p. 353, in the Appendix). Also, because it is oriented to as a specific old-age category, it is apt for doing identification. For example in Excerpt 7-14 (p.353, in the Appendix) when Myria wants to clarify who they are talking about, their friend Tasoulla or an eighty-year-old acquaintance with the same name (Anastasia),⁵⁶ Loulla employs the categorisation *gria* to identify Anastasia as opposed to Tasoulla. Overall, *gria* is an exclusively old-age category oriented to as associated with decline attributions and employed to categorise strangers or people with whom the participants are not closely acquainted. It has comparable CBAs to *kojakari*, even though *kojakari* is on occasions bound to more negative attributions than *gria*.

In the Cypriot press terms cognate to ‘γριά’/*gria* are used, such as ‘γερασμένοι’ (aged), ‘γερόντισσα’ (old woman) and ‘γέρικο ζευγάρι’ (old couple). However, the category *gria* is only encountered once in the media data surveyed, in the diminutive form (i.e. ‘γριούλα’) and is clearly associated with attributions of mobility problems and frailty. In the radio show ‘Χωρίς Ηλικία’/*Without Age*, in the pre-recorded dramatised monologue of the older female character, the category ‘γερόντισσα’, is encountered (an alternative form of the word *gria*). Again, it is associated with decline CBAs of poor health, immobility, dependency and loneliness. Therefore, in the media ‘γριά’ or ‘γερόντισσα’ seems to have comparable associations as *kojakari*, and hence more euphemistic categories are preferred. On the other hand the male equivalent of ‘γριές’ is treated rather differently both in the media and in the self-recordings (for a further discussion on male categories see Section 3.6). In the print media the categories with the most counter-decline attribution are ‘γιαγιά’/*grandmother*, and especially ‘παπούς’/*grandfather* which are, more often than not, used to refer to the MCD age

⁵⁶ Tasoulla is the diminutive of Anastasia, and Tasoulla the main participants is on occasions refer to also as Anastasia.

rather than the MCD family. For instance ‘γιαγιά Αννού’/*grandmother Annou* is a euphemistic way of categorising a woman as old, rather than making relevant her family role. Nevertheless, in the self-recordings, these terms are never used as age categorisations but always as categories of the MCD family (family categorisations, as constructed in the data, are discussed in Chapter 5.9).

On the whole, it appears that participants negotiate a larger pool of old-age categorisations, than those found in the media, and with a more defined set of CBAs. They orient to the *megali gineka* as an all-encompassing (primarily) old-age category, they associate the exclusively old-age category *ilikiomeni* with positive and mild decline attributions and they also recurrently orient to *gria* and *kojakari* as old age categorisations bound to negative attributions. Also, old-age categories that are not (necessarily) bound to stereotypic attributions are not employed in the media. However, the participants recurrently construct certain old-age categories, which are not bound to (heavy) decline attributions. This affords members the opportunity to associate themselves with categories bound to positive and counter-decline attributions, whereas they can differentiate themselves from categories with negative, stereotypic attributions of frailty, dementia, institutionalisation, dependency, loneliness, distorted appearance and the like. This construction of old-age categories bound to stereotypic, decline attributions that are ascribed to others and distanced from the self is also found in Paoletti’s work (1998a) on the identity work of a group of older Italian women (which has been discussed in Chapter 1.2.3). In that study the participants would align themselves with positive identities (e.g. of busy and effective adults) that distance them from third age. Therefore, positive self-presentation entailed contesting any third age categorisation.⁵⁷ What is interesting with the data at hand is that the participants attribute positive (or non-decline) attributions to certain old-age categories, therefore they do not need to distance themselves from all old-age categories if they wish to project a positive self image; they can align themselves with positive CBAs, even by ascribing to old-age categories. Self categorisations are discussed further in Section 3.5, below.

⁵⁷ Similarly in the Cypriot radio show surveyed, what is locally constructed as a counter-decline age category is the term ‘χωρίς ηλικία’/*without age*, which points towards negation of or distancing from all ages, rather than positive third age identities.

Apart from generic old-age categories, another way of indexing old age is through references to one's age in years. The following section looks at this alternative set of age categorisations.

3.3 *Age in years: an alternative categorisation device for age*

So far, in many of the examples, along with generic old-age categorisations, a second set of categories appears. This additional collection comprises categorisations of chronological age and I call it age-in-years collection; some examples of age-in-years categories are 'είμαστεν σχεδόν εβδομήντα χρονών'/we are almost seventy years old, 'εγώ έκλεισα τα εβδομήντα τρία'/I have reached seventy three, 'εν ογδοντατριών'/she is eighty three. As one would expect disclosures of chronological age are more frequent for others non present, relatives or acquaintances of the interlocutors, rather than self-referential, as participants are well aware of each other's age. It is interesting to investigate the relation of this collection with generic age categorisations, analysed in Section 3.1, above.

In the following example (which is further discussed at Section 3.5.1 and phonetically transcribed in the Appendix, p. 366.) the chronological age reinforces the generic old-age categorisation. It takes place in Gregoria's house and all five main participants are present.

Excerpt 3-6 (participants: Tasoulla, Charoulla, Gregoria, Myria, Loulla)

1.34.03

1. T ε είμαστεν τρίτη ηλικία: ↓είντα 'μ που: 'ν, °άτε.°
2. X εσύ εν είσαι κόρη με μάδεσαι
[κόρη!] [ε με μάδεσαι.]
3. T [ε είμαι] είμαι [ΕΞΗΝΤΑΚΥΟ ↑ΓΡΟΝΩΝ!] Παναΐα μου;
1. T well we are in the third age: ↓wha:t, °come on.°
2. C you are not kori don't fret about
3. [kori!] [well don't fret about]
4. T [well I'm] I'm [SIXTY-TWO ↑YEARS OLD!] mother of Jesus;

(from conversation A3)

1.34.11

Here Tasoulla claims membership of the generic age category 'τρίτη ηλικία'/third age, and to Charoulla's contestation in line 2, she provides as an argument her membership

in the category 62-year-old (1.4). She also stresses sixty two, with increased volume and animated rhythmic contour, and marked rise in pitch. It is also notable that Tasoulla chooses to shift to a hyperdialectal/basilactal register in her age-in-years categorisation, opting for /eksindaco γronon/ as opposed to the mesolectal or *koine* form /eksindaθco xronon/. It could be argued that Tasoulla makes an emblematic use of code shifting to achieve an interactional effect (Tsiplakou 2009:60; Albirini 2011). She appears to shift to the basilectal register to emphasise the elderliness of being 62; in fact the association of CG basilect with decline old age categories, and in particular *kojakari*, has been documented in Section 3.2.2. On the whole, the chronological age is oriented to here as an *attribution constitutive* of the generic old-age category, third age, rather than an age category in its self (see Jayyusi 1984:24, for category-constitutive attributions).

However, in the example below, age in years is not oriented to as a straightforward index to a generic age category. This stretch is towards the end of a meeting at Myria's house, where Gregoria, Myria, Loulla and Charoulla are present. Here the participants are discussing that older women look younger than their male counterparts. The prior and upcoming talk can be found in the Appendix (Excerpt 7-6, p. 347) and the following sequence is lines 8-15 of the extended extract.

Excerpt 3-7 (participants: Myria, Loulla, Charoulla, Gregoria)

1.02.18

1. M ε κοίταξε κόρη η γεναίκα επειδή <βάφφει> το μαλλίν της,
2. περιποιάται διαφορετικά, (.) εν δείχει πκιο:ν. εφκάλαν τζειν' την μαντίλα:ν που::
3. X [στέκει]
4. Γ [μμμ]
- M φορούσα:ν που τα μιτῶά τους χρόνια [ελαλού]σες (.) εν κοτζάκαρη τούτη
5. X [σωστά.]
6. =κοτζάκαρες
7. Γ μμ.

1. M eh look *kori* a woman because she <dyes> her hair,
2. she spruces up differently, (.) it doesn't show anymo:re. they took off that ve:il tha::t
3. C [it's right]
4. G [hmm]
5. M they used to wea:ri it from a young age [you would] say (.) this is a *kojakari*
6. C [right.]
7. =*kojakares*
8. G hm.

In 1.5 Myria constructs the age category ‘μιτῶά χρόνια’/*young years*, as compatible to being ascribed the category *kojakari*, provided the woman wears a *veil*/‘μαντήλα’ (the traditional headscarf). Charoulla’s overlapping agreement token in line 6 and repetition of the category term in line 7, indicate her agreement with Myria’s orientation to the categorisation. Gregoria, also provides a continuer in 1.8, also indicating agreement. In the subsequent interactional sequence the participants indicate that they would themselves be (or look like) members of the category *kojakari*, should they wear headscarves and stop dying their hair (see Excerpt 7-6, p. 347, in the Appendix). In this extract wearing a veil or headscarf (‘μαντίλα’) is constructed not only as bound but as constitutive of the old-age categorisation *kojakari*, irrespective of someone’s chronological age. Hence, in this extract age-in-years and generic old-age categorisations are made relevant as two distinct collections, where a category from one collection does not straightforwardly index a category from the other collection.

The fact that chronological age is not unproblematically linked to generic old-age categories is also invoked in Myria’s first interview. The interactional sequence occurs towards the middle of the interview which takes place in Myria’s living room and only the researcher (Anna) and Myria are present. This excerpt is part of Myria’s response to the researcher’s question about what she considers to be typical characteristics of a woman of third age (‘γυναίκα τρίτης ηλικίας’). The prior and upcoming text of this sequence can be found in the Appendix (Excerpt 7-2, p. 334). The sequence cited here is at lines 17-24 of the extended extract of the Appendix.

Excerpt 3-8 (participants: Myria, Anna)

23.51

1. M ε εντάξει. ε καταλάβεις τες. τζαι, που το πρόσωπο, τζαι όλα να πούμε. (.) ότι
2. ένι:: ΜΕΓΑΛΕ:Σ γυναίκες. ε σαν εμείς τον γυρό:ν μας που ξέρουμε τζαι τις ηλικίες
3. μας- (.) σαν εμείς στην Ατα[λάντα] εμείς οι Αταλάντισσες αφού ξέρει η μια (.)
4. A [νναι]
5. M την άλλην, την ηλικίαν της αν εν πκιο μεγάλη σου αν εν πκιο μιτῶιά σου αν εν::
6. καταλαβαίνεις να πούμε τζαι: (.) ε.
7. τζ άμαν τες δεις τζαι *κουτσέφκουν* τζαι *ξέρεις* ((smile voice)) ↑ να χα[χαχα]χαχα
8. A [χαχα]

1. M oh well. you recognise them. and, from the face, and everything let's say. (.) that they
 2. are:: *MEGALES women*. like us in our circle that we know our ages-
 3. (.) like us in Ata[lanta] us Atalantans since each knows (.)
 4. A [yes]
 5. M the other, *her age* if she is more *megali* than you if she is younger than you if she is::
 6. you understand let's say a:nd (.) yes.
 7. and when you see them limping you know ((smile voice)) ↑to ha[haha]haha
 8. A [haha]
- (from interview B3) 23.51

In this excerpt Myria draws on the resources of both classes of age categories 'generic' and 'age-in-years' to construct the CBAs of a third age woman. In line 2 Myria mentions the categorial reference *megales ginekes*, which belongs to the class of 'generic old age categories', but in the same line she also orients to the class of chronological age categories, by reference to 'ηλικίες' (*ages*). However, knowledge of one's chronological age does not appear to be a sufficient attribution to ascribe membership in a generic old age category, even one as neutral as *megales ginekes*. In line 7 limping plus a membership to a certain chronological age are constructed as CBAs to 'μεγάλες γυναίκες' (or even 'γυναίκες τρίτης ηλικίας', according to the researcher's question), only when they *co-occur*. Should someone be a member of a certain age-in-years category (presumably above seventy) but still be 'γερή'/*fit, healthy*, in Myria's terms, then they would not be members of generic old age categories, such as *megali*.⁵⁸ Therefore, here limping is not oriented to only as an attribution loosely associated with the category *megali*, but instead it appears to be an attribution *constitutive* of the category *megali*.

The discourse that health and mobility issues are prerequisites for membership in old-age categories and that, on the other hand, good health makes a person feel younger than their chronological age is made relevant at several instances in Myria's interview and it is also encountered in the radio show surveyed 'Συντροφιά από το τηλέφωνο' / *Telephone companionship*. In particular, in the pre-recorded theatrical monologue, the older female character mentions that 'άμαν έχει καλά την υγείαν του το πλάσμα τζαι εκατόν χρονών να'ναι εν νέον', meaning that if a person is in good health, even if they

⁵⁸ The age-in-years category 'seventy' and the attribution 'γερή'/*fit*, are oriented to by Myria in the preceding talk, see 1.9, in Excerpt 7-2, p.334, in the Appendix.

are a hundred years old they are young. Therefore, again, chronological age appears to be a category distinct from generic age categorisation (in the example ‘νέον’/*young*). This does not appear to be the case in the Cypriot press, more generally, where age-in-years categorisations seem to unproblematically index generic old-age categories, especially in the case of older women. For example, in an article about Yoko Ono in the Cypriot version of the magazine ‘Down Town’ (2/3/08, p. 116), the artist is explicitly categorised, among others, as a counter-stereotypic grandmother (‘Δεν θυμίζει καθόλου μοντέλο παραδοσιακής γιαγιάς, παραμένει δημιουργική, μαχητική ακτιβίστρια...’/*She does not resemble at all the model of a traditional granny; she remains creative, a militant activist...*). Ono is also categorised as a 75-year-old (‘στα 75 της’), which appears to be a sufficient criterion for incumbency to the generic old-age category ‘γηραιά κυρία’ (*old lady*). Therefore, in the press, even in the absence of (decline) activities bound to old-age categories, the chronological age of women appears to straightforwardly project membership in a generic old-age category.⁵⁹

This more homogenised representation of elderliness in the Cypriot press, as opposed to the self-recordings, shows that the participants (and perhaps, in the interviews, also the researcher) orient to a more nuanced construction of elderliness, where not only the different old-age categories are bound to different sets of attributions, but where chronological age cannot be unproblematically associated to a certain old-age category. Finally, the fact that, in the radio show ‘Χωρίς Ηλικία’/*Without Age*, discourses that construct incumbency to young-age categories, despite one’s age-in-years, exist suggests that the show projects a portrayal of old age which is distinct from that of the other media. This more nuanced account of old age categories that opens up more possibilities for (positive) self-presentation is typical of media targeting older adults; see, for example, Lumme-Sandt 2011, which is also discussed in Chapter 1.1.5.

Although chronological age can be an insufficient predictor of membership in a generic old age category, concealing one’s age-in-years is often constructed as improper and humorous behaviour in the self-recordings, and members are quick to mention their own chronological age (see, for example, Excerpt 7-15, p. 357, in the Appendix). In addition, when referring to acquaintances in the conversational data, disclosures of

⁵⁹ The only exception in the Cypriot press appears to be male statesmen and other public figures, whose age is not made relevant, and even when their chronological age is mentioned, this does not entail ascription to generic old-age categories. Nevertheless male statesmen are exempt from most types of ageist stereotypic portrayal, as has been discussed in Chapter 1.1.5.2.

chronological age are done with the utmost precision. A simple mention of one's age-in-years usually does not suffice and other arguments, such as year of birth and the relation of that person's age to other people's age (interlocutors themselves, their relatives etc.) are also mentioned when the categorisation is interactionally negotiated. In fact, additional arguments such as referring to official documents, (e.g. ID card) and quoting people who have privileged access to another person's chronological age (e.g. their siblings) are also sometimes employed (e.g. Excerpt 7-15, p. 357, in the Appendix). This suggests that age-in-years, even in this context, is a powerful category. On the whole, although categories from the age-in-years collection seem to be bound to certain activities and can sometimes reinforce generic old-age categories, they do not index the latter in an easily identifiable way (e.g. 80 year olds are *kojakares*) but can also constitute a distinct class of age categorisations (as was shown in Excerpt 3-7, above). This gives participants the flexibility to either construct age-in-years as a CBA to a generic old-age category or to claim/ascribe certain age-in-years categories without ratifying a particular generic old-age category or its attributions.

3.4 *Rules of application*

In this section, members' rules for applying old-age categorisations are examined. Firstly, an interactional sequence is examined, looking very closely at the sequential organisation, to demonstrate participants' apprehension of a set of rules for applying categories from the MCD age. The interactional sequence takes place during an afternoon meeting of the five participants, at Gregoria's house. Tasoulla mentions that in their next meeting at her house she will also invite Limbourina, her *kumera*,⁶⁰ with whom the other participants are not well acquainted. Thus in this excerpt Tasoulla tries to identify Limbourina.

Excerpt 3-9 (participants: Myria, Tasoulla, Gregoria, Loulla, Charoulla)

1.33.11

1. M θωρούμεν την τζιαμαί πό'ρκεται κοντά σου?
2. T νναι εν τζείνη η κοτζα:-
3. M =κο:τζακαρού?
4. T νναι:, ε °νι νναι°, νναι:.. (.)
5. ↑ε: εν να της πω τζαι τζείνης [πάω τακτικά: τζαι-]
6. M [κοτζακαρού:] πέρκι νά'μαστεν
7. πκιο μεγάλες εμείς ((smile voice)) χαχαχα

⁶⁰ See footnote 53, p.111.

1. M have we seen her when she comes to your house?
2. T yes it is that *koja*:-
3. M =*ko:jakaru*?
4. T yeah:, em °yeah yeah°, yeah:. (.)
5. ↑we:ll I will tell her as well [I go often: and-]
6. M [*kojakaru*:] we might be
7. more megales ((smile voice)) hahaha

(from conversation A3)

1.33.20

Myria asks Tasoulla whether she and the other interlocutors have ever seen Limbourina at Tasoulla's house, trying to identify her. Tasoulla answers the question, at line 2, employing a categorisation about Limbourina, thus she does categorising to do identifying (Schegloff 2007a:437). Since the MCD age has already been made relevant in the immediately prior talk to categorise another acquaintance of Tasoulla (not included in this excerpt), and in accordance with the **consistency rule** of application of membership categories, Tasoulla chooses to mention a category from the same device (for a definition of the rule see Chapter 2.5.1). However she offers the categorisation with a perturbation (i.e. a 'deflection in the production of the talk from the trajectory which it has been projected to follow', Schegloff 2000:11; see also Chapter 2.5.2). The end of turn in line 2 is marked with a prolonged *a*: and a sudden cut off. This self-initiated repair indicates hesitation which can signal a disturbance in the categorisation process (Paoletti 1998a:32). Tasoulla's hesitation to categorise a person older than her as *kojakarou* can be interpreted by a rule of application specific to the MCD age.

1. If A categorises B as a member of age category X, and B shares with interlocutor C the category-bound feature of similar chronological age (and other attributions), then by implication A may also be categorising or be taken to categorise C as a member of age category X.

This would explain the difficult situation that Tasoulla found herself in after initiating the categorisation of *kojakarou* or *kojakari* (with all the negative category-bound attributions discussed above, at Section 3.2.2) for a woman almost the same age as one of her interlocutors (Gregoria) and to whom the categorisation *kojakarou* might by implication apply.

In line 3 Myria does not align with Tasoulla's self censorship and responds by choosing between the two possible completions *kojakarou* and *kojakari* the diminutive type *kojakarou* (with all the CBAs of decrepitude). This receives Tasoulla's hesitant ratification in line 4 (the hesitation is indexed with elongations of vowels, lower voice, repetitions and other perturbations). Hence with a strategic manoeuvre rather than a subverted production, Tasoulla seeks her interlocutors' contribution in the categorisation, in order to redress the dispreferredness of implying a derogatory old-age categorisation for her interlocutors. In line 5, Tasoulla tries to resume the main storyline, which is her invitation for coffee next week. This could get her out of the spot she got herself in, in line 2. However, in line 6 there is friction, as Myria interrupts the flow. Her remark in line 6 presents categorising a person of similar or younger age as *kojakarou* to be comical/ironic, and she frames her utterance with laughter. The reason why it is comical/ironic to ascribe derogatory old-age categorisations to peers, could be explained by the **second** rule of application:

2. If A categorises B as a member of the age category X, and they share the category-bound feature of similar chronological age (and other attributions), then by implication A is also categorising themselves as a member of the age category X.

Thus, according to this principle, Myria's use of the derogatory category *kojakarou* is also by implication ascribed to herself, hence the irony. Finally, Myria categorises not only herself but also the three other interlocutors, Loulla, Charoulla and Gregoria, who are older than her, as potentially older than a person categorised as *kojakarou* (l.6: *We might be older*). Therefore, she points out, in a humorous way, that Tasoulla's negatively loaded categorisation (l. 2) could be extended to all her interlocutors (**first rule** of application). And of course, this explains Tasoulla's self-censorship on line 2.

Self-initiated self-repairs regarding the old-age category term used could also be interpreted with these rules of application. The example below occurred about 25 minutes after the beginning of an almost two hour long meeting at Charoulla's house. At this point Charoulla is in a different room and does not participate in the conversation, and the interlocutors are Loulla, Myria, Gregoria and Tasoulla. Myria and Loulla refer to Mr Kypros and his wife, a woman named Christina, and Gregoria tries to identify them.

1. Γ χμ. τούτη πό'ρκεται στην εκκλησάν κάποτε?
2. Μ ε: νομίζω.
3. Γ =εν ηλικιωμέ- εν [μεγάλη::]?
4. Μ [ό::ι όι] τούτη.
5. Γ α.

1. G hm. the one who comes to the church sometimes?
2. M erm: I think so.
3. G =is *ilikiome*- is [megali::]?
4. M [no:: not] her. .
5. G ah.

(from conversation A4)

25.16

In line 1 Gregoria offers a locational formulation⁶¹ to identify the person referred to. However, since Myria does not assertively confirm this activity, a further categorisation is needed to do identifying. In line 3 Gregoria refers to Christina's membership in age categories. Here the incomplete old-age categorisation *ilikiome*- is first employed. Since it is not as generic as *megali* and it explicitly denotes third age it is more effective for doing identifying (for an overview of the term's use and attributions, see Section 3.2.4, above). The categorial term *ilikiome(ni)*, however, is self-repaired, within the same turn construction unit, by *megali*::. The hesitation indexed by the cut-off of *ilikiome*- suggests a problem in the process of categorising. This can be justified by employing the first two rules of application of the MCD age. Gregoria hesitates to categorise a woman of a similar age as *ilikiomeni*, probably because it would simultaneously categorise herself as an incumbent of this age category (**second rule** of application). On the contrary, she opts for the term *megali*:: rather than *ilikiomeni*. This could be accounted for with an additional rule of application for the MCD age, which is more specifically applicable to the collection of categories for 'old women' (**third rule** of application).

3. Old age categories appear to be 'positioned' in a hierarchical order where A is higher than B, B higher than C etc. (Sacks 1995:A585). In most local contexts of the self-recordings the hierarchy seems to be the following:

- A. 'μεγάλη γυναίκα'/*megali gineka*
- B. 'ηλικιωμένα'/*ilikiomeni*

⁶¹ For a definition see footnote 49, p.102.

C. ‘γριά’/*gria*

D. ‘κοτζάκαρη’/*kojakari*

The lower the position of a category the more it is associated with decline attributions, poor health, immobility, loneliness, dependence, advanced old age and death. Therefore participants are more likely to identify with categories of higher status, and to meticulously try to disassociate themselves from activities bound to lower status categories.

Going back to the example, in line 3 the second term, *megali*, is hierarchically higher than *ilikiomeni* and thus a more preferred category to be implicitly extended to the speaker. With this strategic shift Gregoria both does identifying effectively (with the more specific term *ilikiome-*) and also repairs it to the more preferred *megali*. Myria’s assertive dis-identification in line 4 shows that Gregoria’s first age categorisation has successfully done identifying.

The distribution of the use of the different old-age categories among the participants also indicates the applicability of these three rules. To begin with, Gregoria is the participant who is least likely to employ categorisations such as *kojakari* and *gria*; she only uses these once each, as opposed to the category *megali*, which she employs eight times (as an old age category), and *ilikiomeni*, which she uses four times. Being the oldest participant (79-80 during the recordings), she would very likely share the same attribution of chronological age as the person to whom she would ascribe the old-age category. Therefore by avoiding ascription of lower positioned categories (third rule), she also avoided being ascribed these decline old-age categories herself (second rule). On the other hand Tasoulla, the youngest participant, is the only one to use more decline old-age categories, than counter-decline. In fact the category she employs most frequently is the one positioned lowest in the hierarchy, i.e. *kojakari*, because, according to the second rule, as long as the person she categorises is not of the same age-in-years as herself, the decline category will not be extended to her as well. The fact that the younger members of old-age groups refer more frequently to the category old is also documented in the literature (Paoletti 1998a:19). The difference with these data is that older participants do not avoid mentioning old-age categories altogether, but rather avoid the ones with the negative attributions.

However, like categories, collections and devices, rules of application cannot be decontextualised (cf. Hester & Eglin 1997d). For instance, in Excerpt 7-4 (p. 345, in the Appendix) Myria does not hesitate to categorise a woman with the pejorative *kojakari*, even though she shares the feature of similar chronological age with her and some of her interlocutors (Charoulla and Loulla) and might even be younger than the other interlocutor, Gregoria. This happens presumably because the person categorised as old is a complete stranger and is also associated with category-bound attributions that do not apply to the members present. This is an indication that the first two rules apply to a greater extent when the person categorised as old is an acquaintance of the group rather than a complete stranger, and when the s/he is associated with CBAs that could be extended to the interlocutors/speaker. Hence the parenthetical clause in the two rules saying ‘(and other attributions)’ represents the condition which affects the degree of applicability of the first two rules.

The degree of applicability of the rules is evident in their distribution, among the three phases of data collection. Certain structural confines, afforded by the deterioration of some of the members’ health and the group’s sociability, made members more susceptible to being categorised as old, by implication, according to the first and second rule of application. In particular, as mentioned in the second chapter (Section 2.4.3), after the first phase of recordings Myria underwent two serious operations, and Gregoria also had eye surgery and her hearing deteriorated significantly. Also the group’s pre-arranged meetings (‘καφέδες’) became less frequent and were substituted by impromptu meetings, mostly at the house of the participant who was recovering from surgery (i.e. at Myria’s house in the third phase). As a result, during the third phase of the recordings the explicit reference to decline-related old-age categories drops significantly, although both phases produced the same length of self-recordings (about seven hours each). For instance *kojakari* is used three times more frequently in the first than in the third phase. It is only the number of old-age categorisations of strangers that does not drop. As suggested above, categorisations directed at strangers (as opposed to close friends or even acquaintances) are the ones least likely to be ascribed, by implication, to the speaker or her interlocutors.

On the whole, categories positioned lower, in the hierarchical order, such as *kojakari* and *gria*, are primarily directed at strangers or people that the participants are not close to. On the contrary, when old-age categories are ascribed to members the participants

are close to, more positive categorial references are preferred, such as *megali* or *ilikiomeni*. This could also be attributed to the varied level of applicability of the first two rules and more specifically to the fact that self-categorisation, by implication, is more prominent when the coeval person categorised as old is a close acquaintance. An additional reason why these rules apply to varying degrees, depending on the local situation, is because chronological age (as has been argued above in Section 3.3) can also function as a category from a distinct MCD. Only when it (also) functions as a category-bound feature can it be taken as an index to a certain generic old-age category.

Overall, the examination of the sequential order of peer interactions has shown that members make relevant a very intricate set of rules when applying old-age categorisations to others, because other-categorisations can also affect one's self-categorisation as old. So far, I have concentrated on old-age categorisations directed mainly at others (and in particular women), since they constitute the majority of explicit old-age categorisations. In the two following sections I focus on two groups of less frequent categorisations: firstly old-age categories directed at the self (Section 3.5) and secondly male old-age categories (Section 3.6).

3.5 *Self-Categorisation as old*

3.5.1 Generic noun categories

It is notable that old-age categories are hardly ever claimed exclusively for the self. Yet, a number of explicit old-age categorisations in noun form (13 out of the 71) are uttered in the first person plural and directed at categorising the self as well as others (often the interlocutors).⁶² It is interesting to look a bit more closely at those thirteen instances.

One example of the use of generic old-age categories in RS is the following. This interactional sequence is the talk very shortly after Excerpt 3-9 (p.120) and is phonetically transcribed in the Appendix (Excerpt 7-16, p. 366). Tasoulla mentions Limbourina, her *kumera*, who often hosts coffee meetings for her circle of elderly friends, and likens Limbourina's friends to her interlocutors.

⁶² In nine out of the twelve instances the members categorised as co-incumbents of the age category are the interlocutors. In the three remaining cases (all of which are part of a narrative and are constructed as Reported Speech) the other co-members of the age category are the speaker's acquaintances, to whom the categorisation is directed or by whom it was uttered.

1. M = η Λιμπουρίνα?
2. T νναι: τζαι έδει τζαι τζείνη την πα- τις παρέες της εν έτσι [όπως]
3. M [μμ ε]αλίμονο.
4. T ΕΝ ΕΤΣΙ ΟΠΩΣ ΕΣΑΣ ηλικιωμένες οι: παρέες της, τζαι κραούν τα
5. συμιλούθκια τους τζαι
6. Γ =φκαριστούμεν κόρη μου,
7. [φκαριστούμεν κόρη μου.]
8. T [τζαι να δεις πράματα]
9. X [°είπεν μας ηλικιωμένες°]
10. T τζαι να δεις <πράματα> που <κάμνουσιν> τζαι:-
11. X = ↑είπεν μας ηλικιωμένες!
12. T =ε [χέλω να πω:] εν τη τζαι, τζαι εν αφ-
13. Γ [χα ↑χα ↓χα]
14. T θέλω να πω εν ηλικιωμένη τζαι εν λαλεί: [°κανεί να σταματήσει°]
15. X [↑ξανά! χα χα χα]
16. T κάμνει συνέχεια καφέες.
17. X κόρη μου! ((smile voice))
18. Γ α.
19. T φέρνει ούλλον έτοιμα τζαι κάμνει τζαι:: [(ε τέλος πάντων)]
20. X [α κακά τα ψέματα,]
21. M ε. λαλεί τζαι η:: Βερενίκη του Λεωνίδα μιαν ημέρα.
22. μα πόσες φορές να μας πει ο δήμαρχος ηλικιωμένοι ηλικιωμ(η)έ- χα↑χαχα
23. T [ε είμασιν] τρίτη ηλικία: ↓είντα 'μ που: 'ν, °άτε.°
24. M [χα χα χα]
25. X εσύ εν είσαι κόρη με μάδεσαι
26. [κόρη!] [ε με μάδεσαι.]
27. T [ε είμαι] είμαι [ΕΞΗΝΤΑΚΥΟ ↑ΓΡΟΝΩΝ!] Παναΐτα μου;

1. M =Limbourina?
2. T yeah: and she has her fr- her friends as well they are [like]
3. M [yes of] course.
4. T THEY ARE LIKE YOU ilikiomenes he:r companions, and they hold their little
5. crochet needles and

⁶³ In order to beter illustrate phenomena of language alternation and style shifting discussed in the analysis a phonetic transcript of this excerpt is provided in the Appendix, p. 366.

6. G =((we)) thank you my *kori*,
7. [((we)) thank you my *kori*.]
8. T [and you should see things]
9. C [°she called us *ilikiomenes*°]
10. T and you should see <things> that they <make> a:nd-
11. C = ↑she called us *ilikiomenes*!
12. T =em [I mea:n] she doesn't and, and does not le-
13. G [ha ↑ha ↓ha]
14. T I mean to say she is *ilikiomeni* and she doesn't say: [°enough stop°]
15. C [↑again! ha ha ha]
16. T she makes coffees all the time.
17. C *kori*! ((smile voice))
18. G oh.
19. T she brings all these ready-made stuff and she makes a:nd [(well anyway)]
20. C [ah truth to tell,]
21. M erm. Leonida's Vereniki says one day.
22. but how many times will the mayor call us *ilikiomeni ilikiom(h)e- ha↑haha*
23. T [well we are] in the third age: ↓wha:t, °come on.°
24. M [ha ha ha]
25. C you are not kori don't fret about
26. [*kori*!] [well don't fret about]
27. T [well I'm] I'm [SIXTY-TWO ↑YEARS OLD!] mother of Jesus;
(from conversation A3)

1.34.11

In this excerpt we see the sole instance of ascribing to one's interlocutors old-age categorisations, excluding oneself (1.4). A closer look at this excerpt reveals the interactional trouble such a categorisation entails. The emphatic utterance 'εν έτσι όπως εσάς'/*they are like you* (1.4) heats up the conversation as it brings about the lively reaction from Gregoria and Charoulla, who have not taken any of the recent turns. Gregoria repeats the ironic 'φκαριστούμεν κόρη μου'/*thank you kori*, in lines 6-7 showing that the comment is perceived as negative. Also, Charoulla's repetition of 'είπεν μας ηλικιωμένες'/*she called us ilikiomenes* (the second time, in 1.11, markedly louder and in stylised irritation) makes it clear that they want Tasoulla to attend to this category ascription. Also the *she called us ilikiomenes* indicates that the opposition is to the categorisation *ilikiomenes*, and not related to any other MCD made relevant. Also it

others Tasoulla from the rest of the group, as her non-membership in a category which is ascribed to the rest is implied.

Tasoulla on the other hand, goes on to describe activities of the older group she is comparing her interlocutors with, such crocheting (*smili*) and mainly ‘things they make’ (l. 4-5, 8, 10). Since the collectivity categorisation⁶⁴ ‘coffee gatherings’ has been made relevant, and because in the data ‘making things’ often means ‘making sweets/food’, I interpret ‘πράματα που κάμνουν’/*things they do*, in line 10, as food treats the hostess offers at the meetings, an activity bound to the highly-valued category of *good homemaker* (see Chapter 5 for the importance of this category in this local context). Therefore, Tasoulla’s utterances could be seen as trying to deflect attention from the MCD age and introduce a different MCD about domesticity and homemaking practices, and thus to imply that the similarity between the participants and Limbourina’s friends is not only, or not so much, related to the category *ilikiomenes* (which is highly contested), but to the category competent housewives (which, especially in this context, is markedly positive). Her effort to maintain the floor over the overlap and keep focus on the MCD about ‘homemaking’ as opposed to the MCD for ‘age’, is marked by the repetition of her own components of the overlap (l.8, 10), a device found to be employed in extended overlaps like this one in order to claim the floor for oneself, when the speaker has an interest in reserving the immediately next turn (Schegloff 2000:35; see also Chapter 2.5.2).

Following Gregoria’s and Charoulla’s persistence on being categorised as old, Tasoulla has to address this critical comment. Thus, in line 14, she reiterates the age categorisation of Limbourina (this time in the singular, excluding her interlocutors) but combines it with an implicit categorisation from the MCD about sociability, emphasising the frequent coffee meetings her *kumera* hosts. In fact, Tasoulla, in line 14, orients to the two categorisations (elderly and socially active) as incompatible, since she regards ceasing hosting coffee meetings as a CBA of the category *ilikiomeni*. Therefore, by comparing her interlocutors with Limbourina, she tries to show that she categorises them with regard to the MCD sociability rather than the MCD age. Tasoulla’s turn is framed around the laughter of the two interlocutors, who opposed to them being categorised as *ilikiomeni*, Gregoria and Charoulla.

⁶⁴ A collectivity categorisation is a social configuration that provides the context for membership categories, activities, etc (Hester & Eglin 1997a:157; see also Chapter 2.5.1).

In addition, Tasoulla shifts to a basilectal register, following her categorial reference. On a number of occasions Tasoulla opts for the basilectal form, as opposed to the CG *koine*. For example, in line 4 she says κραούν instead of the unmarked form κρατούν, in l. 11 she opts for ‘χέλω’ instead of ‘θέλω’ and in l. 16 she says ‘καφέες’ and not ‘καφέδες’. Research on the sociolinguistic functions of code-switching in other diglossic contexts (e.g. the Arab-speaking world) has shown that a shift to lower-register varieties may be employed to exemplify and to mark the shift from a serious to a humorous key (Albirini 2011). Also, research on the CG has shown that switches to CG and especially the basilect may be employed for humorous effect (Pavlou 2004). Therefore, it appears that Tasoulla’s shift to a more basilectal register functions as a strategy to emphasise the humorous frame of her old-age categorisation and thus redress its implied face threat. Tasoulla’s basilectal register and the resistance to the categorisation *ilikiomeni* seem to create a comical effect for the participants, while the laughter signals partial acceptance of the categorisation (at l.13, 15). Nevertheless, Tasoulla only stops her account of Limbourina’s sociability and counter-decline attributions when Charoulla, in line 20, explicitly ratifies Tasoulla’s old-age categorisation of her interlocutors, by saying ‘α κακά τα ψέματα’/*ah truth to tell*.

Myria’s short story, however, on lines 21 and 22, seems to point out that the problem is not that they are *ilikiomenes* but that they are explicitly and repeatedly categorised as such by incumbents of different age categories. Again, this disaffiliative position towards Tasoulla is downplayed by Myria’s loud laughter in line 22. In response to that, and in a third attempt to redeem herself for categorising her interlocutors as old, Tasoulla for the first time includes herself in the same age category as the other participant, (‘third age’, a probably even more euphemistic term than *ilikiomeni*), a category that for her is associated with the feature of being 62 years old. Interestingly, Tasoulla in l.23 employs the formal and also SMG term ‘τρίτη ηλικία’/*third age*; this register switch could be seen as a strategy to shift the key from humorous to serious and to highlight the importance of the segment (cf. Albirini 2011 for a similar use of switching from dialectal to standard Arabic).⁶⁵ As was argued above (Section 3.2), age categorisations in SMG tend to have more positive and locally contingent connotations

⁶⁵ As ‘τρίτη ηλικία’ in the nominative case is a viable option lexically, morphologically and phonetically *within* the Cypriot continuum (cf. Tsiplakou 2009), we could not claim unproblematically that this is a case of continuum-external code-switching. Rather, it could be classified as a switch from the basilectal to the acrolectal register.

as opposed to dialectal terms connotation. Third age, which is only used once in the self-recordings and is of markedly high register, appears to be more generic and positive than other old-age categories used in the data and is thus claimed by Tasoulla.⁶⁶ However, all four of her interlocutors will contest Tasoulla's self-categorisation as *third age* in the upcoming talk (not included in this example). It is notable that for the first time in this interactional sequence, Tasoulla's interlocutors do not contest being categorised as old, which suggests that old age category ascription, if made from someone who also includes themselves in the same age category, is more easily accepted.

Summing up, there are five instances of categorising the self with different general old-age categories in inclusive plural (*ilikiomeni* four times and once *third age*, l. 9, 11, 22, 23). The four mentions of the categorisation *ilikiomeni/es* are constructed as reported speech (RS), quoting Tasoulla's immediately preceding talk, or, in Myria's narrative, there is multilayered reporting (as Myria is quoting Vereniki who is quoting the mayor). Also these categorisations are not endorsed by the speaker (e.g. Charoulla in lines 9 and 11 contests the old-age ascription by Tasoulla). Finally, in line 23 Tasoulla, in an attempt to redeem herself for categorising her interlocutors as old, for the first time, includes herself in the same age category as the other participants, 'τρίτη ηλικία'/*third age*. Therefore, this old-age category is only claimed by Tasoulla in the context of getting herself out of the spot she found herself in, by ascribing the category *ilikiomenes* to her interlocutors.

On the whole, the frequency of categorisations in first person plural, which are constructed as RS, is significantly higher than in any other case. More specifically, six of these thirteen categorisations are framed with a quotative verb as RS, as opposed to three out of 53, for categorisations directed at others non-present and 0% for categorisations directed at people in general. Although the numbers are too small to make statistically valid inferences, they do resonate with previous research. The high frequency of RS in self categorisations has been documented in Stokoe and Edwards 2007. (337-72) They discuss how racist self-referential categorisations are produced as RS in neighbour dispute interactions (telephone calls to mediation and other centres and some police interrogations). It was found that RS was used to frame more or less negatively loaded self categorisations. In addition, it is widely attested in the literature

⁶⁶ A further analysis of the last four lines of this excerpt can be found in Section 3.3.

that RS is a ‘domain of flexibility’ which allows the speaker to diffuse agency and responsibility for what they say (Hill 1995:118; see also Tannen 1986; 1995). I would argue, therefore, that RS is employed to distance oneself from and contest the categorial ascription of old-age categories to the self and others present. The device of RS is also employed for self-categorisations in talk about cooking (for a discussion see Chapter 5.4.1).

In the seven remaining cases where old-age categorisations directed at self and others are not within RS, other devices are employed. In the two instances of *kojakarou*, the category ascription is part of a hypothetical scenario and does not refer to the speaker’s and interlocutors’ current state (see Excerpt 7-6, p. 347, in the Appendix). Also, the one instance of the also derogatory *kojakari* is interactionally framed as teasing and exaggeration (see Excerpt 3-2, p. 103). In four instances old-age categorisation in the first person plural are not constructed as RS, teasing or a hypothetical scenario. In these four instances terms that are positioned in the highest ranks of the collection for old-women are used (three times *megali* and once *third age*, see extract above), and in their situated construction they are never associated with heavy decline attributes (see e.g. Excerpt 7-17, p. 367, in the Appendix). Consequently, in the case of derogatory categorial references, a variety of devices are employed to distance oneself from the category, with RS being the most frequent.

3.5.2 Verb Categorisations

Another way of doing old-age categories in the first person plural is with categorisations in verb form, with phrases like ‘εγεράσαμεν’ (*we have aged*). A total of 19 cases of old-age categorisations in verb form were found in the self-recordings and (unlike the aforementioned noun categorisations), most of them (17) are in the first person plural, with the majority (15) referring to self but also to others present.

In the example below Charoulla and Loulla have just visited Gregoria for her name-day. At this point Loulla and Charoulla are sitting at the kitchen table, whereas Gregoria is standing in the same room and is taking a tray out of the oven and arranging on a plate the treats she will serve them. The radio and the rather loud noise from the tinfoil Gregoria uses can be heard. Loulla asks about the health of Gregoria’s daughter, Lina, who has had surgery recently.

1. Λ η Λίνα εν καλά Γρηγορία? (9)
2. Χ ° (εχάλασεν τέλεια?)° (.) °(εν εν?)° ((extremely quiet talk)) (2)
3. Λ εγεράσαμεν Χαρούλλα μου τζαι επήαμεν ούλλες μας που γυρόν
4. Χ =εγεράσαμεν °καλό (εν νναι)°. (1.5) ντά'μ που 'δει η Λίνα?

1. L is Lina well Gregoria? (9)
2. C ° (she deteriorated completely?)° (.) °(is it?)° ((extremely quiet talk)) (2)
3. L we have aged Charoulla and we are finished every one of us
4. C =we have aged °sure (what else)°. (1.5) what happened to Lina?

(from conversation A9)

3.40

Loulla, in line 1, by explicitly directing her question to Gregoria, has selected Gregoria as the next speaker (see rule 1a for turn taking, at Chapter 2.5.2). Therefore the nine-second pause is a silence attributable to Gregoria (for definitions of the different types of silences also see Chapter 2.5.2). Also by asking a question, she produces a first part of an adjacency pair and therefore created an expectation for a second pair part, that is an answer from Gregoria. Charoulla and Loulla orient to the non-applicability of the turn-taking rules (i.e. long silence and the absence of a second pair part), with age categorisations. Firstly, Charoulla in very low, almost inaudible, volume comments on Gregoria's deterioration to Loulla. What Charoulla is doing here has been referred to as 'monitoring' (Degnen 2007). It entails unorganised, informal activities, where older people pay close attention to and show awareness of their peers' mental and physical state and assign to them categorisations of oldness. Nevertheless, the participants here orient to the fact that, because Gregoria is present, an explicit and detailed discussion of her state is strongly dispreferred. Therefore, Charoulla makes her comment in extremely low volume, and is then followed by a two-second pause, attributable to Loulla, who was the addressee of Charoulla's tag question (in 1.2). Loulla then offers, in a clearly audible voice, an age categorisation with the verb form 'εγεράσαμεν'/'we have aged', but this time in the first person plural. Since tag questions have been found to make programmatically relevant a 'yes' or 'no' answer, with a stronger preference for a positive response (Heritage 2002), Loulla's response could be seen as a type of agreement with Charoulla's previous assessment. Also because Loulla's clearly audible categorisation comes right after Charoulla's hardly audible categorisation and is

directed to her (she includes *Χαρούλλα μου*/lit. *my Charoulla* in 1.3),⁶⁷ it could be argued that ‘*εγεράσαμεν*’/*we have aged* is, in fact, a more preferred formulation of ‘*εχάλασεν*’/*she deteriorated* (1.2). In addition, since this categorisation occurs shortly after the monitoring of Gregoria’s sensory decrement, it is plausible to say that Loulla constructs hearing loss as bound to the old-age category *we have aged*, which Charoulla quickly ratifies with a latching turn. Loulla stresses collective membership in the age category *we have aged* using plural, and the emphatic ‘*ούλλες μας που γυρόν*’ (lit. *all of us all around*). However, both she and Charoulla are talking relatively quietly and hence the implied category-bound feature of hearing loss does not apply to them. Therefore, the age categorisation in the first person plural refers more to Gregoria than to the speakers themselves and hence in this instance the first plural is not a self-categorisation device but a device of implicitly categorising someone present as old, excluding oneself, in a way that redresses the dispreferredness of this activity (the dispreferredness of ascribing old-age categories exclusively to others present was discussed in the previous section, 3.5.1).

Verb categorisations in the first person plural are not necessarily a device for implicit other-categorisation. For example in Excerpt 4-5, discussed in Chapter 4 (p. 184), a verb categorisation (‘*εμεγαλώσαμεν*’/*we have grown*) is part of a joint telling by Myria, Gregoria and Charoulla and is associated with their shared problem of incontinence. Thus in that instance it refers to oneself. Overall, it is important to note that non-euphemistic categorisations, associated with decline features (e.g. ‘*εγεράσαμεν*’/*we have aged*), are uttered with no hesitation, or any other framing device (e.g. RS, teasing), when they are ascribed to self and interlocutors (even, when, unlike the Excerpt 3-12, they are not implicit other-categorisations). However, this is never found in the equivalent noun form category (e.g. *gria*). In general, only two of the old-age categorisations in verb form are constructed as RS or as part of a future story. The rest of the old-age verb categorisations refer to the speaker’s and interlocutors’ (and often other older women’s as well) current state and are associated with mild decline attributes (such as inability to concentrate in reading, and physical health problems). Whereas, just like noun categorisations, verb forms never refer to the self exclusively, they do provide an alternative way of explicitly categorising the self and interlocutors as members of old-age categories, because unlike noun forms, ageing verbs do not call for the employment of devices that distance the teller from the category ascription. In

⁶⁷ For the use of the possessive pronoun ‘my’ in ToA and its English equivalent see footnote 71, p. 142.

other words, they are oriented to as less dispreferred than noun categorisations and can be used outside the context of RS, teasing and hypothetical or future scenarios to categorise self and others present.

Also, as I have shown in the example above, verb categorisations in first person plural can easily be (re)directed to a member different than oneself. Consequently, verb-categorisations offer greater flexibility to the speaker, because, even when they are directed at the self, they can be oriented as directed at others. Therefore, the rules of application regarding old-age categorisations in noun form do not seem to apply to verb categorisations. This could account for the fact that unlike noun categorisations, which decline from phase one to three (to avoid self- and interlocutor-categorisation by implication), the frequency of verb categorisations remains stable.

To sum up, in the everyday conversations, self categorisations are done with generic old-age categorial references in plural. Noun categorisations that are not necessarily bound to decline attributions such as *megali*, as well as categorisations in verb form are preferred to categorise self and interlocutors. The next section seeks to establish whether local constructions of old-age categories for women and their rules of application can be extended to older men.

3.6 *The other side of the coin: old-men categorisations*

Old age categorisations are overwhelmingly gendered as the suffix of each term denotes either male or female members; generic terms such as ‘μεγάλα πλάσματα’/*grown-up people* or ‘τρίτη ηλικία’/*third age* are rare. Furthermore, I will argue that old-age categories referring to men and women are used differently and are bound to distinct activities and features. While there are many instances where women are being categorised with various old-age categorial terms, seldom do the interlocutors ascribe old-age categorisations to men. In fact only two men (and a third one by implication) are associated with old-age categorisations in the eighteen hours of self-recorded interactions. Below an example from the longest sequence involving old-men categorisations is given (for contextual information, including a discussion of the first few lines, see Excerpt 3-10, p. 122). It occurs at Charoulla’s house and all five main participants are present.

1. Γ =εν ηλικιωμέ- εν [μεγάλη::]?
 2. Μ [ό::ι όι]τούτη.
 3. Γ α.
 4. Μ ο άντρας της? [νναι.] εν ηλικιωμένος.
 5. Γ [α.]
 6. Λ °νναι°
 7. Μ ο: κύριος Κύπρος. τζαι έξερα τζαι την γυναίκαν του την πρώτην
 8. Γ =μμ.
 9. Μ πριν να πεθάνει, (0.8) ε ύστερα που χρόνια είδα τον τζειαμαί στη:::ν: Κατίαν. (1.2)
 10. πρόπερσι νομί- πέρσι πέρσι όι <πρόπερσι>. (1.3)
 11. τζαι εν τζαι κατάλαβα το πως εν τζείνος. μα ε΄ναι γέρος α Γληορού!
 12. Λ [α.]
 13. Μ [άσπρα μαλλιά άσπρα γένια; έτσι τζαι με τζείν΄τα
 14. γένια που αφήνουν ρε παιδί μου τζαι ασπρί[ζουν]
 15. Γ [νναι.]
 16. Μ δείχνουν περίτου την ηλικίαν τους οι άντρες.
 17. Τ ε φαι- δείγνει τους μεγάλους.
 18. Μ νναι. (0.7)

1. G =is she *ilikiome*- is [*megali*::]?
 2. Μ [no:: not]her. .
 3. G ah.
 4. Μ her husband? [yes.] he is *ilikiomenos*.
 5. G [ah.]
 6. L °yes°
 7. Μ mi:ster Kypros. and I also knew his first wife
 8. G =mm.
 9. Μ before she died, (0.8) then years later I saw him there a:::t: Katina's. (1.2)
 10. the year before last i thi- last last year not <the year before>. (1.3)
 11. and I did not realise that it was him. but he is *geros* Gliorou!
 12. L [oh.]
 13. Μ [whi]te hair white beard; and like with these
 14. beards that they grow my gosh that turn whi[te]
 15. G [yes.]
 16. Μ men show their age more.
 17. Τ it app- it makes them look *megali*.

As discussed above (see Section 3.4) Gregoria is doing categorising to identify a woman called Christina, about whom Myria talked in the preceding talk. However, in line 4 Myria draws on Gregoria's incomplete categorisation *ilikiome-* to refer to Christina's husband as 'ηλικιωμένος'/*ilikiomenos*. Here Myria does categorising to do identifying. This is the only time in the data set that this male old-age term is used, and comes up after taking a cue from a term designed to categorise an older *woman* (*ilikiome-* 1.1). Yet in line 11 another 'old-man' categorisation is used to do describing, 'γέρος'/*geros*, also meaning old man. This category is employed to account for the fact that Myria could not recognise him, and is thus orientated as bound to the feature of being unrecognisably old-looking. More specific features, bound to the category 'γέρος', are white hair and beard (1.13). Later on, Myria will explicitly formulate looking-old features as bound not only to certain categories of the MCD age but also associated with the MCD gender. In other words it is not old people in general, both male and female (*geri* and *gries*), that have this sort of aged appearance but *men*/'άντρες' as is explicitly made relevant in line 16.

Therefore, a 'contrast pair'⁶⁸ of categories is constructed: (old) men and (old) women, where the first looks older (*shows their age more*) than the second. Tasoulla (1.14) also aligns to this old-looking feature associated with the category 'men', employing this time the category 'μεγάλους'/*megalous*. Therefore, if (old) men look 'μεγάλοι'/*megali*, then by implication the other category of this contrast pair (old) women, do not look 'μεγάλες'/*megales* but look younger than their age or, at least, younger than their male counterparts. In fact, Myria did not recognise Mr Kypros, due to his withered looks, however he did recognise her, as is explicitly mentioned earlier in this conversation. So Myria is implicitly self-categorised as not equally old-looking. Three categories are ascribed to old men: 'ηλικιωμένος'/*ilikiomenos*, 'γέρος'/*geros* (constructed with explicit old-looking attributions), 'μεγάλος'/*megalos* (also associated with aged appearance in the data). No hesitation is indexed in the shape of the turns, where these terms were employed (1.4, 11, 17). In fact *ilikiomenos* and *geros* are emphasised with increased loudness and *geros* in particular is also produced with exclamatory intonation. Hence, in this extract and generally in the data, there does not seem to be

⁶⁸ For a definition, see Chapter 2.5.1.

any sequential trouble in categorising men as old, regardless of the category. This is in stark contrast with the old-woman categorisation in this excerpt (1.1), which is produced with incomplete production, self repair, elongation all of which are devices indexing hesitation. Finally negotiations of old-men CBAs, in this example, revolve primarily around looks.

The younger looks of women, in the contrast pair old man-old woman, constitute a piece of knowledge recycled, and hence reinforced, in another conversation (see Excerpt 7-6, p. 347 in the Appendix). Looking at all the sequences where old-age categorisations of men are made relevant, the primary attribution bound to these categories (such as ‘γέρος’/*geros*, ‘μεγάλος’/*megalos* or ‘εγέρασεν’/*he has aged*) is the aged, altered external appearance. Other CBAs that are, secondarily, associated with these categories have to do with decline of physical health but not so much with mental state (e.g. memory loss), and not at all with lack of sociability, as it might be the case with features associated with categories for older women. I would argue that because of the different activities and features attributed to categories of old men as opposed to categories of old women, and because the difference (gender) is oriented to as more salient than the similarity (age) it is more difficult to imply old-age category ascriptions to women (including the female self) when categorising men. In other words, the 1st and 2nd rule of application for general old-age categories, do not seem to apply when categorising older men. Therefore, in the example above, Myria does not hesitate to categorise Mr Kypros as *geros*, because this would not necessarily imply that she is categorising herself or any other members present of similar chronological age as the female equivalent, i.e. *gries*.

As has been shown in Chapter 1.1.5, older women were less favourably portrayed and even more underrepresented than their male counterparts, both in the Cypriot media surveyed and in the international media as has been documented in the literature. This corresponds with widely circulating discourses about the unwatchability and unattractiveness of older women more so than older men, as has been discussed in Chapter 1.1.2 (see also N. Coupland 2004:80). It is interesting how the participants here reverse such discourses and construct distorted aged appearance as a feature bound to old men. Categorisations of others can also affect the project of self-categorisation. As attributions of aged looks are reserved for men, the participants also make relevant their disassociation from such features.

Age categorisations can also appear in the context of terms of address. The next section focuses on these.

3.7 *Terms of Address*

As is illustrated in Excerpt 7-4, p. 345, in the Appendix, participants orient to the fact that membership in different age categories affects the appropriateness of the different Terms of Address (henceforth ToA). Also, some of the terms, used by the participants to address others present, are themselves age categorisations (e.g. ‘κορούες’ meaning *young girls*). This section investigates the relation between terms of address and the MCD age. To allow for a better contextualisation of address terms, an overview of all different address terms employed in the self-recordings is presented, whether they constitute explicit old-age categories or not. Quantitative and micro-analytic perspectives, as well as some insights from politeness theory, are combined in the analysis of ToA in the conversational data, with the aim of investigating explicit and implicit references to age and other categories. Firstly, a description of the sampling method employed is offered, as well as general observations about the terms used. The third sub-section focuses on the two most frequent ToA, first name and ‘κόρη’/*kori*. Subsequently, the use of reverential and distancing ToA is analysed followed by an investigation into young-age categorisations employed as address terms among the participants.

The analysis will be on the actual *terms* employed in addressing the interlocutors (e.g. first names, ‘κόρη’/*kori*, ‘κοπέλλες’/*young women*) and less on the address *forms* (which also include the grammatical person employed). The reason being that all addresses are done in the T form (second singular grammatical person when addressing a single participant), as opposed to the polite plural (V form) or even third person address forms (see Brown & Gilman 2003 for the T/V distinction). On the whole, SMG allows for the T/V distinction but the V form is traditionally absent from the CG basilect (Terkourafi 2002, 2005a; Arvaniti 2010~19)⁶⁹ and is never used in the data.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Terkourafi’s work on politeness in Cypriot Greek is only partly relevant to this thesis, as she focuses on service and first encounters and not on informal, intimate interactions.

⁷⁰ The V form is also traditionally not used by the ‘working class’ SMG speakers, as reported by Makri-Tsilipakou (Μακρή-Τσιλιπάκου 1983).

3.7.1 Sampling Method

A stratified random sample has been used for the analysis of ToA; that is the data were divided into strata and a random sample was taken from each stratum (Rowntree 1991:26). The self-recordings were taxonomised into three strata (i.e. sub-sets), based on the interlocutors present, as follows:

- 1) All five main participants were present
- 2) Two or three main participants present
- 3) Main and peripheral participants present

This stratification of the sample was based on different ethnographic observations. Firstly, as was noted in Chapter 2.4.7 the five main participants identify themselves as members of a distinct group. In addition, peripheral participants are members that do not regularly attend the group's organised 'καφέες'/coffee meetings, as is evident from the recordings. Also, the main participants would identify in the interviews and record in the logs none or only few of the peripheral members as people they *keep company with* ('κάνουν παρέα'), in general. Therefore, the distinction between main and peripheral participants is not only an analyst's resource but also a participants' differentiation. The further segregation between a) encounters where all five are present and b) encounters with 2-3 main participants is not just a numerical distinction, but it has to do with the type of the meeting. In the first case the context is more or less pre-arranged coffee-sessions, whereas in the second it is impromptu meetings normally between participants that have closer relationships. Hence, Gregoria would visit Myria and Loulla (and *vice versa*), but would not normally visit impromptu Charoulla or Tasoulla. Again the distinction between meetings of all five, as opposed to meetings of two or three main informants, is also a members' resource: for instance, both Gregoria and Charoulla during participant observation refer to 'ο καφές-καφέ(δ)ες'/the coffee meeting(s) as something different from casually dropping in one's neighbour (see also Chapter 2.4.8). Consequently, I believe that it will be important to see how these three distinct contexts affect ToA use.

After the delimitation of the three strata, a simple random sample of conversations of approximately one hour and forty minutes was taken from each stratum. An effort was made, where possible, to include data from different collection phases, which cover a spectrum of fourteen months, and meetings of various lengths and at various places, in order to construct a more representative sample. However, there was a bias in the sample towards conversations where informants did not come in and out of meetings,

for analytical purposes; so that the interactions could be more accurately categorised as belonging to one of the three strata. Out of the eighteen hours of self-recordings, a total of over five hours of audio recordings were selected to document ToA.

The following table shows the conversations that have been used for the quantitative analysis of address terms.

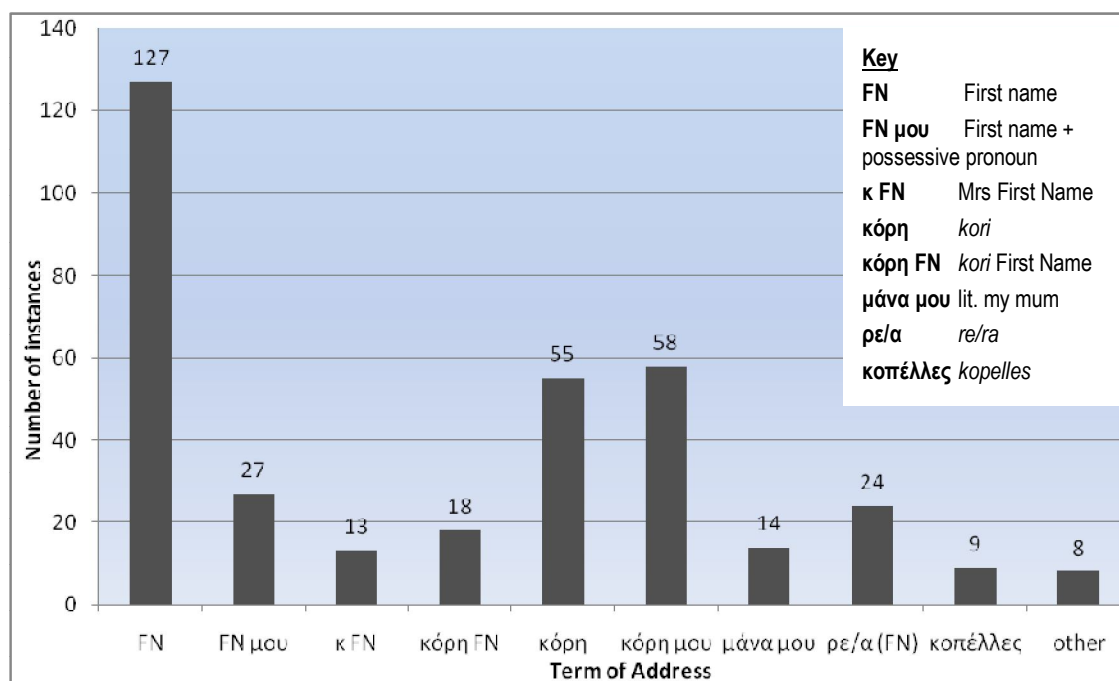
<i>Context</i>	<i>Conversation</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Duration</i>	<i>Participants</i>
1) All main participants	A4 (6 Feb 08)	Charoulla's house	1h.46min	Charoulla, Myria, Loulla, Tasoulla, Gregoria
2) 2-3 main participants	A1 (8 Jan 08)	Gregoria's house	30min	Gregoria, Loulla
	A14 (9 Mar 09)	Myria's house	60min	Myria, Gregoria, Loulla
3) Main and peripheral participants	A7 (13 Feb 08)	Gregoria's house	30min	Gregoria, Myria, Anthoulla
	A16 (16 Mar 09)	Myria's house	1h.20min	Myria, Gregoria, Tasoulla, Ketsina

Table IV: Conversations sampled for the analysis of Terms of Address

First, an overview of the different terms employed in the interactions examined is given.

3.7.2 Terms of Address used

The participants use different terms to address each other. The following chart shows the distribution of the different address terms.



N= five hours (353 terms)

Chart A: Different ToA and their number of occurrence

The most popular type of ToA is First Names formulations ('FN' e.g. 'Λούλλα'/*Loulla*, 'Γληγορού'/*Gliorou*, 'Γρηγορία'/*Gregoria*), and to a lesser degree, FN with the possessive *my*. FN μου formulations, e.g. 'Μύρια μου', are literally translated as *my Myria*, and the closest English equivalent would be *Myria dear*.⁷¹ The second most frequent term in all conversations was 'κόρη'/*kori*, followed by 'κόρη μου'/*my kori*. This is a very common, invariant ToA, exclusive to CG, and is used to address same-age or younger female members in informal contexts. There is no English equivalent and it literally means *daughter* and *girl* (κόρη) or *my girl* (κόρη μου). ToA with the possessive pronoun ('μου'/*my*) could denote a degree of intimacy and closeness. However, especially in the case of *my kori*, because of its routine, standardised use, in CG, the distinction between *kori* and *my kori* does not signify a differentiated degree of intimacy. In addition another figurative kinship term 'μάνα μου' (lit. *my mum*), is only used with the pronoun 'μου' in CG. 'Μάνα μου' is an informal, invariable ToA and is generally employed for same-age or younger, male or female addressees.

Another formulation found in the sample is the combination of 'κόρη'/*kori* plus FN, e.g. 'κόρη Τασούλλα'/*kori Tasoulla* observed 18 times. A less frequent ToA is 'ρε'/*re*

⁷¹ The possessive pronoun 'μου'/*my*, when it is used in the context of ToA, is omitted in the excerpt translations throughout the thesis, where it is not the focus of discussion. The reason being that there is no direct English equivalent for 'μου' and it is a much more neutral term than its closest equivalent 'dear'. For the purposes of this section (Section 3.7) the literal translation 'my', is used.

(or ‘ρα’/ra) sometimes preceding the FN (e.g. ‘ρε Γληγορού’/re *Gliorou*, ‘ρα Λούλλα’/ra *Loulla*, ‘ρε’/re). In Greek Cypriot ‘ρε’/re (also found in SMG) has connotations similar to ‘κόρη’, since they are both invariable, informal ToA signalling equal status and solidary relations and they can precede other ToA (e.g. ‘κόρη κορούες’/kōri girls or ‘ρε Χαρούλλα’/re *Charoulla*). ‘Ρε’ can be used for both male and female addressees; however ‘ρα’ is exclusively employed when addressing female, is only used in CG and it is closer to the CG basilect. As the chart above shows, other, less frequent address terms are ‘κοπέλλες’/kopelles (CG and SMG for young women), ‘κυρία’/Mrs plus first name (e.g. ‘κυρία Λούλλα’/Mrs *Loulla*) and others. Most ToA, including ‘κόρη’/kōri, ‘ρε’/re, ‘κοπέλλες’/kopelles and the like, are in Petrits’ terms, generic, i.e. they do not identify a particular recipient (Petrits 2001:206).

A comparative account of FN and *kōri* is given in the next section, and subsequently, the choice of the more formal title plus first name (TFN, e.g. Mrs Gregoria) is investigated.

3.7.3 *Kōri* and First Name in context

The combined total of FN and my FN formulations outnumbers the sum of *kōri* and my *kōri* (154 vs. 113 instances). According to politeness theory, as has been adapted for talk to elders by Wood and Ryan, both FN and invariable informal address terms (such as ‘dear’) are appropriate for solidary, with regard to the degree of closeness or intimacy, and equal, with regard to social status, relations, and when used in these kinds of relationships they would be evaluated as friendly forms (Wood & Ryan 1991:167). Therefore, in the first instance, the basic parameters of politeness theory cannot account for the varied use of *kōri* vs. FN. It is then worth examining whether the three different contexts (i.e. 1-in conversations with all main participants, 2-with few main participants or 3-with main and peripheral participants) could account for the use of (my) *kōri* as opposed to (my) FN. In Chart B the use of each term in the three different contexts is illustrated. The data have been normalised to control for the varied length of the conversations examined. Hence, the chart indicates frequency of occurrence, i.e. how many times each term is encountered per hour in each of the three contexts.

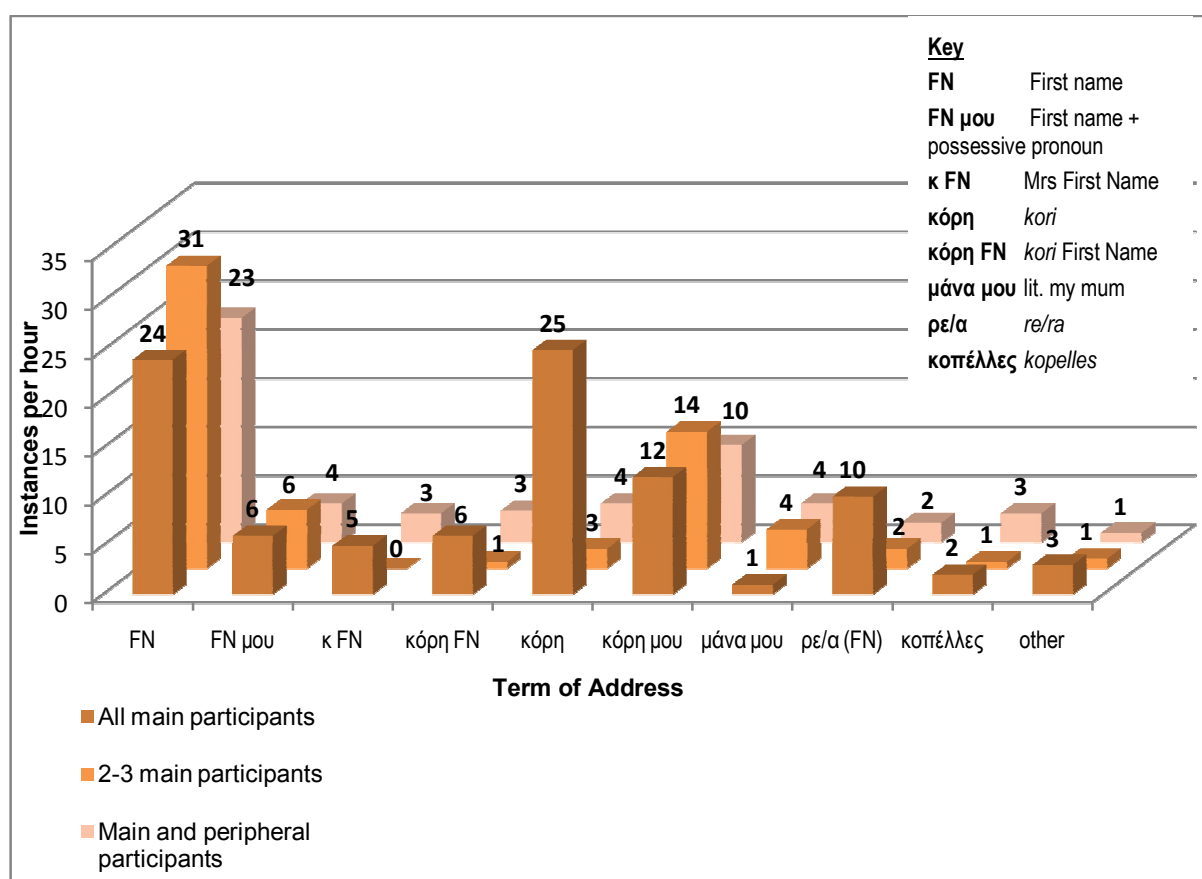


Chart B: Terms of Address per hour in different contexts

From a first look at the chart some patterns emerge, most prominently in relation to the most frequent ToA. Regarding FN formulations a similarity between context 1 and 3 appears; in encounters where only two or three main participants are present FN ToA are privileged. Another tendency that surfaces is that the invariable terms *kori* and *re* are significantly more frequent in interactions of the five main participants, that is, context 1 (for an outline of the importance of statistical significance see Gelman & Stern 2006). No major differentiation appears in the use of terms with the possessive ‘μου’/my at the end (i.e. ‘FN μου’/my FN or ‘κόρη μου’/my *kori*), though they seem slightly less frequent in the presence of peripheral participants.

As mentioned above, *kori* is a generic address term, as it does not identify one addressee in particular. On the contrary, it can be used to address more than one participant simultaneously. Therefore, it is not surprising that it is used less frequently in the context of conversations between two participants. In fact, a closer examination of A1, the conversation where only two members, Loulla and Gregoria, are present, *kori* is completely absent. This would then explain the lower occurrence of *kori* formulations in the context of conversations between 2-3 main participants. However,

this begs the question why *kori* is not used to a comparable degree in the 1st context (all main participants) and the 3rd context (main and peripheral participants), since in both contexts no two-party conversations are included. Some background information is helpful in examining the role of *kori* in multi-party conversations.

In the audio-recorded interview the participants, when asked to identify how they are addressed in the street, made relevant some categories that they associate with the use of certain ToA. The following excerpt is indicative. It is taken from the audio-recorded interview with Charoulla, fifteen minutes into the discussion.

Excerpt 3-14 (participants: Anna, Charoulla)

15.22

1. A εμ. (0.5) στον δρόμον >όταν σε δει< κάποιος γνωστός πώς θα σου πει
2. θεία, κυρία Χαρούλλα? πώς σε- πώς θα σου <φωνάξει> κάποιος?
3. X ε αν έν γνωστή: φιλενάδα εν να μου πει Χαρούλλα, αν έν [κα]μιά:
4. A [νναι.]
5. X που ξέρω γω::- τζαι δεν μου αρέσει να μου λαλούν (.) κυρία Χαρούλλα
6. A ν(η)αι χα (1)
7. X εν νά μου πει: κυρία. (1) σαν να πούμε μικρές (.) [ηλι]κίας, (0.5)
8. A [νναι.]
9. X λαλούν μου κυρία Χαρούλλα άμαν εν της ηλικίας μου, (.) κόρη Χαρούλλα.

1. A em (0.5) in the street >when someone sees you< an acquaintance what will he call
2. you, aunt, Mrs Charoulla? what the- what will someone <call> you?
3. C if it is an acquaintance: girlfriend she will call me Charoulla, if it [so]meone:⁷²
4. A [yes.]
5. C who I know::- and I don't like it when they call me (.) Mrs Charoulla
6. A y(h)es ha (1)
7. C they will call me: Mrs (1) like let's say ((if they are of)) young (.) [a]ge, (0.5)
8. A [yes.]
9. C they call me Mrs Charoulla when they are my age, (.) kori Charoulla.

(from interview B4)

15.39

⁷² For all references to people who would use the different terms of address, Charoulla uses throughout the excerpt the female form exclusively. However, the researcher in lines 1-2 used the male form for 'an acquaintance' and 'someone'.

In this excerpt the researcher proposes the address terms ‘θεία’/*aunt* (a figurative kinship category) and ‘κυρία Χαρούλλα’/*Mrs Charoulla* (TFN). However, Charoulla first refers to the FN formulation, which is oriented to as the alternative of at least the TFN form that the researcher proposed. The informant identifies as a criterion the level of intimacy; more specifically, she repairs the more generic ‘γνωστή’/*acquaintance* with the more intimate ‘φιλενάδα’/*girlfriend*. Therefore, FN address terms are constructed as activities bound to the category girlfriend. Age is also made relevant in line 7, where Charoulla associates co-incumbency to the same age category (‘της ηλικίας μου’/*of my age*) with the address term *kori* FN. In contrast, the use of TFN is bound to the age category ‘μικρές’/*young*. On the whole, Charoulla, without being prompted, associates certain categories from the MCDs ‘age’ and ‘social relations’, with the use of ToA. This is also done in the interviews with other participants. In particular, Loulla associates the use of FN formulations with membership in categories of people with whom she has a very long interactional history (see Excerpt 3-15, p. 148 below). Furthermore, Gregoria links membership in the category ‘συνήλικες’/*same age* with the use of address terms in FN form and also *kori*. Hence, in the interviews FN and *kori* formulations are associated with a level of intimacy and interactional history as well as co-membership in the same age category.

Ethnographic observations show that the peripheral members, although not complete strangers, have a less close relationship with main participants than do the main members among themselves (see also Chapter 2.4.8). One could then argue that the increased frequency of *kori* in conversations, where all five main participants are present, indexes the fact that *kori* functions as an in-group marker. Thus the use of *kori* in conversations with peripheral group members is not as prominent. If we add other ToA that contain *kori* into the equation, i.e. my *kori* and *kori* FN the pattern remains the same: the highest frequency of *kori*, my *kori*, and *kori* FN combined is again reserved for interactions between all five participants (43 instances in an hour), while this number is substantially lower for conversations between only few of the main participants, or with peripheral members (in both cases the frequency of *kori* formulations is 17 in an hour). Invariant, solidary ToA, have been found, in previous research, to enhance in-group membership in peer elderly conversations. More specifically, Wood and Ryan (1991) found that ‘dear’ (the closest equivalent of the CG *kori*) functions as an ‘in-group marker’. Also, Sifianou has argued that term such as ‘παιδάκι μου’/*my child*, whose literal meaning, at least, is similar to ‘my *kori*’ (lit. *my*

daughter), is also used as an in-group ToA and is not necessarily related to age difference (Sifianou 2001:415, 426).

In addition, *re*, the SMG equivalent of *kori*, is also found more frequently in conversations between the five main participants. Tannen and Kakava, argued that *re* is a pervasive formulaic marker which ultimately reinforces solidarity (1992:31). This finding then also supports the hypothesis that in the context of interactions between the five main participants, solidarity is more frequently indexed, through certain address terms. So far, I have argued that *kori*, but also *re*, formulations reinforce in-group solidarity in multi-party conversations. The following sections focus on distancing ToA.

3.7.4 Reverential and distancing address terms

There are a total of thirteen instances in the data sample where the formulation Title First Name (TFN- e.g. ‘κυρία Λούλλα’/Mrs Loulla) appears. All but one instance of TFN are employed by Tasoulla to address Gregoria or Loulla. On one instance TFN is used by a secondary participant, Ketsina, to address Tasoulla. Age has been argued to be, to some extent, the basis for assessing status equality (Wood & Ryan 1991:174). In fact, Makri-Tsilipakou argues that in Greek-speaking communities an age difference of ten years can be decisive in the choice of address forms and terms (Μακρή-Τσιλιπάκου 1983:232). In this case, Tasoulla is eleven years younger than Loulla and seventeen years younger than Gregoria, therefore it can be argued that she has subordinate status, on the basis of age difference. However, when addressing Myria or Charoulla, who are contemporaries of Loulla, Tasoulla never uses TFN. Instead, she employs plain FN formulations, three times; *re* (FN), seven times; and twice *my kori*. On the other hand, Gregoria, Myria, Charoulla and Loulla all primarily use (my) FN, and (my) *kori* to address Tasoulla, just as they do when addressing each other. Therefore, TFN is non-reciprocal and only directed at Gregoria and Loulla, although there is no significant difference in the way each participant addresses Tasoulla.

The parameters that affect the use of ToA are also discussed by the participants. For instance, in Excerpt 3-14, above (p.145), Charoulla constructs TFN, as opposed to FN and *kori* FN, as the term associated with membership in different age categories. As suggested above, Loulla also juxtaposes TFN with FN address terms, and associates them with an alternative collection of categories. The excerpt below, taken from the

middle of the Loulla's interview, is illustrative. The interviewer has asked how they address her in the street and suggested two possible ToA 'θεία'/aunt and 'κυρία Λούλλα'/Mrs Loulla. So far, Loulla has elaborated on the use of the term 'θεία' in the Greek community in Africa and has also mentioned that with her 'χωριανές'/co-villagers they use FN formulations.

Excerpt 3-15 (participants: Loulla, Anna)

24.00

1. Λ ε οι::μ (.) οι συμμαθήτριες μου λέμεν το Λούλλα τζαι το αυτόν.
2. Α νναι.
3. Λ οι λίγο:- σαν την Τασούλλαν λόου χάρι που εγνωρίσαμε τώρα τελευταία τρία
4. τέσσερα χρόνια στον κύκλον, (.) κυρία Λούλλα. (1) αυτές που δεν ήτανε χωριανές
5. μας, (.) συμμαθήτριες μας, είναι μεν φίλες μας αλλά (.) το κυρία.
6. Α =νναι
7. Λ κυρία Λούλλα.

1. L well the:: (.) my classmates we use Loulla and such.
2. A yes.
3. L those who are a bi:t- like Tasoulla for example that we met just recently three
4. four years in the circle, (.) Mrs Loulla. (1) those who were not our co-villagers,
5. (.) our classmates, they are still our friends but (.) the ((term)) Mrs .
6. Α =yes
7. L Mrs Loulla.

(from interview B1)

24.11

Loulla in this stretch of talk attempts to map out members' categories that are bound to the attribution of employing the TFN form as a ToA. These categories include *those who are a bi:t-* (presumably more distant, l.3). This incomplete categorisation is repaired by the example of Tasoulla. Therefore, also people met in the last three or four years (l.3-4), women that were not her co-villagers (i.e. they have not been born in Atalanta, or have not moved there in young age), and women who were not her classmates (l.5) are also included in the collection of categories associated with TFN. Finally the category 'φίλες'/girlfriends is constructed as compatible to the activity of employing the TFN address term. The contrastive conjunctions of in the phrase 'είναι: είναι μεν φίλες μας αλλά (.)'/they are *still* our friends *but* (.) (l.5) orient to the perceived contradiction between the use of this less intimate ToA with co-incumbency in the category friends. It is interesting that Loulla shifts from the singular in line 1 (e.g.

συμμαθήτριές μου/*my classmates*) to the first plural (e.g. *εγνωρίσαμε/we met*, line 3; *χωριανές μας/our co-villagers*, l.4). This attempt to construct the practice of employing TFN as one in which others also participate, might also suggest the perceived incompatibility between employing such a term and co-membership in the category friends. Therefore, Loulla constructs the activity of (receiving) TFN as one that is not exclusive between Tasoulla and herself but as a common practice, at least in the local community. The use of plural helps to construct the activity as a common practice, which further supports its compatibility with the category ‘friends’. Loulla thus places emphasis on the length of time she has known someone as a criterion for the ToA used and does not make any explicit reference to the MCD age. However, one would assume that women she knew since her youth (*χωριανές/co-villagers*) and especially classmates are of a similar age as her, whereas friends she has met recently may be younger, and thus the MCD age, although not explicitly mentioned, is also hinted at as a possible factor in ToA use.

Although age differences affect status inequalities, and interactional history affects members’ solidarity, this does not explain why Tasoulla does not employ TFN when addressing Myria and Charoulla, both of whom are of the same age as Loulla (and also other possible bases for assessing status such as occupation or education) and have known Tasoulla for the same amount of years. Both Charoulla and Myria, in their interviews, mentioned in passing that they do not like being addressed with the TFN form (see e.g. Excerpt 3-14, p. 145). In fact, all of the children Myria looked after have always addressed her as ‘Myria’ and still do. In the follow-up interviews the researcher asked Myria specifically about the ToA between her and Tasoulla and she responded that she had asked Tasoulla to address her with FN. Therefore, one can conclude that Tasoulla, because of status (age) difference and distance (at least when she was introduced to the other participants) she initially employed the TFN ToA which she maintained unless the FN option was explicitly offered to her.

In the follow-up interviews Gregoria, when asked about Tasoulla’s choice of ToA, regarded the issue as trivial and with no significance. In fact, she has been observed addressing Tasoulla as *κυρία Τασούλλα* (TFN) on some occasions. This shift between TFN and FN formulations for the same person is also found in one of the conversations in the sample analysed for ToA. In conversation A16 Ketsina, a peripheral member of the group and not a close acquaintance of Tasoulla, addresses the latter with the (my)

FN formulations, six times. Yet at some point in the middle of the conversation Ketsina shifts to TFN (‘κυρία Τασούλλα’/*Mrs Tasoulla*). This shift between more or less distant/reverential ToA, occurs, in Ketsina’s case, because solidarity and status relations are still in negotiation. The fact that Gregoria on (rare) occasions also addressed Tasoulla with TFN could be interpreted as Gregoria’s move to attribute the use of non-solidary ToA not to their age-related status difference (which would call for unilateral TFN forms), but to their level of intimacy (in which case a reciprocal TFN form is required), and hence downplay the age difference. The fact that in the follow-up interviews, Gregoria constructed the non-reciprocity of ToA between Tasoulla and herself as very trivial, also suggests an attempt to downplay age-related status difference.

Summing up, Tasoulla employs TFN to address Gregoria and Loulla but she overwhelmingly receives FN and *kori* formulations, whereas solidary terms are employed to address Charoulla and Myria. It has been shown that the use of the non-solidary ToA is explained by status (in particular, age) differences, the closeness of the relationship (i.e. years of knowing each other), and explicit requests by the member with higher status (e.g. Myria’s request for FN). The next section investigates young-age categorisation, in the context of ToA.

3.7.5 Young-age categories as terms of address

Young-age categories are, on occasion, employed as ToA. Because they are not used very frequently in the sample data set, young-age categories as ToA have been investigated in all the 18 hours of self-recordings, where they occur 25 times. By far the most frequent young-age ToA employed in the self-recordings is ‘κοπέλλες’/*kopelles*, meaning young women, and encountered 19 times. It is used as a ToA most frequently on its own, but is also, on a couple of occasions, combined with *kori* (i.e. *kori kopelles*), once with the possessive ‘μου’/*my*, and also it appears twice in the diminutive form, ‘κοπελλούες’/*kopellues*, meaning girls. Another young-age address term, employed 6 times is ‘κορούες’/*korues*, a CG term for girls. Note that *korues*, although grammatically the diminutive of *kori*, discussed in Section 3.7.3, is actually quite different. *Kori*, (like *re*), is an age-neutral, invariable ToA and when it is used in a grammatical case other than vocative in singular, then the meaning switches to ‘daughter’. However, *korues* is a variable term and belongs to the MCD age, when used as a generic category and not as a ToA. In all but one instances these young-age ToA

are used in the plural to address all the participants present and they tend to occur, just like *kori* in conversations where all five main participants are present. In the literature about Greek terms of address similar terms (such as ‘κορίτσι μου’/*my girl*) have been referred to as ‘metaphorical and generic’ (Petrits 2001:206); metaphorical because the addressee is not necessarily a young woman and generic because (as mentioned above) they do not identify the hearer the way FN terms do.

One could argue that these terms, which in other contexts mean ‘young women’, are not oriented to as such by the members. However, the following example illustrates the young-age attributions of *kopelles*. This excerpt is taken from the first interview with Myria and it occurs sixteen minutes into the recording. Myria was describing the day-trips she goes on with her circle of friends (‘η παρέα τούτη’/*this company*), and prompted by the researcher to give information about any trips abroad she starts talking about a trip that she went on with three same-age friends (Loulla, Ketsina and Myria’s sister-in-law). Myria has identified her co-travellers as (‘μια φίλη μου: η Κετσίνα η Μαλεκκίδου’/*a friend of mine Ketsina Malekkidou*, ‘η Λούλλα του Ζήνου’/*Zenos’ Loulla*, and ‘την νύφη μου στο Δασάκι’/*my sister-in-law in Dasaki*), and although it is known to the researcher that they are of similar chronological age as Myria, the MCD age has not been made explicitly relevant at the immediately preceding interactional sequence.

Excerpt 3-16 (participants: Myria, Anna)

16.59

1. M τζαι επήαμεν παρέα. επεράσαμεν <πάρα> πολλά ωραία. (.)
 2. A τέσσερις κοπέ[λλες?]
 3. M [<τέ>σσερις> (.) κυρίες. ΜΕΓΑΛΕΣ κυρίες.
 4. A μ-νναι.
-
1. M and we went together ((as a group)). we had a <very> nice time. (.)
 2. A fou:r kope[lləs?]
 3. M [<fou>r> (.) ladies. MEGALES ladies.
 4. A m-yes.

(from interview B3)

17.05

In the second line the researcher introduces the term *kopelles* to do referring (Schegloff 2007a:434) to the characters of the story narrated by Myria, in order to confirm whether

only those four participated in the trip. Myria in the next, overlapping turn, offers an other-initiated other-repair of the researcher's categorisation, proposing the term 'κυρίες'/ladies and self-repairing it to 'μεγάλες κυρίες'/megales ladies (for repairs see Chapter 2.5.1). The higher volume and stressed intonation of the repaired categorisations show that this repair is foregrounded and unmitigated. The fact that *megales*, the most explicit age categorisation in this sequence, is especially emphasised, shows that the problem with the trouble source *kopelles*, is the fact that it is an inappropriately 'young' age categorisation for the characters of the narrative, who Myria constructs as members of an older age category. The researcher's agreement token in line 4 indicates that, at this local occasion, the term *kopelles* is jointly constructed as a young-age categorisation, inappropriate for the characters of Myria's story (which of course include Myria herself). In the self-recordings, terms such as *kopella* and *korua* (meaning young or little girl), are also oriented to as young-age categories, and are constructed as parts of a contrast pair with old-age categorisations such as *kojakari*, *geros*, seventy-one year old (see for example Excerpt 7-10, p. 351, in the Appendix). Therefore, it is legitimate to say that these terms are oriented to as young-age categorisations, at least in certain local contexts. Below an overview of the use of these young-age categories as ToA and their function in the conversation, is given.

Firstly, young-age ToA are employed along with unmitigated directives as the example below shows.

Excerpt 3-17 (participants: Tasoulla, Loulla, Gregoria, Myria, Charoulla)

39.08

1. T άτε ρε κορούες τζαι: εν να:-

2. M ↑άτε!

3. Λ =άτε,

4. T σηκωστείτε πάνω

1. T come on *re korues* we wi:ll-

2. M ↑come on!

3. L =come on,

4. T get up

(from conversation A8)

39.11

In the above example the five main participants are visiting Olivia's house and Tasoulla, the only member who drives, will give them a lift home. Tasoulla is in a hurry to leave early to pick up her grandson from his tutorial, therefore at this point she tells her coparticipants to get up, so they can all leave. The use of 'ρε κορούες'/*re korues* here helps to soften the impositive character of the directive in line 4. Therefore *korues* performs the discourse function of mitigating a face threatening act.⁷³ Such use of metaphorical and kinship terms with directives is also documented in the literature on the use of address terms in Turkish and in Greek (see especially Bayyurt & Bayraktaroglu 2001:222; and also Tannen & Kakava 1992; Petrits 2001:210).

Young-age categories as ToA are also routinely found in the context of greetings (15 out of the 25 occurrences). They can be found when entering or leaving a room. For example 'Γεια σας κοπέλλες'/*Hello kopelles* (can occur upon arrival) or 'Άτε κοπέλλες μου εχάρηκα που σας είδα'/*Well my kopelles it was nice seeing you* (when leaving the meeting). Also these address terms are used next to ceremonial wishes for good health uttered just before taking the first sip of coffee. The frequently used formulaic wish is either 'Εις υγείαν κοπέλλες' or 'Στην υγειαν σας κοπέλλες', both meaning *your health*, *kopelles* (it has been shown that formulaic expressions are very frequently used in Greek, Cypriot Greek and are most frequently employed by older adults, see Tannen & Oztek 1981:46; Terkourafi 2002). Nevertheless, 'εις υγείαν'/*to your health* and similar wishes are also often followed by other types of ToA, such as first names, invariable address terms such as *kori*, and most frequently no address term. Therefore, although greetings constitute a context where most young-age ToA appear, young-age categories are not the only or even most frequent address term found in such contexts. As a result the members can choose whether to employ them or not in their greetings.

Tannen and Kakava (1992) argue that such ToA, which they call 'figurative kinship terms' and include examples such as 'κοπέλα μου'/*my kopela*, function as solidarity markers. It might then be the case here that the participants employ these ToA to purposefully reinforce in-group solidarity. Participant observations showed that young-age categories were not employed by younger acquaintances or family members to address the participants. In fact, when a younger family member of one of the participants employed the ToA *kopelles* to greet the informants, they showed their surprise with the use of the term.

⁷³ Terms of address such as *koroues* and *kori* are not exclusively participant-oriented (indexing age and solidarity) but can also be discourse-oriented (e.g. indexing changes in topic and footing).

Overall, youth ToA are employed in contexts of greeting and wishes and redress the dispreferredness of directives. Therefore, they do not appear to necessarily make relevant the MCD age or any young-age CBA. Nevertheless, because young-age categories, as ToA, are exclusively employed in peer-elderly conversations, they could be seen as an in-group marker. In the remainder of this chapter the findings about old-age categories and ToA are summarised and their implications with regard to identity work are explored.

3.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, the different old-age categories, employed to categorise self and others, and terms of address have been discussed. By concentrating on *kojakari* and *megali*, the construction of category-bound activities and features were illustrated. It has been argued that *megales* is an umbrella and neutral term for a wide range of old-age categorisations, and thus apt for self- and other- identification. On the other extreme of the continuum of old-age categories is *kojakari*, a category with less flexible attributions, overwhelmingly derogatory and reserved for distant persons, and which only in specific contexts (e.g. teasing) can be claimed for the self and others present. Other categories employed by the participants are *ilikiomeni*, an old-age categories oriented to as bound to more or less positive attributions and *gria*, a category regularly associated with decline CBAs. In Section 3.3 of this chapter, an alternative set of old-age categorisations the age-in-years collection was examined. This collection has been found to be a significant part of member's apparatus. Age-in-years is oriented to both as a CBA of a generic old-age category and as a category belonging to a distinct class of age categories that does not point straightforwardly to a generic old-age category.

Furthermore, a set of rules for applying old-age categories has been inducted. It has been shown that old-age categories are hierarchically positioned and that certain restrictions and implications affect the categorisation process. What these rules of application exhibit is that members orient to a very intricate set of expectations of who can be categorised by whom, with what specific age category term and at which context. In addition, the rules of application suggest that old-age categories are inference-rich, as different members, including the self and interlocutors, could be categorised by implication, even when the categorisation is directed at third parties.

Section 3.5 concentrated on old-age categorisations that are explicitly self-referential. Generic old-age self-categorisations in noun form are relatively rare and when they occur they are overwhelmingly plural. In the case of decline old-age categories, speakers employ a number of devices to distance themselves from these categories, such as RS. However, such distancing devices are not employed, in the case of more positive old-age categories, such as *megali*. Categorisations in verb form have been shown to be a less dispreferred way of categorising self and others present as old and thus are employed in $\frac{9}{10}$ of the cases, without any indication of hesitation. All but one self-categorisations are done in the plural. ‘We’, according to Hanks, lumps the speaker into a social group, in this case, of the interlocutors (and other social members) who are co-incumbents in the specific age category (Hanks 1990:173; cf. N. Coupland et al. 1991a:61; Poullos 2004b). Therefore, when participants categorise themselves with old-age categories, they also align themselves as co-members of the same social group as their interlocutors, and hence make relevant categorisations of in-groupness. Nevertheless, it has also been shown that, on some occasions, old-age categories in *verb* form in the first person plural serve, in fact, as a more preferred device of *other*-categorisation, excluding the self. Age categorisations for older men have also been discussed and have been found to be a part of a contrast pair with older women. The fact that old adults are seldom treated as a unified group and that there are distinct collections of old-men and old-women categories with different CBAs and rules of application, shows that gender is an ‘omnirelevant’ category (Sacks 1995:A590).

ToA (whether comprising explicit age categorisations or not) were analysed in the last section. The choice of terms (i.e. *kori* as opposed to ‘FN’; ‘TFN’ as opposed to ‘FN’ and *kori* formulation), is in the first instance explained in terms of solidarity and power relations. Terms such as *kori* or *re* have been shown to index in-group solidarity and, thus proliferated in interactions of the main participants, especially in conversations of three parties or more. Moreover, it has been argued that chronological age was an important but insufficient predictor for the use of more reverential (or distancing) ToA. The interactional history of the participants also plays a significant role in deciding between different ToA (and lack thereof). In fact, the recipients of non-reciprocal TFN are able to challenge the implied age difference by asking the younger member to employ more solidary address forms (as in the case of Myria-Tasoulla and Charoulla-Tasoulla) or by reciprocating the non-solidary term (Gregoria to Tasoulla). Finally, young-age categories functioning as ToA have been analysed. These terms appear

mostly in formulaic greetings or in directives with the function of redressing the dispreferredness of the directive. Fieldwork has shown that such terms, are employed exclusive among same-age members, and this is also made explicitly relevant by the participants and therefore could be seen as indices of in-groupness.

On the whole, members employ a nuanced machinery for age categorisations. Different classes of old-age categories (be it generic categories in noun form, age-in-years categories, categories in verb form, or old-men categories) encompassing a variety of terms with different attributions, inferences and rules of application, are used in the interactions. However, when it comes to the portrayal of older adults in the Cypriot media, especially in the print media surveyed, such nuanced and context-sensitive machinery for old-age categorisations is absent. It has been shown that, although the two most often-encountered generic old-age categories *kojakari* and *megali* were not employed in media discourse (as old-age categories), other categories such as *ilikiomeni* are encountered in the Cypriot press, as well. However, their use in the press is different. First, old age categories are often associated with heavier decline attributions. Second, age-in-years (as young as sixty-five) are constructed as a feature unproblematically indexing generic old age categories. In contrast, in the conversations (and also the radio show) a more complex relation between chronological age and generic old age categories is constructed, taking into account a variety of attributions and not merely chronological age. Third, unlike the third rule of application in the conversational data (according to which old-age categories are understood as hierarchically positioned), in the press there is no recurrent hierarchical positioning between the different old-age categories employed. Fourth, self-categorisations as old are encountered in the same rate in the self-recordings as in the radio phone-ins but they were exceptionally scarce in the press. Fifth, unlike in the self-recordings, where premium is given to female categorisations, in the media, old-men categorisations are more frequent than old-women categorisations. Also, in the press, old men are often associated with milder decline attributions or are not ascribed any generic old-age categories at all.

Some of these differences occur because of to the limitations of the different media of discourse (print media vs. brief, mediated public conversations in the radio show vs. unmediated private conversations) and other contextual factors. For instance, the under-representation of old men in the self-recordings could be attributed to the fact that they

are all-female conversations of (mainly) widows. Similarly, self-categorisations as old are absent in the press because in articles and news reports categorisations of all types are mostly other-referential; i.e. the reported/writer categorises the person(s) he/she writes about. Also in the radio show *Χωρίς Ηλικία/Without Age*, less typified and more nuanced and positive constructions of old-age categorisations occurred compared to the press, confirming previous literature which has shown that media targeting older adults project a more favourable image of later life (see Chapter 1.1.5).

However, the following discrepancies can be attributed to the participants' recurrent project of constructing positive age identities. To begin with, chronological age is negotiated as an insufficient predictor of incumbency to decline-related old-age categories. Also when chronological age is treated as a CBA of a generic old-age category, a higher threshold is established than in the media. In particular, chronological age categories which are constructed as bound to generic old-age categories are at least above seventy, and often above eighty, whereas in the media membership to an age-in-years category of early sixties can warrant ascription of generic old-age categories. Moreover, the variety of old-age categories, used in interactions, with their distinct CBAs, enables the participants to claim membership of certain categories with defined (positive) attributions and distance themselves from old-age categories with decline attributions. Finally, the fact that men are not favourably presented in the casual interactions but are, on the contrary, portrayed as more susceptible to aged appearance can also be attributed to the repeated activity of self-identification with positive age identities.

Overall, the participants ratify stereotypical/ageist assumptions about old age when they construct categorisations of *kojakares*, yet they reserve these categorisations and their related decrepitude features for others. For themselves, contesting to ageist stereotypes, the interlocutors construct age identities with more positive CBAs. These categories, even though share features of chronological age and sometimes poor physical health with other, decline old-age categories, are not incompatible with good mental state, high sociability, and youthful looks. This recurrent and joint construction of counter-decline and positive old-age identities for the self is achieved through:

- a) Constructing age-in-years as not essentially bound to old-age categories

- b) Distancing and diffusing responsibility for self-referential, decline, old-age categories (with the use of plural, RS, teasing, categorisations as part of hypothetical scenarios, and dispreferred turn shapes),
- c) The construction of and self-association with old-age categories bound to positive or mild decline attributions,
- d) The construction of and self-disassociation from old-age categories with heavy decline attributions,
- e) The avoidance of old-age categories, especially ones with negative attributions, when it is more difficult for interlocutors to dis-associate themselves from them (e.g. because of their chronological age, as is the case with Gregoria, or their attributions of health decline, as is the case in the third phase of the recordings), and
- f) The contestation of age-related status difference in the use of ToA

On the whole, it has been shown that the participants here employ a set of age-categorisations whose associations are quite different from the terms' use in other contexts (including media texts). In particular, *megali* is overwhelmingly negotiated as an old-age category, and not as one that merely means grown-up, *ilikiomeni* is largely disassociated from decline CBAs, and young-age categorisations are disassociated from their young-age attributions when used as ToA between the (older) participants. This is evidence that the attributions of age categorisations are very much negotiated and constructed in the local context of the group's interactions. Also, these situated uses of categorisations are employed in the negotiation various identities. For instance, it has been shown that young-age categorisations make relevant peer-group identities.

In addition, members make relevant positive old-age identities through the use of these locally constructed categorisations. More specifically, members use at least two types of age categories for self- and interlocutors-categorisation: *megali* and age categorisations in verb form, mainly 'εμεγαλώσαμε'/we have grown, both used in the self-recordings almost exclusively as third age categorisations. Both of these categorisations are constructed as bound to no or mild decline attributions. Therefore members are able to categorise self and others as old, without, at the same time, accepting association with age-related decline. This is a rather novel finding, because in the literature, in the context of peer-elderly interactions, participants resorted to distancing from old-age categories altogether, in order to construct a positive self image. Paoletti (1998a), Hurd (1999) and Degnen (2007) found that older women in naturally occurring peer-group interactions constructed the category 'old' as a

homogenising category, challenging the incumbents agency and bound to decline CBAs, and which was attributed to others. The participant in these studies constructed a positive self image by claiming the category ‘not old’ (cf. Jolanki 2009, who has documented similar findings in focus-group discussions of older adults). However, as Hurd points out (1999:431) this places members in the precarious position where health problems, changes in the body image and loss of spouse continually endanger their membership to the category ‘not old’. In contrast, members of the present study are able to construct a positive self-image by ratifying membership to age categories that are not necessarily and exclusively bound to decline attributions. At the same time because *megali* and verb categorisations are flexible categories, which may or may not be associated with attributions such as ill health or mobility issues, self-association with such attributions does not jeopardise membership to these largely positive old-age categories.

Finally, membership in age categorisation is not homogeneous in the group. Tasoulla’s membership in different, younger, age categories is oriented to on different occasions, both by herself and her interlocutors (see Excerpt 3-2, p. 103 and Excerpt 3-11, p. 127). Also this is the only member to employ non-reciprocal, reverential ToA towards her interlocutors. It is notable that Tasoulla also has chronological age discrepancies from the other group members (she is 17 years younger than the eldest of her interlocutors). This shows that age-in-year categories are still an important value of purchase in this context, as it affects membership to age categorisations but also use of ToA. On the other hand, as has been shown in Section 3.3, despite its significance, chronological age is not the sole or the determining factor for membership in age categories. The next chapter explores age categorisations in the context of painful tellings.

4 THE NORMALITY AND EXPECTEDNESS OF ILL HEALTH AND DEATH: THE CASE OF PAINFUL TELLINGS ⁷⁴

4.1 *Introduction: A definition of Painful Tellings*

This chapter explores the occurrence and implications of tellings of the speaker's painful experiences, attempting to approach the question of covert age and other categorisations from a different angle than the previous chapter. This analysis of painful tellings draws on previous research on both 'troubles talk' and 'Painful Self Disclosures' (PSDs). Troubles talk or troubles tellings is a wider concept than PSDs and it captures 'members' talk about situations and events that are seen as distressful and disruptive of the routines of everyday life, but which are essentially self-manageable' (Lee & Jefferson 1980:viii) and can include references to troubles of the speaker or of a third party. Research on PSDs is influenced by work on troubles tellings and has received significant attention in the past two decades (cf. Chapter 1.2.3). N. Coupland, J. Coupland and Giles (1991a:61) define 'painful' self disclosures as 'the revealing of a cluster of categories of personal and often intimate information on one's own ill health, bereavement, immobility, loneliness, and so on' and consider them an index of age identity. Events disclosed in these sequences are taken to be 'plausibly but non-specifically painful, predictably in their occurrence and, perhaps, in their telling' according to the researchers (N. Coupland et al. 1991a:79).

However, in the self-recordings, because of the relational histories of the participants, most of the references to painful events are not *disclosive*, but are more often than not updates on a *known* situation. Also, they do not fit into the definition of troubles talk, because troubles talk also includes mentions of troubled experiences of not only the teller, but also of third parties. On the contrary, the sequences analysed here only include references to plausibly painful states or experiences of the *speaker*. Therefore, the term *Painful Tellings* (PTs) is employed here. Following short-story research (e.g. Georgakopoulou 2007; De Fina & Georgakopoulou 2011), the term 'tellings' is not limited to non-shared, one-teller, fully-fledged accounts but can also include elliptical mentions or updates on known/shared events (see also Chapter 2.5.2). Therefore this

⁷⁴ An earlier version of some parts of this chapter appeared in Charalambidou 2011.

term is preferred to more specific terms, such as ‘updates on painful issues’ as it can include both brief mentions of known issues, but also disclosures of longer, un-shared painful experiences. On the whole, when I refer to PTs, I largely follow N. Coupland et al.’s (1991a) definition of PSDs, the main difference being that PTs are not necessarily disclosive, but can also entail references to shared information.

This chapter examines closely how PTs are organised in interaction and at what ends. First, an overview of the topics and frequency of PTs is given, followed by their structural organisation, focusing on prior and upcoming text and modes of telling. On occasions, PTs can be appropriated in a humorous key or be employed as a resource for joking. Thus, the final section of the chapter examines the humorous renderings of PTs and provides a close analysis of a joke associated with painful experiences. It is shown that the topics, the sequential structure and the occasional humorous key of PTs construct ill health and death as non-problematic, normal and expected situations.

4.2 Topics, tellers and larger contexts of PTs

In the data at hand, PTs fall within the topic categories of severe ill health, immobility, disengagement, reported bereavement and other family and social troubles as follows:

- a) *Ill health*: Chronic or enduring health problems are reported on most frequently. PTs most often include limb and specifically knee problems, but also back and ear pain, flu-like symptoms, headaches, indigestion, sometimes resulting in insomnia. Also, members refer to physical pain experienced at the time of the interaction. In addition, mentions of high blood pressure and high blood sugar, problems with eyesight and incontinence are made as well as references to accidents, operations, past hospitalisations and being tired of doctors.
- b) *Mobility problems* are usually associated with health issues and include difficulty in walking and getting up, inability to climb stairs, unstable hands and legs and getting easily tired from physical activity.
- c) *Loss of former activities* entails inability to do activities, such as housework, as well or as often as once could. Also, inability to travel abroad, due to health and mobility problems and inability to knit with *smili* due to inflexible hands and forgetfulness are mentioned.

- d) *Bereavement*: Loss of beloved family members is seldom discussed, but includes references to siblings that died abroad, a grandson that passed away and one mention of a late husband's burial.
- e) *Other*: Family and social troubles make up the remainder and include lengthy discussions about being victim of injustice in inheritance issues, and mentions of being upset with a grandson's reckless behaviour. Finally, being scared of going out to busy roads is reported.

In the eighteen hours of recordings, a total of 69 PTs (thirty eight minutes) were traced and the table below shows the distribution of the different topic categories both in simple summed number of occurrences and in percentage. On some occasions, painful sequences covered more than one topic (e.g. leg problem and inability to travel abroad). In these cases, for the purposes of table V, they were categorised according to the topic that was most salient (i.e. the lengthiest, told with most emphasis and to which the next move oriented).

<i>Topics of PTs</i>	<i>Number of occurrence</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
<i>Health and mobility problems</i>	53	76.8%
• leg decrement and mobility problems	24	34.8%
• other medical problems (including ongoing conditions, past and current symptoms)	23	33.3%
• other physical decrement	3	4.3%
• other mobility problems	1	1.4%
• sensory decrement	1	1.4%
• terminal illness of another person	1	1.4%
<i>Loss of former activities</i>	8	11.6%
• traveling abroad	4	5.8%
• cleaning rigorously	2	2.9%
• knitting with <i>smili</i>	2	5.8%
<i>Bereavement</i>	4	5.8%
• death of siblings	2	2.9%
	1	1.4%

• death of husband	1	1.4%
• death of grandson		
	4	5.8%
<i>Other</i>	2	2.9%
• inheritance injustice	1	1.4%
• grandson's troublesome behavior	1	1.4%
• fear of crossing the road		
Total	69	100%

N=18 hours

Table V: Frequency of topics in painful tellings

By far the most ‘popular’ topic is health and mobility issues. In the category of inability to perform former activities, the inability to travel abroad is repeatedly mentioned, especially in the third phase of the recordings, when some of the participants had booked to go on holiday abroad (and at times were worried if they could make it), and others discussed that they were unable to join them.

These painful events or situations are also recurrently associated with older adults and women in particular, in the media. As has been discussed in Chapter 1.1.5, older adults are often associated in the Cypriot press with attributions of frailty, poor health, immobility, vulnerability, but also loneliness; these constructions of elderliness were also found in non-Cypriot media, as well (531-52) (Kessler et al. 2004; see also Chapter 1.1.5.2). The prominence of tellings of ill health resonates with the dramatic monologue section ‘Συντροφιά από το τηλέφωνο’/*Telephone companionship*, of the radio show ‘Χωρίς ηλικία’/*Without Age* (see Chapter 1.1.5.1). The elderly heroine, in almost every episode, which is about five minutes long, is heard mentioning to relatives over the phone painful experiences. These tellings primarily include references to health problems (chronic aches) and mobility issues (limited ability to walk) and subsequent confinement in the house as well a reference to loneliness and to her inability to do her washing up and ironing. The topics in the PTs of the heroine, coincide, to a great extent, with the topics in the conversational data (with the exception of loneliness). Also the frequent reference to painful situations, and especially ill health, by the elderly heroine constructs a strong association, in the show, between the category old age and the activity of PTs and tellings of ill health, in particular.

The perception that talk about ill health is a prominent conversational practice of older adults is also reflected in participants' accounts in the interviews. More specifically, in the interviews the participants were asked to mention the topics they talk about in their meetings with their peers. All but one of them mentioned *illnesses* ('αρρώστειες') and other health-related topics, such as hospital and doctor visits and surgeries. In fact, Loulla and Charoulla foregrounded 'αρρώστειες'/*illnesses* as the main topic of their conversations, although this was not suggested by the researcher; in fact in Loulla's case the topic suggested by the researcher was 'ψυχαγωγία'/*entertainment* (see Excerpt 7-3, p. 337 and Excerpt 7-18, p. 368, in the Appendix). However, in the participants' conversations, although talk about health issues is the most salient type of PT, PTs are not in fact as prominent as other topics, e.g. talk about food and cooking (cf. Chapter 5). Therefore, it might be the case that the widely circulating construction of old women as prone to frequently complain about illnesses, feed into the participants' understanding of their own interactions, even if it does not necessarily correspond to their actual conversational practices.

It is interesting to note that sensory decrement (apart from a sole mention of eyesight problems) is avoided, although at least one of the participants had a hearing problem, which in other instances (fieldwork, interactions with relatives) she acknowledged and the other informants were aware of (as is obvious from some implicit comments they make during the conversations; see Excerpt 3-12, p. 133). Therefore, although participants discuss health issues, it appears that some health-related topics are not explicitly oriented to. The types of decline attributions made relevant in PTs seem to coincide with activities bound to mild-decline old-age categorisations. More specifically, as has been discussed in Chapter 3.2, certain attributions, such as loss of primary cognitive functions, loss of hearing, inability to interact appropriately in social situations and unrecognisably aged appearance are exclusively bound to decline old-age categories, such as 'γριά' and 'κοτζάκαρη' (both meaning *old woman*). Yet, these attributions are never oriented to in PTs. Therefore, the absence of tellings about hearing problems, in the self-recordings, appears to be aligned with the self-presentation project of disassociation from extreme-decline age categories (see also Chapter 3.8).

In general, the topic areas coincide largely with those of N. Coupland et al. (1991), the main differentiation being that loneliness is not disclosed in the data at hand.

Loneliness is routinely associated with older adults in the Cypriot and International media (see Chapter 1.1.5) and it is the only painful topic made relevant by the heroine in the radio show 'Χωρίς Ηλικία'/*Without Age* which does not appear in the self-recordings. Most of the participants, although they reside very closely to their children, live on their own. The logs of social interactions completed by the participants, as well as additional fieldwork showed that, although they have daily telephone conversations with friends, they would not necessarily meet them every day (see Chapter 2.4). Also during participant observation some members mentioned that they might feel lonely or not see anyone for hours. It is then unexpected that loneliness is never explicitly oriented to in PTs. Tellings of loneliness could entail lack of constant interaction and closeness with family members and could therefore challenge membership of categories from the MCD 'family', such as 'caring mother'. In fact, it is a cultural practice of the Cypriot society and one repeatedly made relevant by the informants, both in the self-recorded interactions and during participant observation, that daughters, even when they are married, are very close to their mothers (cf. Arnold 1982:113; and also Chapter 2.4). As is demonstrated in the next chapter (see Chapter 5.9), however, participants go to great lengths to claim membership to the categories of caring and devoted mother/grandmother/wife/sister, through references to activities of cooking, cleaning and knitting for their family members. Therefore, the absence of PTs about loneliness might be part of recurrent constructions of positive family categorisations.

Also, unlike N. Coupland et al.'s data, where reports of bereavement, especially loss of the husband, are a prominent topic (disclosed in 16 out of the 41 peer-elderly PSDs), in the data at hand the frequency is lower, most probably because the participants have a long interactional history and are fully aware of this type of information about their interlocutors. The factor of the interactional history, cannot however apply as much to the lack of tellings about hearing problems and loneliness because, the death of a loved one is a single past event, whereas loneliness and hearing problems are ongoing experiences, and thus could have been brought up, in interactions with close friends, perhaps as updates to known situations, as it happens with other health and mobility conditions.

PTs can be anything from a couple of seconds long, parenthetical reference to fully-fledged narratives lasting up to more than six minutes, with a mean duration of about 33 seconds each (for a definition of narrative, as it is used in this thesis, see Chapter

2.5.2). PTs cover a percentage of 3.4% of all the self-recordings, which is considerably lower than the 16.5% found in peer-elderly conversations in N. Coupland et al.'s study (1991a:114). It is unlikely that measuring differences contributed significantly to this discrepancy, since I have followed N. Coupland et al.'s unit of analysis, the *sequence*. The sequence has been defined as talk in the topic categories mentioned above (ill health, mobility problems, bereavement, other personal problems etc.), also including direct and indirect elicitations and recipients' next moves up to the point where talk shifts/switches to non-painful topics (1991a:111). This definition is comparable to Lee and Jefferson's troubles-telling sequence (Lee & Jefferson 1980:88). The discrepancy between this and N. Coupland et al.'s study could be then attributed, in the first instance, to a number of contextual factors. Firstly there is a different sociocultural context in the two studies and, most importantly, the interactions in N. Coupland et al. were first encounters, in a controlled setting (pairs of strangers were asked to converse for 10 minutes). This could give rise to first mentions of a wider range of PTs, which in a context of everyday interactions with long-time friends are redundant.

Regarding individual participants' preoccupation with PTs there are some differences. The number of PTs each participant tells would be an insufficient indicator, because some participants take part in more conversations than others (see also Table I, in Chapter 2, p. 53). Therefore, the data have been normalised to account for varied levels of participations in the recordings and the results are shown in the fourth column of the following table, which indicates the number of occurrence of PTs per hour of participation in the conversation.

<i>Participants</i>	<i>Number of PTs told⁷⁵</i>	<i>Hours of participation in conversations⁷⁶</i>	<i>Frequency of PTs per hour</i>
Anthoulla	2	0.5	4.00
Ketsina	6	4	1.50
Myria	23	16	1.41
Gregoria	19	18	1.06
Charoulla	10	10	0.96
Loulla	13	16	0.83

⁷⁵ Some PTs are told by more than one participant and hence the sum of this column exceeds the total number of PTs (69).

⁷⁶ Numbers in this column are rounded, but the actual unrounded figures are used in the calculations.

Tasoulla	1	7	0.13
Olivia	0	2	0
N=18 hours			

Table VI: Distribution of Painful Tellings per participant

Anthoulla seems to be the most avid teller, however her very low participation in the recordings (she is present for only half an hour) renders her results, and probably also Olivia's, as legitimate outliers. Also, from the above table it emerges that Tasoulla is the only one of the main participants with an overwhelmingly low rate of PTs. This is the same participant, who has been shown to disassociate herself from old-age categorisations (see Chapter 3.8). This is an indication that there is a connection between self-categorisation as old and frequency of PTs. In this case, distancing from explicit old-age categorisations is associated with a low occurrence of PT. On the other hand, the rest of the participants with an overwhelmingly higher rate of PTs, also orient to self-categorisation as old, albeit with mild-decline attributions. This is then initial evidence that PTs can be associated with old age identity constructions, as was suggested by N. Coupland et al.

Within the rest of the participants, i.e. Myria, Ketsina, Gregoria, Charoulla and Loulla, there are some differentiations. Ketsina's and Myria's PTs are significantly more frequent than the other three participants. Myria faced serious health problems during the recordings, more than any other participant, and underwent two major operations (see Chapter 2.4.3). Consequently, this could justify the high occurrence of PTs, most of which are references to poor health. Ketsina, a peripheral member of the group, also shows a stronger preference for PTs, although she was not facing any health problems that were more severe than those of the other participants. Nevertheless, being a peripheral member of the group, she does not get to see the other participants as often and hence her updates on health problems are more tellable to the group. Secondly, at some point (in conversation A3), when Ketsina is not present, Myria and the other interlocutors comment on the fact that Ketsina complains too much about her aches and pains (see Excerpt 7-19, p. 368, in the Appendix). Therefore, there is some evidence to suggest that this comparatively high occurrence of PTs by Ketsina might also occur outside of the four hours she was recorded. Also it is inferred that excessive mentions of health problems are noticed by the participants and can be negatively evaluated.

Although this may not be oriented to in the interaction it occurs, these assessments can turn into a gossip item on a later occasion.

Tellings of painful experiences are very scarce in the Cypriot media surveyed. In the newspapers and magazines examined self-references to painful states or events, whether in the form of update on a known situation or a disclosure of a non-shared one, are very rare. This could be partly attributed to the fact that the genre of self-disclosure and self-reference, in general, is confined to the context of interviews, quotes in news reports and, secondarily, in opinion articles. Painful events are often reported by a third party, and hence do not constitute PTs. Only one PT of older adults is encountered in the magazine sample of twenty four issues and four PTs in the newspaper sample of sixty two issues. The topics of the PTs range from loneliness to benefits problems and loss of former activities due to old age. The frequency of PTs, however, is higher in the radio show ‘Χωρίς ηλικία’/*Without Age*, especially in the dramatic monologue section. As mentioned earlier in this section, a telling of painful events or states is made in almost every episode. Furthermore, references to painful experiences of the speaker also appear, to a lesser degree in the phone-ins of the radio show. Callers’ PTs are not a very frequent practice, as they only occur in three out of the thirty-one phone-ins recorded. All PTs are very short (one-liners) and some are even non-foregrounded (for definitions, see Section 4.5, below). PTs in the media can be explicitly linked to the MCD age.

The following is a telling case of this explicit association. It occurs towards the middle of a show which focuses on the timely topic of carnival celebrations. The presenter has invited the audience to phone in to contribute their memories of old carnivals, while he was playing old carnival songs. This particular caller, who is female, chooses to remain anonymous, and is the second out of the eleven callers to be given the floor in the radio show. She is given a comparatively large slot to speak and employs an acrolectal variety of Cypriot Greek. She has already categorised herself as being from Limassol⁷⁷ and currently residing in another town, as a seventy-five year-old, and as the daughter of one of the late organisers of Limassol’s carnival parade. The following excerpt occurs after she has made relevant all these categorisations and has described parades and chariots she witnessed as a child.

⁷⁷ Limassol is a town of Cyprus which has a century-long tradition of being the pioneer in carnival celebrations in the island.

1. Φ ε (.) τώρα καμιάν φοράν πηγαίνετε να δείτε (.) καμιάν παρέλαση?
2. Α τώρα πκια επέ- είπα σας είμαι: εβδομήντα έξι χρονών εν να πάω να δω παρέλαση?
3. Φ να τα εκατοστήσεις.
4. Α ακού- >ευχαριστώ ό,τι ποθείς.< ακούω τα-ους ήχους της Λεμεσού και κλαίω
5. δακρύζω. γιατί (.) επειδή είπα σας είμαι Λεμεσινή τ'ζαι θυμούμαι τα, (.)
6. Φ ε είναι ευκαιρία να πεταχτείτε να δείτε κι εσείς ε:
7. Α =όι αγάπη μου επήαν τα πόθκια μου πκια είμαι εγχειρισμένη [()]
8. Φ [αχ εν μας]
9. σώννουν τα πόθκια τα άτιμα μας
10. Α α μπράβο.
11. Φ ↓αχ αχ αχ.

1. F well (.)do you sometimes go to see (.) a parade?
2. A nowadays I pass- I told you I am: seventy-six years old would I go to see a parade?
3. F may you reach a hundred.
4. A listen- >thank you I wish you the best.< I listen to the-the sounds of Limassol and I cry I
5. shed tears. because(.) because I told you I am from Limassol and I remember them, (.)
6. F well it is an opportunity to drop by and see them for yourself em:
7. Α =no my love my legs are gone now I have just had surgery [()]
8. F [ah our legs]
9. they don't have any strength the little confounded things
10. Α that's right.
11. F ↓ah ah ah.

(from broadcast C1)

15.34

Here the presenter shifts the topic from past to present carnival celebrations and asks if she ever attends parades nowadays (1.1). For her response the caller makes explicitly relevant, once again, her chronological age (1.2). In fact, this time she says she is seventy-six, and not seventy-five as the first time, emphasising even more her old-age categorial ascription. By mentioning her age at this point, the participant constructs membership to this age categorisation as being incompatible to the activity of attending a parade. Therefore, the claim of the age category, could be seen as 'hinting' on (or making 'programmatically relevant', in Sacks' terms, 1995:A578) the attributions of loss of former activities, poor health and mobility problems while avoiding an explicit

PSD. However, in line 3, although the mention of age-in-years is addressed by the presenter, offering a formulaic wish, he does not exhibit apprehension of its decline attributions. In line 4, after parenthetically addressing the presenter's wish with a formulaic response, the caller goes back to the main story line of memories of carnival celebrations and foregrounds the local formulation 'Λεμεσός'/Limassol and her categorisation as 'Λεμεσινή'/from Limassol. Although, she produces a PT, i.e. the fact that she gets emotional and cries when she listens to carnival songs, she avoids making explicitly relevant her health problems.

The presenter then re-introduces the suggestion of attending the parade treating this activity as compatible with the age categorisation (l.6). This is in line with discourses of old-age empowerment circulating in the show. In fact, in the same programme callers and presenter would associate being 72 with the generic age-category 'μυτσή' (*boy/young man*), and reaching a hundred, as not being old enough. Talk promoting activity and engagement in later life is also seen in other media targeting older adults (see e.g. Lumme-Sandt 2011 about Finnish magazines aimed at readers over 50). This finally leads to the caller's telling of ill health, in line 7, where she mentions her leg problems and recent surgery. Lee and Jefferson (1980) have indicated that a move towards a greater level of intimacy is established in the main part of a troubles-telling sequence (see Section 4.3.1, below), which is indexed here by the address term 'αγάπη μου' (lit. *my love*). Upon reception of this PT, the presenter again offers a sympathetic next move with a change of perspective with a contextualisation (N. Coupland et al. 1991a:100), by locating the event in a wider context, implying that leg problems are common with the use of plural (l.8-9). This turn could be seen as a move towards closure of the PT (see 'close-implicature', Section 4.3.1). The caller agrees (l.10) and will then go on with descriptions of specific past celebrations.

Two general observations can be made here. First, the presenter, at least on an explicit level, encourages counter-decline constructions of old-age identities, by insisting in eliciting reports of *current* involvement in festive celebrations and by dis-attending to the tacit association of chronological age with decline attributions. Second, the caller avoids a health-related PT, by hinting at it with the age categorisation, and quickly resuming the prior topic. Thus PTs are oriented as being inappropriate for public announcement, presumably because they are too personal (cf. Lascaratou 2007, who concludes that pain is essentially subjective and private). In general, in the phone-ins

PTs are scarce, elliptical and non-foregrounded. In this context, age categorisations can be used as a more preferred way of hinting at painful states/experiences. On the other hand, the appropriateness of PTs in private conversations is indexed by their frequent appearance in the dramatic monologue of the radio show.

In the following section the sequential organisation of PTs is explored. A toolkit adapted from N. Coupland et al.'s (1991a) taxonomy of pre-contexts, modes of reference and closing strategies, and Jefferson's 'candidate troubles-telling sequence' (1988) is used. First a brief outline of the two models and how they are employed in the analysis is given.

4.3 Models for the sequential organisation of PTs

4.3.1 The candidate troubles-telling sequence

Lee and Jefferson's work on the organisation of troubles talk looked closely at the sequential logic and, secondarily, at the interactional work going on in troubles telling (Lee & Jefferson 1980; Jefferson 1984a, 1988). The data examined were naturally occurring, two-party conversations mainly in casual settings. The fact that the conversations analysed were not first encounters and occurred in 'ordinary' contexts (as opposed to controlled environments) makes them more comparable to the data of this study. What the analysis yielded was a template ordering of recurrent, positioned trouble-talk elements. It is beyond the scope of this study to give a thorough account of all the elements comprising this 'candidate troubles-telling sequence' (for a detailed account see e.g. Lee & Jefferson 1980), however an outline of this sequence is given in Appendix 7.6.1.

The sequence proposed by Lee and Jefferson is an elegant and nuanced model of organisation of troubles talk showing in detail teller's and recipient's moves in launching, delivering, closing and exiting a troubles-telling interactional sequence. This candidate sequence is however, as the authors say, an artefact. This means that in the corpus analysed by Lee and Jefferson this candidate sequence never occurred in its entirety, but was rather put together from a number of different instances of troubles talk. It was concluded that there seems to be 'no single environment which favours optimum production of the [troubles-telling] sequence' (Lee & Jefferson 1980:181). For example, certain environments favour affiliation elements that occur in segment C, e.g.

talk with friends, and other environments favour service-supply elements which are associated with segment D, e.g. service encounters (for a description of the different segments, see Appendix 7.6.1). Although this candidate sequence is actualised ‘at best utterly rarely’, Lee and Jefferson argue that, troubles-telling sequences are designed to adhere to a tight pattern (1980:181). The reason why in their actual occurrence trouble tellings do not follow this pattern in its entirety is because of movement between talk about trouble and business as usual. This analysis, however, does not sufficiently address the counter-argument, that the fact that trouble tellings routinely diverge from the candidate sequence is actually evidence that troubles talk are designedly rough (i.e. that members do not exhibit expectations of this elaborate troubles-telling pattern). In addition, since participants do not necessarily orient to the absence of the different segments, one might wonder about the candidate sequence’s applicability to empirical data. Nevertheless, exit moves have been more thoroughly investigated by Jefferson (1984a), in their actual occurrence and with regard to members’ expectations, and are therefore more readily applicable to the data at hand (for a discussion see Section 4.6).

Regarding alignment between troubles-teller and troubles-recipient this model can provide some useful findings. For instance, it gives an insight into the function of the different segments: it is supported that the progression from segment A to C signals a movement from distance to intimacy, with regard to the alignment of troubles-teller and troubles-recipient (Jefferson 1988:428). However, although the roles of troubles-teller and troubles-recipient are clearly delineated in most segments, especially A to C, the same does not hold true for segment E, where there is no distinction in participant roles. A model that offers a clearer distinction between recipient and teller-turns and is readily applicable to taxonomising most PTs (and not only with regard to their fitness to the template ordering) is the one suggested by N. Coupland et al.

4.3.2 A taxonomy of strategies in four phases of painful sequences

N. Coupland et al. (1991a), after analysing forty ten-minute first encounters, recorded in the late 1980s, of young (in their thirties) and elderly (aged 70-87) women, in same-age and cross-generational pairs, found a frequent occurrence of PSDs when at least one of the participants was elderly and identified the phenomenon as a characteristic of elderly discourse (this was also discussed in Chapter 1.2.3)(189-208). They devised a four-phase taxonomy of strategies in PSDs, which are discussed in the following sections (Sections 4.4-4.6). The four phases identified are pre-contexts, modes of

disclosure, recipient next-move and moves towards closing. Their model allows for a categorisation of most strategies in starting, telling, receiving and exiting a PSD and is thus a useful tool for an initial classification. However, the model was primarily conceived to be applied in two-party conversations, and therefore could not account for multiple pre-contexts or moves. As with all quantifiable taxonomies, the complexities of the sequential interaction, the co-occurrence of different moves and the variety of contextual factors can be accounted for only at a certain degree, and sometimes binary distinctions in what is a continuum of possible moves or modes have to be made by the researcher. Yet this is necessary for a valid comparison to be made possible. Therefore, I have drawn on the four-phase taxonomy (with some adaptations and using only the concepts that were relevant to the data at hand), for an initial analysis, focusing on three phases: the pre-contexts, modes of telling and moves towards closing. A full outline of N. Coupland et al.'s model, including the categories I have not used, is offered in Appendix 7.6.2). I complemented this toolkit with a close analysis of the PTs, informed by some of Jefferson's findings, especially with regard to closing a troubles-telling sequence.

4.4 *Pre-contexts*

The local context plays a significant role in encouraging or discouraging a PT; thus, in order to closely examine the local sequential organisation of these references, it is important to look at the context immediately preceding the PT. In N. Coupland et al.'s model, three broad categories of pre-contexts are distinguished. First, *recipient-determined* references are direct or indirect elicitations. Second, *teller-determined* (*discloser-determined* in N. Coupland et al.'s term) references occur when there is minimal obligation to make a PT, yet the teller chooses to do so, either by manufacturing a need to express a PT (by relating it to a previous topic), or by reinstituting a closing topic. Other options for teller-determined PTs include prefacing the reference with an own previous PT, or making a mention out of the blue. Thirdly, *textually-determined* references are encouraged by a 'just-prior textual happening' (e.g. a previous PT) rather than determined by either participant (N. Coupland et al. 1991a:82). To these three categories I have added a fourth one, *context-determined* references, that are not contingent to the prior text but are determined by a local non-linguistic event (e.g. dropping a plate as a pre-context for disclosing instability) or another contextual stimulus (current, often sudden, experience of pain as a pre-context

for a PT), that at least in the instance of observable events afford a strong obligation to produce a PT.

The following table shows the distribution of the different contexts and their subcategories. The number of occurrence and percentages of each pre-contextual type as part of a PT are indicated.

<i>Pre-contexts</i>	<i>Number of occurrence</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
<i>Recipient-determined</i>	6	8.7%
<i>direct elicitation</i>	4	
<i>indirect elicitation</i>	2	
<i>Textually-determined</i>	25	36.2%
<i>need for expressed attribution</i>	11	
<i>recipient's previous PT</i>	14	
<i>Contextually-determined</i>	10	14.5%
<i>event</i>	3	
<i>stimulus</i>	7	
<i>Teller-determined</i>	28	40.6%
<i>own previous PT</i>	3	
<i>manufactured need for expressed attribution</i>	17	
<i>zero/out of the blue</i>	8	

N=18 hours

Table VII: The distribution of pre-contexts to Painful Tellings

The following excerpt, taken from a longer painful-telling sequence, contains a couple of PTs and gives an example of often-encountered types of pre-contexts. It takes place at the beginning of a meeting at Myria's house, a few weeks after she had open-heart surgery. At this point the hostess, Gregoria, Loulla and Charoulla are present, and the latter just described the house chores she did on the past two days.

Excerpt 4-2 (participants: Charoulla, Loulla, Gregoria, Myria)

1.02

1. Χ εμάχουμουν εχτές στην αυλήν, έκαμα τόσες δουλειές <εκόπηκα>.

2. εν να πάω εκκλησίαν, εν έσσει δουλειές! εν πρ[έπει να:::] [εν πρέπει!]
3. Λ [ε τζ εγώ έ]τσι είπα τωρά[να πάω να ξα-]
4. κόρη έπκίαν με εψές οι αϋπνίες πάλε τζαι δεν ετζοιμούμουν.
5. Χ ου:: τζείνη η απνία, η αϋπνία εν το πας-
6. Γ εμέναν εχτές κόρη μου μα δεν εμπορούσα, μα τι ε-<εκλειδώσασιν> τα γόνατα μου!
7. μα τέθοκοιες τζενγκιές ούτε έτσι να το κάμω το γόνατο μου-

1. C I was sweeping the yard yesterday, I did all these housework <I got tired>.
2. I will go to church, no housework! (I) sh[ould no::t] [should not!]
3. L [well that's wh]at I said now [to go to li-]
4. *kori* last night I had insomnia again and I couldn't sleep.
5. C oh:: that insomnia, insomnia is everythin-
6. G mine last night I couldn't, how my knees w-<were locked>!
7. what piercing pains I couldn't even move my knee like this-

(from conversation A15)

1.22

In this interaction there are at least two tellings of painful events: one in line 4, where Loulla gives an update on her insomnia and at line 6-7 where Gregoria describes the stiffness of her knees and the *piercing pain* ('τζενγκιές'). The first PT is teller-determined and at first glance looks disjointed with the previous text and could hence be classified as belonging to the 'out of the blue' sub-category. At a closer look this might not be quite the case. Charoulla just said that she will not do any house chores the following day, because she got tired the past few days (l.1). Loulla also states that she will not do any housework the following day (l. 3). Her PT (recent insomnia and hence tiredness) in line 4 could be taken as an attempt to justify why she will not do any housework the next day. Therefore, by making the statement in line 3, Loulla manufactured a need to express her attribution of suffering from insomnia and thus her PT could belong to the sub-category 'manufactured need for expressed attribution' (part of teller-determined pre-contexts). Certain assumptions, then, about the participants' intentions need to be made to determine whether this pre-context belongs to the 'out of blue' or 'a manufactured need' type. It is noteworthy that Loulla mentions 'πάλε'/again in her PT, indicating, as has been suggested above, that these tellings are updates or re-tellings rather than disclosures of unknown events (see Section 4.1). The second PT (l.6-7) comes right after Loulla's PT (l.4) and Charoulla's empathetic evaluation of it

(1.5). Hence, the pre-context for Gregoria's PT is another participant's PT, a sub-type of textually-determined pre-contexts.

On the whole, the percentages of pre-contexts are comparable to N. Coupland et al.'s data. However, as is apparent from the above sequence, it is difficult to determine between various sub-types of pre-context (as above with Loulla's PT). Furthermore, certain pre-contexts can coexist: for example in the case of Gregoria's PT the pre-context is both textually-determined (previous PT) and also recipient determined (the recipient, Loulla, could be seen as inviting a new PT with her utterances). In fact, it could be argued that teller-determined is an overarching category, since despite the affordances of the prior text, the teller chooses whether to ratify and endorse them or alternatively, in Jefferson's terms to sequentially delete them (Jefferson 1978:229). Therefore, I would argue that this phase of N. Coupland et al.'s taxonomy of strategies of painful sequences can be rather deterministic.

In general, the low occurrence of elicited references and the often blunt shift from a non-painful topic to a painful one (as partly obvious in the above excerpt with Loulla's PT) might imply the PTs are not oriented to as a topic that should be carefully introduced with significant interactional work. Also, Jefferson's segment of *approach* (see Appendix 7.6.1), which creates a smooth transition from business-as-usual to the troubles-telling activity, is very rare in the data. This suggests that, unlike other types of troubles tellings in different contexts, PTs in peer-group interaction are not a problematic topic and are part of the ongoing activity, or in Jefferson's terms 'the business at hand'. This will be further examined with reference to closing moves of PTs (see Section 4.6). Before turning to that, I discuss what falls within the second phase of the N. Coupland et al.'s strategies that I have adapted into 'modes of telling'.

4.5 Modes of telling

Modes of telling have to do with how the PT is actualised. This includes the level of elaboration in PTs, their position within the conversation and the organisation of participants within a PT. Below, the different modes of telling found in the self-recordings are defined and then their distribution in the data is discussed.

PTs are communicative acts in their own right and can be more or less textually foregrounded. *Foregrounded* PTs are focused accounts of a painful experience (though

they might be quite short), and *non-foregrounded* are references made in a parenthetical manner, in the middle of talking about something else, and are often not acknowledged by the interlocutors. For example in the excerpt below, Myria is on the phone (her turns are not transcribed to avoid confusion), while Gregoria, Charoulla and Loulla discuss what time of the year baby-walnuts are ready for harvest.

Excerpt 4-3 (participants: Loulla, Gregoria, Charoulla, Myria)

11.07

1. Λ Ιούνιος. (.) Ιούνιος.
2. Γ =εν μες τον Ιούλην πάντα
3. Λ τς. αθυμούμαι πέρσι που-
4. πρόπερσι πριν τρί- τέσσερα χρόνια που ετηλεφώνησεν τούτη: (.) του Μαστραππά:,
5. (0.6) την ημέρα που πέθανεν το μωρόν μας. (1.1)
6. έτσι στα Σπήλια έτσι (.) τζαιρόν γίνονται.
7. τα καρυδάκια
8. Γ =μμ. νναι.
9. Χ τωρά ε τζείνα εν όξινα

1. L June. (.) June.
2. G =it is in July always
3. L nope I remember last year that-
4. the year before thr- four years ago tha:t (.) Mastrappa:'s (wife) called,
5. (0.6) the day our child died. (1.1)
6. like this in Spilia like this (.) time they ripen.
7. the baby walnuts
8. G =mm. yes.
9. C now em they are sour

(from conversation A10)

11.26

Loulla insists that the harvest time is June, and to support her claim she refers to an incident a few years back (l. 3-5) when a woman contacted her to ask if she wanted baby-walnuts, the same day her grandson died. Her grandson is referred to as ‘το μωρόν μας’/*our child* (l.5) and this categorisation could potentially refer to any child/young person in Loulla’s immediate and extended family. However, since all participants are well aware of Loulla’s bereavement, no further categories are employed to do identifying. The death of her grandson here is only mentioned parenthetically in line 5 (further indicating that it is a known event) and then the teller shifts back to the

main topic of the account, the time of harvest (l. 6). The role of silences before and after the turn containing the PT is interesting. The smaller (0.6 seconds) pause at the beginning of line 5 comes right after Loulla's continuing intonational contour, and is therefore not in a TRP (transition relevance place). It might index hesitation in mentioning such a painful event, when the conversation is about an unrelated topic, citrus fruits. In fact in her interview Loulla referred to the loss of her grandson as the hardest blow in her life. The longer pause of 1.1 seconds after the PT (l.5) could be categorised as a gap (a brief pause at a TRP before the next speaker self-selects, see also Chapter 2.5.2). After Loulla completed the turn construction unit containing the painful-telling the floor was open for the other recipients to take the floor (and perhaps address the PT) or for Loulla to self-select and continue speaking. Since no recipient self-selects, Loulla reassumes the floor, in line 6, and reframes the incident she has mentioned as not the main topic at hand, but as evidence about the season of the baby walnuts. Gregoria's neutral response in line 8 and Charoulla's neutral reformulation, restating Loulla's claim about the time of ripeness, show that the interlocutors in fact do not explicitly orient to the painful element of the account. Therefore, this PT is constructed both by the teller and the recipients as a non-foregrounded one.

Another way to delineate PTs is with reference to the elaboration employed in the telling; shorter accounts that merely refer to the painful state or experiences are categorised as *core*, whereas lengthier accounts that include contextualised information are *core plus*. A third way to taxonomise modes of reference, according to N. Coupland et al. (1991) is with reference to whether a painful sequence consists of a *single* self-reference or two or more *chained* references, where the first reference functions as pretext for the second (for an example of chaining, see Excerpt 4-2, above, p. 174).

To these categories of N. Coupland et al.'s model, I added one more, that has to do with whether the teller is one or more persons. In many instances the recipients of the reference contribute parts of the telling (e.g. with sympathetic responses, reformulations or requests for further information), or follow up with their own PT. However, I only classify a PT as having *multiple tellers*, when more than one persons jointly construct a single account about the same painful state or event that they all experience. (279-95)The following example illustrates a case of a PT with multiple tellers. The interesting aspect of this excerpt is that during this discussion only two participants are present, Gregoria and Charoulla (Myria and Loulla are in a separate room at this point,

presumably the kitchen). This joint reference comes right after Charoulla has measured her blood pressure and disclosed her ongoing high blood pressure problem. Therefore, the pre-context for this reference is another PT about medical conditions. Here, Gregoria matches Charoulla's previous PT with a second, convergent telling that turns out to have more than one teller.

Excerpt 4-4 (participants: Gregoria, Charoulla)

46.28

- [illegible]

12. G *we would make Loulla* ((smile voice)) wh(h)en we w(hh)ent (h)and- ha
 13. li:ke we went the one time we went to the Holy Lands.
 14. we::ll. we went to so many places. enough. thank [god. so long as]we get by at home
 15. C [(°isn't I-°)]
 16. =I ↑can't go anywhere. do you think my heart does not want to go bu:t
 17. G and that's enough. oh yes.
 (from conversations A15) 47.01

In line 1 Gregoria initiates the painful topic of not being able to travel abroad (by 'εκδρομή'/trip she means the cruise Loulla and Tasoulla will make to the Greek Islands). Gregoria's assessment of the company makes programmatically relevant Charoulla's second assessment (see Pomerantz 1984; C. Goodwin & Goodwin 1992 for second assessments). Thus Charoulla at the first transition relevance place (after the elongation of 'παρέα:.'/group of friends: in line 1), provides a convergent second assessment, repeating Gregoria's assessment segment, in line 2. However, she does not just repeat the assessment but adds 'μα'/but, echoing Gregoria's overlapping 'αμμά'/but, which introduces her PT. This indicates that Charoulla's turn in 1.2 is not just a second assessment, but also a recognitional overlap, as she appears to have recognised/projected that the assessment is a resource for the launch of a PT. This indicates that participants can project very early on their interlocutor's PT. It is notable that Gregoria at line 3, after Charoulla's overlap, shifts to the first plural person ('επάθμεν'/happens to us), which suggests that the PT is no longer exclusively about her. In line 4 Charoulla takes the floor and with an emphatic 'εγώ.'/I. assumes the discourse role of the (co-)teller, designs her turn as an agreement to Gregoria's assessment ('εν τούτον'/that's it), and goes on to offer a small, second story, reporting her daughter's advice, in lines 6-7 (this is a convergent story, as it is about a similar topic to the previous speaker's hypothetical scenario, see Sacks 1995:A769). In line 8 Gregoria, uses the same turn design, as Charoulla in line 6, (i.e. beginning with a latching/overlapping agreement token 'εν τούτον.'/that's it.), and assumes again the role of the teller of PT, reiterating the same topic of inability to climb onto the couchettes. Again in the following line, Charoulla opens her turn with an agreement token ('νναι είντα πού:./yes well how:) and then again continues as a teller of the PT (indexing bone frailty). This recurrent turn design, agreement with previous reference and then reiteration of the topic in the first person, is a structural characteristic of joint tellings. In lines 11-12 Gregoria interject a narrative about her past trip with Loulla to

the Holy Land, hence the plural in ‘εβάλλαμεν’/*we would make*, ‘πηένναμεν’/*we would go* and ‘επήαμεν’/*we went* refers to herself and Loulla.

This joint reference is completed with a joint assessment that the tellers cannot travel anywhere anymore at lines 14-17. It is notable that in line 14 Gregoria shifts again to a plural that includes herself and Charoulla with ‘περνούμεν’/*we get by* and ‘μας’/*our* (it is different from lines 12-13, because Loulla cannot be included in the category of people who cannot travel, as she is about to go abroad). With a latching utterance in line 16 Charoulla reiterates that she (they) should stay at home and in line 17 Gregoria completes Charoulla’s turn and closes with an emphatic agreement token, ‘ε νναι.’/*oh yes*.

In general, joint PTs are more than two parallel tellings about a similar referent. The proliferation of agreement tokens and the orientation to the specific topic raised in the just prior turn exhibit the internal cohesion of these PTs. Inclusive plurals and turns that consist of agreement tokens plus painful information in the first singular person are structurally characteristic of PTs with multiple tellers. To the extent that the exchange of teller roles is recurrent and the painful experience told by both participants is the same, then we can talk about a single PT with multiple tellers rather than a chain of many PTs. This is of course encouraged only in settings where there are (multiple) participants who know each other, and can predict the PT and co-disclose the shared experience. Therefore it is not found or accounted for in N. Coupland et al.’s study. However, Poullos has located a corresponding routine among older adults in Greece, ‘collaborative troubles tellings’, which entail joint tellings of shared problems, e.g. cost of living, and function as a means of affirming in-groupness (Poullos 2004b:9). In fact, Poullos has shown that collaboratively told narratives in general are a recurrent conversational practice of older adults in Greece (Poullos 2005:292; 2008:175). This study contributes to the research of Greek-speaking peer-elderly troubles talk by examining their structural characteristics and sequential organisation, which has been under-investigated.

The table below shows the distribution of the different modes of telling, as these have been defined so far.

<i>Modes</i>	<i>Number of occurrence</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Foregrounded	55	80%
Non-foregrounded	14	20%
Single references	37	54%
Chained references	32	46%
Single teller	61	88%
Multiple tellers	8	12%
Core information	54	78%
Core plus	15	22%

N=18 hours

Table VIII: Modes of telling

On the whole PTs are, more often than not, foregrounded and refer only to core information. Unlike N. Coupland et al.'s study, where 59% of PTs were core plus, here this percentage is much lower, 22%, probably because most PTs are re-tellings of a known situation and are addressed to interlocutors who have reported similar experiences hence even when they are mentioned parenthetically, mutual understanding of what is said can be achieved. Another discrepancy with N. Coupland et al.'s findings is that the percentage of chained references is higher (46% as opposed to 27%). Also, there is a stronger tendency for minimal information in the data (78% compared to 41% in N. Coupland et al.), again because these are more updates than disclosures of unknown events. These brief references to known painful events share structural characteristics with minimal and elliptical retellings of narratives, namely that they are often launched without elicitation, or a preface and only a brief reminder is given of the event talked about (for shared narratives see Georgakopoulou 2004b).⁷⁸ In fact, Georgakopoulou (2004b) has shown that elliptical retellings are characteristics of intra-group interactions and focus more on the telling than on the event told. Elliptical retellings also echo Tannen's work on Greek women's naturally occurring stories about being molested, where she has shown that 'ellipsis' (or omission of words) was a typical feature of their narratives and conducive to the creation of involvement with the audience (Tannen 1983). Thus TTs in the data at hand appear to share some

⁷⁸ An example of a brief PT can be found in Excerpt 4-6, p.185.

characteristics with Modern Greek story telling/troubles telling of older and younger women. The next section examines how PTs are exited.

4.6 *Moves towards closing*

According to Sacks, there are certain ‘embarrassing’ or ‘controversial’ topics that the recipient needs to do significant interactional work to move away from them. In Sacks’ terms the conversants need to do ‘getting off of them’ (cited in Jefferson 1984a:191). Thus examining the moves interlocutors make towards closing a PT will give away whether they orient to it as an embarrassing, controversial, or, in general, problematic topic or not. The following table shows the numerical and percentage distribution of the different types of move towards closing of the PT sequence. Thirteen out of the sixty-nine PTs, are not accounted for because another PT occurs before any closing strategy of the painful topic is employed. Although different moves can co-occur (e.g. a change of perspective followed by a topic shift), for analytical purposes only first moves towards closing have been counted in the following table.

<i>Moves</i>	<i>Number of occurrence</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
<i>Teller moves</i>	15	27%
• Change perspective	4	7%
• Shift topic	6	11%
• Switch topic	5	9%
<i>Recipient moves</i>	41	73%
• Change perspective	12	21%
• Shift topic	11	20%
• Switch topic	18	32%

N=18 hours

Table IX: First closing moves

The strategies that bring about the closure of the PT can be initiated by the teller or the recipients. Unlike, N. Coupland et al.’s findings, where closing strategies are almost equally shared by teller and recipient, in the data at hand, they tend to be recipient-determined. This could be attributed to the bigger number of recipients (ranging from one to six) and the consequent stringent competition for the floor.

Moves towards closure can be a *change of perspective* on the disclosed information, for example, an inversion (a reinterpretation of the disclosed information in a positive light), a minimisation of the seriousness of the disclosed events, a rationalisation (interpreting why this experience occurred), or a fabrication of a solution to the problem. An example of inversion is the following. It is taken is from a meeting between Charoulla, Gregoria, Myria and Loulla. This is the end of a joint PT by Myria, Gregoria and Charoulla about incontinence. Gregoria in the just prior text has mentioned that because of her incontinence she avoids going to long-distance journeys as she prefers to be able to clean herself at home.

Excerpt 4-5 (participants: Gregoria, Charoulla, Loulla, Myria)

38.20

1. Γ έχουμε >τα προβλήματα< μ[ας, εμεγαλώσαμεν], ο: καθένας κάμνει τα; (.)
2. Χ [τῆ εγιώ έτσι είμαι]
3. Γ [να πλυθθώ να καθαριστώ είμαι]ΕΣΣΩ μου
4. Χ [μακάρι να μπορούμεν <μόνες> μας]
5. μακάρι να μπορούμεν μόνες μας
6. Γ τούτον ένι. (0.6) μὰ'φυεν η κοπέλλα σας?

1. G we have our >problems,< [we have grown up], e: everyone is incontinent; (.)
2. C [that's how I am as well]
3. G [to wash myself to clean myself] I am at my HOME
4. C [may we be able ((to care for ourselvex)) on our <own>]
5. may we be able ((to care for ourselves)) on our own
6. G that's it. (0.6) so did your *kopella* leave?

(from conversation A15)

38.31

This is one of the two cases where as explicit age categorisation is included in a PT. 'Εμεγαλώσαμεν'/we have grown in line 1 refers to the speaker and at least Charoulla and Myria, who co-participate in the PT about their shared 'problems'. In line 4 Charoulla makes the first move towards closing by expressing the wish that they may continue to be able to care for themselves, without assistance. Therefore, Charoulla reinterprets the information about incontinence in a positive light, i.e. that, they do not require assistance with self-care (washing up etc.). Gregoria alligns with Charoulla's change of perspective, offering an agreement marker with 'τούτον ένι'/that's it, a typical device of PTs with multiple tellers (see Section 4.5 above).

What change-of-perspective strategies achieve is to recast a PT as less or non-painful, and thus gradually get out of the painful sequence. Change of perspective can be initiated both by the teller and the recipients and in the data at hand it is more frequently recipient-initiated. Whether recipient- or teller-initiated, the change of perspective often takes the form of inversion, or rationalisation and, exclusively in recipient moves, five out of twelve times takes the form of offering a solution, which the teller rarely accepts (cf. Poullos 2008:167, where elderly trouble-tellers also resist advice offered).

A less gradual transition can be brought about with a *topic shift*, where both the teller and the recipient can initiate or elicit a related but non-painful topic. An abrupt change of topic constitutes a *topic switch*. In N. Coupland et al.'s taxonomy, a topic switch occurs only once in forty one peer-elderly painful disclosures and is initiated by the recipient. However, in my data, topic switches can be both recipient and teller-determined, and occur 23 out of the 55 times. This is the most striking difference between this study's and N. Coupland et al.'s findings. A close look at the closing strategies of PTs can reveal some nuances in topic switches.

The excerpt below, takes place almost two hours after the commencement of a meeting at Charoulla's house, which all main five participants attended. At this point Tasoulla and Loulla are discussing *smili*, and Myria has just turned on the television. The pre-context of the PT is the conversation about *smili* and the activity of knitting in which Loulla and Tasoulla are engaged. Gregoria, Charoulla and Myria are not participating in the conversation about *smili* (for a discussion of participant organisation in talk about *smili* see Chapter 5.6).

Excerpt 4-6 (participants: Tasoulla, Charoulla, Gregoria, Myria, Loulla)

1.45.30

1. T [ε νναι μπαίννει νναι]
2. X [άρεσκεν μου]
3. ώσπου έκαμνα άρεσκεν μου αλλά εξεράναν τα σέρκα μου τζαι τα:
4. Γ ε να το πο-κλείσω καλό. είπεν μου άμαν έσει (0.6) τηλεόραση
5. Μ εν να το κλείσεις? ε. (0.7) άτε πο-είπαμεν κάμποσ(η)α χαχαχα
6. Γ ι-νναί
7. Μ να δούμεν τζαι λλίον έργον

1. T [yes it goes in yes]
 2. C [I used to like it]
 3. as long as I did it I liked it but my hands have stiffened up and the:
 4. G well I should pu-turn it off then. she told me ((to do so)) when the (0.6) television is on
 5. M will you turn it off? well. (0.7) we fro- we have said a l(h)ot hahaha
 6. G yes
 7. M let's watch a bit of the (TV) series
- (from conversation A4) 1.45.50

In lines 2-3 Charoulla proffers her PT, regarding her inability to knit with *smili* because of stiff hands. Neither Myria nor Gregoria acknowledge her PT (Loulla and Tasoulla are engaged in a parallel conversation). On the contrary, Gregoria initiates a disjointed topic, stating that she should turn off the audio recorder because the television is on (1.4). Charoulla will not return to her reference and hence Gregoria's turn in line 4 succeeded in closing the PT. What is interesting is that Gregoria's turn is *self-attentive*, as it reserves the floor for herself and is not designed to assign the floor to her interlocutors.

Jefferson has made a distinction between self- and other-attentive topic switches in troubles tellings (Jefferson 1984a). Other-attentive topic switches aim at eliciting a recipient topic and reserve the interactional reciprocity, whereas self-attentive topic switches reserve the floor for the speaker. In the self-recordings, all five cases of teller-initiated topic switches are other-attentive. However, out of the 18 recipient-determined topic switches 8 are self-attentive (and topics of the preceding PT range from reported bereavement to tiredness), 8 are other-attentive and in two cases the topic switch occurs by switching from multiple to a single conversation. For further examples of recipient-initiated topic switches, see Excerpt 7-20, Excerpt 7-21, and Excerpt 7-22, p. 370 in the Appendix. According to Jefferson, self-attentive topic switches (or '*self-attentive disjuncts*', as she calls them) are found to be rare after troubles tellings (Jefferson 1984a:195). On the contrary, she has suggested that self-attentive introduction of new topics with no particular warrant 'may exhibit/propose the topical non-problematicness of the prior talk, that is, may exhibit/propose that *any* next topic is appropriate here and now' (emphasis in the original, Jefferson 1984a:198). This point is further discussed in the concluding section of this chapter (Section 4.8).

4.7 Humour and PTs

Matsumoto's research (2008, 2009) found that PTs, and in particular the loss of a spouse, in casual peer-group interaction of older women can be constructed as humorous (see also Chapter 1.2.3). This section seeks to examine the humorous renderings of PTs, but also instances where death and bereavement are employed in joking. Firstly, the use of humour and laughter in tellings of painful events or states is examined. Subsequently, the issue of widowhood as a resource for joking is approached through the close analysis of a canned joke. None of these two types of conversational joking is exceptionally frequent in the interactions, but their close analysis yields some interesting findings.

4.7.1 Humorous framing of PTs

Painful topics such as ill health, mobility problems of the teller, widowhood or even the members' impending death are constructed as funny, laughable events in twelve out of the sixty-nine PTs. In the following example, a reference to an ongoing health condition is approached with humour. It takes place in Myria's house and only Gregoria and Myria are present. Here Myria talks about her visit to the community health centre, following her recent heart surgery. As mentioned in Chapter 2.4.3, Myria's heart surgery occurred nine months after her spine operation which required her to pay daily visits to the community health centre for one and a half months during the first period of her recovery. The following sequence comes right after Myria gave a detailed description of her latest visit to the health centre.

Excerpt 4-7 (participants: Myria, Gregoria)

5.47

1. M πολλά καλές τζ οι κοπέλλες. λαλεί μου- (.) λαλώ της 'μάν τζ εν να με ξιχάσετε
2. ήρτα πάλε'. γιατί πο πήαιννα τζαι για την πληγήν μου, ((smile voice)) (1)
3. έναν διάστημαν είπεν μου ο Σκαρπάρης, λαλεί μου 'πήαιννε τζαι στα ιατρεία σας
4. [αλλά:]
5. Γ [νναι επή-]αιννες τζαι στο:ν
6. M νναι. ['νάρκεσαι] θέλω να: την θωρώ τζαι γω' λαλεί μου 'την πλη[γήν]
7. Γ [↑σπόνδυλο] [α]
8. M ώσπου να δήσει.' λαλεί μου 'μάν είσαι η κυρία Μύρια' λαλεί μου μια? ((nurse))
9. Γ χμ.
10. M λαλώ της 'νναι.' 'μα εξαναήρτ-' ε λαλώ της

11. 'είντα να με ξιχάσετε?' ((stylised))
12. 'ή(h)ρτα χα[χαχα] έκαμα ά(h)λλην εγχείρισην τωρά' λαλώ της ((smile voice))
13. Γ [χαχα]
14. ↓ά'ν τ'ά'μ πόν.
15. Μ α:: Να'τα μου κόρη μου. (1)

1. Μ very nice girls too. she tells me- (.) I tell her 'there's no way you'll be forgetting me
2. I came again'. *because when I would go for my wound*, ((smile voice)) (1)
3. at some point Skarparis told me, he tells me 'go also to your clinic
4. [bu:t']
5. G [yes you would-] go to:
6. Μ yes. ['you should come] I want to: look at it as well' he tells me 'the w[ound]
7. G [↑spine] [ah]
8. Μ until it heals.' she tells me 'but aren't you Mrs Myria' one ((nurse)) tells me?
9. G hm.
10. Μ I tell her 'yes.' 'but you cam- again?' I tell her
11. 'what you want to forget about me?' ((stylised))
12. 'I c(h)ame ha[haha] I did (h)another operation now' I tell her ((smile voice))
13. G [haha]
14. ↓how about that.
15. Μ ah:: my god *kori*. (1)

(from conversation A17)

6.15

The key so far in the previous narrative has been serious. However in line 2 Myria changes the voice quality to what Moerman called a 'smile voice', that is, when the speaker is not quite laughing but can be 'heard' smiling (Moerman 1990:73). This is a subtle index that Myria is moving towards a more humorous frame (for a definition of frame see footnote 50, p. 105, above). Humour of course is not an one-party affair but needs to be interactionally sustained. It is argued that, although in other cases laughter is an invitation to the interlocutor to join in the merriment, in the case of troubles telling this does not apply. Trouble recipients recurrently refrain from laughing and take up the trouble seriously, to exhibit appropriate receptiveness of the troubles told (Jefferson 1984b). So far, Myria, with the device of laughter, has made relevant a humorous frame, but Gregoria has not yet aligned to it. In lines 3-7 Myria opens a parenthesis about her previous visits to the health centre for her first operation, where the serious

frame is restored, as there is no indication of alignment to a humorous frame. In line 8 Myria returns to the incident, initiated in lines 1-2, and employs RS (1.8-12) to move the plot forward and also stylisation. RS and stylisation are devices found to construct humour in PTs of older women in Japan (Matsumoto 2009). In addition to RS, Myria, in line 12, begins to laugh and completes her utterance laughing, another index of the humorous frame. Gregoria exhibits participation in the humorous frame only in line 13, where she produces a short laughter followed by a sympathetic response in line 14.

Overall, Myria attempts to achieve a humorous narrative first of all with the incongruity between what is expected in a health care appointment and what actually happens (a jocular interaction with the nurse). Also certain linguistic devices such as RS, stylisation and other prosodic features (smile voice and even laughter) are employed to construct a humorous frame for her story. Finally this is not the first time the issue of surgeries and repeated hospital visits is disclosed, but it is reiterated here and reframed as a more light-hearted event (meeting old acquaintances again). All these strategies are also documented in the literature for constructing humour in PSDs of older women (Matsumoto 2009). However, unlike Matsumoto's research, in this excerpt all moves towards a humorous key are teller-initiated, and only in line 13 does Gregoria laugh in response. On the whole, this is a story about a painful topic that includes laughter.

Jefferson argues that troubles-teller's laughter exhibits 'troubles resistance', that the troubles are not getting the better of the teller (Jefferson 1984b:351; see also Brock 2010:545). The same could be argued about this excerpt. Myria's humorous construction of the PT shows that she is coping, she can take trouble lightly and joke about it both with the nurses (as a figure in the story) and with her current interlocutor. The recipient, on the one hand, has to exhibit troubles receptiveness and address the seriousness of the situation but, on the other hand, exhibit cooperativeness to the teller's moves to construct humour. Laughing to the speaker's reference of painful events (such as major operations and difficult post-surgery recovery) is of course risky (cf. Matsumoto 2009:946). Therefore, Gregoria resolves this tension between the preference to be receptive to her interlocutor's PT and to co-participate in the humorous frame by choosing to laugh only when the humorous frame has been established by Myria. It is argued that successfully reframing painful events as everyday matters, which the participants can laugh about helps the participants 'regain their normal lives' and 'facilitates an adaptive response to stress and painful emotion' (Matsumoto

2009:947). It is not easy to measure the emotional impact these humorous renderings have on the participants. What is evident, however, is that casual peer-group interactions provide a space where participants can collaboratively re-negotiate the attributions of categories, stereotypically bound to negative connotations (such as widowhood and illness), and approach them in a non-serious, humorous key which downplays their severity.

4.7.2 Widowhood as a resource in sexually explicit joke tellings

In the interviews all participants constructed widowhood as probably the most painful experience of their lives, and just the mention of that experience brought them to tears. Also, traditionally, in Cypriot society, mourning is a long process and widows are expected to mourn, wearing black clothes and stockings and abstaining from entertainment for years; this indexes the overwhelming effect widowhood has on women's lives (cf. Chapter 1.1.7; Arnold 1982; Hart 1992; Panourgia 1995). In fact, all participants wore black clothes for a decade after their husbands passed away and Tasoulla still does (see also Chapter 2.4.5). A telling example of how widowhood is treated in the interviews is the following. It takes place in Tasoulla's kitchen, during her interview with the researcher. In the immediately preceding interaction the researcher had asked her how long it was since her husband died (6 years) and what was the cause of his death (pancreatic cancer). In this excerpt, which occurs about ten minutes into the conversation, the researcher asks Tasoulla how she felt about her loss.

Excerpt 4-8 (participants: Anna, Tasoulla)

9.56

1. A (1.2) πώς ήταν για σένα (1.4)
2. T εχεχ (3) ((cries)) πώς ήταν για μένα αφού ήταν η αγάπη μας ήταν το:: στήριγμάν μας
3. το:: (0.6) τι να σου πω? ((crying voice)) (3) μες το ↑ σπίτι:ν, ήταν ο άντρας του
4. σπιθκιού. (2.3) άμαν φύει ο άντρας του σπιθκιού που το σπίτι είναι σαν με::ν
5. (0.8) μεν έξεις ((ζωή)) ούτε εσύ ↓είντα'μ π'ον.

1. A (1.2) how was it for you (1.4)
2. T aha (3) ((cries)) how was it for me since he was our love he was our:: anchor
3. the:: (0.6) what shall I tell you? ((crying voice)) (3) in the ↑ hou:se, he was the man of
4. the house. (2.3) when the man of the house leaves the house it is like you do::n't
5. (0.8) you don't have ((life)) either ↓what else.

(from interview B5)

10.23

Here Tasoulla likens widowhood to having lost her own life (l.5). As soon as the question is introduced, she starts crying, which exhibits the emotional involvement in talking about this topic. Also a number of silences attributable to Tasoulla (3 seconds at l.2; 0.6 seconds at l.3; 0.8 seconds at l.5) exhibit hesitation and therefore difficulty in speaking about this topic (see Chapter 2.5.2, for a discussion of the different types of silences). The fact that the researcher does not offer any continuers, and does not assume the floor at the TRP in lines 3 and 4, also orients to the construction of the topic as topically problematic and very sensitive. In fact, in l.3, after Tasoulla's question, a silence attributable to the researcher occurs, since she does not offer answer as a second pair part, when Tasoulla has selected her as the next speaker. In addition in l. 4, once Tasoulla completes her turn construction unit, no one self-selects as the next speaker, allowing a 2.3 second lapse. On the whole, in this sequence, the categories of widow and bereaved are co-constructed as very painful both in their occurrence and in their telling. Similar constructions of widowhood occurred in all interviews (see e.g. Excerpt 7-2, p. 334 in the Appendix).

However, when Tasoulla talks about the last days, before her husband passed away, in the self-recorded interactions, the frame is completely different. She talks about how much her daughter helped them, compared to her brother, when her husband was dying, as an example of why daughters are better than sons, and she orients to a humorous frame (see Excerpt 7-23, p. 373 in the Appendix). This resonates with Matsumoto's work (2009), where older female participants in casual interactions with friends routinely employ a humorous key in referring to the loss of their spouse. Of course the two instances where Tasoulla refers to widowhood, are quite distinct. In the interview she was explicitly asked to reveal her emotions about bereavement, whereas in Excerpt 7-23 of the Appendix she only minimally made relevant her husband's terminal illness, just as an example of the usefulness of daughters. It is then in the latter case a non-foregrounded PT, where she does not have to make relevant her emotions about her loss. On the whole, in the interviews a more serious key is constructed by the researcher and the participants. On the other hand, more affordance for humorous appropriations of painful topics are offered in casual, peer-group conversations. This enables the category 'widow' to be associated with the activity of initiating a dirty joke, as will be shown below.

I follow Sacks who claims that jokes share many structural characteristics with stories (Sacks 1974; cf. 'narrative jokes' in Norrick 2003:1339). Jokes consist of 'three serially ordered and adjacently placed types of sequences' (Sacks 1974:337):

- a) the preface,
- b) the telling and
- c) the response sequence

In order to show the process through which rights to tell a sexually-explicit joke are established, I will focus on the preface and the beginning of the response-sequence, adhering to Sacks' aesthetics of *slowness* and *smallness* (Silverman 1998:186-187).

According to Sacks, sexually explicit ('dirty') jokes, are constructed as 'understanding tests' (1974:346). Not everyone 'gets' a joke, especially a dirty joke, and failure to understand would suggest lack of wit. Therefore, signalling failure to understand is expectedly more restricted and concealed, than for stories in general. In fact, joke recipients often seek to perform understanding of a joke with various involvement strategies; the most notable being non-delay of laughter. In other words, there is a mechanism which encourages joke recipients to laugh before they have seen whether other recipients will laugh, and, failing that, to laugh at the next possible opportunity to conceal failure to understand the joke. However, Norrick claims that jokes do not test for background knowledge as much as they 'presuppose it and offer an opportunity to ratify shared attitudes' (Norrick 2003:1342). In the analysis it will be examined whether this joke functions as an understanding test or whether teller and listener moves are oriented towards confirming shared understandings.

Jokes about sex, and in particular about newly-weds, are a 'western joke universal' (Chiaro 1992:8). Such a joke is narrated here. The excerpt is taken from the beginning of an eighty minute long self-recording. The participants present are Gregoria, Ketsina, Loulla, Myria and Tasoulla. The meeting takes place in the house of Myria, who has recently had heart surgery and at this point does not go out much. The full joke can be found in the Appendix, Excerpt 7-24, p. 375. Below is the preface sequence.

Excerpt 4-9 (participants: Loulla, Tasoulla, Myria, Ketsina, Gregoria)

7.56

- 1. Λ ((v))α σας πω ένα τζοκ να γελάσετε
- 2. Τ άτε [πε μας.]
- 3. Λ [είπεν] μου το ο γαμπρός μου εχτές.

4. M α. μιλλωμένον?
5. Λ νάκκον
6. M νάκκ(η)ον? [χα χα χα χα χα χα χα χα]
7. T [εν μιλλωμένα που της λαλεί εν τζαι λαλεί τη:ς]
8. M [ο γαμπρός της::]
9. Λ [νάκκο νά]κκον]
10. T? [χα χα χα]
11. K =που'ν να πάεις: Τασούλλα μου: πε το του: πάτερ Διομήδη
12. T [↑α χα χα] χα χα
13. Γ [αῶοῖλέ]
14. Λ μα'ν τζαι λαλώ τα: τωρά που εν Σήκωσες, ((stylised))
15. [αλλά] εχτές επειδή μου το είπεν φρέσκον, ((smile voice))
16. T [όι-]
17. M φρέσκον φρέσκον
18. Λ =τζαι να σας κάμω να γελάσετε εσάς τες ↑χήρες ((smile voice))
19. Γ α.
20. Λ [↑ά↓ατε να σας το] πω::
21. T [ε άτε είδες ε:]
22. M πως σου φαίνεσαι? (0.4)
23. T ε: εν μιλλωμένον
24. M έμπλεξεν μες τις χήρες η [καημε-]
25. Λ [τέλος]πάντων
26. M τέλος πάντων. >πειραζούμαστιν<

1. L I'll tell you a joke so you can laugh
2. T go on [tell us.]
3. L [my]son-in-law told to me yesterday.
4. M ah. dirty?
5. L a bit
6. M a b(h)it? [ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha]
7. T [he tells her dirty ones he doesn't tell he:r]
8. M [her son-in-law::]
9. L [a bit a] bit]
10. T? [ha ha ha]
11. K =when you go: Tasoulla tell it to: father Diomides
12. T [↑a ha ha] ha ha

13. G [indeed]
14. L *but I don't tell the:m now that is Lent, ((stylised))*
15. [but] *because he told me yesterday ((it's)) fresh, ((smile voice))*
16. T [no-]
17. M fresh fresh
18. L =and to make you ↑widows laugh ((smile voice))
19. G ha.
20. L [l↑e↓et me say it] to you::
21. T [well you see ehm:]
22. M how about that? (0.4)
23. T ehm: it's dirty
24. M she is stuck with us widows [poo((r)) her-]
25. L [any]way
26. M anyway. >we are just bickering<

(from conversation A16)

8.28

Prefaces of jokes are the sequences where the initiation of the joke telling is made appropriate (Sacks 1974:340). They can simply be announced, and the preface may only be two turns long (Brock 2010:556). However, in this case the preface extends between lines 1-23. It starts off with Loulla, the intended joke teller, offering to tell a 'τζοκ'/joke (using the English word for joke) and stating with why it is worth telling ('να γελάσετε'/to laugh). Tasoulla grants her the floor in line 2 and this two-turn sequence would be sufficient for a preface. Yet before embarking on the telling of the joke Loulla refers to who she has heard the joke from (l.3). This is a typical component of a joke preface but it also serves another purpose. By framing the joke as another person's talk (in Goffman's terms someone else is the principal), she defends herself against having the joke's potential 'unfunniness' or inappropriateness reflect negatively on her (Sacks 1974:353).

In line 4 Myria seems to quickly pick up on the potential inappropriateness of the joke and asks whether it is 'μυλλωμένον' (a word literally used for foods prohibited during Lent, here indicating indecent content). Upon Loulla's acceptance that the joke is a little bit indecent or 'dirty' (as Sacks would call it), Myria in line 6 repeats 'νάκκ(h)ov'/a b(h)it, questioning whether the joke will actually be just a *little* dirty. Yet by shaping this utterance with a laugh token followed by prolonged laughter she

indexes that she joins in the jocular frame and gives the ‘go ahead’ for the dirty-joke telling. Tasoulla’s utterance in line 7 reiterates that the joke will be dirty and, on Loulla’s defence, she mentions that her son-in-law only tells her this kind of jokes, and again with a laugh that follows Myria’s laughter she signals approval.

In line 11, Ketsina commenting on the approval of the joke telling that Tasoulla has indexed, jokes about retelling the anecdote to their priest. Creating obscene implications of not necessarily obscene matters is a recurrent strategy for doing listening to dirty jokes (Sacks 1974:346) and usually occurs in the sequence of the telling. What Ketsina is doing in line 11, then, is orienting to an involved dirty-joke recipient category very early on. At the same time, by referring to Tasoulla’s upcoming confession to the priest she makes relevant another collectivity categorisation,⁷⁹ Lent, which makes ‘μλλωμένα’/dirty jokes even more inappropriate. Tasoulla’s subsequent laughter (l.12) and also Gregoria’s turn (l.13) index involved joke recipient and participation in the jocular frame.

At this point, all listeners (Tasoulla, Ketsina, Gregoria, Myria) have oriented to their dirty-joke recipient discourse identity and have hence given floor-holding rights to Loulla to tell the joke. Yet the preface sequence and Loulla’s tellability claims continue. In line 12, with a stylised utterance (that constructs her turn as playful), Loulla picks up on this collectivity categorisation made relevant in line 9 and offers two justifications for saying a dirty joke during Lent

- a) that she has just heard it (it is fresh), line 15 and
- b) that she will make a bunch of widows laugh, line 18

Here the categorisation device of marital status is explicitly oriented to but also the attribution bound to the category ‘widow’, of being sad/sexually inactive. Also Loulla’s pro-term choice (‘εσάς’/you) categorises her interlocutors and also excludes herself from this category (at this point she is not voicing another person, e.g. her son-in-law). This indirect, playful provocation, in which one person comments on something relevant to the target is characterised as teasing (Keltner, Capps, Kring, Young & Heerey 2001:234). This will bring about the reaction of the ‘χήρες’ (widows), Gregoria, Myria and Tasoulla (l.19, 21-24). Loulla in line 20, with a turn starting with marked intonational variation, attempts to conclude the preface sequence and make the move to the telling sequence. However, she is forced to temporarily abandon this project

⁷⁹ For a definition see footnote 64, p. 129.

because of Myria's turn in 1.22 which appears to object to Loulla's categorisation, and therefore calling for an account from Loulla. Tasoulla in 1.23 offers the justification for Loulla's categorisation by indicating the indecent nature of the joke. Myria however, pursues the line of contesting to Loulla's doing exclusion on the basis of membership to the category 'widows', in line 24, but self interrupts to give the floor to Loulla. In line 25 Loulla, finally, attends the issue of categorisation, but gives no account for it, instead with a final 'τέλος πάντων'/*anyway* she signals transition to the telling sequence of the joke. In line 26 Myria echoes Loulla's 'τέλος πάντων'/*anyway*, with falling intonation indexing closure to the preface sequence and also that she did not really take offence in the categorisation. In fact, she adds 'πειραζόμαστε'/*we tease each other*, (1.26) to explicitly make relevant the non-seriousness of her contestation to the categorial ascription 'χήρες'/*widows*. Loulla commences the telling sequence of the joke, right after Myria's *anyway* and her discourse identity as a joke teller suspends competition for the floor at every TRP, and gives her longer turns (on the comparable sequential organisation of storytelling cf. Jefferson 1978).

It is important to note that here the category 'widowhood' is treated lightly, associated with sexual inactivity and thus used as an interactional resource to justify the telling of a sexually explicit joke during Lent. Only Myria seems to object to the categorisation or rather Loulla's doing exclusion, but is quick to give Loulla the floor to move on with the joke telling. Also Loulla does not explicitly attend to the objections of the categorisation and with a rather abrupt shift makes relevant transition to the telling. Therefore, she orients to the dirty-joke telling as sufficient justification for the category ascription 'widow'. Overall, there is a very elaborate opening to the joke, although permission to tell the joke has been granted as early as line 2. This hesitation to embark on the telling sequence could be attributed to the teller's concern that other interlocutors might not be as amenable to what is going to be told (something that would have been clearer if a video recording of the recipients' reaction to line 1 were available). Even when all interlocutors have oriented to the joke-recipient discourse identity (by 1.13), Loulla still offers justification for telling a dirty joke. Again, this makes relevant entitlement issues; who has the right to tell what kinds of jokes, to whom and when. As Shuman discusses, that entitlement, that is, the boundaries of what can and cannot be told, are negotiated in interaction (2006:151).

As made evident early on in the sequence, Loulla orients to the need to claim her telling right with regards to a dirty joke during Lent and explicit orientation to the category widow is one way she goes about doing it. Therefore, widowhood, an issue that in other conversational contexts (e.g. in the interviews) is constructed as extremely painful both in its occurrence and in its telling, is here employed within a frame of sexually explicit humour. In fact, membership to the category widow is not only humorously appropriated but is strategically employed to support Loulla's entitlement to tell the joke. Consequently the category term 'widow' is used as a resource for lending tellability and appropriateness to an otherwise inappropriate, face-threatening and non-tellable joke and thus facilitates/allows for its occurrence.

Entitlement issues are also made relevant in the response sequence. The response sequence of the joke spans between lines 65-106 (for the full response sequence see Excerpt 7-24, p. 375). This lengthy response sequence lasts almost as long as the telling of the joke. Below are the final turns of the telling and the beginning of the response sequence.

Excerpt 4-10 (participants: Loulla, Tasoulla, Myria, Ketsina, Gregoria)

9.44

67. Λ 'ε εντάξει γιατρέ' λαλεί του τζέινος. 'τι μέρες να σου την φέρνω?

68. Δευτέραν ((smile voice)) Τετ(η)[άρτη-]'

69. Τ [χαχα]

70. [χαχαχα

71. Μ [ού! χαχαχαχαχαχα ((continues laughing up to line 77))

72. Κ εν τέλεια του σκοτωμού τούτος

73. Τ <α Παναΐα μου Παναΐα μου>

74. Κ ήταν τέλεια του σκοτωμού

75. Γ να την θωρεί α?

76. [να την θωρεί?]

77. Λ [↑είδες που]

78. ↑<εγελάσετε>! ((very high pitch))

67. L 'ok then doctor' he says. 'on what days shall I bring her to you?

68. Monday ((smile voice)) Wedn(h)[esday-]'

69. T [ha ha]

70. [hahaha

71. M [oh! hahahahaha ((continues laughing up to line 77))
72. K he was good for nothing
73. T <Jesus Jesus>
74. K he was good for nothing
75. G to look at her eh?
76. [to look at her?]
77. L [↑you see]
78. ↑<you laughed>! ((very high pitch))
- (from conversation A16)

9.59

As suggested above (dirty) joke recipients are encouraged to signal understanding by laughing before others or as soon as possible (Sacks 1974:350). Here all four joke recipients in one way or the other orient to understanding the joke. First Tasoulla starts to laugh (l.69), even before Loulla completes her turn (but right after the teller has uttered a laugh token in ‘Τετ(h)άρτη’/*Wedn(h)esday*), line 68. Laughing, unlike other types of turns, is an exception to the one-at-a-time preference organisation of talk; on the contrary, laughing is an invitation to the interlocutors to laugh as well (Jefferson 1984b:351; Schegloff 2000; see also Chapter 2.5.2). In line 70, Myria joins in the laughing. Her loud and very prolonged laughter (overlapping with the next 6 turns), indicates that she is not laughing because Tasoulla has laughed but because she understood the joke.

Laughing has a priority claim on a joke’s completion and in multi-party conversations not all recipients are obliged to laugh (cf. Sacks 1974:349). Here Gregoria and Ketsina choose to remain silent in favour of those who choose to laugh (at l.70-71). Yet they exhibit their understanding of the joke in different ways. In lines 72 and 73 Ketsina makes an assessment of the *figure* in the joke and in line 75-76 Gregoria explicates Ketsina’s assessment. It is notable that both Ketsina and Gregoria repeat their turns, orienting to a heightened interest in exhibiting their understanding of the joke. Thus here a category of being ignorant about sex is constructed and jointly attributed to the figure of the joke, while at the same time exhibiting understanding of the situations reserves the contrastive category of ‘knowledgeable about sex’ for the interlocutors. In lines 77-78 Loulla emphasises the funniness of the joke, its tellability and appropriateness and also the legitimacy of the orientation to the ‘widow’ categorisation, in the joke preface. In the following turns (up to line 114) the participants continue

laughing about the joke, repeat the punchline (1.82, 95, 98-99), formulate assessments of the character of the joke (husband) and speculate reasons for his laughable ignorance (for the full joke see Excerpt 7-24, p. 375, in the Appendix). Again it is noteworthy that teller and recipients go to such lengths to establish a shared understanding of the dirty joke. This shows, among others, that at this context jokes are not treated as an understanding test, as Sacks (1974) argued; rather participants orient towards ratifying shared attitudes, as Norrick (2003) supported (see p. 192, above). This is in line with research in Greek-speaking contexts, which has shown that jokes and humour reinforce existing relations and shared knowledge and their most common function is the construction of solidarity and in-group identity (Archakis & Tsakona 2005).

It is argued that ‘humor makes a person’s presence in a conversation more strongly felt’, while it gives the teller the opportunity to gain credit for the performance (Tannen 1984 cited in Norrick 2003:1342). Often Loulla assumes the role of the joke teller (out of the seven jokes recorded three are told by Loulla, two by Charoulla, one by Tasoulla and one by Myria). In the interviews when asked who is the *leader* (‘αρχηγός’) of the group (‘κλίκα’/*clique*, ‘παρέα’/*company*, ‘κύκλος’/*circle*) all other participants pointed at Loulla because she is the one that tells most of the jokes. The number of the canned jokes in the recordings is too small to draw any generalisable conclusions, and they are only one facet of joking and humour. Yet one could tentatively assume that the discourse identity of joke teller could be a window to known (solidified) roles in the group, e.g. of leader/organiser (cf. Zimmerman 1998; Georgakopoulou 2006a).

Most importantly in the elaborating preface, and the even more elaborate response sequence a great deal of interactional work is done to reaffirm shared attitudes. These elaborate sequences construct telling of dirty jokes as a problematic topic. The teller goes to significant interactional trouble to defend the tellability of the joke, both in the preface and in the response sequence and to ensure that everyone has found it funny. Correspondingly recipients also repeatedly signal understanding, amusement and approval of the joke. This type of lengthy opening and, especially, closing sequences also appear when the same joke is re-told (primarily by Loulla) to a similar crowd (all current recipients, plus two others), four days later, or when later on in this conversation Loulla tells another dirty joke (see Excerpt 7-25, Excerpt 7-26, p. 381 in the Appendix). However, with tellings of other types of jokes, which do not refer explicitly to the sexual act (e.g. about adultery, the church etc.), similar interactional

work to gain the floor and establish shared understanding is not as prominent. Therefore, it seems that ‘dirty’ jokes require such elaborate framings, because there is the danger of being received as ‘unfunny’ or ‘inappropriate’ in this context.

It has been documented in the literature that contextual factors, including cultural constraints, affect the organisation of joking in interaction, or in Hank’s terms ‘play speech’ (Hanks 1990:122). Widely circulating discourses about sexuality and older women can account for why sexually explicit jokes are oriented to as potentially inappropriate. Rawlins refers to ‘the stigma of old age’, a discourse which constructs the elderly as lacking sexual interest, and even as being boring, withdrawn (Rawlins 2004:279), whereas sexuality is generally portrayed as illegitimate in old age (see also Chapter 1.1.2). Also in western media elderly people are regularly associated with sexual dysfunction and extreme conservatism (Vasil & Wass 1993:77). These stereotypes are more extreme in the case of older women, who are always portrayed as ‘asexual’ and whose sexual behaviour is a taboo (Kessler et al. 2004:547). In the Cypriot media surveyed, as well, never was a sex-related activity associated with older women, confirming Kessler et al.’s findings about the pervasive gender/age stereotypes of ‘caring, asexual women’ in third age (see also Chapter 1.1.5). These circulating constructions of older women could render limited entitlement to ‘dirty jokes’ to incumbents of categories such as older women. Participants’ interactional work to construct appropriateness of dirty-joke tellings and to reaffirm shared understanding, thus, could be seen as an orientation to their restricted entitlement to such topics. This strong preference to explicitly defend the dirty joke’s tellability could justify the employment even of painful experiences (i.e. bereavement and widowhood) in a humorous frame.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on PTs in the conversational data, examining their topics, sequential organisation and humorous appropriations. It has been shown that in the Cypriot media PTs are constructed as a conversational practice of older adults (in informal interactions). This is evident in the abundance of PTs in the dramatic radio monologues ‘Συντροφιά από το τηλέφωνο’/*Telephone companionship* and, more implicitly, in the regular association of older adults with attributions of ill health and vulnerability. This widely circulating construction of elderliness as bound to PTs, also feeds into the participants’ situated constructions of self. In fact, in the interviews, the

participants (especially Charoulla and Loulla) identified tellings of ill health as the most often-discussed topic in the self-recordings, although the analysis of the self-recordings showed that PTs are not the most frequent topic of conversation.

To analyse the organisation of PTs, a toolkit adapted from N. Coupland et al.'s four-phase taxonomy of PSDs and, secondarily, Lee and Jefferson's candidate troubles-telling sequence has been employed (Lee & Jefferson 1980; N. Coupland et al. 1991a). The examination of the different pre-contexts has revealed that most PTs are teller initiated which is probably a result of casual, multi-party conversations, where there is a strong competition for the floor. Nevertheless, it has been argued that N. Coupland et al.'s classification of pre-contexts is rather deterministic and, although it includes paralinguistic features (e.g. hoarseness of voice), as part of textual determination (N. Coupland et al. 1991a:193), it does not sufficiently account for non-linguistic contextual factors; presumably because of the controlled context of data collection in that study.

Regarding modes of disclosure, the distinction between multiple tellers and single teller has been added to the taxonomy. In fact it has been shown, that in multi-party conversations of peers with long interactional history the joint drafting of simultaneous PTs, about the same painful state, sometimes occurs. The shared understanding of each other's painful states and members' co-participation in them is indicated with the organisation of PTs with multiple tellers. In particular, members are able to project their interlocutor's PT, even before it was launched, as is evident from recognitional overlaps at the onset of jointly-drafted PTs. Also chaining and minimal elaboration (core PTs) are more frequent in the data (almost double the frequency than N. Coupland et al. in both cases). These have been attributed to contextual factors, such as the interactional history of the participants, and to the fact that PTs were re-tellings of known situations, and thus minimal details would suffice. In addition, elliptical references call up members' shared assumptions, in order to fully understand what is being talked about. Therefore, elliptical tellings are not only based on the members' interactional history, but they also make it relevant in the interaction at hand (cf. Georgakopoulou 2004b).

As to moves towards closing, the data analysis has shown that topic switch can be *both* teller- and recipient-initiated, and not just recipient-initiated, as was suggested in N.

Coupland et al.'s model. Also Jefferson's distinction between self- and other-attentive disjuncts has been employed to allow for a more nuanced categorisation of topic switches. Furthermore, it has been found that PTs can be quickly exited, and even on occasions sequentially deleted. More specifically, unlike N. Coupland et al.'s findings, a tendency for recipient-determined closing moves has been found (which is associated with the higher number of recipients), as well as a twenty times higher occurrence of teller- and recipient-determined topic switches. The high occurrence of topic switches, and especially self-attentive ones, is attributed to the fact that PTs were oriented to as an 'open topic', where any next topic would be appropriate (see Jefferson 1984a:181, for a working definition of an 'open topic'). Jefferson's 'stepwise transition' from a troubles telling is not applicable to the data at hand. That by itself is important, as it shows that PTs, in the context of everyday peer-group interactions, are not oriented to as problematic topics that require observable interactional work to get out of. This could be associated with the fact that, in this context, what Matsumoto has described as 'the ideology of wellness' (i.e. that the normal state is to be healthy) is not the only/dominant discourse (2009:947).⁸⁰ As a result, tellings of health and mobility problems, bereavement and prospect of death are treated as normal and expected situations. This does not mean that the older participants have given up on life; rather it exhibits a counter-stereotypical, joint construction of what is considered to be normal.

Death and widowhood are more often than not discussed in a humorous frame, whereas tellings of ill health and mobility issues are on occasions humorously framed. Approaching painful topics with humour is initiated by the teller but is interactionally sustained. Therefore, in Excerpt 4-7, the teller establishes a humorous frame for her PT, and when that frame is oriented to with a variety of strategies (including laughter) the PT recipient also indexes participation in the humorous frame. That way the recipient is able to balance being receptive to the seriousness of the painful experience discussed and also accepting the invitation to laugh. On the whole, these comical tellings show that references to ill health are not necessarily constructed as complaints, but can index awareness of one's situation, ability to view an unhappy situation objectively, even humorously, and cope with it (cf. Matsumoto 2008:194).

⁸⁰ Another term, proposed by Crawford 1980 (cited in Jolanki 2009:224), which is similar to the 'ideology of wellness', is 'healthism'; it refers to the perception of good health as a highly important value in western societies, as the aim of many social actions and as a measure of righteous identity.

This humorous appropriation of painful topics can be also initiated by the interlocutors of the person who experiences a plausibly painful situation. As has been shown in Excerpt 4-9, the interlocutors' widowhood is employed as a resource for dirty-joke telling with little contestation or interactional trouble. The requirement for elaborate interactional work to defend the joke's funniness and appropriateness indexes orientation to social limitations about old women and sexually-explicit joking but also justify the use of interlocutors' painful situation (widowhood) as a resource for joke telling. A shared understanding that bereavement and illness are not deviant events and it is acceptable to joke about them would account for such instances of humorous appropriation of painful states.

Below the different categorisations PTs make relevant, and members' social world as it can be assembled from such tellings are discussed. Firstly, PTs make relevant old-age categorisations. In the literature, tellings (or disclosures) of painful experiences have been found to be old-age identity markers (e.g. N. Coupland et al. 1991a; Poullos 2004b). In addition, it has been shown that in the Cypriot media, PTs were often constructed as bound to old-age categorisations. In the self-recordings, age categorisations, are on two occasions explicitly associated with the painful experience mentioned (see Excerpt 4-5). In addition, members refer to attributions such as ill health, mobility problems, loss of certain activities, which are constructed in the conversations as bound to old-age categories (cf. Chapter 3), and thus members through PTs also make implicitly relevant age categorisations. PTs could be seen as implying age categorisations analogous to the ones negotiated with explicit old-age categorisations. More specifically, PTs are made with comparable frequency by Gregoria, Myria, Loulla and Charoulla, but only once by Tasoulla. This coincides with explicit old-age categorisations, where Tasoulla is routinely excluded from old-age categorisations (see Chapter 3.5). Thus, the member with minimal PTs is the member who is also not categorised as old through stated age categories. The other members, who claim, are ascribed and ratify explicit old-age categories, also discuss painful situations.

However, extreme decline attributions, such as mental or hearing decrement, lack of sociability, or unrecognizable, aged appearance, which are understood as linked with old-age categories such as *gria* and *kojakari*, are avoided (see Chapter 3.2, for a discussion of the attributions of the different old-age categories, as they are

interactionally negotiated). These decline old-age categorisations are the ones from which the participants repeatedly distanced themselves. This is further evidence that age categorisations through PTs correspond to explicit old-age categorial ascriptions. Counter-decline attributions, such as being socially active or having youthful appearance, also associated with positive old-age categories, were not made relevant through PTs, precisely because of the topic of such tellings. Nevertheless, positive attributions of troubles resistance and disassociation from ageist stereotypes of prudishness and asexuality are claimed implicitly, through the humorous appropriation of PT. To sum up, through the use of PTs the participants maintain their disassociation from extreme decline old-age categories, and instead negotiate age categorisations with mild decline attributions. Tasoulla, with her lack of PTs, maintains disassociation from *any* old-age category.

Secondly, PTs could be seen as making relevant the MCD ‘social relations’, and more specifically, categorisations of in-groupness. As suggested above, the affordance for minimal elaboration, the ability of the members to routinely chain their PTs with similar ones by their interlocutors and also to jointly construct PTs with multiple tellers, work together in reaffirming a shared repertoire and in implying closeness and intimacy and ultimately in-group solidarity (cf. Georgakopoulou 2004b). In addition, the localised understanding of what is normal and expected, exclusive to peer-group interactions (see next paragraph), could also be seen as an orientation to in-group identities. Furthermore, PTs have been associated in the literature with in-group identities. Matsumoto has argued that one of the interactional effects of tellings of painful experiences of oneself is that they create camaraderie (Matsumoto 2008). In addition, it has been shown that representations of recurrent shared experiences, and jointly drafted troubles tellings, in particular, enhance in-group solidarity, and a sense of community and membership to the same age group among older adults in Greece, and in other contexts (Faircloth 2001; Poullos 2004b; Matsumoto 2008; for tellings of recurrent shared experiences see Norrick 2000:151).

Finally, PTs and their humorous appropriation provide a window into the participants’ localised constructions of the social world, and more specifically what they mutually understand as normal, expected and appropriate with regard to health. As has been suggested above, the organisation of PTs exhibits that they are oriented to as non-problematic (non-uncomfortable, non-embarrassing) topics of conversation. Also the

humorous treatment of topics such as widowhood has showed that peer-group interactions provide the participants with a unique space where they can humorously reframe activities and categories, which in other contexts (e.g. interviews) are treated as very serious and depressing. Therefore a shared understanding that mobility, health issues and bereavement are normal and expected is co-constructed. The fact that elderly women often co-construct, with their same-age friends, sickness and imminent death as the norm, has also been found in narrative data elicited in research interviews (Black 2002). In fact Black has shown that this alternative construction of normality functions as a coping mechanism. The contribution of this chapter then is that it further documents the normality and expectedness of ill health and death in peer-elderly interactions and also shows *how* these attitudes are made procedurally consequential in the turn-by-turn organisation of PTs and jokes (e.g. with the organisation of closings of PTs). In addition to this alternative understanding of normality, stereotypes about older adults, especially women, as being asexual and that ‘physical and social conditions in later life are depressing and are seen as such by older people themselves’ (Matsumoto 2009:948) are jointly subverted both by tellers and recipients of ‘painful’ sequences or jokes.

To sum up, this chapter has shown how previous taxonomies about troubles talk and painful self disclosures can be selectively employed, appropriated and extended to apply to multiparty, peer-group conversations. Also, it was illustrated that PTs, in this context of peer-elderly conversations, are often condensed (joint) updates of known situations, are oriented to as a thematically non-problematic, and even humorous. Finally, a local construction of elderliness is achieved by self-association with a variety of (mild) decline attributions, while at the same time ill health is constructed as a normal situation. The next chapter looks at talk about a different topic: homemaking activities.

5 CHAPTER FIVE: IDENTITY CONSTRUCTIONS IN TALK ABOUT HOMEMAKING ACTIVITIES

5.1 *Introduction*

‘Δουλειά της γεναίκας ήταν το σπίτι και τα κοπελλούθκια’ (*the house and the kids were a woman’s job*). This statement, made by an elderly woman, is quoted in a first page article of the newspaper *Fileleftheros*, about the life of Cypriot women in the sixties and today, published on March 8th 2008 (Women’s Day). This testimony is characteristic of the two main roles older women have played (and still play) in their lives: homemaker and child carer. This chapter focuses on the former. The interactional construction of homemaking activities such as cooking, recipes, knitting and cleaning are the most frequent conversational practice in the self-recordings, and they are therefore examined in this chapter. In the eighteen hours of self-recorded conversations, about four hours entail talk about these activities. Their frequency is more than eight times the occurrence of PTs. This indicates the salience and significance of the topic, since it appears overwhelmingly more frequently than PTs, which have been argued to be a central conversational practice and act of identity in old age (see Chapter 4). Cultural values structure people’s occupational possibilities (Lund & Engelsrud 2008:689) and food preparation and cooking in most societies,⁸¹ are traditionally seen as a female task and part of a feminine identity and the same could be argued about other homemaking activities. Also, tellings of such activities could provide a point of entry into the construction of gender, family and other larger identities (cf. Fieldhouse 1998).

References to domestic activities, apart from recipes, were infrequent in the media surveyed. Food recipes began to be more salient at the time, and this was a result of a general upsurge of cooking shows, on television. However, even when references to homemaking activities were made, older women were not mentioned. In fact, in the press surveyed there were only a couple of articles that dealt with the domestic activities of older women, and in particular cooking, (one in *Politis* and one in

⁸¹ For Mexico see Abarca 2007:206; for Sweden see Sidenvall, Nydahl & Fjellström 2000:417; for Canada see O’Sullivan, Hocking & Wright-St. Clair 2008:64; for the Middle East and the Arab-speaking world, see chapters in Zubaida & Tapper 1994, especially Heine 1994:145; for different ethnic groups and migrant communities in the USA and abroad see chapters in Avakian 1997; and for ancient and contemporary societies throughout the world see Fieldhouse 1998:113.

Fileleftheros) but they entextualise them in a recipe text or a list of cooking tips.⁸² Overall, with the exception of recipes, domestic practices are absent from the media surveyed, probably because they are perceived as belonging to the private sphere and not newsworthy. Thus, the interactional construction of homemaking practices in old age could provide a glimpse into this private and unreported world.

The category term ‘*νοικοζυρά*’, meaning (good) homemaker, is employed very rarely in the data (only three times), and is associated with (distant) acquaintances of the members. When it is employed, it is oriented to as a positive evaluative term, bound to activities of excellent culinary production, good hosting, and quickness in housework (see for example Excerpt 7-27, p. 389 in the Appendix). Although participants never explicitly claim or ascribe this category to their interlocutors, they construct membership to the categories of culinary expert and good homemaker through reports of their domestic activities and recipe tellings.

In this chapter, tellings about food-related practices are analysed, followed by an investigation into additional homemaking activities and concluding with implications with regard to relational, gender and age identities. Firstly, reports of cooking activities focusing on recipe tellings are discussed; the organisation of recipes, their local context of occurrence and structural characteristics, as well as the categories and bound attributions made relevant, are analysed. Section 5.4 follows up on the issue of talk about cooking and recipes, focusing on assessments of both the food prepared and the cook. Sections 5.5 and 5.6 investigate talk about additional domestic activities such as cleaning, sewing and knitting, both in the form of past and future reports and in the form of talk while being engaged in the activity. Through the analysis of the sequential organisation of these excerpts, the co-construction of membership in different categories is approached. Finally, sections 5.7 through to 5.10 tackle implicit and explicit orientations to (age-related) decline and to identities of friend, mother and grandmother and woman, in talk about homemaking activities. On the whole, Chapter 5 investigates a very frequent conversational and social practice of the group and provides an opportunity for approaching identities that may or may not be always announced but are also tacitly made apparent, such as homemakery, familial and friendship roles, gender and age.

⁸² Entextualisation is the process of producing texts from all the complex things going on in interaction, see Mehan 1996.

5.2 *Cooking reports*

An often-encountered practice in the conversational data is the speaker reporting on what they have recently cooked; this occurred 85 times in the eighteen hours of self-recorded data. These reports overwhelmingly recount what the speaker has cooked that day or that week. Another, albeit not as frequent, practice is to mention what they plan to cook in the very near future (34 occurrences). Cooking is constructed as an expected daily practice. In fact, it is often oriented to as the participants' central activity of the day, around which other activities are scheduled and thus affects members' availability to attend coffee meetings. The example below is taken from a meeting of Loulla, Gregoria, Myria and Charoulla at Loulla's house. It occurs half way through a one-hour meeting.

Excerpt 5-1 (participants: Loulla, Myria, Gregoria, Charoulla)

27.17

1. Γ άτε εις υγειάν. μα εν έντεκα η ώρα >μάνι μάνι<? (0.6)
2. Μ ε καλό:.
3. Λ νά'μ πόν να κα- να μαειρέψεις τζαι βιάζεσαι?

1. G cheers then. but is it eleven o'clock >already<? (0.6)
2. M indee:d.
3. L what will you d- cook and ((therefore)) you are in a hurry?

(from conversation A2)

27.21

Gregoria, in line 1, makes a comment about the time, and Myria orients to her explicit question (whether it is 11 o'clock). Loulla, on the other hand, orients to Gregoria's turn as a pre-sequence to announcing that she has to go ('τζαι βιάζεσαι'/and ((therefore)) *you are in a hurry*), and being the hostess, it is her obligation to try to dissuade her guests from leaving. Therefore, she would try to establish that Gregoria's scheduled activities, in fact, allow her to stay longer at the meeting. In line 3 Loulla with a self-initiated repair she revises 'κα-' (presumably from 'κάμεις'/do) to the more specific 'να μαειρέψεις' (*to cook*). She, thus, orients to cooking as an activity Gregoria will predictably perform, and around which she organises her morning schedule. The fact that women's days are structured around homemaking obligations, especially when they have to cook for men, has been documented in the literature (Maclagan 1994:160). Similarly, in the data, especially participants who regularly have cooking obligations

for their family members (e.g. Gregoria for her grandson and Loulla for her husband or grandson) are expectedly busy with food preparation at certain times of the day, especially after 11.30-12.00 pm for lunch preparation. The fact that participants have a more inflexible schedule if they have to provide meals to others tallies with the finding that cooking is often constructed as a service to family members, rather than a pleasurable pursuit for oneself (this is further discussed in Section 5.9).

Reports of past and future cooking activities usually come in clusters with coparticipants' reports of what they have cooked/will cook. An example where a chain of three consecutive cooking plans occurs is the following. It takes place in Loulla's house, at the same meeting as the example above (Excerpt 5-1, p. 208) and this interactional sequence occurs two minutes into the recording, and about twenty-five minutes before the excerpt above.

Excerpt 5-2 (participants: Loulla, Gregoria, Charoulla, Myria)

2.02

1. Λ εν βιάζεστε?
2. Γ ↑ε κανέναν μισάωρο εν να:: έχουμε.
3. εν να: >πάω να μαειρέψω< έχω το φαΐν μου έτοιμο αμμά.
4. Χ °Ναΐα μου°
5. Γ να το κάμω το: φασόλια:: έψησά τα.
6. με [τούν τα κόκκινα-]
7. Χ [εγιώ'ννα κάμω]
8. Λ [(εγώ'ννα κάμω-)]
9. Χ λουβάνα τζ εν να βάλω διάφορα μέσα. <λουβάνα> θα κάμω σήμερα.
10. Γ [εν ωραία η λουβάνα ()]
11. Λ [εγώ ννα κάμω:: μακαρόνια με τα] [χόρτα]
12. Μ [Λούλλα] εν θέλει πκιο χοντρές σμίλες

1. L you are not in a hurry?
2. G ↑well we wi::ll have half an hour or so.
3. I wi:ll >go to cook< I have my food ready but.
4. C °oh dear°
5. G I will do the: bea::ns I cooked them.
6. with [these kidney-]
7. C [I will make]

8. L [(I will make-)]
9. C lentil soup and I will put different things in. <lentil soup> I will make today.
10. G [lentil soup is nice ()]
11. L [I will do:: pasta with] [vegetables]
12. M [Loulla]it does not need thicker needles
- (from conversation A2)

2.19

This sequence begins with Loulla, the hostess, asking whether her interlocutors are in a hurry, as she wants to see whether she has time to change into the clothes her daughter brought to her from South Africa, to show them to her friends. This brings about consecutive tellings of planned cooking activities. As discussed in the previous example, the activity of cooking lunch is oriented to as a focal activity, which restricts one's morning schedule, and therefore affects whether members can stay for long or not. It is notable that as soon as Gregoria completes her turn construction unit with a falling intonational contour in line 5, and although she self-selects to continue holding the floor (l.6), probably to mention her Cuban recipe for kidney beans, a produce that is not traditionally used in Cypriot cuisine and by her interlocutors, both Charoulla and Loulla claim the floor with a transitional overlap in lines 7-8. Also, as soon as Charoulla reaches a TRP (l.9), Loulla assumes the floor and goes back to the topic of what *she* will cook that she initiated in line 8, although this does not have any implications for the time restrictions of her interlocutors. Both Charoulla's and Loulla's moves index the recipients' strong preference to chain the speaker's cooking reports with their own tellings. This chain is exited with Myria's overlapping turn, in line 12, which switches the topic to the needles Loulla is using to knit.

In this sequence there are some structural characteristics which are recurrent in telling of past and future cooking activities. First, there is a strong tendency for these reports to come in clusters (chaining). In fact, the majority (70%) of these reports are immediately followed or preceded by another speaker's report of their cooking activity or by a recipient's recipe telling about the same dish. Second, these reports or chains of reports are launched into the conversation, most frequently, with a speaker-initiated topic shift. That is, the speaker does not start their telling out of the blue, but links it thematically to the prior text. In this example Gregoria links telling of her cooking plans with time management issues. As discussed above, cooking lunch is oriented to as a predictable and focal obligation that places constraints on the participants' morning schedule.

Therefore, they are produced throughout a conversation, and not necessarily at the beginning of a meeting as ‘updating’ reports. Third, these chains are most often exited with a recipient-initiated topic switch. This indexes the fact that these reports are constructed as open topics, where any next topic is appropriate. Finally, mentions of what the speaker has or will cook tend to be rather short (a couple of turns long), and this is particularly true of reports about *future* activities (cooking plans), that normally do not include/are included in a recipe. The participants who are more vocal about their cooking activities are Loulla, Tasoulla and Gregoria. These are the members who mention what they have cooked or plan to cook most frequently.⁸³

A number of cooking reports, especially of past cooking activities, are not mere mentions of what was or will be cooked but also include embedded recipes. In fact, 45% of reports of past cooking activities and 20% of cooking plans also incorporate a recipe telling. Recipes, whether *embedded* in reports of specific cooking activities or *independent*, are a prominent topic of discussion in the group and are investigated in the following section. Although, in the analysis, recipe-tellings and tellings of cooking reports are largely treated as two distinct phenomena, in practice this distinction is not as easy because recipes routinely embed reports of a specific cooking activity and *vice versa* (certain reports of past or planned cooking activities incorporate recipes). The following section looks closely at the sequential and categorial order of recipes.

5.3 *The construction of culinary expertise in recipe-tellings*

5.3.1 Types of recipes

As mentioned above, many of the reports of past cooking activities include embedded recipes (38 out of 85 reports). In the case of references to what the speaker plans to cook, recipe telling is not as often encountered (it occurs in 7 out of 34 reports). Apart from being part of a telling of what the speaker has recently cooked, recipes also appear, less frequently, in reports of what other people have cooked. I collectively refer to recipes incorporated in reports of past and future cooking activities as *embedded recipes*. Furthermore, thirty-nine instances of recipe telling stand independently and do not occur in the context of a report about a specific past or future cooking activity (*independent recipes*). Recipes can range from long, thorough descriptions of the

⁸³ The mean number of occurrence of these reports per hour is: Loulla: 2.7 reports per hour, Tasoulla: 2, Gregoria: 2, Charoulla: 0.9 and Myria: 0.7 report per hour (numbers are normalised to account for varied levels of participation in the recordings).

process of making a particular food to elliptical one-liners that contain a small part of a recipe. Recipes that give a more or less exhaustive list of ingredients needed to prepare a dish, as well as some cooking instructions are regarded as *fully fledged recipes*. Mentions of only a few of the ingredients needed, and maybe also some of the processes, are categorised as *partial recipes*. *Elliptical recipes*, are extreme cases of partial tellings, and entail mentioning of just one or two ingredients. The following is an example of an elliptical recipe telling. It occurred during a discussion at Myria's house, between the hostess and Gregoria.

Excerpt 5-3 (participants: Gregoria, Myria)

20.47

1. Γ βάλλει μ- νάκκον σαν το νερόν το πολλύν η:: Τασούλλα.
2. Μ ε: καλό δεκατριάμιση ποτήρκα
3. Γ =α.
4. Μ =σε θκυο ποτήρκα:: σιμιδάλλιν εν ↑πολλύν. που να το τραβήσει?

1. G she em-puts like a bit too much water::r Tasoulla.
2. M ye:s sure thirteen and a half glasses
3. G =ah.
4. M =for two glasse::s semolina that's a ↑lot. how can it absorb it?

(from conversation A17)

20.55

Here the participants evaluate Tasoulla's halva (a semolina-based sweet), and in doing so they refer to parts of Tasoulla's recipe; that is the proportion of water and semolina (for a further discussion on assessments, see Section 5.4). Fully fledged recipes tend to be the longest, though on a few occasions discussions of a single ingredient or cooking process can go at significant lengths. The following table shows the distribution of the three types of recipes across different local contexts:

- a) Recipes independent of a report of a cooking activity (2nd row in the table),
- b) Recipes embedded in reports of a past cooking activity of the speaker (3rd row),
- c) Recipes embedded in reports of a past cooking activity of a person non-present (4th row) and
- d) Recipes embedded in future cooking activities (plans) of the speaker (5th row).

<i>Embeddedness</i>	<i>Independent recipes</i>	<i>Recipes in reports of</i>	<i>Recipes in reports of other's</i>	<i>Recipes in cooking</i>	<i>Total</i>

		<i>past activity</i>	<i>activity</i>	<i>plans</i>	
<i>Type of recipe</i>					
Fully Fledged	15	15	1	2	33 35%
Partial	24	23	9	5	61 65%
(Out of which Elliptical)	(6)	(6)	(4)	(0)	(16)(17%)
Total	39	38	10	7	94

N=18 hours

Table X: Distribution of recipe types

From the above table, similar patterns can be traced for all local contexts: partial recipes appear to be the most salient types. Even fully-fledged recipes, although they provide a full list of ingredients, they do not give an exhaustive list of all processes. This might suggest that recipes are designed for an audience who has cooked the particular or a similar dish, and are aware of the processes involved, and therefore a thorough account of how a dish is made is oriented to as redundant.

After analysing the different pre-contexts of recipe tellings, a strong tendency emerges: the most preferred pre-context for a recipe telling is another recipe or report of cooking activity. Other, less frequent pre-contexts are elicitation by a recipient of the recipe, and teller-initiated topic shift, that is, the recipe teller embarks on a recipe that is in some way topically related to the prior talk. In the two following sections, the first two types of pre-contexts are closely examined, because the first (chaining) is by far the most frequent and the second (elicitation) is employed in a distinct way within recipe tellings.

5.3.2 Chained and simultaneous tellings

Recipes therefore very often appear *chained* with other recipes, but also with cooking reports of the same or a different dish. This is hardly surprising, as PTs also at a percentage of 46% appear chained (as has been discussed in Chapter 4.5). What is remarkable is the extremely high frequency of chaining in recipe telling, comparable only to the level of chaining of cooking reports (see Section 5.2). The following table shows the frequency (in numbers of occurrence and percentages) of chaining in independent and embedded recipes.

	<i>Independent Recipes</i>		<i>Embedded Recipes</i>		<i>Total</i>	
Single recipes	8	21%	9	16%	17	18%
Chained recipes	31	79%	46	84%	77	82%
(Out of which Simultaneous Tellings)	(17)	(43%)	(14)	(25%)	(31)	(33%)
Total	39		55		94	

N=18 hours

Table XI: Distribution of single and chained recipes

Chains of recipes can include consecutive tellings, by different tellers, of their recipe for the same dish. In fact, chains of up to four recipes with the same referent are encountered. Chaining here is also used, in a broader sense, to include clusters of both recipes (of the same or a different dish), and also recipients' reports of cooking activity. As suggested above, it is analytically difficult to make the distinction between chains of recipes alone and chains that contain both recipes and cooking reports, as more than half of the recipes incorporate a reference by the speaker to a past or future cooking activity and also a big portion of reports (especially about completed cooking endeavours), include some type of recipe. As shown from the table above, chaining occurs in 79% of the independent recipes and 84% of the recipes embedded in reports of cooking activities.

This difficulty to neatly delineate between recipes and cooking reports, and the overwhelming frequency where recipes and reports occur consecutively might show that there is an adjacency relation between recipes and reports (for adjacency see e.g. Sacks et al. 1974:716; Hutchby & Wooffitt 1998:40; see also Chapter 2.5.2). This means that a recipe does not make a report conditionally relevant, as would be the case in an adjacency pair, but a preference is exhibited to construct reports as next turns to recipes and *vice versa*. With regard to the categorical order recipes and reports are also related since they are both activities bound to the category culinary expert.

In some cases, the next recipe-teller does not wait for the first one to conclude before embarking on their own recipe telling. This can result in the first teller interrupting their recipe-telling to give the floor to the second teller. On the other hand, perhaps more frequently, this leads to extended overlaps that are not resolved quickly, i.e. after the initial three-four simultaneous syllables, as occurs with the vast majority of overlaps in talk (Schegloff 2000:24). Both tellers, then, go on with their recipes, with significant overlaps and multiple conversations can emerge, where the interlocutors split into two different groups so that each recipe teller can have their own audience, and the one-speaker-at-a-time rule, only applies within each sub-group (see Chapter 2.5.2; Schegloff 2000:5). The following excerpt is an example of a simultaneous recipe telling that leads to multiple conversations. It is taken from the middle of a two-hour conversation at Gregoria's house. Gregoria, Tasoulla, Myria, Charoulla and Loulla are present. In the immediately preceding talk Gregoria told her recipe for the olive-pie she is offering to her guests. As soon as she completes her recipe telling Loulla and Tasoulla try to secure the floor to tell their own recipes for olive-pie.

Excerpt 5-4 (participants: Gregoria, Tasoulla, Myria, Charoulla and Loulla)

43.28

1. Λ εγώ Γρηγορία. βάλλω το λάδιν.
2. Τ εγώ βάλλω τα <υγρά> πρώτα. >[°να ου] ου°< βάλλω τα υγρά,
3. Λ [νναι.]
4. [να]σου πω εγώ!
5. Γ [ε.]
6. Τ [τζαι βάλλω τον]κολιάντρον τζαι τις ελιές μέ[σα λαλείς τζ εσούνι]
7. Λ [περίμενε!] [χα χα χα]
8. Τ τζαι: φουσκώνουν,
9. Χ =μια μια! ((smile voice))
10. Τ =τζαι: ζυμώννω τα. είπα σας τζ εγώ την δικήν μου::
11. Γ =[εν τζαι:]
12. Λ =[<βάλλω>]
13. την κούμπαν μου τζαι βάλλω το λάδιν; [τον] χυμόν; το σέβεν απ;
14. Γ [νναι]
15. Τ =τα υγρά
16. Γ μμ
17. Λ ούλλα τζαι νεκατώννω τα (.) έτσι με το χτυπητήριν ((knocks twice on the table)) καλά

18. [να σμίξουν]
19. T [όι εν τα νεκατ]ώννω εγώ
20. Γ νναι
21. T [σύρνω τα μες την τρύπαν] εγώ στον λούκκον
22. Λ [νεκατώννω τα καλά.]
23. τζαι λαλείς τζ εσύ έχω τα ούλλα τ'άλλα μες την κούππαν, >ούλλα τ'άλλα< τα: υλικά;
24. τζαι γύρνω τα μέσα ((knocks)) στο υγρόν ((knocks)) τζαι διώ τους⁸⁴
25. Γ =τζαι νεκατώννεις τα.
26. Λ =[τζαι πκιάννουν ούλλα αννοίουν]
27. T [εγώ έχω τα ούλλα- έχω τα- ούλλα]
28. Γ νναι.
29. Λ [αννοίουν τζαι τα καρύθκια, τζαι τα::: [κολιάντροι]
30. T [μου τα υλικά μες την κούππαν τζαι γύρνω τα υγρά ούλλα [μέσα,]
31. Λ τζαι τα [αυτά.]
32. M [νναι]
33. T >τζ' ύστερα< βάλλω το αλ[εύριν,]
34. Λ [πκιάννουν] πο τζείνον το αυ[τόν.]
35. M [α.]
36. Γ νναι.
37. Λ [τζ' ύστερα <στο τέλος> βάλλω το] αλεύριν,
38. T [ανακατώννω τα τζαι (>πκιάννουν όσον αλεύριν<)]

1. L ME Gregoria. I put in the oil.
2. T I put in the <liquids> first. >[°le(t) me] me°< I put the liquids,
3. L [yes.]
4. [let] me tell you!
5. G [hm.]
6. T [and I put the] coriander and the olives [in as you say]
7. L [wait!] [ha ha ha]
8. T a:nd they get soaked,
9. C =one at a time! ((smile voice))
10. T =a:nd I knead them. I told you mine::
11. G =[but no:]
12. L =[<I put>]

⁸⁴ Line 24 and the first half of line 26 are uttered with a highly rhythmic intonation contour, accentuated by the two knocks.

13. my bowl and I put the oil; [the] juice; the Seven Up;
14. G [yes]
15. T =the liquids
16. G hm
17. L everything and I mix them (.)like with the whisk ((knocks twice on the table)) well
18. [to combine]
19. T [no I don't] mix them
20. G yes
21. T [I pour them into the hole] in the cavity
22. L [I mix them well.]
23. and as you say I have everything else in the bowl, >everything else< the: ingredients;
24. and I pour them in ((knocks)) the liquid ((knocks)) and I give them⁸⁵
25. G =and you mix them.
26. L =[and they are all dressed they open]
27. T [and I have everything- I have them- all]
28. G yes
29. L [they open the walnuts, and the::: [corianders]
30. T [my ingredients in the ball and I pour all the liquids [in,]
31. L and the [stuff]
32. M [yes]
33. T >and then< I put in the fl[our,]
34. L [they take] from that th[ing.]
35. M [oh.]
36. G yes.
37. L [and then <at the end> I put in the] flour,
38. T [I mix them and they (>take as much flour<)]

(from conversation A3)

44.09

In line 1 Loulla embarks on her recipe telling, in order to juxtapose her recipe for olive-pies to the one Gregoria just mentioned. However, Tasoulla at the first TRP self-selects as the next speaker and launcher *her* recipe for the same pie (l.2). Loulla's 'vvaɪ./yes.' in line 3, as soon as Tasoulla completes her first turn construction unit, because of its emphasised falling intonational contour, could be seen less as a positive back-channelling and more as a bid to re-gain the floor and assume the discourse identity of

⁸⁵ See footnote 84, above.

recipe teller at the next TRP. Tasoulla's perturbation, in line 2, during and after Loulla's transitional overlap, with the rushed, quieter disfluent utterance and the repetition of 'βάλλω τα υγρά' / *I put in the liquids*, seems to be a strategic manoeuvre to maintain the floor (cf. Schegloff 2000:12; see Chapter 2.5.2 for overlap and perturbations). In line 4 Loulla makes an explicit claim to assume the role of recipe-teller by saying 'να σου πω εγώ!' / *let me tell you!*. In what follows, up to line 25, Loulla and Tasoulla compete for the floor and the role of the recipe teller. Explicit meta-discursive remarks are made by the participants to signal a bid for the floor (e.g. lines 7, 9). Between lines 26-38 the participants will resort to the solution of multiple conversations, with Tasoulla addressing Myria and Loulla addressing Gregoria.

What is interesting in this excerpt is the fact that all instances of simultaneous talk are launched at TRP, and can thus be seen as overlaps with a transitional onset, rather than interruptions, i.e. simultaneous talk that does not occur at TRP and violates turn-taking norms (see Chapter 2.5.2). In fact, one could argue that this is a case of *affiliative interventions*, since they initiate and develop affiliative topics (in this case converging recipes of the same baked good). Affiliative interventions have been found to be characteristic of conversation between female Greek participants, a tool of support, agreement and ratification and could therefore be a practice that enhances solidarity and in-groupness (Makri-Tsilipakou 1994). To use Moerman's terms, when it comes to recipe tellings 'social, purposeful, intensely personal meaning permeated these overlaps' (Moerman 1990:30).

On the whole, simultaneous tellings of recipes occur in about one every three recipes. All members participate in simultaneous recipe tellings, but the participant who seems to initiate the highest, proportionately, number of simultaneous recipes is Tasoulla.⁸⁶ Chaining and simultaneous talk are not only encountered in recipe tellings, but are also frequent, as mentioned above, in reports of cooking activities of the speaker that do not contain recipes; in 84 out of the 120 cases (70%), reports are chained with other reports or recipes (see Section 5.2, above). The high frequency of chaining and even simultaneous tellings could be attributed to their function. Knowledge of recipes and regular engagement in cooking are thus attributions bound to the category 'good cook'

⁸⁶ The mean frequency of simultaneous recipe tellings per participant is: Tasoulla 1.4 simultaneous recipes per hour, Gregoria: 0.5, Loulla: 0.4, Charoulla: 0.3 and Myria: 0.2 (numbers are normalised to account for varied levels of participation in the recordings).

and by implication ‘able homemaker’. The fact that interlocutors, once a recipe or cooking report is told (and a claim to categories of the MCD ‘homemaking’ is made), hasten to add their own and consequently claim for themselves incumbency to similar categories shows the importance of negotiating and continuously re-affirming membership in the category of ‘good cook’. This is also apparent in the way recipes are elicited, negotiated and contested. Also, as discussed above, these affiliative overlaps are a local practice of the group that enhances in-groupness.

5.3.3 Continued elicitation

For some recipes, especially independent ones, the pre-context is direct elicitation. One member might directly request a recipe (‘συνταγή’/*recipe*, ‘διαδικασία’/*process*) or ask her interlocutor how she made/makes a particular food. Elicitation, however, does not stop at the initial question/request for recipe but can continue throughout the recipe telling. This type of continued elicitation is evident in the following excerpt which is the sequence immediately preceding Excerpt 5-4, above. Tasoulla has already asked Gregoria to tell her the recipe for the olive-pie and Gregoria has already described most of the process. The sequence following is towards the end of Gregoria’s recipe for olive-pies. Gregoria, Myria, Charoulla, Loulla and Tasoulla are present, at Gregoria’s house. So far, Gregoria has recounted the different ingredients she puts into the olive-pie and in the immediately prior text she has described the process of slowly adding the olive-mix into the dough.

Excerpt 5-5 (participants: Gregoria, Tasoulla, Myria, Charoulla and Loulla)

43.10

1. Γ τζ έβαλα τζαι μισόν κουταλάκιν σόδαν. (.)
2. Τ ↓ [α:]. η σόδα που την αφρουγιανίσκει έτσι.
3. Λ [μμ]
4. Μ μπέκκε πάουτερ? πόσον?
5. Γ τζαι θκυο- τρία [κου]ταλάκια μπέκκε ππάουτερ
6. Μ [α.]
7. Τ νναι
8. Λ εγώ ενν [εν έτσι που την κάμνω.]
9. Χ [η σόδα ψηλώννει το]
10. Τ εν <έβαλες> χυμόν τίποτε? (.)
11. Γ έναν ποτήριν χυμό [τζαι μιαν- τζαι μια]
12. Τ [α έβαλες τζ' ένα χυμόν]

13. Γ [σέβεναι! νναι.]
 14. Μ [(τζει)] [()]
 15. Λ [έτσι]έτσι τούτα βάλλω τα [τζει γω]
 16. Γ [όσον-] όσον τζει κάνησεν

1. G and I put half a teaspoon of soda in. (.)
 2. T ↓ [oh::] it's soda that makes it fluffy like.
 3. L [mm]
 4. Μ baking powder? how much?
 5. G and two- three [tea]spoons baking powder
 6. Μ [ah.]
 7. T yes
 8. L I don't [do it like this.]
 9. C [soda makes it rise]
 10. T you didn't <put> juice or anything? (.)
 11. G a glass of juice [and one- and one]
 12. T [oh you also put one juice]
 13. G [Seven Up! yes.]
 14. Μ [(and)] [()]
 15. L [like] like this I also put in [these]
 16. G [it was] just- just sufficient
 (from conversation A3)

43.27

The first elicitation, internal to the recipe, occurs in line 4, with Myria's question. Myria's first turn ('μπέκκε πάοντερ?'/*baking powder?*), is a polar question. Polar questions test a hypothesis (here whether baking powder goes into the mix), are designed for a 'yes' or 'no' answer and exerts a preference for the confirming response (yes) (Heritage & Raymond forthcoming). However, Myria does not wait for a confirmation to her hypothesis, but assumes that the answer is yes, since she asks 'πόσον?'/*how much?*, in line 4. Myria's elicitation of a detail of the recipe, contributes to the telling of the recipe but at the same time exhibits that she is confident about what specific ingredients go into the mix. Loulla's turn in line 8 functions as a pre-sequence for her recipe telling in Excerpt 5-4, whereas Charoulla's overlapping comment about the effects of baking soda, in line 9, exhibits knowledge bound to the category good cook. Tasoulla's question in line 10, similarly to Myria's question in line 4 contributes

to the elicitation of the recipe. Her turn is designed as a negative interrogative. Heritage (2002) has shown that negative interrogatives not only favour a ‘yes’ answer, more strongly than polar questions, but also they are repeatedly produced and received as vehicles for assertions (for expressing positions, views) rather than vehicles for questioning. Therefore, it could be argued that Tasoulla’s question in line 10 functions also as a device of expressing an opinion about the ingredients that should go in the mix. Gregoria replies, without a yes, or a repletion of the verb (e.g. ‘έβαλα’/*I put*), but instead mentions the liquids she used. Gregoria therefore orients to Tasoulla’s question, just like Charoulla’s, as an elicitation of the quantities of the ingredients. Tasoulla, however, in line 12, before Gregoria completes her turn, produces an overlapping utterance, repeating that piece of Gregoria’s recipe, with an *oh* / ‘α’. This transitional overlap could be taken as a bid for the floor, in order to start her own recipe-telling, which will occur a few lines later. Gregoria, despite Tasoulla’s overlap, goes on to complete the list of liquids, retaining the floor with a perturbation (cut off, repetition in increased volume, l. 11) and stressed utterances (l.11,13). In line 15 Loulla begins her own recipe. The repetition of ‘έτσι’/*like*, is a perturbation used by the speaker to claim the floor and resolve the overlap. In line 16 Gregoria uses the same device (repetition of just previous element) to secure the floor in order to conclude her recipe.

The above example shows is that recipe-tellings are not necessarily an event with a single teller; rather various participants can contribute to the telling, not least with specific questions (such as l.4 and 10). These questions are treated as elicitations of specific parts of the recipe. In addition, the design of the questions (polar questions, where the answer is assumed and not stated and negative interrogatives) exhibit the questioner’s specialised knowledge about the ingredients list. More specifically, the member eliciting the recipe-telling does not position themselves as a novice, who has limited knowledge of the recipe discussed. On the contrary, the specialised questions make relevant the fact that the recipients have knowledge and experience in cooking the food talked about, or to use Sacks’ terms membership in the category Kp-knowledge proper- (Silverman 1998:205), but just want to compare notes.

Therefore, a great deal of tacit shared knowledge is made relevant, especially regarding the processes of making a dish. This also explains, as was suggested above (see Section 5.3.1), the prevalence of partial recipe tellings and the fact that, even fully-fledged, heavily negotiated recipes, never give an exhaustive and detailed list of all cooking

processes. A level of shared, unstated knowledge is also indexed when participants disclose or dictate recipes to their interlocutors; this is always done from memory, and many parts of the preparation or baking process are oriented to as known and thus omitted. In addition, some of the participants (Gregoria, Myria and Loulla) also have a notebook with recipes, mainly of baked and confectionery goods given by friends and acquaintances, that they sometimes consult. However, even these handwritten recipe books make relevant tacit culinary knowledge, as they never give a detailed account of the recipes and have omissions and inaccuracies that its owner is aware of. The orientation to knowledge which is shared between speaker and hearer, is collectively generated (with no attribution of ‘authorship’), practically acquired, largely limited to what people can recall, and orients to values of in-groupness is characteristic of ‘oral’ cultures, as was argued by Ong and also by Tannen (Tannen 1980; Ong 1982; Tannen & Chafe 1987).⁸⁷ In fact, a body of research has linked orality with the Greek culture (for an overview, see Georgakopoulou 2004a).

In addition to elicitation, the recipients index their knowledge of the process of preparing the food discussed by matching the recipe told with their own, as has been shown in Excerpt 5-4. This is what generates chained and simultaneous recipe tellings, which have been discussed in Section 5.3.2. This can also trigger a direct contestation about a particular aspect of the recipe, as the following section reveals.

5.3.4 Negotiation

Opposing views about certain ingredients and processes in recipes are often negotiated and sometimes negotiation of opposing views goes to great lengths. An example is the following excerpt where Olivia is telling the recipe she used to make *flaounes*, a labour-intensive type of cheese-pies, made before Easter (see Image 9, p. 422, in the Appendix). This occurs at a meeting in Olivia’s house, where the hostess, Gregoria, Tasoulla, Myria, Loulla, and Charoulla are present. The meeting happened ten days after Easter Sunday (of the Greek Orthodox Easter) and therefore the topic of *flaounes* was very relevant. Most participants make *flaounes* the week before Easter (usually on

⁸⁷ Tannen, in order to avoid the polarity of ‘oral’ and ‘literate’ cultures, introduced terms of oral and literate strategies and their exponent high-involvement and high-consideredness style. Georgakopoulou (2004a) however has called for an alternative focus of research, which shifts emphasis from generalised notions of culture and society to the analysis of local communities of practice and their ‘micro cultures’. On the whole, analytical categories implemented in work on ‘oral’ cultures, place emphasis on macro all-encompassing accounts of society and culture rather than members’ local categories on their micro-cultures, as is the focus of this research.

Good Friday). During the year of this recording, Gregoria, Loulla and Tasoulla made *flaounes* in their homes, for their families, assisted by their daughters and grand-daughters. Charoulla went to her daughter's house to help her with baking *flaounes*, whereas Myria, who was recovering from surgery did not bake cheese pies that year, and many friends gifted some of the pies they made to her and her daughter. Earlier in the conversation, Olivia was asked to give her recipe for the *flaounes*, because the participants had evaluated the pies she offered them as very successful and also due to the fact that Olivia comes from a town in the Eastern part of Cyprus, where *flaounes* are made in a different way (using a distinct type of local cheese). In the preceding sequence, Olivia, with the contribution of all other participants, has been describing how she made her *flaounes*. A longer transcript that includes the whole discussion on *flaounes* can be found in the Appendix, Excerpt 7-28, p. 391 (the following excerpt is at lines 82-103 of the extended excerpt in the Appendix). Olivia mentioned that she got up at 4pm to make the dough and Tasoulla suggested that she could have made the dough the night before.

Excerpt 5-6 (participants: Olivia, Gregoria, Myria, Loulla, Tasoulla, Charoulla)

25.01

1. T =ε να σου πω τζαι το ζυμάρι αν το εζύμωννες
2. μπαίννει τζαι γίνεται πκιο αφράτον
3. Γ όι [όι εν-]
4. Ο [ε] χαμνίζει κόρη,
5. T ε:: χαμν[ίζει αλλά]
6. Λ [εν τούτο] που σου λαλώ. [νεροστρέφει]
7. Ο [χαμνίζει. είντα ώσ]που
8. να το ↑ κάμεις μπαίννει!
9. Λ νναι
10. Γ =[↑ νναι.]
11. Χ [(έτσι ένι)] [(μπαίννει.)]
12. Λ [εν [θέ]λει: να το-]
13. Γ [να το αννοίεις] >πίτταν πίτταν<
14. Ο =εζύμωσά έξι κιλά κόρη.
15. Γ ε: εν κάμποσο.
16. Ο [έβαλα-] [έβαλα ένα-]
17. Λ [το πο]λλύν θκυο ώρες [θέλει να μπει.]
18. >παραπάνω< που θκυο ώρες <νερο>στρέφει. (0.6)

19. O έβαλα [έναν ποτ- ένα::ν μαστραπών βούτυρο σπρά]
20. T [°ε:: έτο κάμνω το λλίο σφιχτό για να ξεκουραστεί°] (0.5) ((a woman
21. enters the house))
22. T επειδή χαμνίζει αφήννω το λλίο σφιχτούι.
-
1. T =let me tell you if you had made the dough ((the night before))
2. it rises and becomes fluffier
3. G no [no it doesn't-]
4. O [hm] it becomes flabby *kori*,
5. T we::ll it beco[m]es flabby but]
6. L [yes. that is what] I am talking about.[it exudes moisture]
7. O [it becomes fluffy. in fact as] soon as
8. you ↑do it it rises!
9. L yes
10. G =[↑yes.]
11. C [(that's it)] [(it rises.)]
12. L [it [does] no:t need to-]
13. G [to form it] >pie by pie<
14. O =I kneaded six kilos *kori*.
15. G we:ll it's a lot.
16. O [I put-] [I put one-]
17. L [it nee]ds two hours at the [most to rise.]
18. >more< than two hours it exudes <moisture.> (0.6)
19. O I put [one gla- one:: tin of Spry butter]
20. T [°we::ll look I make it a bit hard so it can rest°] (0.5) ((a woman enters
21. the house))
22. T I make it a bit hard because it becomes flabby.
- (from conversation A8) 26.00

Tasoulla's suggestion to make the dough the night before, in order for it to become softer/fluffier (l.1-2), is met with the contestation of other interlocutors. First, Gregoria, repeats her opposition ('όι όι'/no no, l.3) and Olivia adds the explanation as to why Tasoulla's suggestion is not good idea (l.4).⁸⁸ In line 5, Tasoulla, with a hesitation (indexed by the prolonged 'ε::'/we::ll), agrees (partly) with the view that the dough will

⁸⁸ Olivia's use of the ToA *kori* in l.4 performs the function of mitigating the face threatening act of challenging Tasoulla's expertise.

become softer and qualifies it with a *but* (‘*αλλά*’). This form of mild agreement plus a contrastive word is, in fact, a form of dispreferred disagreement with the previous assessment (for a further elaboration on assessments, see Section 5.4). With overlapping utterances Loulla, Olivia, Charoulla and Gregoria (l.6-13) hasten to show their opposition, with each of them adding some technical information about the process of making the dough and forming it into pies. Then in line 14 Olivia moves on with her recipe telling. However, in line 17 with an overlapping sentence Loulla returns to the issue of when the dough should be made. On the other hand, Olivia goes on with her recipe as well. This suggests that both speakers intensely pursue the floor and want to complete the recipe telling or elaborate on a specific process; these extended overlaps are a comparable sequential organisation to simultaneous recipe tellings. As Schegloff has shown, overlaps that are not quickly resolved can themselves allude to ‘other interests or issues’ (2000:24). Here, the longer contestation of an overlap (l.19-20) invokes the possibility that Tasoulla’s interest entails reserving that particular turn to perform a certain responsive action. Loulla’s insistence to prove Tasoulla’s suggested process wrong, and the prior agreement of other members challenges, at least momentarily, Tasoulla’s categorisation as an able cook. Tasoulla then needs that next-turn position, right after Loulla’s repletion that Tasoulla’s method is wrong (l.17-18), to refute the challenge to her categorisation as a good cook and her extended overlap with Olivia’s turn (l.19) invokes Tasoulla’s special interest in securing the next turn. In line 22, Tasoulla, by mentioning that in fact she makes her dough a bit hard, so that it does not become too soft if she lets it rest overnight, shows that her dough has the correct consistency, without negating the fact that it becomes softer if left to rest. Therefore, she makes relevant that she has the required knowledge and also gets the right results in practice, which are the main attributions of the category ‘good cook’.

On the whole, it has been shown that recipes overwhelmingly appear to be chained or simultaneous, are the product of joint telling and also, on occasions, elicitation, they make relevant implicit knowledge and are open to negotiation and contestation. All these organisational characteristics reveal the participants’ interest in increasing their repertoire and also exhibiting a wealth of knowledge about cooking techniques, practical skill and engagement in cooking, and consequently membership in the category ‘good cook’. These aspects of sequential organisation are not apparent when the participants discuss other topics, whether in the narrative or the non-narrative mode (cf. Georgakopoulou & Goutsos 1997). Therefore, this intense and explicit competition

for the floor, with a series of overlaps, cannot be attributed to a general conversational style of this group, or of the 'culture' it belongs to (cf. Tannen 1986 about high-involvement style of Greek conversations), but is more linked to the topic of the conversation.

This heightened interest and energy that is associated with recipe tellings corresponds with findings about older women conversational practices in talk about food. A project, using focus groups to collect data, looked at older women's attitudes towards preparation of Christmas foods in New Zealand (Wright-St Clair, Hocking, Bunrayong, Vittayakorn & Rattakorn 2005:343). In that study it was found that whenever the topic shifted to sharing and comparing recipes, the participants' conversations became more vibrant. Similar findings, about increased interest and participation in recipe talk also emerged from the analysis of focus group discussions, of older Canadian women from a rural background, on food-related practices for Christmas (O'Sullivan et al. 2008:79). The present analysis shows that recipes are a topic that generates heightened interest and involvement, not only in elicited data and first encounters (as with the two aforementioned studies), but also in naturally occurring, everyday conversations. Furthermore, it emerges from the data that increased interest about food and recipes is not limited to festive foods. The last sub-section on recipes will focus on the negotiation of the sources of the recipes.

5.3.5 Alluding to the sources of the recipes

In O'Sullivan et al. study (see previous paragraph) it was found that recipes were always associated with their source, i.e. who the speaker got the recipe from (O'Sullivan et al. 2008:79). This also occurs in the data at hand, but to a lesser extent. In 16 out of the 39 independent recipes the source is mentioned and only in five out of the 55 embedded recipes in self-reports. The disparity in the distribution of source-telling could be associated more with the type of food discussed rather than the level of embeddedness of a recipe. More specifically, independent recipes, unlike embedded ones, in all but one cases refer to baked goods and confectionery. These types of recipes appear to attract more attention and in fact, the longest and most negotiated sequences of recipe tellings refer to baked goods and sweets. Mentioning the sources, then, could be a resource in the negotiation of recipes and in claiming the floor. The heightened interest for recipes on baked goods, in particular, is attributed to the fact that these goods are more likely to be offered to guests and to be given to people outside the

house, and hence ‘bridge the gap between the private world of the home and the public domain and thus are socially symbolic of culinary competence’ (Wright-St Clair et al. 2005:344).

A large number of the sources mentioned in the self-recordings are TV cookery shows. This can be partly attributed to the recent surge of TV cooking programmes and celebrity chefs, internationally (Hollows 2003; Hansen 2008), but also in Cyprus, especially in morning television, as was evident from the fieldwork. TV-inspired recipes can refer to new foods or known/traditional recipes with a new twist. The TV chefs are not necessarily regarded as infallible experts. The following example is taken from a meeting at Gregoria’s house, and the hostess, Myria, Tasoulla, Charoulla and Loulla are present. Gregoria has been referring to the cooking segment of a morning chat show that regularly features a cook called Stella. The discussion so far has been about citrus sweets, and the participants have been comparing their recipes with the ones featured on television. In the following excerpt Tasoulla refers to the way that Stella folded the skin of bergamots and bitter oranges to make a traditional sugar fruit sweet on the show.

Excerpt 5-7 (participant: Gregoria, Myria, Tasoulla, Charoulla, Loulla)

56.03

1. T νναι. τζαι έκαμεν τζαι τον <παραδοσιακόν> τον τρόπον που τα ερέσσαμεν
 2. με το βελόνιν,
 3. M ↓μμ.
 4. T ε τωρά βάλλουν οδοντογλυφίδες εβρεθ[ήκαν νέα:]
 5. M [τζαι οδοντο]γλυφίδες, τζαι κλω[στήν,]
 6. T [νναι]
 7. νναι
 8. Γ =εγιώ με την κλωστήν τυλίω τα γιατί-
 9. T =όι με την οδοντογλυφίδαν
 10. Γ =ήταν νάκκον παῖά τζε εποτυλίουσαν.
-
1. T yes. and she did the <traditional> way that we used to pierce them through
 2. with a needle,
 3. M ↓hm.
 4. T well now they use toothpicks new: [((stuff))has been invented]
 5. M [toothpicks, as]well as thr[ead,]

6. T [yes]
7. yes
8. G =I wrap them with the thread because-
9. T =no with the toothpick
10. G =they were a bit thick and they unrolled.

(from conversation A3)

56.13

In lines 1-2 Tasoulla refers to the traditional way of keeping the fruit skin rolled, i.e. with a needle. It is interesting that Tasoulla uses the first person plural in ‘ερέσσαμεν’ (*we used to pierce them through*) and thus makes relevant her and her interlocutors’ joint incumbency to the category of ‘experienced cook’, familiar with older cooking techniques. Myria’s continuer in line 3 ratifies the joint membership and encourages Tasoulla to continue and to mention newer methods for rolling the citrus skin (toothpick). Myria, with an overlapping turn (1.5) repeats ‘toothpicks’ and also adds thread with which Tasoulla agrees (1.6). Myria’s overlap, could be seen as affiliative, in Makri-Tsilipakou’s terms (1994), as it has a recognitional onset, since she appears to recognise what Tasoulla is saying and can project its completion. Therefore both Myria and Tasoulla exhibit knowledge of newer techniques as well as traditional ones. Gregoria will then mention how she makes/has made her sweets (with the thread) to show not only awareness of the different techniques but also (recent) engagement in the practice of fruit sweet making (1.8). Tasoulla’s turn in line 9 also makes relevant her participation in making the sweets, since she mentions that she uses the toothpick technique when she makes the sweet. On the whole, the participants show awareness of and engagement in new and old practices, but mention their preference for techniques others than the ones suggested by the TV chef. Therefore, the joint claim to the category ‘culinary expert’ is made stronger as they are in a position to criticise and challenge the television personality. Also, they are constructed as not being attached to tradition by employing newer, more modern techniques in their food preparation.

On the whole, Tasoulla frequently refers to her boss at the bakery where she works as a source of culinary knowledge and Gregoria mentions that some of her recipes come from women from different embassies she has worked for in the past and other acquaintances from Greece. The participants, by adopting or commenting on the recipes of professionals, are able to show that they can match their expertise, and by mentioning recipes of foreign women, they can orient to an extended culinary repertoire

and to a more cosmopolitan aspect of self that instigates change of the local cooking practices. It could be thus argued that both types of sources (professional and foreign) contribute to the construction of the category of culinary expertise. The participants' allusion to non-traditional sources can also be linked with the finding of previous research that women, at least in traditional societies, are more likely than men, to try and appreciate new or 'exotic' foods. This has been documented in sociological and ethnographic research conducted in the eighties in the Middle East, and in particular about the emerging middle class of Mecca, Saudi Arabia (Yamani 1994), but also, to a lesser degree, about a rural community in Yemen (Maclagan 1994). In addition, in the fieldwork for this research, it was recorded that men (of all ages, especially middle and third agers), including the participants' family members, were resistant to new foods, whereas women were more open to experimentation both in their cooking and in their eating practices.

The preference for mentioning the source of more contemporary or non-local foods, rather than emphasising the traditionality or authenticity of local recipes passed down through generations can be associated with generalised attitudes towards the local cuisine. Petropoulos' home-ethnographic study about the role of bean stew as an unheralded Greek national dish, has documented that as early as in the first half of the previous century a disdain and marginalisation of the local cuisine in the Greek-speaking world prevailed (Πετρόπουλος 1990). The low status of local foods and recipes corresponds easily with the Greek Cypriot society, where the preservation and re-invention of the Cypriot cuisine is underrated and only began at about the same time as the recordings. It is then not surprising that the participants would not mention the 'humble' sources of their recipes. Another reason why members refrain from alluding to family recipes is because they were brought up in poverty and many dishes, especially meaty ones, baked goods and confectionery were considered a luxury that their mothers could not afford to cook. For example, none of the main participants experienced their mothers baking *flaounes*, the Easter cheese-pies, when they were young. Finally, it could be argued that the participants can reflect on a whole life of lived experience in food preparation and that the processes of making certain common foods, have been internalised as tacit knowledge that the participants only implicitly make relevant and thus would not be attributed to a specific source (see also Section 5.3.3 and 5.11).

5.4 *Assessments of food and the cook*

An important element of recipes and reports of past cooking activities are explicit assessments of the recipe and food cooked. In more than two-thirds of the recipes, embedded reports of past cooking activities of the speaker (23 out of 38) an explicit assessment of the food produced is included. Explicit assessments also occur to a lesser degree in independent recipes (in 12 out of the 39 recipes) and in reports of past cooking activity that do not incorporate a recipe (in 13 out of the 47 reports). Participants may provide mildly positive to enthusiastic assessments of their foods. This section looks at these assessments as well as evaluation of food and cooking skills, outside the recipe-telling context.

5.4.1 Reporting and eliciting positive assessments

It is documented in the literature that self-praise is generally, though not necessarily explicitly, oriented to at the local occasion of its occurrence, as noticeable and collectible and can later turn into an unfavourable character assessment, a gossip item etc. (Pomerantz 1978:88; see also Makri-Tsilipakou 2001). A number of devices have been found to be enforced by the speaker to mitigate self-praise: disclaimers, qualification and shifting credit to other-than-self (Pomerantz 1978:88). In the self-recordings, explicit self-praise of culinary expertise is also oriented to in interaction as a dispreferred act and this is indexed by a number of devices employed to redress dispreferredness, the most prominent being RS and elicitation of praise from the interlocutors.

Employing RS as a means of self-presentation is a conversational practice analysed in Chapter 3.5.1, with reference to reported old-age categorisations. Also, it has been documented in the literature that RS is a performance device that lends vivacity, immediacy and high involvement to the conversation (Tannen 1995). Furthermore, RS is a very powerful tool for embedding of evaluation and, especially for self-enhancement, as it provides the speaker with the opportunity to present themselves in the least dispreferred way, by deflecting responsibility for the self-praise, and also in a very positive light, by broadening the base of support for their assessments and points of view (Hill 1995; Tannen 1995; Georgakopoulou 1997:section 6.1.3; 2007:113;

Stokoe & Edwards 2007).⁸⁹ With regard to food assessments and RS in the data, the people quoted, and thus constructed as responsible for the speaker's praise (the 'principal', in Goffman's terms, see Chapter 2.5.2), are people that have tasted the food talked about (usually the children of the interlocutors). In the following example, Loulla reports to Gregoria the reception of her stuffed cabbage leaves by her children. The sequence occurs at the beginning of a half-hour meeting at Gregoria's house. The conversation so far has been revolving around recipes for salads. The full conversation can be found in the Appendix (Excerpt 7-1, p. 304), and the following excerpt is lines 101-103 of the extended excerpt in the Appendix.

Excerpt 5-8 (participants: Loulla, Gregoria)

3.13

1. Λ προχτές έκαμα τους χ-λαχανοτολμάδες.
2. Παναΐα μου επελλάνασιν! (.)
3. °μα τι ωραίοι!, μα τι ωραίοι μάμμα!° ((stylised)) δεν έμεινεν ένας. (1)

1. L they day before yesterday I made d-stuffed cabbage leaves for them.
2. mother of Jesus they went mad!(.)
3. °they are so nice!, they are so nice mum!° ((stylised)) there was nothing left. (1)

(from conversation A1)

3.20

Here Loulla reports the food she cooked for her daughter and new son-in-law, who were visiting her from South Africa. The assessment of the food is done in three ways: first she describes how her children liked them with an animated 'Παναΐα μου επελλάνασιν!' (*my god they went mad!*), then she constructs their comments in a stylised, slightly lower volume (as if she were confessing something) and then reports that they ate them all ('δεν έμεινεν ένας./there was nothing left.). Both the exaggerated intonation and the RS in line 3 function as strategies for the teller's positive self-presentation, as they put words and views in somebody else's mouth. Reporting assessments without quotation verbs, and often without even explicitly mentioning whose comments they are reconstructing, is very common. The interlocutors can assume whose comments the speaker is recounting by the reported term of address routinely accompanying such comments (e.g. 'μάμμα'/mum, 'γιαγιά'/grandma, 'κυρία Μύρια'/Mrs Myria).

⁸⁹ RS has been mainly analysed in the context of storytelling, which in itself is a major resource for self-presentation.

Another device for constructing positive self-assessment is to elicit it from the interlocutors; this is often the case with the evaluation of treats served at the coffee meetings. The following excerpt occurred at Charoulla's house shortly after she offered her interlocutors some bread she baked the day before. Gregoria, Myria, Loulla and Tasoulla are also present. At this point Tasoulla and Loulla are engaged in a parallel conversation about *smili* (not transcribed).

Excerpt 5-9 (participants: Charoulla, Myria, Gregoria, Tasoulla, Loulla)

2.51

1. X ενν εν καλόν κόρη?
2. M <πολλά> ωραίο. ((talks with the mouth full))
3. Γ πολλά ωραίο όι. τζαι καπηρούα;

1. C isn't it good *kori*?
2. M <very> nice. ((talks with the mouth full))
3. G yes very nice. and as a toast;

(from conversation A4)

2.55

In the first line Charoulla asks whether the bread is good. The address term *kori* is employed here as a discourse marker indicating a topic shift, from talk about *smili* to talk about the bread. As mentioned above (Section 5.3.3), negative interrogatives, boundary between questions and assertions of a view, and they are designed to strongly favour an agreement (Heritage 2002). The preferred next turn to Charoulla's interrogative and implied assessment ('καλό'/good) is to co-participate in the praise (see also Pomerantz 1984). It is then not surprising that both Myria and Gregoria agree with Charoulla's assessment and in fact upgrade it with stronger evaluative terms ('πολλά ωραίο'/very nice). Initiators of next-turn positive assessment do not always entail negative interrogatives and a proposed evaluation by the cook, as is the case here, where Charoulla suggests the assessment 'καλό', in line 1. In other cases (see e.g. l.132, Excerpt 7-28, p. 391 in the Appendix), the speaker eliciting the evaluation might just ask if her interlocutors have tried one of the treats offered at the meeting. Questions that have the form of 'have you tried my X?' perform two social actions: on the one hand they urge the guests to eat, an activity which in the Cypriot cultural context, is especially associated with the category 'good hostess'. On the other, provided the guests have already sampled the food talked about, such questions are oriented to as

making programmatically relevant a positive assessment. If the questions refers to a baked good, which has been offered in a previous occasion and is not served in the actual meeting, then such turns function exclusively as an assessment initiators (for an example see Excerpt 7-1, line 390, p. 304 in the Appendix).

Assessments prompted by next-turn assessment initiators are always followed in the data by a positive assessment constructed in a preferred turn shape. This shows that the two turns constitute an adjacency pair. Because of the expectedness of a positive assessment as a second pair part, I would argue that elicitation is both a strategy for expanding one's support base of positive comments, and a device to redress the dispreferredness of self-praise.

Finally another way of engendering positive assessments is evaluating one's own treats. As it was found in previous research, assessments are systematically followed by second assessments of the same referent, and praise, in particular, invites to join in the praise activity (Pomerantz 1984:61-62). In the self-recordings positive evaluations of the speaker's food, usually prompt upgrades of the praise by the interlocutor (e.g. 'καλή'/good→'πολλά ωραία'/very nice)⁹⁰ or same evaluations, that is, repetition of the same or similar evaluative term (provided the coparticipants have tasted the food talked about). However, on certain occasions, praise is followed by downgrades, that is, scaled down or weakened evaluations, a dispreferred response to self-praise (cf. Pomerantz 1984). The following is a characteristic example.

Excerpt 5-10 (participants: Loulla, Gregoria, Myria, Charoulla)

53.04

1. Λ εν πολλά πολλά ωραιές!
2. Γ ε τωρά πόν νάκκον βραστούες εν καλές.

1. L they are very very nice!
2. G well now that they are a bit warm they are good.

(from conversation A15)

53.07

⁹⁰ This was recorded in conversation A4, where all five main participants were present and the assessment pair was as follows:

X όι εν καλή. καλή η χαλλουμιότη μου.
M πολλά ωραία. εν ωραία εν ωραία.

C well it is good. my halloumi-pie is good.
M very nice. it is nice it is nice.

Here Loulla praises the olive-rolls she baked with Myria; however, Gregoria downgrades the assessment from *very, very nice* to *good*. She even adds a qualifier to her assessment by prefacing the assessment segment with *well now that they are a bit warm*. In the data four such downgrades are found, made by Gregoria and Myria.

What is noteworthy is that all downgrades are a SPP to Loulla's praise of her own culinary products. In general, Loulla is the participant with the most dithyrambic and the most frequent assessments of her *foods*. Also, Loulla is the only participant to explicitly evaluate *herself* positively as a cook in the data (see Excerpt 7-29, p. 400, in the Appendix, for an example of Loulla's self-praise). In contrast, all participants, except Loulla, confine culinary self-praise to assessments of their foods. In fact they would even contest direct ascriptions of categorial references such as 'expert cook/baker' (see Excerpt 7-30, p. 401 in the Appendix). During the last period of the fieldwork, one of the main participants was observed talking with her sister, a peripheral member of the group, not included in the recordings. The peripheral member mentioned, in a rather condescending tone, that Loulla always *praises* ('χουμίζει') her foods and says they are the best. This is an indication that Loulla's systematic praise of her foods and culinary abilities does not go unnoticed, even by women who are not in her immediate circle. Also, this suggests that in this local community self-praise as a good cook is a dispreferred activity. Of course, a similar statement, as the one made by the peripheral member, or any other type of negative assessment would be unfathomable in Loulla's presence (cf. Section 5.4.2, below). However, the other main participants, and in particular the two members that are closer to her (Gregoria and Myria), appear to orient to Loulla's repeated activity of self-praise, by downgrading some of the positive assessments she makes about her own culinary abilities. In fact such downgraded agreements, when an agreement is the preferred next turn (as is the case with self-praise), can be oriented to as 'yet unstated' disagreements (Pomerantz 1984:76). Therefore, in this case the use of downgraded agreement is a way of implicitly indexing disagreement and disapproval of Loulla's excessive self-praise.

On the whole, RS and next turn assessment initiators (with questions and first assessments) are devices that enable the participants to enhance their claim of membership in culinary expertise, without resorting to dispreferred activities such as explicit praise as a good cook or excessive praise of one's foods and recipes. Also the two different devices are applicable in different contexts: RS can only be used in

reports of past, or habitual cooking activity, whereas next turn assessment initiators can only be employed in assessments of foods the interlocutors have had or are sampling.

5.4.2 Doing negative assessments

Unlike positive assessments, negative assessments are often designed as dispreferred next turns. The dispreferredness is evident in the shape of the turn, with various discourse features, such as nonexplicitly stated actions and delays, including silences, repair initiators, markers displaying hesitation and prefacing the disagreement with agreement components (Levinson 1983: Chapter 6.3; Pomerantz 1984; Moerman 1990: Chapter 2). Negatively assessing other members' culinary production is constructed in the self-recording as especially dispreferred, and therefore reserved only for when the cook is not present. This is apparent in the following example. It takes place in Myria's house and at this point Myria and Loulla are at a different room and Gregoria and Charoulla are talking together. They are talking about fruit sweets and marmalades. Here Gregoria elicits Charoulla's evaluation on Loulla's mixed citrus fruit marmalade.

Excerpt 5-11 (participants: Gregoria, Charoulla, Myria, Loulla)

51.32

1. Γ έκαμεν η Λούλλα που τα έκαμεν έτσι μιξ έδωκεν σου?
 2. Χ νναι έδωκεν μου τζ εμέναν.
 3. Γ εν καλή <άρεσεν σου>?
 4. Χ εν καλή αλλά °εν-ι-μπόρω να την φάω, εν πολλά αψη έτσι: °
 5. Γ νναι
 6. Χ [εν τζαμαί]
 7. Γ [°↑έ:πηξέν]την πολλά εν-ι-ξέρω.°
 8. Χ εν τζαμαί [τζ εμένα.]
 9. Γ [°εβαρυκατά]στησεν την νάκκον.°
 10. ε έπκιασα μια φοράν έβαλα πας το ψωμί. είπουν της μιας κόρης
 11. 'όι όι όι εν θέλω έσσει έτσι διάφορα με:: εν μ'αρέσκει.' ((very animated))
 12. έμεινεν τζ ετζείνη τζει πάνω. (0.6)
- ((Loulla approached the room in which Gregoria and Charoulla sit))
13. Γ εν καλή εο- είπαν της τζ έβαλεν διάφορα μέσα η: Λούλλα
 14. Λ =είντα'μ που είπεν? (0.7) είσεν διαφοράν? ((Loulla refers to the blood pressure monitor))

1. G Loulla made did she give you any when she made them mixed?

2. C yes she gave me some as well.
 3. G is it good <did you like it>?
 4. C it is good but °I can't eat it, it is very bitter like that:°
 5. G yes
 6. C [it is there]
 7. G [°↑she: over]thickened it I don't know. °
 8. C mine as well [is there.]
 9. G [°she over]cooked it a little. °
 10. well I took once and I put on my bread. I told one daughter
 11. 'no no no I don't want it has like different stuff wi::th I don't like it.' ((very animated))
 12. that is also left in there. (0.6)
- ((Loulla approached the room in which Gregoria and Charoulla sit))
13. G it is good ehm o- they told her and she put in different things i:n Loulla
 14. L =what did it say? (0.7) was there a difference? ((Loulla refers to the blood pressure monitor))

(from conversation A15)

51.50

Gregoria's question, in line 1, can also be taken as a pre-request for assessment. Charoulla confines herself in answering the explicit question (whether Loulla gave her marmalade), without adding an evaluation of the referent. With her question in line 3 Gregoria makes programmatically relevant an assessment of the marmalade by Charoulla. Charoulla responds with a delayed negative assessment (she prefaces the negative comment with a positive component: 'εν καλή'/it is good). The delay device used here is constitutive of turns associated with dispreferred actions (Pomerantz 1984:69). Gregoria, having established her interlocutor's negative assessment, agrees with it. What is interesting in this sequence is that, as soon as she hears Loulla approaching the room, Gregoria changes her tone, and switches the evaluation into a positive one (l.13). Therefore, negative assessments of goods prepared by members of the group are oriented to as dispreferred actions, when the cook is absent, and are avoided when the cook is present. The same pattern is found in other episodes as well (for another example of negative assessment of a non-present member's food see Excerpt 7-31, p. 402, in the Appendix).

To sum up, negative assessments of foods when the cook is present are avoided. Yet, negative assessments of foods can occur when the cook is not present, but are

constructed as dispreferred turns, and devices, such as elicitation of the negative assessment with a question, delays, prefaces with positive assessments, RS (e.g. 1.11, in the above example) are employed. Another activity that seems to be dispreferred is serving bought bakery and confectionery goods, which is discussed below.

5.4.3 Hesitation in talk about ready-made treats

The hostess of a pre-arranged coffee meeting is expected to offer a variety of sweet and savoury treats. In fact, on many occasions the hostess of the next meeting discusses with her interlocutors what she will prepare. In addition to homemade treats, readymade bakery and confectionery goods from local patisseries may be offered. However, the hostess is not always keen to comment on the fact that some of the treats served are bought. The following excerpt is such an example. It takes place in Gregoria's house, half an hour through a two-hour recording attended by Myria, Loulla, Charoulla, Tasoulla and the hostess. So far the participants have been discussing the vegetable-pie served, made by Gregoria's daughter. At this point Tasoulla asks Gregoria if she has made herself the other pies on offer.

Excerpt 5-12 (participants: Tasoulla, Gregoria, Myria, Loulla, Charoulla)

30.08

1. T εσού τες έκαμες τες πίττες? (1)
2. Γ ↓οί εκάμαν τες.
3. Μ εν έδει: [μόνον] η ελιόπιττα εν καμούμενη
4. Γ [χα χα]
5. Τ [εν έτοιμη?]
6. εν έτοιμες?
7. Μ °ε νναι°
8. Γ °έτοιμες.° επήεν η κόρη μου έφερεν τα τζ ήρτεν. εγώ έκαμα την- φάε νάκκον
9. ελιόπιτταν.

1. T have you made the pies? (1)
2. G ↓no they were made.
3. M there is no: [only] the olive pie is ((hand))made
4. G [ha ha]
5. T [is it ready made?]
6. are they ready-made?
7. M °well yes°

8. G °ready-made.° my daughter went to bring them and came. I made the- eat some
 9. olive-pie.

(from conversation A3)

30.23

After Tasoulla's question there is a marked silence of one second. According to the preference organisation after a question an expected answer should follow (Hutchby & Wooffitt 1998:336). Therefore, since the next speaker has been selected by Tasoulla, the silence, on line 1, is attributable to Gregoria. The hesitation indicated with Gregoria's pause shows that her answer (*no they were made*/‘όι εκάμαν τες.’) is either unexpected or for other reasons dispreferred. Myria will reiterate Gregoria's response, adding that the olive pie is *homemade* (‘καμούμενη’), and thus making relevant that she is already aware of the fact that most of the treats are purchased. Gregoria's overlapping laughter perhaps is an attempt to cover this uncomfortable moment, rather than in response to something humorous, and that is why no one else joins in the laughter. To Tasoulla's repeated question (1.5,6) both Myria and Gregoria will respond in a low volume (1.7 and 8), a further indication that the answer is dispreferred. In fact, Gregoria, to compensate, adds that she made the olive-pie and urges Tasoulla to try it (‘εγώ έκαμα την- φάε νάκκον ελιόπιτταν.’/I made the- eat some olive-pie.) The emphatic use of the optional subject pronoun (‘εγώ’/I) ⁹¹ is in stark contrast with the ‘εκάμαν τες’ (literally: (they) made them) in line 2, where the subject of the sentence is not mentioned. This, along with the pause (1.1) and the low volume (1.7-8), are evidence that the hostess (but also Myria) shape their turns in such a way that constructs admitting that some pies are ready-made, although most of the interlocutors are already aware of it, as a highly dispreferred activity.

On the whole, in the self-recordings, conversation about readymade treats is more limited compared to homemade goods, and references to bought goods do not entail as frequent or as lengthy recipes. Also evaluation of purchased treats is more concise, and negative elements can appear unmitigated (since the cook is not present; cf. Section 5.4.2). Moreover, the hostess does not encourage the guests to try the readymade treats as strongly as she does with the homemade ones, presumably because she cannot enhance her claim of culinary expertise through shop-bought goods. Furthermore, the hostess would not indicate if something is shop-bought, unless asked by her

⁹¹ In Greek subject pronouns (I, you, he etc.) are optional, since the person is denoted by the ending of the verb, and are only used to emphasise or to show contrast (see e.g. Κατσιμαλή, Παπαδοπούλου, Θωμαδάκη, Βασιλάκη & Αντωνίου [2008]:60).

interlocutors, as in the example above. Also, when asked, the hostess would recurrently construct her answer with a dispreferred turn shape (typically employing delay devices) and would refer also to the home-made treats. Finally, a hostess would not get asked frequently if a treat is shop-bought, not least because most participants are aware of each-other's repertoire and also can easily recognise shop-bought treats.

In general, when it comes to daily food, the participants prepare it from scratch, and resorting to ready-made meals would not be an option. However, in the coffee meetings, it is not uncommon to offer shop-bought pastries, in addition to ones made by the hostess and other female family members. Nevertheless, as is evident from participant observation, people that provide a large variety of home-made treats are praised for their culinary and homemaker skills, whereas providing no home-made offerings during big coffee gatherings (e.g. on the occasion of a relative's Memorial Day) is frowned upon. Hence, serving a few ready-made treats, then, at gatherings is not reprehensible but it does not enhance one's claim for membership in the category culinary expert and good homemaker. A study carried out in the late 1990s in Sweden, using data from qualitative interviews, has found that retired women want to do everything from scratch, when it came to food preparation, and serving a readymade dish makes them appear as careless or lazy (Sidenvall et al. 2000:418). This could also be applied to the present research. In fact, fieldwork observations have shown that excessive use of ready-made treats and lack of offerings prepared by the hostess in pre-arranged meetings, can also be associated with being lazy, careless and also an incompetent cook (unless the hostess is recovering from a serious health issue, e.g. surgery). Both categorisations are incongruous with membership to the category 'good homemaker'. This would justify the dispreferredness in admitting buying-in some treats and the scarcity of guest's questions regarding whether something is ready-made.

5.5 Discussing other homemaking activities

Reporting on house chores and handiwork is another frequent topic in the conversations. Talk about cleaning the house, dusting, sweeping the floor, washing clothes, knitting and sewing can take the form of reports of past, future, habitual activities or comments on activities while they unfold (usually knitting). It is worth noting that all five main participants are self-sufficient when it comes to cleaning, washing up, grocery shopping and running their homes and they would only occasionally (between once a week and once every couple of months) resort to the

assistance of domestic helpers. All sew by hand, and knit (with two large needles) but only Charoulla, Myria and Loulla can use a sewing machine and report recent engagement in yarn knitting. Also, Gregoria and Charoulla used to knit with *smili*, but no longer do so and Myria was never into it. Loulla and Tasoulla are the only members still participating in *smili* knitting. All participants report these homemaking activities with comparable frequency.⁹² References to past and future cleaning, sewing and knitting activities although not in short supply are not as often-encountered as talk about cooking; the proportion of cooking reports vis-a-vis other homemaking reports is close to three to two. The length of such reports varies from a parenthetical statement to an elaborate discussion on a knitting pattern or washing practices.

Although there is no set time for the completion of different homemaking activities, certain conventions tend to be followed. The participants usually do the daily cleaning of their house in the morning and the thorough cleaning, in phases, towards the end of the week (Thursday, Friday and Saturday mornings), so that the house is clean for Sunday. Watering the garden occurs in the evening, and is constrained by running water restrictions⁹³ and knitting takes place usually in the afternoon, once daily cleaning and cooking obligations are fulfilled and while the members watch television or meet for coffee. Therefore, just like cooking activities, other domestic duties, such as watering the garden, cleaning or washing clothes shape the participants' schedule and can be associated with leaving a coffee meeting (cf. Section 5.2).

Similar to tellings of cooking activities, reports on these additional homemaking activities can come in clusters. In fact 73% of such reports appear chained. This is comparable to reports about recent and future cooking activities of the speaker (70%). However, comments on homemaking activities, as they are done, tend not to appear in clusters as much, not least because the contextual activity provides a sufficient pre-context.

The following excerpt is an example of talk on the occasion of participating in a home-making activity. It takes place towards the beginning of a one-hour meeting at Loulla's house, which Myria, Gregoria and Charoulla attended. Loulla has decided to knit a

⁹² The mean number of occurrence of these reports per hour is: Tasoulla: 1.4, Myria: 1.3 Loulla: 1.3, Gregoria: 1.2 and Charoulla: 0.9 (normalised numbers).

⁹³ Because of water shortage in Cyprus, running water was available only for certain days and hours of the week during the second and third phase of the recordings.

scarf for her granddaughter and at this meeting Myria is starting off the knitting. In the prior sequence of the conversation the participants have been debating how wide the scarf should be and have been discussing the yarn used. At this point the discussion turns to the size of the needles. The needles that are currently been used are size 5, but Loulla wonders whether she should use size 10, instead.

Excerpt 5-13 (participants: Myria, Gregoria, Loulla, Charoulla)

8.57

1. M όι πκιο μεγάλες- πκιο χοντρές σμίλες νομίζω εν-ι- εν-ι- χρει[άζονται]
2. Γ [α τζαι]
3. εχό- εχόντρυνεν της το
4. Λ =πιλέ μου δέκα αν είναι να το κάμω. (.) όι? (0.5)
5. M ↑ε εν-ι-ξέρω. δοκίμασε, (0.7)
6. Λ 'ν'α[μ που λαλείς Χαρούλλα?]
7. M [αλλά νομίζω ότι ε::ν] καλόν
8. Γ εμέναν α- [νομίζω άρεσεν μου εν καλόν. [πολλά ωραία η καρφιτσούλλα πάει σου]
9. Χ [τώρα αν φκάλω την σμίλαν μου [επειδή κάμνω το νάκκον πκιο χοντρόν]
10. Λ εν ωραία εν ωραία. ((about the brooch))

1. M no bigger- thicker needles are not- not- need[ed I think]
2. G [oh and]
3. she ma- made it thicker
4. L =maybe I should do it with ten. (.) no? (0.5)
5. M ↑em I don't know. try, (0.7)
6. L what [do you think Charoulla?]
7. M [but I think it i::s] ok
8. G I li- [I think I like it its good. [very nice brooch it suits you]
9. C [now if I take the needle out [because I make it a bit thicker]
10. L it's nice it's nice. ((about the brooch))

(from conversation A2)

9.12

In line 1, Myria re-introduces the issue of the size of the needles (also discussed six minutes before; see Excerpt 7-32, p. 403 in the Appendix), and reiterates her opinion that the ones she is currently using to start the scarf are wide enough. Gregoria, in an overlapping turn (1.2), also adds her own assessment, that the way Myria is now knitting has made the knitting thicker (and hence a bigger size of needles is not required). Loulla, in line 4, joins in the debate and invites further opinions. Myria, who

in the past eight minutes expressed the view that the size of the needles is fine three times, now gives a more ambiguous answer with a pause at the end of line 5. The pause, is a silence attributed to Loulla, since Myria has directed her turn at her ('δοκίμασε'/(*you try*), who assumes the floor, in line 6, but instead of reaching a decision as to the size of needles, she invites Charoulla, the only interlocutor yet to express a clear position on the issue, to provide her opinion. At the same time, Myria (1.7) reiterates her previously expressed assessment on the size of the needles (that it is good). Also, before Charoulla, the member who has been selected as the next speaker and has stronger floor holding rights assumes the floor, Gregoria also reiterates her opinion (1.8). The topic switch initiated by Gregoria in line 8 (about Loulla's brooch), is taken up by Loulla in line 10. Nevertheless, agreement about the size of the needles has not been reached.

Some characteristics of this interactional sequence appear recurrently in comments of ongoing activities. Firstly, participants switch in and out of the topic without the requirement of any interactional work to establish a smoother transition. Second, elaborate discussions of very specific issues can arise. Third, conclusions, in these discussions, are not always reached; rather the topic tends to come up more than a couple of times during a meeting. Fourth, all participants, whether asked to or not, express their assessment. In fact, direct elicitation of opinions, as in line 6, is rather infrequent and interlocutors tend to repeatedly utter their evaluations without prior invitation. The categorial implications of such commentary are co-constructed. Making (repeated, unsolicited) comments on specialised issues, such as the size of the needles, projects a claim of membership in the category of knowledgeable and experienced knitter, just like specialised comments on recipes project self-categorisation as culinary expert. Furthermore, category claims to knitting expertise are also encouraged by the primary knitter. This is indicated by the fact that such assessments are invited (e.g. 1.4 and 6 in the above excerpt), and hence valued by the person who undertakes the project. Also the fact that Loulla entrusts someone else (Myria) to start the knitting project shows orientation to her interlocutor's membership in the category 'expert knitter'.

This jointly constructed, involved commentary on ongoing activities is also encountered when the participants are baking something during a meeting (see e.g. Excerpt 7-29, p. 400, in the Appendix). However, when it comes to instances of talk about knitting with a crochet-needle, a *smili*, turns with commentary on the activity are

not as equally distributed between the different participants. This is explored in the following section.

5.6 *Participant organisation in talk about smili*

Tasoulla and Loulla are the two main participants of the group who still do *smili*, a very intricate type of needlework that requires sharp eyesight, concentration and nimble fingers (see images, p. 423, in the Appendix). In all but one meetings, where both Loulla and Tasoulla are present, the topic of *smili* comes up, also triggered by Loulla's habit of knitting during the meetings. What differentiates the participation framework of talk about *smili* from talk about other homemaking activities, is the fact that typically when the topic arises the group splits into two conversations, with Loulla and Tasoulla talking about *smili* and the rest of the participants talking in parallel about a different topic.

The following is an example of that. It occurs at the beginning of a meeting at Charoulla's house, where all five main participants are present. Charoulla at this point is offering to her guests some of the bread she baked the day before. Myria, Gregoria and Charoulla will then go on to comment on the bread, however, Loulla introduces commentary on the needlework she is doing while they are talking.

Excerpt 5-14 (participants: Loulla, Tasoulla, Charoulla, Gregoria, Myria)

1.06

1. M ε κόψε τζαι- ο ντάξει 'ντάξει °φτάνει°.
2. Λ που λες,
3. T =ώστε (.) τούτη-
4. Λ εν η ίδια τούτη, (0.5) εχτός το που πάνω, (.)
5. ήβρε μου- [ήβρα το μπελαλίτικο] τζ εν το έκαμα τζ έκαμα το έτσι
6. M [έλα κόρη ()] ((addressing Charoulla))
7. X κόρη [εν γλ]υτζίιν τούτον.
8. T [νναι]

1. M well cut and- oh ok ok °its enough°.
2. L as you say,
3. T =so (.) this-
4. L this one is the same, (0.5) apart from the top part, (.)
5. I found me-I fo[und it bothersome] and I didn't do it I did it like this

6. M [come *kori* ()] ((addressing Charoulla))
7. C =*kori* [this] is sweet.
8. T [yes]
- (from conversation A4)

1.16

In line 2 Loulla orients to the topic switch, with a preface ‘που λες,’ (lit. *as you say*), followed by a continuing intonational contour, indicating that she has not completed her turn construction unit. It is interesting that she uses the second singular person in line 2, instead of the second plural (‘που λαλείτε’), indexing that she is addressing one participant, in particular. Tasoulla picks up that she is Loulla’s intended participant and also orients to the topic switch with a conversation starter, in line 3. In lines 4 and first half of line 5 Loulla talks with no overlap from other participants, so it is evident that everyone can hear her. Yet only Tasoulla attends to what Loulla is saying (e.g. l.8), whereas the other participants disattend to the *smili*-related talk and continue talking about the bread (for a more extended transcript see Excerpt 7-33, p. 405, in the Appendix; the above excerpt can be found at l.4-11). This is not the case of either of the conversations being the byplay of the other, that is, ‘a form of subordinate communication of a subset of ratified participants who make little effort to conceal the ways in which they are dealing with the speaker’s talk’ (M.H. Goodwin 1997:78; see also Goffman 1981:134). In fact, Charoulla, Gregoria and Myria here do not lower their voices, or in any other way orient to their talk as subsidiary to the main business at hand. Therefore, this is a case of parallel or multiple conversations, where the diverging interests and category memberships of the participants lead to a formation of two conversations with similar status (see Chapter 2.5.2, about multiple conversations). Later on in the conversation (as is shown in Excerpt 7-35, p. 410 in the Appendix), Loulla and Tasoulla will discontinue their conversation and will join in the discussion of the other members about bread and coffee. What is apparent then is that very shortly after the topic switches to *smili*, the participant organisation also switches to multiple conversations. Furthermore, although Loulla does not address explicitly anyone in her question, the following turns indicate that Tasoulla considers herself the addressed recipient, whereas the other members orient to their role as non-addressed recipients (Goffman 1981:133) and engage in a parallel conversation and hence do not need to attend to or even acknowledge her question.

However, on occasions, Gregoria, Myria and Charoulla also join in the conversation about *smili*. The following excerpt took place at Gregoria's house and all five main participants were present. For the past few minutes there have been multiple conversations: Loulla and Tasoulla were engaged in a very elaborate discussion about needlework patterns and the other participants have been discussing a variety of topics: furniture, washing up, hair die. However, the second sub-group's conversation faded out and, for the past nine turns, and only Loulla and Tasoulla were holding the floor. Therefore, because of Charoulla's, Myria's, and Gregoria's apparent lack of involvement, they could be classified as non-engrossed recipients with low participation status in this conversation (C. Goodwin 1986:293). Yet in the following example, their level of engagement and engrossment in *smili*-related talk shifts.

Excerpt 5-15 (participants: Loulla, Tasoulla, Charoulla, Myria, Gregoria) 1.12.29

1. Λ τούτον. ((taps on the table)) τούτον. να το κάμω πα στην πιπίλλαν. (.)
2. Τ είνταλος [εν να το κάμεις?]
3. Λ [εν να'ρτω να τα ενώσω-]
4. Τ °τούτον° [εν να κάμεις σκαλούιν δαμαί.] ((gradual increase in volume))
5. Χ [είνταλος εν ταιρκάζει.]
6. εν ταιρκάζει.
7. Τ η ΤΕΛΕΥΤΑΙΑ ΣΕΙΡΑ: η τελευταίο: λου- το τελευταίο θα το κάμνεις τούτο; (.)
8. τζαι δαμαί θα συνεχίζεις την πιπίλλα

1. L this one. ((taps on the table)) this one. I will do it on the lace. (.)
2. Τ how [are you going to do it?]
3. L [I will come to connect-]
4. Τ °this° [you will do a stitch here.] ((gradual increase in volume))
5. C [how it doesn't match.]
6. it does not match.
7. Τ the LAST ROW: the la:st str((ip))- the last thing you will do is this; (.)
8. and here you will continue the lace

(from conversation A3)

1.12.42

At this point Tasoulla and Loulla are discussing how they will knit the *lace* ('πιπίλλα') and Loulla tries to explain to Tasoulla how she plans to combine it with the rest of the tablecloth she is making. In line 5 Charoulla enters the conversation and questions whether Loulla's way of joining the lace and the main part of the tablecloth is correct.

She claims the floor by repeating ‘εν ταρκάζει’/*it doesn’t match*, the second time with increased loudness (1.5-6) and her positions shifts from non-engrossed recipient to a speaker forcefully stating her opinion on the knitting issue Tasoulla and Loulla are facing. However, once Charoulla, enters into the *smili*-related conversation Tasoulla’s overlapping turn (1.4) increases in volume, a device employed by Tasoulla to resolve the overlap and regain the floor. In addition, Tasoulla’s following turn (1.7) is full of perturbations; there are elongations of final syllables and also two self-initiated attempts to repair ‘η τελευταία σειρά:’ (*the last row:*) and she produces an incomplete phrase, with disfluencies. This deflection in the production of talk from its projected trajectory could reveal a change in the participation framework since a non-addressed and, expectedly, non-engrossed recipient joins in the discussion (Goffman 1981:131; see also Chapter 2.5.2). Also, it is interesting that Tasoulla uses the second singular person (‘θα το κάμνεις τούτο’/*you will do this*, ‘θα συνεχίζεις’/*you will continue*) to index that she is specifically addressing Loulla. Therefore it could be inferred that there is some resistance in opening *smili*-related conversation to the other participants. In what follows, gradually all three ‘outsiders’, Gregoria, Charoulla and Myria, will enter the conversation, exhibiting specialised knowledge about patterns and techniques with *smili*.

Unlike conversation about all other homemaking-related activities, talk about *smili* (and membership in the category *smili* expert) seems to entail privileged participation for Tasoulla and Loulla, alone. The other members most frequently ratify this participant organisation, by becoming non-engrossed recipients or, more frequently, by engaging in a parallel conversation. Only when a parallel conversation does not develop or fades out, while Loulla and Tasoulla talk about *smili*, would the other participants join in. Also, Loulla and Tasoulla orient explicitly or implicitly to talk about *smili*, as addressed exclusively to each other, and when other members attempt to participate, the non-expectedness of the shift of the participation framework in talk about *smili* is indexed (as 1.7 in the above example indicates). This pattern of participation reinforces firstly Loulla’s and Tasoulla’s membership in the *smili*-expert category and secondly the exclusion of the rest of the participants from this category. Therefore, the framework of participation and turn allocation in talk about this specific topic acts as an index of varied levels of membership in categories of expertise. On the other hand, as has been shown in the above example, Myria, Gregoria and Charoulla do not always ratify their exclusion from the category *smili*-expert. It is then evident that claims of expertise are

both jointly constructed and also are constantly negotiated anew in the actual occurrences of concrete circumstances.

Overall, more often than not, membership in the category of '*smili* expert' is reserved only for Loulla and Tasoulla and the other participants, in most cases, ratify this exclusion. This is reinforced by the fact that only Tasoulla and Loulla knit with *smili* during the meeting and with explicit comments on their membership status to the category '*smili* expert'. For instance, at some point Charoulla mentions if she tried to knit with *smili*, would not know how to do it (see Excerpt 4-6, p. 185, in Chapter 4, above). *Smili* knitting is one type of homemaking activity that has discontinued for some members of the group. The following section looks more closely at disengagement from and limited engagement in different types of homemaking activities.

5.7 *Disengagement from domestic activities*

Discussions revolving around homemaking activities not only include what the participants have done, regularly do or will do in the near future, but also include reference to homemaking activities, in which the participants no longer engage. Loss of former activities, such as baking sweets, knitting with *smili*, rigorously cleaning the house or doing house chores outdoors, comes up twenty two times in the self-recorded conversations. The discourse of termination of homemaking activities in later life, due to age-related decline, is dominant in the Cypriot media surveyed. For example, in the dramatic monologue of the radio show 'Χωρίς Ηλικία'/*Without Age*, the older heroine is heard mentioning that she can no longer iron and therefore her daughter does her ironing and most of her washing up.

In the self-recordings, most references to loss of former activities cannot be categorised with certainty as painful in their occurrence, and, therefore, do not always fall under the genre of PTs discussed in Chapter 4. For example, although acute leg pains that prevent the speaker from sleeping all night can be a plausibly painful situation, the fact that a member no longer makes fruit preserves (because no-one eats them anymore) cannot be unquestionably categorised as painful. In addition, homemaking-related references seem to have different structural characteristics than PTs, about health and mobility issues. The following example indicates some of these characteristics. It occurs at a meeting at Loulla's house, and Charoulla, Gregoria, Myria and the hostess are present.

It starts by Charoulla reporting the house chores she completed that day (a bit of cleaning, tidying up and shopping).

Excerpt 5-16 (participants: Charoulla, Gregoria, Myria, Loulla)

10.53

1. X σήμερα έκαμα μόνον >σιγά σιγά< γιατί <ετζοιμήθηκα> τζ' ήμουν καλά έκαμα την
2. σκάλαν μόνον. (0.4) τζ' επήα τζ' εψούμνισα. τζ' εσκούπισα μες το σπίτι τζ' εμάζεψα
3. έτσι τζείνον τούτον τζειαμαί στην κουζίνα.
4. Γ νναι.
5. X τίποτε. (0.5) °πρώτα εκατέβαινα [κάτω έκαμνα τόσες δουλειές,°]
6. Γ [όι έκαμα το σπίτιν ούλλον εγώ,]
7. εμάζεψα [τα, ε:: έδωκα] τους έναν γυρόν
8. X [ε:: εν -ι-ξέρω;]
9. M εν κρυάδες τωρά, εν κάμνει για να κατεβείς εις την αυλήν.

1. C today I only did >slowly slowly< because <I slept> and I was well I did the
2. stairs only, (0.4) and I went shopping and in the house I tidied up
3. this and that there in the kitchen
4. G yes.
5. C nothing. (0.5) ° before I used to go downstairs [and do so many chores,°]
6. G [no I did the whole house,]
7. I tidied [them up, I:: gave them] a hand
8. C [we::ll. I don't know;]
9. M it is cold now, it's not good to go down to the yard.

(from conversation A2)

11.11

In line 5 Charoulla mentions that she used to go down (meaning she used to do gardening and sweep her yard) and before she completes her reference to loss of former activities, Gregoria juxtaposes a report on her own cleaning endeavours, saying that she cleaned her whole house. It is interesting that Gregoria's turn (1.6) begins with the contrastive 'όι'/no, to emphasise the disparity between Charoulla's disengagement and her own participation in thorough cleaning activities. Juxtaposing a report that reveals one's continued engagement after a report of disengagement is rather frequent. In fact, in seven out of the twenty two cases of references to disengagement from certain homemaking activities, at least one of the recipients will report a recent occasion when they themselves actually participated in the reportedly lost activity. This does not occur in PTs; for example if someone complains about a health problem the interlocutors

would not comment on their good health, but they may even produce a convergent PT. It is not surprising then that chaining in reports of loss of homemaking activities is comparatively less prevalent (18% in homemaking disengagement reports as opposed to 46% in PTs). In line 9 Myria mentions that it is cold now and hence not advisable to do house chores in the yard. This recipient-initiated change of perspective that gives a justification for the disengagement, other than age-related decline, is another frequent next move in reports of homemaking disengagement. Most disengagement reports are acknowledged by their recipients and abrupt change of topic, especially recipient-initiated is scarce. In fact, recipient-determined topic switch occurs only once (3%; see Excerpt 4-6, p. 185) in the moves towards closing as opposed to 33% in PTs.

On the whole, the low occurrence of recipient-initiated topic switches aligns with research on troubles talk, which has found that troubles tellings are problematic and require significant interactional work to do ‘getting out of’ (Jefferson 1984a) and not with the findings of Chapter 4 which have showed that that health and mobility problems are constructed as a normal state. In addition, reports of loss of former homemaking-related activities are overwhelmingly succeeded by a recipient-initiated change of perspective that rationalises it, giving a variety of reasons (such as cold weather, busy schedule etc.), and objects to the seriousness of the reported disengagement or even disqualifies it as completely inaccurate and offers compliment on the teller’s homemaking skills. This take-up of such tellings then suggests that they can be an opportunity for self-assurance and consolation, as they are expectedly followed by a recipient move which minimises the situation’s seriousness or permanence and gives justification, other than laziness or even age-related decline associations. The only case where age-related decline is employed by the recipient to justify potential disengagement from domestic activities is discussed below at Section 5.9.

Also, as mentioned above, on occasions, tellings of disengagement from former activities can be followed by a recipient’s report which indexes that they have not lost but still perform the activity bound to the category ‘good homemaker’ (e.g. 1.3 in the above example). Consequently, the recipients both challenge the teller’s self-disassociation from domestic activities, bound to the category ‘good homemaker’, and association with decline age categories, and also juxtapose their continued membership of the category ‘good homemaker’. Tellers may also make contrasting claims about

their level of engagement; i.e. they might report loss of a certain activity, e.g. baking sweets, and also mention in close proximity that they recently performed that activity or intend to do so in the near future. Overall, no participant projects a repeated or sustained, over a long stretch of talk, claim of disassociation from homemaking activities and their over-arching category (good homemaker). A means of establishing continued membership in the category ‘good homemaker’ would be soliciting friends’ help.

5.8 *Helping the girlfriends*

Helping each other with homemaking activities is also made relevant in the discussions. Assistance might be sought if a participant lacks a specific skill (for instance, Tasoulla cannot operate a sewing machine and hence asks Myria, Charoulla, Olivia and Loulla for their help), or if a member has a severe health problem. For example, when Myria was recovering from her spine surgery, Tasoulla and Loulla would help her with making her bed, folding her linen and preparing treats for her guests. Therefore, she would keep having a tidy house and be hospitable to her guests, and thus could maintain her membership in the category ‘*νοικοτζυρά*’/good homemaker. The participants regularly help each other with baking, even when there is no specific health issue; in fact a practice established at the third phase of the recordings is that, whenever one of the participants (mainly Gregoria, Loulla, Myria and Charoulla) wanted to make the labour-intensive mini olive rolls, then they would gather to her house to assist with the preparation. Furthermore, the informants expectedly assist with food preparation on memorial services, offering a speciality baked good, to ease the burden of preparations for a memorial gathering and also to express close relations; as mentioned in Chapter 2, only the closest of friends offer help with treats at memorial services. Also, informants participate in reciprocal exchanges of cooked foods and raw produce (see also Chapter 2.4.8).

This mutual help is, on the one hand, about collaborating and engaging in a common activity, which is a wider cultural practice among (older) women in Cyprus. Arnold, in her research, conducted in a Cypriot village in the mid-seventies, found that exchanges of domestic help and especially foods between female neighbours contributed in maintaining friendships and ranged from regular to occasional, depending on the level of closeness, between the participants (Arnold 1982:chapter 3). In addition, such help is

also about offering substantial help to participants who would otherwise not embark on such activities. More specifically, during Myria's recovery from her surgery, Loulla helped her prepare a variety of baked goods. Without Loulla's help Myria would not have been able or would not have attempted to make these goods and would not have been able to offer home-made treats to her guests, an activity linked with the category 'good homemaker', as has been shown in Section 5.4.3. The same is true about Gregoria, who would not bake mini olive-rolls, unless she was helped by the other members.

Offers for help are oriented to as expected actions, and this is evident in the following excerpt. Here Tasoulla, who does not have the skills to stitch the lace on the rest of her needlework to make tablecloths and curtains, mentions that she plans to give them to others to stitch them. She mentions that Myria has already done one for her and that she will ask Olivia to do another one for her. The meeting occurs in Charoulla's house and all five main participants are present.

Excerpt 5-17 (participants: Myria, Tasoulla, Charoulla, Loulla, Gregoria)

28.23

1. T περνά της τζαι τζείνης τζαι κάμνει τζαι τζείνη
2. M να:: βάλω τον Αντρέαν της Έλενας να μου [σφίξει το λάστιχον της]
3. T [εσού εν-ι-συντυχάννεις?] ((to Charoulla))
4. M [μεχανή::ς.]
5. X [↑έχω μα::]
6. T ε [να φέρω να μου >τη κα-κάμεις<] τζ εσού καν(η)έ- ↑χα χα χα
7. M [γιατί: εχάμνισεν.]
8. το λάστιχον της μεχανής.
9. T να [μου τα κάμουν] οι φιλενάδες μου ((smile voice)) χα χα χα ε
10. X [ν'ά'μ που έδεις?]

1. T she is good at it as well and she does it for me
2. M I:: will put Elena's ((son)) Andreas to [tighten up the rubber band⁹⁴]
3. T [you don't say nothing?] ((to Charoulla))
4. M [of the machine]
5. C [↑I have bu::t]
6. T well [I will bring >to d-do<] one for m(h)e ↑ha ha ha

⁹⁴ By 'rubber band', Myria refers to a component of her sewing machine, which when it loosens up makes sewing very difficult.

7. M [because: it has loosen up.]
8. the rubber band of the machine.
9. T my [*girlfriend* will] *do them for me* ((smile voice)) ha ha ha oh
10. C [what do you have?]

(from conversation A4)

28.34

In line 1 Tasoulla mentions that Olivia has the practical skills to do the stitching and by saying that she makes relevant her need for help with stitching and implicitly asks for helps from her interlocutors as well. Myria orients to Tasoulla's request for help, saying that she will ask her nephew to fix her sewing machine (1.2,4); she is thus implying that she would help Tasoulla if or as soon as her machine is fixed. Subsequently, Myria's reference to the problem of her sewing machine will develop in a parallel conversation with Loulla, which is not transcribed here. However, before Myria completes her turn Tasoulla with an overlapping directs a question to Charoulla. Here, Tasoulla makes relevant her expectation that a turn expressing a need for help is normally followed by an offer for help (if the recipient is able to offer it). Tasoulla orients to this expectation by pointing out that Charoulla has not offered to help (upon being informed of her friend's needs). Charoulla, who is a seamstress by training, like Myria, and owns a sewing machine, could help Tasoulla with stitching her needlework. It is important to point out that the help Tasoulla is asking for is a rather onerous, time-consuming task that she could have paid someone to do it for her, as Loulla does. Charoulla responds without an explicit offer for help, but rather in a turn shape which looks like a preface to dispreferred next turn construction unit, because of the elongated contrastive conjunction (1.5). Tasoulla, although Charoulla has not offered to help, says that she will bring a piece of needlework to her to stitch but plays down the dispreferredness of her imposition by shaping her turn at lines 6 and 9 in a playful intonational contour, with a lot of laughter. Also she draws on the MCD friendship to justify the imposition, making relevant that offering (unsolicited) assistance is an obligation bound to the SRP 'φιλενάδες-φιλενάδα'/*girlfriend-girlfriend*, in which the participant are co-incumbents.

The above excerpt has been chosen because it makes the explicit link between mutual assistance and the category 'girlfriend'. In most instances, however, where the help sought is not for such an onerous task, as it here, explicit requests for help are either unnecessary or, once made/implied, are met with immediate offer for help (see Excerpt 7-34, p. 409, in the Appendix, where Gregoria asks for help with olive-pie making and

her interlocutors offer to help with no hesitation). Overall, participants' relations are shaped, to a large extent, by food, in the form of talk about it, treats during meetings, exchanges of food gifts and co-participation in food-related practices. This reinforces the literature finding that a large part in women's friendships, hospitality and obligations in more traditional societies is expressed through food (see e.g. Arnold 1982 about Cyprus; and Maclagan 1994 about Yemeni rural women in the eighties). What the present research has shown is that solidarity between female neighbours and friends extends to the third age and is not restricted to help with cooking but includes a number of homemaking activities. To sum up, mutual assistance in homemaking practices allows participants to engage in joint activities, and helps participants overcome lack of expertise or ability in certain areas. Also it is oriented to as a CBA associated with the SRP girlfriends, and hence expressions of a need are expectably followed by a help offer. Finally, mutual help facilitates continued participation in the 'good homemaker' category. Another class of salient categorisation in the interactional construction of homemaking activities are family roles.

5.9 Family categorisations in homemaking activities

Cooking is argued to have, for older women, associations of caring, giving, making and remaking family and linked to their identity as a mother and a wife (Wright-St Clair et al. 2005; O'Sullivan et al. 2008). It is also found that among retired women, cooking is not only an obvious duty but also a gift to other family members that grant the woman a central position in the family (Sidenvall et al. 2000). All but one of the main participants reside on their own, yet often enough cooking is constructed as an action for others.

In more than a third of the reports about past and future cooking (past: 32 out of 85, future: 12 out of 34) an explicit reference to the fact that the food is/will be cooked *for others* is made, either by the speaker or the recipient of the report. Also, in all cases, the person the food is cooked for is a male and/or younger family member, most frequently the speaker's children, children-in-law and grandchildren. Myria, on the other hand, who has no grandchildren and her only child resides abroad, on occasions constructs her cooking efforts and plans as designed for her brother, as part of her obligation to cook for him whenever his wife is away (see Excerpt 7-35, p. 410 in the Appendix).

The husband, the children and grand-children are oriented to in the self-recordings as people the participants would normally cook for. In fact, informants with family members that they regularly care for, when reporting what they cooked, often said ‘έκαμά τους/του’ (*I made for them/him*), instead of ‘έκαμα’ (*I made*), or, for more formal occasions, ‘ετάισά τους’ (literally: *I fed them*). It is thus a recurrent pattern to construct cooking and serving food, as something that is done for others, with others’ food preferences and dietary habits in mind (see e.g. Excerpt 7-35, p. 410 in the Appendix, where Myria designs her lunch menu according to her brother’s requirements). The fact that food assessments of family members are often used to indicate or measure the success of a dish (as is implied in reported assessments, see Section 5.4.1) also suggests that cooking is done for others. This resonates with literature on (older) women’s attitudes towards cooking, where it has also been found that they cook mainly for the other family members, rather than for themselves, and others’ preferences are what determine the kind of food that will be cooked (cf. McIntosh 1996:75; Sidenvall et al. 2000:411). Also fieldwork confirms these findings. Gregoria, for example, who regularly cooks for her adult grandson, would strictly adhere to his food preferences and needs.

Similarly to cooking, knitting and other domestic activities (e.g. washing up) are also constructed as activities bound to family roles. The following excerpt makes relevant the link between knitting and membership in the category grandmother. It takes place in Loulla’s house and occurs the day that Loulla embarked on the knitting of a scarf. She has mentioned previously that this is a request from her grand-daughter, and Gregoria here reintroduces the topic.

Excerpt 5-18 (participants: Gregoria, Loulla, Myria, Charoulla)

18.26

1. Γ εν της Μαρίας τωρά τούτον?
2. Λ της ↑Μαρίας. (0.6) ‘ούλλες οι φιλενάδες μου
3. “έλ’α σας δείξω το τζει((v))ο:: (0.7) ὁαλούιν που μου έκαμεν η γιαγιά μου που μου
4. [έκαμεν η γιαγιά μου;”]’
5. Μ [αφορμήν εγύρευκες] ((smile voice))

1. G is this now for Maria?
2. L for ↑Maria. (0.6) ‘all my friends
3. “come let me show you my tha::t (0.7) scarf that my grandma made for me that

4. [my grandma did for me;"]'
 5. M [you were looking for an excuse] ((smile voice))
- (from conversation A2)

18.35

Loulla mentions that her granddaughter Maria wants the scarf because all her friends have and show off scarves made by their grandmothers. The emphasis, by repetition on the phrase 'που μου έκαμεν η γιαγιά μου'/that my grandma made for me (1.2-3), shows the importance of the family categorisation and consequently grandmother's obligation of knitting for her grandchild is oriented to. Loulla here employs RS voicing Maria and Maria's friends to provide a wider base for support for the view that the scarf she is knitting is sought after by her granddaughter (for the functions of RS see Section 5.4.1). Myria's turn in line 4 (*you were just looking for an excuse*), implies that Loulla is keen to start knitting and offer it to her grandchild, indexing the link between the activity and the categories from the MCD family but also the joy entailed in satisfying family members with homemaking activities.

On the whole, it is interesting to see that the participants explicitly and recurrently orient primarily to cooking, but also to knitting and cleaning, as responsibilities bound to members' categorisations as mothers, grandmothers, wives and sisters, whenever possible. Food preparation, in particular, as a gift to others, has been found to be a source of satisfaction for retired women, a means of bringing the family together and enjoying a central position in it (Sidenvall et al. 2000:417). However, out of all the participants, only Loulla explicitly oriented in her interview to cooking, and especially Sunday family lunches, as a means of promoting familial ties. This suggests that cooking for the participants is less of a symbolic action of bringing the family together and more of an obligation bound to their family and gender categorisations.

In fact, the participants on occasions explicitly orient to offering domestic services as a burden and obligation bound to family categorisations. The following is a telling example of that. It takes place in Gregoria's kitchen, during an impromptu visit by Myria and Anthoulla, her sister-in-law, a peripheral member of the group, who only participated in this recording. It took place a few weeks before the Cypriot national election and Anthoulla has mentioned that her daughter and her grandsons, who are living permanently abroad, would come to Cyprus to vote. Therefore they would all be

staying with Anthoulla and she would have to cook for them, wash and iron their clothes etc.

Excerpt 5-19 (participants: Anthoulla, Myria, Gregoria)

17.36

1. A λαλώ τζαι της κόρης μου ↑α-αφήστε(h) μ(h)ε τζαι- ε πολλές φορές
2. αντρέπουμαι που το λαλώ. εκουράστηκα ρε γεναίτζες (.) να μαγειρεύκω, (.)
3. ν'αντζοπλυννίσκω, [να πλυννίσκω να σιερώννω]
4. M [επκιάμεν την ηλικίαν] Ανθούλλα πκιον,
5. Γ έτσι [ένι κόρη μου]
6. M [εμπήκαμεν] στην ηλικίαν
7. A εκουράστηκα [αλλα-]
8. Γ [μόνον]
9. η <σκέψη> είντα'μ που'ν να κάμεις το καθημερινόν. είντα'μ π[ου'ν να τους] κάμεις,
10. A [νναι νναι]
11. M =°καλό°
12. Γ =ε αν μείνει κάτι να προσθέσεις, να τα ε- εν ούλλα [εν να τα σκεφτείς εσύ]
13. A [>νναι νναι τζαι- τζει- τζει-< τζέινον]
14. το φαΐν είναι πολύ πολύ δύσκολον.
15. Γ = το δύσκολον εν το φαΐν.

1. A I tell my daughter ↑lea-leave(h) m(h)e and- em I am often
2. ashamed to say it. I am tired re women (.) of cooking, (.)
3. washing dishes, [washing ironing]
4. M [we are at that age] now Anthoulla,
5. G that's [it *kori*]
6. M [we entered] the age
7. A I'm tired [but-]
8. G [just]
9. the <thought> of what to make every day. wh[at to make] for them,
10. A [yes yes]
11. M =°sure°
12. G =if there are leftovers to add, to it-it's everything [you have to think about]
13. A [>yes yes and- tha- tha-< that]
14. food is very very hard.
15. G =food is the hard ((part)).

(from conversation A7)

18.00

Anthoulla's turn of expressing being tired of domestic duties (l.1-3) has a strong dispreference shape. More specifically, line 1, is full of perturbations: the sudden increase in volume and pitch ('↑a'/'↑lea-), self-initiated self-repair ('↑a-αφήστε(h)'/↑lea-leave(h)), the sudden cut-off ('τῆαι-/and-). This turn shape indexes hesitation and dispreferredness. Also a number of devices are employed to redress dispreferredness; a qualification is used as a preface to Anthoulla's disclosure that she is tired of domestic duties: 'πολλές φορές αντρέπουμε που το λαλώ'/I am often ashamed to say it (qualifiers were found to constrain dispreferredness, also in self-praise, see Pomerantz 1978:88). Another device employed is RS; Anthoulla reports her disclosure to her younger daughter residing in Cyprus and not the one about to visit her. Therefore the aspect of self who is complaining is not Anthoulla in the here-and-now of the interaction, but Anthoulla as the figure in the story she is narrating. Also laughter is employed to redress dispreferredness (l.1), and also the ToA 'ρε γεναίτζες' (*re women*), a term making relevant co-incumbency to the category 'woman' and hence indexing solidarity. In fact it is documented in the literature on Modern Greek conversation, and in Chapter 3.7.3, that the particle 'ρε' reinforces solidarity (Tannen & Kakava 1992). Hence, this address term shifts Anthoulla's alignment towards her interlocutors to one of (greater) solidarity and closeness which creates a more confidential frame (Goffman 1981; see footnote 50, p. 105). Consequently, complaining of being tired of providing domestic services to one's children is constructed by the speaker as a highly dispreferred act.

Yet, other types of disclosures or references to painful experiences are not introduced with dispreferred turn shapes, as has been shown in Chapter 4.4. What makes this PT different is that it affects membership in a number of categories. Being tired of doing various domestic activities is an activity that dis-associates a woman from the categorisation of 'voukoτζυρά'/good homemaker. Yet, as has been shown so far in this chapter, participants go to great lengths to constantly claim and enhance membership in this category. The dispreferredness then indicates the symbolic capital (Bourdieu's term for prestige and social value, see Jenkins 1992:85; Bourdieu 1999) membership in this category holds in the casual, peer-group interactions of older women. Furthermore, as has been argued in this section, family roles are inextricably linked to performing homemaking activities. In the just prior text, Anthoulla has mentioned that all these domestic services will be performed to care for her daughter and grandsons. Hence,

failing or being unwilling to do so would challenge her membership of the category good mother and grandmother. Also the recipients of Anthoulla's telling tacitly orient to the challenges her disclosure entails. Both Myria and Gregoria offer justifications for Anthoulla's attitude. Myria proposes that advanced age (l.4, 6) as the category bound to Anthoulla's behaviour and, thus, not laziness (a CBA to 'bad housewife') or being a bad mother. Her use of an inclusive plural ('επκιάμεν', 'εμπήκαμε'/we are, we entered) also indexes co-membership in the same age category, and hence association with the same CBAs (of being tired of housework). In addition, Gregoria agrees with Myria's justification (l.5) and also adds that offering domestic services, and especially cooking, is a very hard task (l.8 ff.). Therefore, both Gregoria's and Myria's next moves aim at disassociating Anthoulla's tiredness of domestic activities from the categories bad homemaker and bad mother, and instead negotiate it as bound to a certain (old) age category they all partake in, and associated with the innate difficulty of the tasks.

Overall cooking, cleaning and knitting are not constructed as recreational activities performed for fun or even a 'happy duty', but, as the above example shows, inescapable and onerous obligations bound to identifications of familial roles (mother, grandmother, wife etc.) but also gender. The fact that homemaking activities are an obligation bound to family and gender categorisation is, to an extent, indexed with the ToA 'ρε γεναίτζες'/re women (l.2), in the above example. Previous research on Greek address forms found that the ToA 'γυναίκα' (woman) over-emphasises gender membership and the associated categories of cook, cleaner, washer, wife etc. (Μακρή-Τσιλιπάκου 1983:243). The association between homemaking activities and gender categorisation is further examined in the next section.

Sociological research on the Greek Cypriot community (in London), based on interview data, has shown that G/C older adults, and women in particular, recurrently orient to the discourse that children come first, and that their gender-defined obligations towards them (e.g. caring) never end. In fact a term often used when talking about one's children was 'θυσιάζω'/I sacrifice (Cylwik 2002). Informants in the present study, also appear to make relevant that domestic activities are an obligation towards their children, regardless of their age. This is also confirmed by participant observations, where both main and peripheral participants regularly performed domestic and caring activities for their children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren. The fact that homemaking practices are oriented to as hard, labour-intensive obligations/sacrifices is

also confirmed by the participant observation, where participants repeatedly reported being tired from performing domestic duties (for their family members). This is not at odds with claims of culinary expertise, or being a good homemaker in general, because the participants, by constructing domestic activities as hard, show that they are able both to complete difficult tasks successfully and also make all the sacrifices bound to their categorisation as good mothers and grandmothers.

5.10 Gender division of labour

It has been suggested that cooking, cleaning, knitting, sewing and the like are typically female activities, associated with gender categorisations (see Section 5.1). This is also a widely circulating discourse in the Cypriot media. For example, in the radio show ‘Χωρίς Ηλικία’/*Without Age*, in the broadcast about traditional lenten foods (i.e. vegan food, suitable for the Lent fast) the presenter invited the audience to produce ‘νηστίσιμες μαγειρικές’ (*lenten cooking*) and ‘νηστίσιμα φαγητά’ (*lenten foods*) of their *mothers and grandmothers* (‘των μανάδων και των γιαγιάδων μας’) and the callers mentioned what their mothers and wives have cooked for them. Also, when the producer felt like trying a dish mentioned by the caller, he said that ‘που εν να πάω σπίτι εν να βάλω την γεναίκα μου να μου κάμει’ (*when I go home I will make my wife cook some for me*). Therefore, both the producer and the callers orient to cooking and meeting the family’s nutritional needs as an exclusively female responsibility and obligation to the family (for the only recipe-telling of the show, see Excerpt 7-36, p. 410, in the Appendix).

The association of the category ‘woman’ with the CBAs of cooking and other domestic chores is also explicitly oriented to in the self-recordings. It is repeatedly made relevant in conversations that cleaning the house, doing the washing up and cooking are obvious duties that the women have done all their lives. References to men doing such tasks are constructed as incongruous and hence humorous. The following is an example of that. It is at the end of a sequence where Loulla refers to different ‘δουλειές’ (*chores*) that her husband Zenos takes the initiative to do but he does them all wrongly and that irritates Loulla. In this excerpt Loulla mentions an incident when Zenos tried to clean the window with a kitchen towel, instead of a dust cloth.

1. Λ εχτές μπαίνω μες την κουζίνα θωρώ τον με την πετσέτταν τζείνην της κουζίνας
2. που [σκουπίζουμεν τα δέρκα]
3. Χ [τάχα τζαι καλά]
4. 'ε εκαθάρισα σου [έκαμα σου το γυαλλί' χα χα χα] χα χα
5. Λ [νναι! ΝΝΑΙ! ότι έκαμεν δουλειές.]
6. εσκούπιζεν το τζάμι!
7. Τ χα [χα χα χα]
8. Μ [°χα χα χα°]
9. Λ [<α Παναΐα> μου!] ((very animated))
10. Τ ε ξέρουν οι αδρώποι?
11. Λ Παναΐα- <ήρτεν [μου> ταμπλάς!]] ((animated))
12. Χ? [°χα χα χα χα°]
13. Τ εν αλήθεια ενι-ξέρουν οι αθρώποι.

1. L yesterday I go into the kitchen and I look at him with the towel the kitchen one
2. that [we dry our hands on]
3. C [as if apparently]
4. 'I cleaned for you [it is now spotless for you' ha ha ha] ha ha
5. L [yes! YES! that he did housework.]
6. he was wiping the window!
7. T ha [ha ha ha]
8. M [°ha ha ha°]
9. L [my <god>!] ((very animated))
10. T do men know ((about these things))?
11. L my god- <I [wa>s dumbstruck!]] ((animated))
12. C? [°ha ha ha ha°]
13. T it's true men don't know.

(from conversation A3)

1.09.02

In the above incident, humour is constructed on different levels. Firstly there is incongruity between what Zenos thinks he does ('έκαμά σου το γυαλλί'/it is now spotless, 1.4), and what Loulla thought of his action ('ήρτεν μου ταμπλάς', I was dumbstruck, 1.10). Also Loulla's highly animated reaction (1.9,11) and the fact that this story comes at the end of an interactional sequence about Zenos' 'δουλειές'/housework, create a build-up that adds to the humorous effect. Finally the fact that a man appears to attempt activities bound to the category woman creates an incongruity with a humorous

effect. The boundedness of house chores to the category woman is also explicitly made relevant in lines 10 and 13, where Tasoulla mentions that, ‘αδρώποι’ (meaning *men* in CG), do not know how to clean. Hence since members of the category ‘men’ cannot clean, then the other part of this contrast pair, ‘women’, appear to have access to knowledge about doing house chores properly. Furthermore, Charoulla, in line 4, constructs Zeno’s hypothetical speech as follows: ‘εκαθάρισα σου έκαμά σου το γυαλί’/I cleaned *for you*, it is now spotless *for you* orienting to the fact that chores are an obligation bound to the category woman, and therefore, if a man engages in them, it is as a favour to the woman responsible for them.

Here stereotypic discourses about rigid gender roles are evoked, according to which women’s job are homemaking activities. Such constructions of the categorisation woman, are also done implicitly. It has been shown that constructions of cooking as a form of labour, bound to economical and temporal constraints, are regarded as ‘recognisably womanly’ (Hollows 2003).⁹⁵ In the self-recordings, participants negotiate cooking and other domestic activities as a form of labour, part of caring for others (see Section 5.9, above), and also as posing temporal constraints on the participants (see Section 5.2). It could then be argued that such interactional constructions of homemaking practices also make relevant gender categorisations. In addition, participant observation revealed that when participants wanted to praise a female acquaintance, they constructed categorisations of good homemaker.

5.11 Conclusion

In this chapter, talk about food, cooking, cleaning, knitting and sewing has been examined, extracting both organisational characteristics of such talk as well as the categories they make relevant. Firstly, reports of past and future cooking activities were analysed and it has been shown that cooking is co-constructed as a predictable activity that members regularly participate in. The particularly high occurrence of chained and simultaneous recipes, fierce competition for the floor, continued proactive elicitation, jointly drafted telling, orientation to tacit knowledge, and negotiation constitute the most salient aspects of the organisation of recipes. These, along with the allusion to and contestation of professional and cosmopolitan sources for recipes provide a window to

⁹⁵ As opposed to cooking for leisure, with no temporal and financial constraints which is ‘recognizably manly’.

recurrent claims for membership in the category ‘culinary expert’ that occur in the interactions.

Cooking knowledge and experience are oriented to as shared and taken for granted, as is evident from the high frequency of partial recipes ($\frac{2}{3}$ of the total recipes told), the fact that even in fully-fledged recipes some of the processes were omitted and also from the types of contributions and questions recipe recipients made. The orientation to tacit knowledge corresponds with the observation that the participants have cooked the foods discussed in the conversations many times, and know the recipes by heart. In fact, it is the most common practice, among the participants, to cook from memory dishes from a well rehearsed repertoire. It could be argued that the participants make relevant an understanding of knowledge that resides in practice, just like the Icarai fishermen, in North-East Brazil, which Maranhão researched from a cognitive anthropological perspective (Maranhão 1993). Maranhão has shown that, for the Icarai people, knowledge about fishing was not acquired through instruction and explicit guidance but through practice with the aim of becoming a good fisherman, and for that no teacher was necessary.

This type of tacit, apprehended but not explicitly discussed knowledge gained through years of performing domestic activities to feed their families and themselves, is made relevant in the elliptical recipe tellings. On the other hand, participants talk extensively about their and others’ past and future cooking activities, discuss and compare recipes, offer advice and assessments, and introduce new ones that they have watched on television or read in a magazine article. Although this tacit, unstated, practice-derived and purposeful knowledge is made relevant, explicit interactional representations of culinary knowledge are also very frequently oriented to. Therefore, it would not be accurate to claim that the participants orient to food-related knowledge as residing solely in non-verbalised practice, as with the Icarai. Their understanding of knowledge, as can be assembled from the interactions, resides both in practices and in their verbalised representations.⁹⁶

The analysis of food assessments also contributed to the understanding of how categorisations from the MCD ‘culinary ability’ are made relevant in interaction. It has

⁹⁶ Ong characterised this type of culture, which are neither highly technological nor pre-literate and where actions and attitudes depend greatly on human talk-in-interaction as ‘verbomotor’ cultures (Ong 1982:68).

been shown that positive assessments are both elicited by the co-participants of the interactions and also indirectly claimed for the self through RS of family members. Both RS and next turn assessment initiators are strategies that enhance claims of culinary expertise. On the other hand, explicit positive self-assessments as an expert cook or repeated and very positive assessments of one's food are oriented as dispreferred activities and are therefore largely avoided. Negative assessments of foods are also constructed as dispreferred activities but can occur only if the cook is not present. If the cook is present negative assessments can only be implied with downgraded positive second assessments. Admitting that some of the treats offered are shop-bought is also constructed as a very dispreferred activity and subsequent mentions of the hand-made goods are routinely employed to redress dispreferredness and potential challenge of membership in the category 'good homemaker'.

Sections 5.4 and 5.5 investigated the participant organisation in talk about other homemaking activities, namely cleaning, washing up, knitting and sewing. Talk about activities, as they happen, is a topic that participants can casually switch in and out of and that all participants voice their assessments of the work at hand, co-constructing membership in categories such as knowledgeable/skilled knitter and cook. However, only some of the members are oriented to as having privileged participation in conversations about *smili*-related issues and can therefore claim membership in the category of 'skilled *smili* knitter'.

Furthermore, a number of larger categorial claims that are implicated in homemaking-related conversations have been discussed. Tellings of disengagement from former homemaking activities were juxtaposed to PTs, and their organisation has revealed that, unlike PTs about ill health, they do constitute a 'problematic' topic, with regard to next topic moves. Recipient both challenge the validity of the loss of former activities, its boundedness with decline old-age categories and its disassociation from the category 'good homemaker'. Also the recipients demonstrate that they themselves continue being members of categories such as 'good homemaker'. Not only age, but also friendship categorisations are associated with homemaking activities. Participants constructed the activities of asking for help and offering help uninhibitedly as bound to the category *girlfriend*/'φιλενάδες'. In addition, homemaking activities are oriented to as an obligation, associated with membership in categories such as 'mother' and 'grandmother', rather than a creative hobby or pleasant pastime. Finally domestic

activities are implicitly and explicitly made relevant as activities bound to the category 'woman' (of all ages) and incompatible with the category 'man'. Consequently homemaking and gender identities are constructed as co-articulated.

The insistence of the members to claim membership in the category 'culinary expert', through exchanges of food ideas and reports, can be attributed to the functions of recipe-telling. Recipe exchanges offer the opportunity to expand one's repertoire and enhance membership in the category 'culinary expert'; but most importantly, culinary expertise, traditionally constitutes the most important attribution for the categorisation 'good homemaker' ('voukoţurá', in members' terms). Cultural expectations about women, which still circulate in the Cypriot media, confine their role to being a homemaker and carer. Participants also ratified such discourses about gendered roles in their talk-in-interactions. Therefore excelling in being a homemaker has a great deal of symbolic capital in this context and offers ample opportunities for self-validation, especially since, at the time of the recordings, the participants did not have any child-caring duties. Maranhão (1993:268) found that, for his informants, knowledge about fish was synonymous with learning how to be a good man that can provide for their family and help his comrades. Similarly, for the informants of this study, culinary and domestic expertise are inextricably linked with identification as a good woman who can take care of and fulfil her obligations towards her family and, also, assist her friends when they are in need.

As well as doing being a 'good woman', talk about recipes and cooking, but also other homemaking activities that co-construct a continued incumbency to the category 'good homemaker' offer the participants space where age categories are not routinely made relevant. Therefore the non-applicability of age or age-related decline, in this salient domain of talk-in-interaction is apprehended. In addition, participants' persistence on enhancing homemaker identities, also indexes ability to maintain a home, live independently, and therefore project counter-decline attributions. It has been found that maintaining a home is associated for older women with having control over their lives and is also a source of self-esteem (Coleman et al. 1998). Therefore, doing homemaking identities could also be seen as implicitly disassociating the self from attributions of assisted living, dependence and institutionalisation, activities that are negotiated in interactions as bound to the most negatively loaded constructions of elderliness. Moreover, in participant observations, members constructed, both with the

researcher and their family members, assisted living (especially in a care home), as a worst case scenario and not preferable to death. Consequently it could be suggested that participants by emphasising membership in homemaking identities they also recurrently disassociate themselves from what are constructed as attributions bound to extreme age-related decline.

To sum up, talk about domestic activities recurrently enhances co-membership in the category good homemaker and through doing being a good homemaker the participants also do gender, age and family identities and also enhance in-group solidarity. Thus, homemaker categorisations function at the meso-level between discourse identities, such as recipe teller, assessment initiator, engrossed recipient in talk about *smili*, and larger, extra-situational identities of gender, age, family and friendship roles. Identity constructions are further discussed in the concluding chapter.

6 CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

6.1 *Revisiting the research questions*

In the preface of this thesis (Section 0.2) a set of research questions was proffered; four specific ones, and a central, over-arching question, as follows.

The specific questions:

- 1) Which *explicit* (old)-age categorisations are made relevant, in which contexts and to what ends?
- 2) How are PTs negotiated in interaction and how are they connected with age identities?
- 3) Which are the most salient conversational practices and what identity implications do they have?
- 4) How do local constructions of the ageing self compare with widely circulating discourses about ageing, the aged, and older women, in particular?

The central research question:

- 5) *How are identities of old age discursively constructed and how does old age intersect with other identities?*

To address these questions, a total of 18 hours of self-recorded everyday conversations of a group of older Greek Cypriot women were collected. The participants, who have a long interactional history, recorded themselves in their impromptu and pre-arranged coffee meetings at each other's houses. Also, fieldwork, including participant observations and interviews with each informant, supplemented the data collection. The data were analysed within an ethnomethodological theoretical framework, which treats identities as an interactional achievement that takes place at specific places and times, inextricably connected with members' categorisational work. The analysis employed tools from MCA and CA, looking closely at how participants organise their talk-in-interaction, as it unfolds turn-by-turn, and the categories they negotiate implicitly or explicitly.

The first research question has been explored through the investigation of old-age categories and ToA and the second question has been addressed through the analysis of PTs and their humorous renderings. The most salient conversational practice in the self-recordings was the interactional construction of homemaking activities. Therefore, to answer the third question the organisation of such practices and their identity implications have been examined. Finally to investigate the fourth research question

members' identity constructions were compared with discourse of ageing, as they have been documented in the literature and also as they emerged from the Cypriot media surveyed (which includes a set of 62 newspaper issues, 24 magazine and five hourly radio shows). In this section the four specific questions are addressed, based on the findings discussed in the three analytical chapters of the thesis (Chapters 3-5), and in the subsequent section the over-arching question about the construction of the ageing self is examined.

6.1.1 Which explicit (old)-age categorisations are made relevant, in which contexts and to what ends?

A number of different categorisation devices about age have been located. The collection of generic old-women categories, that is, categories that do not specify a particular chronological age, were oriented to by the participants as a set of hierarchically positioned categories associated with distinct activities and features. The case of *kojakari*, repeatedly associated with decline attributions, is an example. On the contrary, *megali*, although it means 'grown up woman', was locally constructed as an old-age category that can be associated with both decline and counter-decline attributions. This category, which in other contexts (e.g. media data) does not categorise third agers, was recurrently negotiated as a flexible category that can be readily associated with positive or mild decline old-age attribution. Age-in-years functioned both as a feature of generic old-women categories and also as a distinct class of categories, without straightforward links to a certain generic category. Age categorisations of men constituted less than one-fifth of the total of old-age categories and were also made relevant as a distinct MCD, compared to old-women. In fact, they were constructed as bound to attributions of decline and aged appearance and as part of a standardised contrast pair with the younger-looking and less decrepit female self. Also, old-age categories were employed in interaction to categorise self and others present. In all but one case, self-categorisations were made in the plural. In particular, about one-fifth of old-age categories in noun form and nine-tenths of verb categorisations were ascribed to the self (and others present). Devices such as RS were used to distance the teller from the content of decline-related categorial reference directed at self and interlocutors. Nevertheless, one-third of self-categorisations, old-age categories with positive attributions, such as *megali*, and most categorisations in verb form (15 out of 17) were employed with no distancing device. In addition, old-age categorisations in the first person plural, ascribed to the self and others present, whether

in noun or verb form, have been found to also function as a more preferred way of other-categorisation as old. Finally, young-age categories were employed in the self-recordings as terms of address to refer to interlocutors. Such categories were not divested of their age-related associations in other contexts (e.g. when employed to do categorising and identifying of third parties). However, when they were used as address terms they were employed in the context of formulaic greetings of the group or as devices to minimise the imposition of directives and ultimately functioned as in-group markers, rather than age categorisations.

On the whole, it has been argued the orientation to decline old-age categories, such as *kojakari*, *geros*, and their ascription to others (and not to the self), offered the opportunity to the participants to disassociate themselves from age-related decline attributions. Similarly, it has been documented in the literature that older women (and men) construct incumbency of to the category 'old', as bound to negative stereotypical attributions, and as the 'other'. Therefore, older adults have been found in previous research to resort to distancing themselves from old age categorisations and their negative CBAs in order to construct agentive and positive aspect of self (for older women see Paoletti 1998a; Hurd 1999; Degnen 2007; and for older adults in general see Biggs 1997a; Jolanki 2009; Gubrium 2011). However, in the data at hand, certain old-age categories (e.g. *ilikiomeni*) were not constructed as bound to negative attributions. Also, the participants did not necessarily distance themselves from old-age categories to project counter-decline age identifications. In fact, as was mentioned above, participants claimed for self and others *old-age* categories, such as *megali* and verb categorisations, which were not necessarily bound to age-related decline. Therefore, through the self association with counter-decline old-age categories, (instead of the category 'not old') participants were able to project positive age identities. Furthermore, certain mild-decline attributions (namely physical health and mobility issues that do not hinder social interaction) may be associated with positive old-age categories, therefore, even if certain health issues were made relevant, members could still claim membership to positive old-age categories. As a result, this study has shown that old-age categorisations applied to self did not necessarily entail decline attributions, nor were they employed to justify limitations.

The turn-by-turn analysis of sequences, where old age categories were employed, has shown that the participants demonstrably oriented to a set of rules for applying old-age

categories. In fact, these rules exhibited the inference-richness of old-age categories, as different members could be implicitly categorised. On the whole, old age identities were not only *relevant* in interaction, as they are explicitly claimed, ascribed and contested by the members through categorical references and mentions of CBAs, but they also met Schegloff's 'golden rule' of being *procedurally consequential* to the talk (Schegloff 1992b). More specifically, speaker's and interlocutors' age-in-years, as well as age-related attributions have been demonstrated to affect the turn-by-turn organisation of the sequences where these categories are employed. For example, a categorisation with decline old-age categories was oriented to as dispreferred if the person being categorised was of the same chronological age and had comparable CBAs as the interlocutors. Also, it has been shown that these extra-situational factors also affected the frequency and type of categories employed. As has been argued in Chapter 3, in the third phase of the recordings when the physical health of some of the members deteriorated and they could therefore attract attributions that imply membership in decline old-age categories, decline old-age categories were not used, even to categorise others non-present. This appears to show members' strategic manipulation of the explicit old-age categorisation apparatus, to avoid ascription of decline old-age categories to themselves and their interlocutors. This nuanced machinery members oriented to in applying the different age-categories could not have been fully understood, without the employment of sequential analysis. This suggests that the combination of the examination of members' stated categorisations, as well as silences, perturbations and other sequential aspects provides a very robust framework in the analysis of identity work as it is accomplished in interaction.

6.1.2 How are PTs negotiated in interaction and how are they connected with age identities?

In Chapter 4 an analysis of the sequential organisation of PTs was offered, using tools for classification adapted from previous work on painful self disclosures and troubles-telling (Lee & Jefferson 1980; N. Coupland et al. 1991a). A higher occurrence of chained PTs was found, compared to previous research; also jointly drafted tellings with multiple tellers and preference for minimal (re)tellings of painful experiences have differentiated the findings of this research from previous studies (e.g. N. Coupland et al.

1991a; Poullos 2004b; Matsumoto 2009).⁹⁷ These features that diverge from other research have been linked with the interactional background of the group, but could also be seen as indices of in-groupness (for constructions of in-groupness see also Section 6.2, below). Moves towards opening and closing were overwhelmingly recipient-initiated, and exit strategies often involved abrupt switches of the topic. The fact that many of the recipient-initiated topic switches were self-attentive (designed to reserve the floor for the self) indicates that in this local context PTs were treated as topically non-problematic, making any next topic appropriate. This finding is at odds with previous studies on troubles-tellings and painful self disclosures, which have shown that such topics require at least some interactional work to make the transition to the next topic. The fact that in the context of everyday interactions of this group, PTs were not treated as an embarrassing, controversial topic, but were rather oriented to as part of what is considered normal, explains the organisation of closing moves in the self-recordings.

Longer PTs, especially involving death and bereavement, were, on occasion, constructed as humorous. It has been shown that the humorous frame was meticulously constructed, in the turn-by-turn organisation of talk, by teller-initiated moves (including laughter particles, RS, stylisation, and exaggerated intonation). The speakers' light take on their painful experiences and the co-construction of humour, exhibiting 'troubles resistance', appears to challenge the socially sanctioned stereotype that third-agers understand their condition as depressing. In addition, humorous renderings of PTs have reaffirmed the finding that illnesses and death are not treated as deviant events in this context. Categories associated with painful experiences, such as 'χήρες'/widows, could also function as resources for joke telling. The analysis of a canned joke has revealed that teller and recipients do significant interactional work, which also includes references to painful states, in order to establish the tellability and a shared understanding of sexually explicit jokes.

Overall, the exit strategies of PTs and their humorous appropriation suggest a locally contingent understanding of ill health, mobility problems, bereavement and imminent death as normal, expected and ultimately non-problematic. Therefore, even though features of ill health and imminent death were not disassociated from old-age

⁹⁷ Poullos 2004 also found that jointly drafted (or in his terms 'collaborative') tellings, but they were tellings of social problems (e.g. high prices) and not of personal experiences (e.g. health problem).

categories, they were understood in a context where such conditions constituted the norm. The fact that older women do not orient to the ‘ideology of wellness’ as the only or dominant discourse, has been documented in the research on the humorous appropriations of tellings about bereavement (Matsumoto 2008, 2009). The present research has shown that the orientation to the expectedness and normality of ill health is also indexed through the sequential organisation of non-humorous PTs.

PTs have been researched because they were found in earlier studies to be one of older adults’ communicative practices and indices of old-age identities (e.g. N. Coupland et al. 1991a). This study has confirmed that PTs can be linked to old-age categorisations. Through PTs the participants of this study negotiated for self and interlocutors attributions of ill health and mobility problems, which in the interactions were constructed as bound or even constitutive of old-age categorisations. In addition, Tasoulla, the participant who did not claim and was not ascribed old-age categories (as has been shown in Chapter 3), also made almost no PTs. However, in the data at hand, PTs were not as frequent as in N. Coupland et al.’s research.⁹⁸ Also the range of topics was more restricted, as four fifths of the tellings were about health and mobility problems. Attributions such as loneliness, hearing loss, aged appearance, inability to maintain social relations, bound to heavy decline old-age categories, were never claimed, although some of the informants did orient to a number of these features during participant observation. Therefore, the data at hand revealed that participants made relevant a specific, shared repertoire of previously told painful experiences, and as a result PTs were structured as rather short retellings, which were casually entered and exited and were sometimes jointly told. Also although they indexed old-age categorisations, they only appear to index a certain type of mild decline old-age categorisations (such as *megali*).

⁹⁸ In Coupland et al.’s research, such tellings were 5 times more frequent. No data have been published about the frequency of occurrence of PSDs and troubles talk in Poullos’ or Matsumoto’s research.

6.1.3 How are homemaking practices interactionally constructed and what identity implications do they have?

The most frequent conversational practice in the data at hand has been the interactional construction of homemaking practices. In fact, in four out of the eighteen hours of self-recordings domestic activities were discussed. Therefore this research question, once the data were collected and transcribed, changed from ‘Which are the most salient conversational practices and what identity implications do they have?’ to ‘How are homemaking practices interactionally constructed and what identity implications do they have?’ and was investigated in the fifth chapter of the thesis. This section summarises the findings regarding this question.

Homemaking categories were not stated but were constantly implied through reference to category-bound activities of cooking, knitting, cleaning and the like. Tellings of past and future cooking activities, as well as recipe tellings, constituted the most frequent way of interactionally constructing homemaking practices. The activity of cooking appeared to be oriented in the data as a routine activity that the participants expectedly performed and which posed temporal constraints to their daily schedule. In addition, membership to the categorisation of culinary expert was enhanced by the sequential characteristics of recipe tellings, which included elicitation at the beginning and throughout the recipe telling, partial tellings (that is, mentions of just a small part of a recipe), exceptionally frequent chaining, joint or simultaneous tellings of different recipes, and high-involvement discourse style. In addition, reference to cosmopolitan and professional sources made relevant an extended culinary repertoire. Moreover, positive assessments of one’s foods, through RS created a widened base of support for the speaker’s culinary expertise, while also avoiding the dispreferred activity of explicit, unwarranted self-praise. All these aspects of recipe tellings have shown the importance of the category good cook in this local context. Disclosing that some of the treats offered are shop-bought (an activity that challenges membership to the category culinary expert/good homemaker) was interactionally constructed as a dispreferred activity; this can also indicate the high value of the category ‘good homemaker’ for the participants.

The exploration of the sequential characteristics of talk about ongoing homemaking activities (in particular knitting or baking) has shown that informants casually switched in and out of such topics, offered involved commentary on specialised/technical issues

(e.g. the size of the needle, the consistency of the fabric, flour varieties) and provided, often unsolicited, assessments. These aspects appeared to contribute to the construction of joint claims of expertise in knitting, sewing and cooking. However, such involved commentary was absent when the discussion turned to knitting with *smili*, and the different modes of participation reserved membership in the category ‘*smili* expert’ for Tasoulla and Loulla, only. Disengagement from and loss of certain homemaking activities was also discussed with regard to certain cooking, knitting and cleaning practices. The organisation of talk in such instances indicated that disengagement from domestic activities was mutually understood by the participants as a topic that required interactional work to get out of, including recipient’s moves to minimise the seriousness of the situation (cf. Jefferson 1984a about the sequential organisation of troubles talk). This sequential aspect of talk about loss of homemaking practices has shown that this was oriented to in conversation as a problematic topic, unlike tellings of ill health and death. This has reinforced the finding that disassociation from the category ‘good homemaker’ was oriented to as an exceptionally dispreferred activity.

In addition, talk about homemaking activities has been found to be connected with categories from other MCDs. Members oriented to the SRP female friend-female friend (both implicitly and explicitly) as bound to rights and obligations of mutual help and engagement in joint domestic activities. Familial roles were also intersected with domestic activities and homemaking categories. More specifically, cooking, knitting and cleaning were recurrently constructed as obligations bound to the categories of mother, grandmother, sister or wife, rather than leisurely activities. Moreover, food preparation, house management and the relevant knowledge and skills were constructed as activities bound to the category ‘woman’. On the whole, repeated claims of incumbency in the category ‘good homemaker’ have suggested that membership in this category holds high symbolic capital in the participants’ micro-culture and that the categorisation is intersected with a nexus of other extra-situational identities and thus provides a prime site for self-validation. Furthermore, self-categorisations as a good cook, cleaner, and knitter appeared to be (implicitly) associated with attributions of being able to maintain a household, independent living, and control over their lives. These attributions foreclosed the possibility of membership to decline old age categories. In general, it has been argued that, although talk about homemaking practices in the self-recordings does not make explicitly relevant age-related

categorisations and attributions, it could implicitly point towards disassociation from heavy decline old-age categories.

6.1.4 How do local constructions of the ageing self compare with widely circulating discourses about ageing, the aged, and older women, in particular?

In order to address this question, constructions of age and ageing, as they have been assembled from the analysis of explicit old-age categories, PTs and tellings of homemaking practices, were compared to widely circulating discourses, as they have been extrapolated, primarily, from the Cypriot media surveyed, but also from the fieldwork and earlier research on discourses of old age.

The negotiation of explicitly stated age categorisation in the self-recordings departed significantly from the deployment of old-age categories in the Cypriot media or even in the everyday usage by other age groups. It has been shown that in the conversational data, the participants made relevant a nuanced, inference rich machinery for age categorisations, consisting of different classes of categories (generic old-women categories, age-in-years, old-men categories), with distinct attributions, hierarchical positioning and rules of application. However, in the Cypriot media surveyed, the employment of the different age categorisations was rather different. The various old-age categories did not have distinct CBAs and all old-age categorial references were associated with heavy decline attributions. Also, unlike members' conversational data, chronological age was straightforwardly linked with generic age categorisations and older women were more often constructed as bound to decline attributions than their male counterparts. Moreover, old-age categories with positive, counter-decline attributions were not found in the media data, nor were young-age categories employed to refer to old women. In addition, my fieldwork has shown that the construction of *megali* as an old-age category, and of *ilikiomeni* as a category that is not bound to decline attributions, as well as the use of young-age categorisations as terms to address older women, were not employed by younger members of the community. It has been argued, in Chapter 3, that these differences in the use of age categorisations between peer interactions on the one hand, and media representations (or interactions among younger members) on the other, appeared to have occurred because of the participants' recurrent claims of co-incumbency to positive old-age identities. Members claims of

positive old-age identities were materialised in interactions through, for example, the construction of old-age categories with positive attributions, the association of old-women categories with more favourable CBAs compared to old-men categories, and the problematisation of the relation of advance age-in-years with decline old-age categories. This discrepancy could indicate that same-age socialisation provides a prime space for the co-construction of age identities that are more positive and empowering, compared to other private and public spaces.

PTs were exceptionally rare in the Cypriot press (which includes very few self-disclosures, or tellings of personal experiences, in general). Nevertheless, as has been shown in the first chapter, painful experiences and attributions of illness, frailty and dependence are regularly associated with older adults both in the Cypriot and the international press and are also linked with widely circulating stereotypical discourse about old age. In addition, in the radio show surveyed, PTs occurred, especially in the pre-recorded dramatic monologue of an actress who enacted an elderly heroine. The heroine regularly referred to painful experiences, including health and mobility problems and loneliness. However, even though such a portrayal of old-age echoed the participants' construction of self in the interviews (since most participants oriented to PT as the most prominent topic of their conversations in the interviews), this was not the case in the self-recordings. In fact, PT was not a very frequent conversational routine (it covered about 3% of the self-recorded time) and the participants avoided topics of extreme decline. This suggests that members' perception of self, as it was oriented to in the interviews, was more affected by widely circulating stereotypes than by their actual experience in peer interactions.

Also, the turn-by-turn organisation of sexually explicit jokes implied that members indexed awareness of discourses about age-appropriateness, in the data. In fact, discourses that render older women as asexual and without humour, and therefore with limited telling rights with regard to sexually explicit jokes, have been associated, in Chapter 4.7.2, with the interactional construction of jokes, and especially their elaborate framing.

Homemaking practices are traditionally seen in many societies as a predominantly female task and an index of female identity, as has been pointed out in Chapter 5.1. These discourses were also prevalent in the Cypriot media surveyed, which assigned

homemaking and child caring as the role of women of the generation of the participants. However, older women were very rarely mentioned in the Cypriot media as performing domestic activities. This could be associated with the fact that such activities were perceived as belonging to the private sphere, and thus as not newsworthy or reportable. Nonetheless, even in articles where older women's daily routine was described, active engagement with homemaking practices was minimally covered. In the conversational data however, the participants recurrently indexed expertise but also current and future engagement in such activities. The participants' insistence on enhancing good homemaker identities indicated the high social value of this category and also implied the participants' attempt to disassociate themselves from extreme decline attributions of age-related dependency, in their peer-group interactions.

Overall, the participants in the self-recorded peer-group conversations appeared to construct their ageing self in more positive ways than the stereotypic representations of old age and ageing in the media and in other domains: positive old-age categories were constructed and claimed, PTs did not tend to refer to heavy decline attributions and the continued membership to the category good homemaker was emphasised. On the other hand, certain stereotypic discourses about older women, namely their limited entitlement to sexually explicit jokes and their tendency for PTs were indexed in the sequential organisation of joke telling and in the representations of peer-socialisation in the research interviews, respectively. Therefore, although members routinely distanced themselves from ageist stereotyping in the self-recordings, such stereotyping was sometimes ratified in their self presentation, especially in the context of interviews. This suggests that peer-group interactions might facilitate more positive construction of ageing than other contexts.

6.2 *The construction of the ageing self: a members' model of identity work*

The discussion in the previous section has provided grounds for addressing the overarching question of: *how are categories and identities of old age discursively constructed and how is old age intersected with other identities?* This question can be broken down into three components:

- a) What are the types of age identities constructed?
- b) Which other identities intersect with age identities?
- c) How are age and other co-articulated identities discursively constructed?

As has been discussed above, through explicit age categories, PTs and tellings of homemaking activities participants made relevant, explicitly or implicitly, a range of age categories. Through the different explicit old-age categorisations ascribed to self and others and the construction of their attributions and implications participants claimed *positive old-age identities*. Through PTs participants oriented to decline-related old-age identities. Yet the absence of certain heavy decline CBAs as well as coping strategies, indexed by the humorous appropriation of painful topics, has shown that the age categories PTs made relevant in the data at hand are better described as associated with *mild decline* attributions. Talk about homemaking practices provided a space where participants negotiate a host of identities that are not associated with old-age categorisations; in fact, self-disassociation from heavy age-induced decline was implied. Overall, participants negotiated counter-decline old age identities (through explicit old-age categories), mild-decline old-age identities (through PTs) and non-applicability of age/age-related decline (through homemaking tellings).

Nevertheless, not all participants appeared to ratify the exact same age identities. The membership of Tasoulla in different age-categories was co-constructed at different levels. Firstly, she was not ascribed explicit old-age categories and her membership to younger age categorisations was explicitly made relevant with the ascription of categories such as ‘νέα’/*young* (Excerpt 3-2, p. 103). Also her once-off self-ascription of an old-age category (‘τρίτη ηλικία’/*third age*) was contested by her interlocutors (Excerpt 3-6, p. 115). In addition, Tasoulla was the only member to employ non-reciprocal reverential ToA, which made relevant her chronological age difference from the other members. Also, she distanced herself from old-age identities through the rarity of tellings of painful experiences. Furthermore, in talk about *smili*, she would routinely project the discourse identities of ratified speaker/addressed recipient, and consequently the category *smili* expert. *Smili* is an activity which was oriented to as associated with attributions of good memory, sharp eyesight and nimble hands, and thus was disassociated from (decline) old-age categories. Therefore, Tasoulla’s membership in younger-age identities was constructed in the categories and CBAs she mentioned, claimed for herself and was ascribed by others, and was also evident in the turn-by-turn organisation of talk about certain topics. The fact that Tasoulla, the chronologically younger member of the group, was also explicitly and implicitly categorised as a member of younger-age categories indicates that chronological age was oriented to as an important value of purchase.

Loulla, on the other hand, shared some of these strategies that construct Tasoulla as non-old. In particular, she also oriented to the category of *smili* expert. In addition, although she engaged in PTs, with comparable frequency as the other participants (i.e. Charoulla, Gregoria, Myria), the frequency of her PTs was slightly lower (see Table VI: Distribution of Painful Tellings per participant). Consequently, Loulla did not construct herself as non-old the way Tasoulla did, but she distanced herself from decline old-age categories, more so than other participants. This is also evident in the interviews, as Loulla and Tasoulla are the only participants who did not classify themselves as old. The two participants' social practices also differentiated them from the rest of the group and index membership to younger age categories. Tasoulla and Loulla would engage not only in talk about *smili*, but also in the practice of *smili* (often during the coffee meetings), are the most mobile of the group (Tasoulla drives, and Loulla's husband also drives a car), and also go on trips abroad. For example, Tasoulla and Loulla went together on a five-day cruise to the Greek islands and the other participants declined to join them because of health and mobility problems.

Therefore it appears that, although participants oriented to a number of age identities, each member recurrently projected slightly different age identities, which were also indexed by engagement in certain social practices. Furthermore, this has shown that chronological age was not necessarily understood as constitutive of old-age categorisations. In fact, as has been shown in Chapter 3.8, members challenged explicitly or implicitly the age-related difference which was indexed by Tasoulla's use of reverential ToA (either by requesting the use of solidary ToA, or by employing, on occasions, reciprocal non-solidary ToA).

The second component of the focal research question has to do with the co-articulation of age with other identities. As has been discussed in Chapter 3, age and gender identities are intersected, so much so that 'old women' constituted an MCD (collection of categories plus rules of application) distinct from 'old men'. Also the identity of good homemaker was also intersected explicitly and implicitly with feminine and family roles. In addition, members indexed in-group identities at different levels. It has been shown that young-age categories (e.g. *korues*, *kopelles*), when they were employed as ToA, functioned as in-group, intimacy markers, and so did other ToA (*re*, *kori*), which proliferated in interactions among the main members of the friendship

group. Furthermore, it has been shown that in PTs members drew from a set of previously discussed experiences and oriented to a shared, locally contingent understanding of normality, expectedness and age-appropriateness, which has been found in the literature to be exclusive to this age group (Black 2002; Matsumoto 2009). Also, jointly drafted tellings were based on and called up the relational history of the group, so that members could project and echo each other's turns. Therefore, PTs, in addition to making relevant age-related decline categorisations, also projected an orientation to in-group identities. Finally, age categorisations were done overwhelmingly in plural (e.g. 'we are *megales*', 'we have entered into the age'). 'We', according to Hanks, lumps the speaker (and interlocutors) into a social group (Hanks 1990:173; cf. N. Coupland et al. 1991a; Poullos 2004b). Therefore, it could be argued that joint membership in similar age categorisations, encourages in-group categorisations.

The discussion so far has shown that the combination of the analysis of the categorisations members construct, negotiate, resist or imply in interaction (categorical order) and the sequential organisation of talk (sequential order) can provide a robust understanding of the machinery participants orient to in constructing aspects of self. Identities can be indexed through explicitly stated categories, or they can be implied through references to CBAs or other categories. More specifically, in the data at hand, age identities were indexed in three levels of explicitness. Firstly, identities were oriented to explicitly through *stated categorisations* (e.g. *megales*, *kojakares*, *we have aged* etc.). The analysis of such categories and their interactional organisation has shown constructions of positive old-age identities or, in the case of Tasoulla, younger, non-old age identities. Secondly, identities were indexed through *mentions of attributions bound to them*. In particular, PTs did not include explicit references to old-age categorisations, but explicitly made relevant old-age-related attributions. Thus PTs made relevant (mild) decline old-age identities through reference to attributions bound to these identities. Also, recipe tellings were oriented to as bound and hence indexing good homemaker identities. Thirdly, age identities were *mediated through orientations to other identities* (cf. Ochs 1992). More specifically references to homemaking activities implied the identity of good homemaker, which was made relevant as intersected with gender and familial identities (e.g. caring mother). In turn, identifications as a good homemaker, a caring mother and woman performing her life-

long obligations, functioned as meso-level categories in indexing the non-applicability of age-related decline.

The following table shows how age identities were constructed at these three levels of explicitness.

<i>Level of explicitness</i>		<i>Explicit Age Categories</i>	<i>Painful Tellings</i>	<i>Talk about homemaking practices</i>
<i>1. Explicitly stated categorisation</i>	1a. Categorical Order	Stated age categories	PTs as CBAs	Talk about homemaking practices as CBAs
	1b. Sequential Order	+ Rules of application	+ Sequential organisation of PTs	+ Sequential organisation of recipe tellings, talk about <i>smili</i> etc
		↓		
		<i>Positive old-age identities</i>		
			↓	↓
<i>2. Identities implied through stated attributions</i>			<i>Age-related decline</i>	Good homemaker Mother/grandmother/wife Woman
<i>3. Identities mediated through orientations to other identities</i>				↓
				<i>Non-applicability of age-related decline</i>

Table XII: Levels of explicitness in the construction of age-identities

On the whole, participants constructed different aspects of their ageing self in interaction and at different levels of explicitness. This has shown that age identities are both nearer the surface of talk, and can be made relevant explicitly, but can also be constructed very implicitly. In addition, members constructed a variety of age-categorisations that ranged from the contestation of age-related decline (through tellings of domestic activities) to the ratification of decline old-age categorisations (through PTs). The fact that being an older woman can describe antithetical practices and identities has been documented in the literature (Paoletti 1998a). Nevertheless, with all the constructions of ageing identities, in the data at hand, the overarching category-bound feature is the self-disassociation from heavy decline attributions. This recurrent interactional accomplishment is what differentiates constructions of the ageing self in the situated activity of peer-elderly interactions from ageist, stereotypical representation of ageing and aged members in the media and widely circulating discourses about later

life. In the final section, the implications of the findings and suggestions for further research are discussed.

6.3 Implications and Suggestions for further research

This study makes a contribution to ageing and identity research, because it has further examined the ways in which the multiplicity and heterogeneity of older women's age identities are constructed in interaction. Firstly, it has been documented that members orient to their age identities at different levels of explicitness. Members constructed aspects of self both by self- and other-directed age-categorisations, employed within a nuanced, contextually sensitive and inference rich machinery, which was observable in the turn shapes and the turn-by-turn organisation. On the other hand, it has been shown that participants can imply counter-decline age categories while they are engaged in an activity that is seemingly irrelevant to age categorisations (e.g. recipe telling). This shows that, in order to fully understand members' constructions of their ageing self, age identities need to be analysed both at the level of explicitly stated categorisations and attributions and also at the level of implied or even mediated categorisations, taking into account both the sequential and the categorial aspects of interaction.

In addition, it has been shown that, although different constructions of elderliness are made relevant, participants, on the whole, construct membership in positive and mild decline old-age identities. In general, a more positive self-presentation has been found in the self-recordings as opposed to interview interactions and also media portrayals of older women. This has shown that counter-decline constructions of self in peer-group interactions, previously documented in institutionally prescribed settings (e.g. community centres) also occurs in everyday, non-institutional settings (cf. Paoletti 1998a; Hurd 1999; Degnen 2007). It would be interesting to examine whether the suggestion that peer-group interactions in various contexts facilitate more counter-decline identity constructions is confirmed (cf. N. Coupland et al. 1991b). Therefore, a further avenue of research would be to conduct a study that looks into everyday, naturally occurring interactions of both peer-elderly and also casual intergenerational interactions with close acquaintances (especially with their daughters, as participant observation revealed the close bond between older mothers and, at least one of, their daughters). Such comparative studies of naturally occurring interactions have focused so far more on first encounters and less on casual interactions in familiar, non institutional settings (N. Coupland et al. 1991a; Poullos 2008).

This study has also contributed to the investigation of the little researched area of communicative practices in everyday, peer-group interactions, of older women. Discourse features of the participants' talk-in-interaction in the self-recordings have been documented, and they can be succinctly summarised as follows:

1. Older women made relevant a nuanced and inference rich machinery of old-age categorisations from a number of categorisations devices, with distinct associations, attributions and rules of application
2. Members discussed, claimed and ascribed to self and interlocutors positive old-age categories
3. Young-age categorisations were employed as ToA among peers
4. Painful tellings made relevant a repertoire of shared experiences, could be jointly told, were treated as topically non-problematic and could be humorously rendered
5. The interactional construction of homemaking practices constituted a very frequent conversational practice
6. Recipe tellings entailed high involvement device, were overwhelmingly chained and partial and involved allusions to shared, tacit knowledge

Some of these findings have confirmed earlier research about elderly communication; namely the treatment of PTs as a resource for humour (Matsumoto 2008, 2009) and the high involvement devices in talk about recipes (Wright-St Clair et al. 2005; O'Sullivan et al. 2008). However, the rest of these features have not been associated with elderly communication in the previous literature, partly because casual, familiar peer interactions have received little attention. Participants have oriented to traditional gender roles with regard to homemaking practices, therefore the overwhelming frequency of homemaking practices could be seen as culture-specific, associated with the fact that older Cypriot women continue to offer domestic services to their adult children.⁹⁹

Some aspects of these phenomena could be associated with this very context of everyday conversations among friends with a long interactional history. This relational history might have allowed the participants to develop an understanding of shared knowledge and a repertoire of shared topics and to establish certain conversational

⁹⁹ Cooking has been found to be an inextricable part of older women's identities in other sociocultural contexts, as well, and was oriented to as an act of caring for their family members (see e.g. Sidenvall et al. 2000; Wright-St Clair et al. 2005; O'Sullivan et al. 2008). However, in these studies older women were *not* found to regularly cook and offer other domestic services to their family members (excluding their spouse).

practices for their meetings. In fact, some of these communicative features have also been documented in research about language in peer socialisation of adolescent and adult women, with long interactional histories. In particular, the implicit references to shared knowledge and collaborative forms of communication (e.g. joint telling of stories, ‘mirroring’ or ‘echoing’ of previous turns) have been associated in the literature with the communication of female adolescent and adult/middle-aged groups of female friends (Coates 1996; Georgakopoulou 2007, 2008; Androutsopoulos & Georgakopoulou 2008; Georgakopoulou & Charalambidou forthcoming). These features also appear in the data at hand in the form of joint tellings of recipes and PTs, and also as orientation to tacit knowledge, regarding homemaking practices.

On the whole, without making generalisations about ‘how old people talk’, the discourse features listed above could be characteristic of (Greek Cypriot) casual female communication with peer-elderly friends. Further research that looks into everyday peer-group communication of older women in Cyprus (and in other sociocultural contexts) could confirm this claim.

Finally, this study exhibited that the examination of single-sex communication in third age can yield very interesting findings. Ethnographic work has shown that the participants socialise overwhelmingly with female as opposed to male friends and acquaintances. Also identities for men and women are treated by the participants of this study as two distinct classes with different attributions, and categories such as good homemaker are constructed as appropriate for women only. Also, other, exclusively female identities, such as ‘girlfriend’ or ‘mother’ are intersected with age in the conversational data. A similar study, focusing on male participants, could examine whether comparable forms of all-male socialisation exist in third age, what linguistic features are employed, what categories (if any) are oriented to for self validation and what identities are negotiated in their interactions.

7 APPENDICES

7.1 *Information sheet and consent forms*

Below the information sheet distributed to prospective participants of this research, as well as the consent and copyright forms that the participant signed are given. The original text, in Greek, is followed by an English translation. These documents and the research, in general, were approved by the Humanities Research Ethics Panel, of King's College London, protocol number of the application: REP-H/07/08-6.

7.1.1 Information Sheet

ΕΝΗΜΕΡΩΤΙΚΟ ΦΥΛΛΑΔΙΟ ΓΙΑ ΣΥΜΜΕΤΕΧΟΥΣΕΣ

Αριθμός Πρωτοκόλλου: REP-H/07/08-6

ΘΑ ΣΑΣ ΔΟΘΕΙ ΕΝΑ ΑΝΤΙΤΥΠΟ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΦΥΛΛΑΔΙΟΥ

Τίτλος της έρευνας:

ΓΛΩΣΣΑ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΙΝΟΝΙΚΟΠΟΙΗΣΗ ΕΛΛΗΝΟΚΥΠΡΙΩΝ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΩΝ ΤΡΙΤΗΣ ΗΛΙΚΙΑΣ: ΔΟΜΗΣΗ ΕΥΑΤΟΥ ΣΕ ΣΥΝΟΜΙΛΙΕΣ ΣΥΝΟΜΗΛΙΚΩΝ.

Σας προσκαλούμε να συμμετάσχετε σε αυτή τη μεταπτυχιακή έρευνα. Η συμμετοχή σας είναι προαιρετική. Εάν επιλέξετε να μην συμμετάσχετε αυτό δεν θα σας φέρει σε μειονεκτική θέση, με κανένα τρόπο. Πριν αποφασίσετε αν θέλετε να συμμετάσχετε, είναι σημαντικό να καταλάβετε για ποιο λόγο γίνεται η έρευνα και τι θα περιλαμβάνει η συμμετοχή σας. Παρακαλούμε διαβάστε τις ακόλουθες πληροφορίες προσεκτικά και συζητήστε τις με άλλους εάν επιθυμείτε. Ρωτήστε μας αν κάτι δεν είναι ξεκάθαρο ή αν θέλετε επιπλέον πληροφορίες.

Στόχοι και πιθανά οφέλη από την έρευνα

Ο στόχος αυτής της έρευνας είναι να εξετάσει πως οι Ελληνοκύπριες γυναίκες τρίτης ηλικίας προβάλλουν τον εαυτό τους στις καθημερινές τους συνομιλίες και κοινωνικές επαφές με φίλες της ίδιας ηλικίας. Τα πιθανά οφέλη αυτής της έρευνας είναι να συμβάλει στον τομέα της γλώσσας και ηλικίας και επίσης να αναδείξει τη σημασία της επαφής με συνομήλικους στην τρίτη ηλικία. Επίσης θα σας προσφερθεί ένα αντίτυπο της τελικής εργασίας.

Ποιούς καλούμε να συμμετάσχουν

Ζητούμε ομάδες φίλων Ελληνοκυπρίων γυναικών άνω των 65. Οι συμμετέχουσες πρέπει να είναι κοινωνικά αυτόνομες, να κατοικούν στην κοινότητα, να είναι εγγράμματες, και να έχουν καλή ψυχική υγεία.

Τι θα συμβεί εάν συμφωνήσετε να συμμετάσχετε

Εάν αποφασίσετε να συμμετάσχετε θα ηχογραφηθούν κάποιες από τις καθημερινές συνομιλίες με άλλες συμμετέχουσες της έρευνας. Πρώτα θα παρατηρήσω κάποιες επαφές της ομάδας, θα κάνω κάποιες κουβέντες μαζί σας και κάποιες ηχογραφήσεις. Ένας αριθμός συνομιλιών θα ηχογραφηθούν από μία συμμετέχουσα χρησιμοποιώντας ψηφιακό μαγνητόφωνο (με ή χωρίς την παρουσία της ερευνήτριας), όποτε συναντιέται η ομάδα. Κάθε ηχογράφιση θα διαρκεί όσο και η συνάντηση (περίπου μια ώρα) και οι ηχογραφήσεις θα είναι τόσο συχνές όσο και οι επαφές της ομάδας. Η πρώτη φάση συλλογής δεδομένων θα διαρκέσει δύο μήνες. Αργότερα, θα διεξαγάγω μια ανεπίσημη συνομιλία με την κάθε συμμετέχουσα, η οποία θα ηχογραφηθεί. Σε μια δεύτερη φάση, θα γίνουν επιπλέον ηχογραφήσεις των συνομιλιών της ομάδας.

Πιθανοί κίνδυνοι και δυσκολίες

Δεν υπάρχει κανένας προβλεπόμενος κίνδυνος ψυχολογικού στρες, ταπείνωσης, πλήγματος ή οποιαδήποτε άλλη αρνητική συνέπεια πέραν των κινδύνων που υπάρχουν στην κανονική ζωή. Υπάρχει η πιθανότητα κάποια δυσκολία να προκύψει από την παρουσία του μαγνητοφώνου στις καθημερινές σας συνομιλίες.

Ανωνυμία και εμπιστευτικότητα

Προσωπικά στοιχεία που φανερώνουν την ταυτότητά σας θα είναι αυστηρώς εμπιστευτικά (εκτός εάν συμφωνηθεί εγγράφως το αντίθετο) και θα τα χειριστούμε με βάση τη διάταξη Προστασίας Προσωπικών Δεδομένων του 1998. Πληροφορίες που θα μπορούσαν να αποκαλύψουν ή να υπενυχθούν την ταυτότητά σας (π.χ. ονοματεπώνυμο, διεύθυνση, τηλέφωνο, ιατρικές πληροφορίες, επάγγελμα) θα κρατούνται μόνο από την ερευνήτρια και κανένας τρίτος δε θα έχει πρόσβαση σε αυτές. Δεν θα είναι δυνατό να σας ταυτοποιήσουν στην τελική εργασία. Θα τροποποιήσουμε όλες τις αναφορές στα ηχογραφημένα δεδομένα σε ονόματα, συγκεκριμένες τοποθεσίες και πληροφορίες που μπορεί να σας ταυτοποιήσουν. Στην μελέτη θα χρησιμοποιηθούν ψευδώνυμα για όλες τις συμμετέχουσες.

Δικαίωμα απόσυρσης

Έχετε το δικαίωμα να αποσυρθείτε ανά πάσα στιγμή, χωρίς να πρέπει να αναφέρετε το λόγο. Δεν θα σας ασκηθεί πίεση να ξαναεμπλακείτε στην έρευνα. Επίσης έχετε δικαίωμα να αποσύρετε τα ηχητικά σας δεδομένα, μέχρι να χρησιμοποιηθούν στη μελέτη (Ιανουάριος 2009).

Όνομα και πληροφορίες ερευνήτριας

Άννα Χαραλαμπίδου

Τμήμα Βυζαντινών και Νεοελληνικών σπουδών

King's College London, Strand, London WC2R 2LS

anna.charalambidou@kcl.ac.uk

Επαφίεται σε σας η απόφαση συμμετοχής στην έρευνα. Αν αποφασίσετε να συμμετάσχετε θα σας δοθεί αυτό το ενημερωτικό φυλλάδιο και θα σας ζητήσουμε να υπογράψετε μια φόρμα συγκατάθεσης. Θα σας ρωτήσουμε αν επιθυμείτε να επικοινωνήσουμε μαζί σας για μελλοντικές έρευνες. Η συμμετοχή σας στην παρούσα έρευνα δε θα επηρεαστεί αν αποφασίσετε να μη ξαναεπικοινωνίσουμε στο μέλλον μαζί σας.

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

REC Protocol Number: REP-H/07/08-6

YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS INFORMATION SHEET

Title of the Study:

***LANGUAGE AND SOCIABILITY IN GREEK CYPRIOT ELDERLY WOMEN:
SELF-CONSTRUCTION IN PEER GROUP CONVERSATIONS.***

We would like to invite you to participate in this postgraduate research project. You should only participate if you want to; choosing not to take part will not disadvantage you in any way. Before you decide whether you want to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what your participation will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

Aims of the research and possible benefits

The aim of the research is to examine how Greek Cypriot elderly women present their self through their everyday conversation and socialisation with friends of the same age group. The possible benefits of this research would be firstly to contribute to the literature on language and ageing, and secondly to show the importance of peer group interaction of older adults. You will also be offered a copy of the final report.

Who we are recruiting

We are recruiting all female groups of Greek Cypriot friends above 65. The participants should be socially autonomous, community resident, literate, and with good mental health.

What will happen if the you agree to take part

If you agree to take part we will make audio recordings of your daily conversations with the other participants of the project. Firstly, I will observe some of the interactions of the group, have informal interviews with you and do some recordings. A number of conversations will be recorded by one of the participants using a digital voice recorder (and without the presence of a researcher), whenever the group meets. Each session will

be as long as the meeting of the group (usually around one hour) and the recordings will be as frequent as the meetings, over a period of about two months for each group of friends. I will later have some audio recorded informal interviews with you. In the second phase of the project, a few months later, I will collect some additional recordings of the conversations of the group.

Any risks or inconveniences involved

There is NO foreseeable risk of psychological stress or anxiety, humiliation, harm or any other negative consequences beyond the risks encountered in normal life. There is the possibility that some inconvenience might occur owing to the presence of the audio recorder in some of your everyday conversations.

Anonymity and confidentiality

Personal information that reveal identity will be treated as strictly confidential (unless otherwise agreed in writing) and handled in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998. Identifiable information or information that could potentially be linked back to you (e.g. your name, contact details, medical information, profession etc.) will be held by the researcher only and no third party will have access to it. You will not be identifiable in the final report. All references to names, particular places and other personal-identifiable information in the data will be altered and pseudonyms for the participants and other persons referred to will be used.

Right of Withdrawal

You have the right to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason. There will be no pressure on you to re-engage with the research. You may withdraw your data from the project at any time up until it is transcribed for use in the final report (January 2009).

Name and contact details of the researcher

Anna Charalambidou

Department of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies,

King's College London, Strand, London WC2R 2LS

anna.charalambidou@kcl.ac.uk

It is up to you to decide whether to take part or not. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. If you do decide to take

part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. If you agree to take part you will be asked whether you are happy to be contacted about participation in future studies. Your participation in this study will not be affected should you choose not to be re-contacted.

7.1.2 Consent Form

ΦΟΡΜΑ ΣΥΓΚΑΤΑΘΕΣΗΣ ΣΥΜΜΕΤΟΧΗΣ ΣΕ ΕΡΕΥΝΗΤΙΚΕΣ ΜΕΛΕΤΕΣ



Παρακαλώ συμπληρώστε αυτή τη φόρμα, αφού διαβάσετε το Ενημερωτικό Φυλλάδιο και ακούσετε μια επεξήγηση της έρευνας.

Τίτλος της έρευνας: *Γλώσσα και κοινωνικοποίηση Ελληνοκύπριων γυναικών τρίτης ηλικίας: δόμηση εαυτού σε συνομιλίες συνομηλίκων.*

Κωδικός Επιτροπής Δεοντολογίας Έρευνας King's College: REP-H/07/08-6

- Ευχαριστούμε που σκέφτεστε να συμμετάσχετε σε αυτή την έρευνα. Η ερευνήτρια πρέπει να σας εξηγήσει την έρευνα, προτού αποφασίσετε να λάβετε μέρος.
- Αν έχετε οποιεσδήποτε απορίες που προκύπτουν από το Ενημερωτικό Φυλλάδιο, ή την προφορική επεξήγηση που σας έχει δοθεί, παρακαλούμε ρωτήστε την ερευνήτρια, πριν αποφασίσετε κατά πόσον θα συμμετάσχετε. Θα σας δοθεί ένα αντίτυπο αυτής της Φόρμας Συγκατάθεσης, να την κρατήσετε για μελλοντική αναφορά.
- Οι πληροφορίες που έχετε υποβάλει θα δημοσιευτούν ως μελέτη και θα σας σταλεί αντίγραφο. Σημειωτέον ότι εμπιστευτικότητα και ανωνυμία θα τηρηθούν, και δε θα είναι δυνατή η ταυτοποίηση σας από οποιεσδήποτε δημοσιεύσεις.
- Αντιλαμβάνομαι ότι αν αποφασίσω να αποσυρθώ από την έρευνα ανά πάσα στιγμή, μπορώ να το γνωστοποιήσω στην ερευνήτρια και να αποδεσμευτώ πάραυτα.
- Συγκατατίθεμαι στο να χρησιμοποιηθούν οι προσωπικές μου πληροφορίες για τους σκοπούς αυτής της έρευνας. Αντιλαμβάνομαι ότι τέτοιες πληροφορίες θα χρησιμοποιηθούν ως αυστηρώς εμπιστευτικές (εκτός εάν συμφωνηθεί εγγράφως το αντίθετο) και με βάση τη διάταξη Προστασίας Προσωπικών Δεδομένων του 1998.
- Συμφωνώ να χρησιμοποιήσει η ερευνητική ομάδα τα δεδομένα για μελλοντικές έρευνες και αντιλαμβάνομαι ότι οποιαδήποτε τέτοια χρήση θα θεωρηθεί και θα

εγκριθεί από επιτροπή δεοντολογίας έρευνας. (Σε τέτοια περίπτωση, όπως και με την παρούσα έρευνα, τα δεδομένα δε θα αποκαλύπτουν την ταυτότητά μου σε καμία δημοσίευση).

Δήλωση Συμμετέχουσας:

Εγώ, η _____

συμφωνώ ότι το πιο πάνω ερευνητικό έργο έχει εξηγηθεί σε μένα ικανοποιητικά και συμφωνώ να συμμετάσχω στην έρευνα. Διάβασα τις πληροφορίες πιο πάνω και το ενημερωτικό φυλλάδιο και αντιλαμβάνομαι τι περιλαμβάνει η έρευνα.

Υπογραφή _____ Ημερομηνία _____

Δήλωση Ερευνήτριας

Εγώ, η Άννα Χαραλαμπίδου

βεβαιώνω ότι έχω εξηγήσει επαρκώς τη φύση, τις απαιτήσεις και όποια ενδεχόμενα ρίσκα της προτεινόμενης έρευνας στην εθελόντρια.

Υπογραφή _____ Ημερομηνία _____

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and listened to an explanation about the research.

Title of Study: *Language and Sociability in Greek Cypriot Elderly Women: Self-construction in peer group conversations.*

King's College Research Ethics Committee Ref: REP-H/07/08-6

- Thank you for considering taking part in this research. The person organising the research must explain the project to you before you agree to take part.
- If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.
- The information you have submitted will be published as a report and you will be sent a copy. Please note that confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained and it will not be possible to identify you from any publications.
- I understand that if I decide at any other time during the research that I no longer wish to participate in this project, I can notify the researchers involved and be withdrawn from it immediately.
- I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes of this research study. I understand that such information will be treated as strictly confidential (unless otherwise agreed in writing) and handled in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998.
- I agree that the research team may use my data for future research and understand that any such use of identifiable data would be reviewed and approved by a

research ethics committee. (In such cases, as with this project, data would not be identifiable in any report).

Participant's Statement:

I _____
agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed _____ Date _____

Researcher's Statement:

I Anna Charalambidou

Confirm that I have carefully explained the nature, demands and foreseeable risks (where applicable) of the proposed research to the volunteer.

Signed _____ Date _____

7.1.3 Custody and Copyright form

Φόρμα ανάθεσης και συγκατάθεσης για οπτικοακουστικό υλικό



University of London

Ο σκοπός αυτής της φόρμας ανάθεσης και συγκατάθεσης είναι να δώσει τη δυνατότητα μόνιμης κατοχής και χρήσης του συλλεχθέντος οπτικοακουστικού υλικού στο ερευνητικό έργο **Γλώσσα και Επικοινωνία στις Ελληνοκύπριες Γυναίκες**.

Όλο το υλικό θα κρατηθεί ως μόνιμο αρχείο για χρήση σε μελλοντικές έρευνες, από την ερευνητική μας ομάδα και μόνο. Το ερευνητικό υλικό του Κολλεγίου προετοιμάζεται και τυγχάνει διαχείρισης σύμφωνα με την καθοδήγηση της σχετικής επιτροπής δεοντολογίας. Αυτό διασφαλίζει τα κατάλληλα επίπεδα ασφάλειας και εμπιστευτικότητας.

Εάν επιθυμείτε να περιορίσετε την πρόσβαση στη δική σας συνεισφορά για περίοδο χρόνου (έως 30 χρόνια) παρακαλώ δηλώστε τους όρους σας πιο κάτω.

Αναθέτω τα πνευματικά δικαιώματα της συμβολής μου στο πανεπιστήμιο King's College του Λονδίνου.

Υπογραφή συμμετέχουσας:	
Ημερομηνία:	
Διεύθυνση:	

Υπογραφή για το Κολλέγιο:	Anna Charalambidou
Ημερομηνία:	

Κωδικός Αριθμός Επιτροπής Δεοντολογίας Έρευνας: REP-H/07/08-6

Assignment and consent form for recordings of research participants



University of London

The purpose of this assignment and consent form is to enable the **Language and Sociability in Greek Cypriot Elderly Women project** to permanently retain and use the recordings we will make of you during this research project.

All material will be preserved as a permanent record for use in future research by our research team only. College research material is prepared and processed in line with guidance from a relevant ethics committee. This ensures that suitable standards of security and confidentiality are applied.

If you wish to limit public access to your contribution for a period of years (up to a maximum of 30 years) please state these conditions here.

I hereby assign copyright in my contribution to King's College London.

Signed for the contributor:	
Date:	
Address:	

Signed for the College:	Anna Charalambidou
Date:	

Research Ethics Committee Reference Number: REP-H/07/08-6

7.2 Recorded data tables

The following tables present all audio recorded conversations, interviews and media data which are used in the analysis, indicating date, time, place, duration and participants of each interaction. In the participant row, initials are used for the main participants as follows:

Γ	G	Gregoria
M	M	Myria
Λ	L	Loulla
T	T	Tasoulla
X	C	Charoulla

7.2.1 Self-recordings

<i>No</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Duration</i>	<i>Participants</i>
<i>PHASE 1: January-February 08 (7h.18min)</i>					
<i>A1</i>	8/1/08	9am	Gregoria's house	30min	G, L
<i>A2</i>	18/1/08	10.30am	Loulla's house	1h.00min	L, M, G, C
<i>A3</i>	25/1/08	3pm	Gregoria's house	1h.50min	G, M, L, C (4min+), T (16min+)
<i>A4</i>	6/2/08	2.20pm	Charoulla's house	1h.46min	C, T, L, M, G
<i>A5</i>	7/2/08	3.00pm	Myria's house	57min	M, G, L, C, T (16min+), Ketsina
<i>A6</i>	12/2/08	3.30pm	Loulla's house	45min	L, G, T, M (9min+), C (40min+)
<i>A7</i>	13/2/08	11.25am	Gregoria's kitchen	30min	G, M, Anthoulla (up to 24min)
<i>PHASE 2: May-June 08 (4h.18min)</i>					
<i>A8</i>	7/5/08	3.20pm	Olivia's kitchen	20min	M, L, C, T, G, Olivia
<i>A9</i>	13/5/08	3.45pm	Gregoria's kitchen	53min	G, L, C (up to 41min), T (8min+), M (26min+)
<i>A10</i>	4/6/08	6pm	Myria's house	1h.10min	M, G, C, L

<i>A11</i>	18/6/08	5pm	Myria's house	1h.26min	M, G, L (14min+)
<i>A12</i>	20/6/08	5.30pm	Gregoria's house	30min	G, M, L
<i>PHASE 3: March 09 (6h.4min)</i>					
<i>A13</i>	4/3/09	11am	Myria's house	35min	G, M, L (15min+)
<i>A14</i>	9/3/09	10.55am	Myria's house	60min	M, G, L
<i>A15</i>	13/3/09	10am	Myria's house	1h.03min	G, M, L (up to 53min), X (up to 1h.03min)
<i>A16</i>	16/3/09	4pm	Myria's house	1h.20min	M, G, L, Ketsina, T (7min+)
<i>A17</i>	18/3/09	5pm	Myria's house	33min	M, G
<i>A18</i>	20/3/09	3pm	Gregoria's house	2h.10min	G, M, L, T (up to 1h.44min) , C (up to 1h.44min), Ketsina (up to 1h.44min), Olivia (up to 48min)
TOTAL: 18h.16min					

Table XIII: Self-recorded conversations

7.2.2 Audio-recorded interviews

<i>No</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Duration</i>	<i>Participants</i>
<i>B1</i>	31/7/08	10.30am	Loulla's living room	52min	L, Anna
<i>B2</i>	2/8/08	4.50pm	Gregoria's kitchen	49min	G, Anna
<i>B3</i>	2/8/08	6pm	Myria's hall	34min	M, Anna
<i>B4</i>	8/8/08	10am	Charoulla's living room	58min	C, Anna
<i>B5</i>	16/8/08	5.30pm	Tasoulla's kitchen	1h.01min	T, Anna, (G)
TOTAL: 4h.14min					

Table XIV: Audio-recorded interviews

7.2.3 Radio recordings

<i>No</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Dura- tion</i>	<i>Participants</i>	<i>Theme of the show</i>
C1	6/3/08	50min	- Andreas Fantidis (presenter) - 11 callers	Carnival celebrations
C2	13/3/08	50min	- Fantidis - 10 callers	Recipes for Lenten foods
C3	20/3/08	50min	- Fantidis - A studio guest (an elderly Greek Cypriot from a mixed village) - 5 callers	Memories of peaceful coexistence with Turkish Cypriots
C4	27/3/08	50min	- Fantidis - 12 callers	Traditional poems and sayings
C5	3/4/08	50min	- Fantidis - A studio guest (representative of a large trade union) - 8 callers	Pensions
TOTAL: 4h.10min				

Table XV: Audio-recorded radio shows

7.3 Interview Questions

Below is the list of questions which the researcher took at the audio-recorded, informal, open-ended interviews to prompt conversation. The original is given, followed by a translation.

Προσωπικά Στοιχεία

1. Πού γεννήθηκες;
2. Μίλα μου για τα παιδικά σου χρόνια; Τι θυμάσαι έντονα;
3. Πόσον καιρό πήγες στο σχολείο;
4. Μετά έπιασες δουλειά; Τι δουλειά έκαμνες;
5. Πότε ήρθες στην Αταλάντα;
6. Πόσων χρονών παντρεύτηκες;
7. Μίλα μου για τον άντρα σου. Τι δουλειά έκαμνε;
8. Πότε έκαμες τα παιδιά σου; Μίλα μου για τα παιδιά σου.
9. Δούλευες όταν μεγάλωνες τα μωρά σου;
10. Πώς ήταν η ζωή σου;
11. Πότε παντρεύτηκαν τα παιδιά σου;
12. Πόσα εγγόνια έχεις; Μίλα μου για αυτά.
13. Πόσο συχνά βλέπεις τα εγγόνια σου;
14. Πότε έχασες τον άντρα σου;
15. Πώς ήταν για σένα; Έκανες κάτι για να το ξεπεράσεις;

Τρίτη Ηλικία

1. Πώς σε φωνάζουν στον δρόμο παλιά και τώρα;
2. Παρατηρείς κάποιες αλλαγές στον εαυτόν σου; σωματικές αλλαγές; αλλαγές στον τρόπον που σκέφτεσαι; στη ζωή σου;
3. Βλέπεις κάποιες θετικές αλλαγές;
4. Πόσων χρονών είσαι;
5. Πόσων χρονών νοιώθεις;
6. Πόσων χρονών φαίνεσαι;
7. Πώς σε βλέπουν οι άλλοι;
8. Πιστεύεις ότι είσαι μια γυναίκα τρίτης ηλικίας;
9. Πότε μπήκες/θα μπεις στην τρίτη ηλικία;
10. Ποια είναι τα χαρακτηριστικά μιας συνηθισμένης γυναίκας τρίτης ηλικίας;

Κοινωνικοποίηση και ενδιαφέροντα

1. Ποιο είναι τα πιο κοντινά σου πρόσωπα;
2. Σε ποιους λες τα προβλήματά σου;
3. Με ποιον συναντιέσαι όταν θέλεις να περάσεις καλά;
4. Ποιους βλέπεις πιο συχνά;
5. Ποιοι είναι οι φίλοι/φίλες σου/οι παρέες σου;
6. Πόσο καιρό γνωρίζετε;
7. Ποια είναι η πιο αστεία; ο αρχηγός;
8. Πού και πόσο συχνά συναντιέστε;
9. Τι κάνετε όταν συναντιέστε; Για τι πράγματα μιλάτε;
10. Συναντιέστε μόνο στα σπίτια η μια της άλλης;
11. Ποια είναι τα ενδιαφέροντά σου/οι αγαπημένες σου ασχολίες; Τι σου αρέσει να κάνεις στον ελεύθερό σου χρόνο;
12. Σου αρέσει η μαγειρική;
13. Σου αρέσει το ράψιμο/το πλέξιμο/το διάβασμα;

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (TRANSLATION)

Personal Information

1. Where were you born?
2. Talk to me about your childhood. What do you remember vividly?
3. How long did you stay at school?
4. Did you work/what job did you do?
5. When did you come to Atalanta?
6. How old were you when you got married?
7. Talk to me about your husband. What job did he do?
8. When did you have kids? Talk to me about them.
9. Were you working while you were raising you children?
10. How was your life then?
11. When did your children get married?
12. How many grandchildren do you have? Talk to me about them.
13. How often do you see your children and grandchildren?
14. When did you lose your husband?
15. How was that for you? Did you do something to get over it?

Third Age

1. What do people call you in the street, to attract your attention, in the past and now?
2. Do you observe changes in yourself as the time passes? changes in your body? in the way you think? in your life?
3. Do you see any positive changes?
4. What is your age?
5. How old do you feel?
6. How old do you think you look?
7. How old do others think you are?
8. Do you believe you are a woman of third age?
9. When did you become/you will become a woman of third age?
10. What are the typical characteristics of a woman of third age?

Socialisation and hobbies

1. Who are your closest persons?
2. In whom do you confide your problems?
3. Who do you meet if you want to have a good time?
4. Who do you see most frequently?
5. Who are your friends/companions?
6. How long have you known them?
7. Who is the funniest/the leader?
8. Where do you meet and how often?
9. What do you do when you meet? What do you talk about?
10. Do you only meet at each other's houses?
11. What are your interests/favourite pursuit? What do you like to do in your free time?
12. Do you like cooking?
13. Do you like sewing/knitting/reading?

7.4 *Log of social interactions template*

All main participants were asked to complete the following diary, indicating all their telephone or face-to-face interactions with duration longer than five minutes, with friends, for two weeks (between Apr 16th 09- Apr 30th 09).

ΗΜΕΡΟΛΟΓΙΟ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΩΝ ΕΠΑΦΩΝ

Όνομα: XXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Οδηγίες: Σημειώστε στο πιο κάτω ημερολόγιο κάθε **επικοινωνία με φίλο/φίλη**. Μπορείτε να συμπεριλάβετε συναντήσεις για καφέ, συναντήσεις στην εκκλησία, στο γιατρό, στο μπακάλι και τηλεφωνικές συνομιλίες για δύο εβδομάδες: από την Μεγάλη Πέμπτη, **16 Απριλίου 2009** ως την Πέμπτη, **30 Απριλίου 2009**.

Μέρα	Ημ/νία	Ώρα	Συνά- ντηση;	Τηλεφώ- νημα;	Με ποιους;	Τόπος	Διάρκεια
Μ. Πέμπτη	16/4/09	8.30πμ	✓		Λούλλα	Εκκλησία	1.30'

Log of social interactions template (translated)

LOG OF SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

Name: XXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Instructions: Make a note in the following log of every communication with friends. You can include meetings for coffee, meetings at the church, at the doctor's, at the grocer's and also telephone interactions for two weeks: from Thursday, **16 April 2009** to Thursday, **30 April 2009**.

Day	Date	Time	Meeting?	Phone-call?	With whom?	Place	Duration
Thursday	16/4/09	8.30πμ	✓		Loulla	Church	1.30'

7.5 Additional Transcripts

Below is a collection of transcripts of additional data (from the self-recordings, the audio-recorder interviews and the radio broadcasts), which are mentioned in Chapters 2-5. These excerpts either provide further examples of various phenomena discussed above or constitute extended transcripts of smaller sequences, given in the chapters. In the latter case, the text which is also cited in the previous chapters is highlighted.

7.5.1 Additional Excerpts for Chapter 2

Excerpt 7-1: Full Conversation

(participants: Gregoria, Myria)

0.00

1. Λ μάῳῳαλλα μάῳῳαλλα Γρηγορία. (.)
2. Γ α? (1.2)
3. Λ αντί να τα λλιάνεις ε- πολλυνίσκεις τα?
4. Γ αφού εν τόσα. ακόμα εν ήπκια τίποτε.
5. εν-[ι-ξέρω] είντα'μ πόν να φάω να τα πκιω.
6. Λ [ε εγώ-]
7. Γ δεν-ι-ξέρω κόρη μου. (.) είντα'μ που'ν να κάμω. (.) τώρα να κάμω καμιάν καπηρούαν.
8. κανέναν κομμάτιν ↓τυρίν.
9. [επέλλα να πάλε.]
10. Λ [εγώ έμαθα] τζαι τρώω τζείνα τα κκόνφλεκς το πρωίν με το γάλα, (.)
11. Γ έτρωα τα τζαι τωρά εν μ'αρέσκουν. (1.3)
12. Λ τζείνα τα ολικής αλέσεως. εν πολλά ωραία.
13. Γ ↑νναι. μα έφερεν μου:: εν-ι-ξέρω αν εν πο τζείνα η Μάρω:
14. τρώει τα τζ' ο Χάρης πόν έχουν ζάχαρη.
15. Λ =εν έχουν ούτε ζάχαρη. τζ' είναι του σιταρκού. (1.3)
16. Γ °εν-ι-ξέρω αν εν τούτα.° έτρωα τζείν'τα άλλα τωρά εν τούτα
17. που μ'ό:φερεν. (.)
18. Λ φέρ τα δα να δούμεν. <άλπεν>.
19. Γ νναι.
20. Λ α τζαι τούτα καλά. τζαι τούτα εν καλά. τούτα έχουσιν τζαι άλλα::
21. Γ =κούννες κάτι
22. Λ κούννες [νναι. <νναι νναι νναι νναι>]
23. Γ [σπορούθκια μέσα,]
24. έχουν [σταφυδάκια]
25. Λ [νναι έχουν τού]τα ούλλα διάφορα μέσα. (.)

26. έπιννα τα- έτρωα τα τζ' εγώ τούτα
27. Γ χμ.
28. Λ με τους ξηρούς τους καρούς.
29. Γ =μμ.
30. Λ ε μα έτο αρέσκουν μου τζείνα εμέναν. (1.2)
31. έτρωα τα τζ' εγώ-
32. Γ =ε θέλω κάτι που να μεν έχουν ΖΑχαρην για τζείνο.
33. Λ [νναι εν έχουσιν]
34. Γ [τζείνα μπορεί] να'χουν ζάχαρην που τρώεις.
35. Λ οί εν έχουν. αφού είναι εκατόν τοις εκατόν νο θούγκαρ. (.)
36. Γ έφερεν μου έτρωα στις αρκές, τωρά έδει κάμποσον τζαιρόν εν-
37. Λ =οί οί να [τρώεις έναν πο τούτον]
38. Γ [έφαα τόσον λλία-]
39. Λ πκιά:ννει σε [με] το γάλαν το φρέσκον
40. Γ [μμ]
41. μμ.
42. Λ επήα τζαμέ στον κασάπην τζ' έπκιασα τζαι το::: κρέας λαλώ σου
43. τζ' εκατέβαζεν το τζείν την ώρα (0.8) γιαούρτιν.
44. Γ μμ
45. Λ τζ' έ[πκιασα μιαν] κκιασούαν,
46. Γ [εν ωραία]
47. =οί έδει έναν άλλον μπουκκαλλούν [έτσι ψηλό-]
48. Λ [μπουκκαλλούν]
49. Σημαιώ τζείνο?
50. Γ οί ενν εν Σημαιού. φέρνει το πάλε χωρκάτικον
51. [πολλά ωραίον το γιαούρτιν] του είναι <σπιτίδο> γιαούρτι.
52. Λ [νναι? εν το δοκίμασα]
53. ε μα τούτο γράφει (.) πρόβειο.
54. Γ μμ.
55. Λ εκατόν τοις εκατόν πρόβειο.
56. Γ ε τζαι τούτον έτσι γράφει. (.)
57. Λ <τζ' έκοψα> μιαν κουταλλιάν τζ' έφαα τζ' <έννοιωθα> το έτσι μαλακόν που ήταν
58. μα τι ωραίον ρε Γληορού.
59. Γ μμ. ανακατδώ τις κκιασούες εγώ. (1.3) (h)
60. Λ νναι?
61. Γ ε φέρνουν τες κάθε μια έσσω τη:ς, ύστερα [παίρνουν τις]

62. Λ [ε μα ύστερα]
63. πρέπει να τις απολυμάνουν για να τες βάλουν αλλιώς
64. εν να χαλάσει το γιαούρτιν τους. (0.8)
65. Γ ε. να μεν τες χρησιμοποιούν τίποτε άλλον να ξιμαρίζουν, [ξέ]ρω γω
66. Λ [ε!]
67. Γ ε τέλοσπαντων εν καλές της κκιασούα πάντα [τραβά-]
68. Λ [έπκιασα]
69. το έπκιασα το τζείνη τη- [εκα]τέβαζεν τζείνην την ώραν επειδή ήταν φρέσκον
70. Γ [μμ.]
71. Λ τζ' εν να τους κάμω τζαι λλίον πουρκούριν
72. Γ [νναι]
73. Λ [ππε]λάφιν, τζαι τα αφέλια τζαι καμιάν σαλάτα.
74. Γ νναι:
75. Λ έχω τζαι ζαλατίναν να την φάσιν να φύει
76. Γ έδειχεν τωρά μιαν σαλάταν εν ωραία. έκαμνεν την κάποτε τζαι η:
77. η μαστόρισσά μου η Μιλιέξ τούτη. με γιαούρτι μόνο. το γιαούρτιν ανν εν
78. τζαι νάκκον σφικτόν βάλλεις τζαι νάκκουρούιν έτσι λλίον νερόν λλίες σταγόνες
79. τζ' ανακατώννεις το τζαι αλάτι. τζ' έσει διάφορα χόρτα
80. ότι χόρτα θέλεις βάλλεις μέσα. τζαι τοματίνια έκοψεν,
81. Λ μμ
82. Γ αλάτι πιπέρι τζ' ενεκάτωσεν την. μα ξέρεις είντα ωραία γευσάτη πόني με το γιαούρτι.
83. [με λάθκια με ξύθκια με τίποτε.]
84. Λ [εν την (είδα) καμιά φορά-]
85. Γ μόνον με γιαούρτι νεκατωμένη έτο όσον φαίνεται πάνω στα χόρτα [κάτι χό]ρτα-
86. Λ [ε::]
87. έφερεν μου εχτές η αρφή μου προχτές έναν κραμπί πο τζείνα τα μαλακά:
88. Γ α τζείνα τα φρεσ- νναι
89. Λ τζ' εκόψαμέν τα τζ' ετρίψαμεν μέσα τζ' έναν καρόττον. (1.8) μέσα τριφτόν
90. στον τρίφτιν του τυρκού (0.9) τζαι λεμόνιν μόνον τίποτε άλλο.
91. κραμπί τζαι καρόττον τζ' ετράβησεν τζείνην [την]
92. Γ [νναι]
93. Λ μυρωθκιάν του λεμονιού
94. Γ τζείνον εν γλυτζύν το:-
95. Λ =ούτε λάδιν λαλείς τζ' εσύ ούτε τίποτε
96. Γ [τζείνον εν γλυ]τζύν το καρόττο- το:: κραμπίν πολλά εν πολλά ωραίον τζείνον
97. Λ [πολλά ωραίον]

98. νναι νναι εφάμεν το δεν επετάξαμεν τίποτε. [εφά]μεν το
99. Γ [α::]
100. ε.
101. Λ προχτές έκαμα τους χ-λαχανοτολμάδες.
102. Παναΐα μου επελλάνασιν! (.)
103. °μα τι ωραίοι!, μα τι ωραίοι μάμμα!° ((stylised)) δεν έμεινεν ένας. (1)
104. Γ ε κάθε μέρα θέλουσι-
105. Λ =έκαμα τους απ'όλα. τζαι μουσακκά έκαμά τους, τζαι μακαρόνια έκαμά τους,
106. τζαι ε ραφκιόλες έκαμά τους. ε αύριον την Πέμπτην (.) όι αύριον εν Τετάρτη
107. την Πέμπτην να κάμω έναν τυλιχτόν (1.9) να το πάρει μαζίν της
108. Γ μμ
109. Λ την Πέμπτην ή την Παρασκευήν το πρωί. Σάββατο πρωίν πρωίν φεύκει
110. Γ ε κάμε το την Παρασκευήν
111. Λ να το κάμω την Παρασκευήν
112. Γ αν έθεις τζ' άλλες δουλειές όμως
113. Λ τζ' αν το βάλω μες το ττάπερ, τζ' αν της κάμω τζ' ένα ττάπερ
114. δάχτυλα.
115. Γ μμ
116. Λ να πάρει των μωρών. είδεν να της κάμω τζαι μian ελιόπιττα τζαι τυρόπιττα
117. αν επήεννε κατευθείαν. εν να κάτσει τέσσερις ημέρες στην Ελλάδα.
118. Γ μμ
119. Λ ε τούτα δι::διατηρούνται τα δάχτυλα τζαι το τυλιχτόν.
120. Γ νναι
121. Λ αλλά το::
122. Γ τζ' [η τυρόπιττα] διατηρείται άμαν την κλείει
123. Λ [η τυρόπιττα]
124. Γ άφης την κόψε την μες το ττάπερ όι μιτδά μιτδά κομματούθκια αν εν στροντζυλή
125. τζαι βάλλεις την κάπου. α. ε:: κανεί. έτο να ό,τι φάσιν
126. Λ εν να της την δείξω πόν να την κάμνω ανν εν σπίτι τζαι να της βάλω τζαι υλικά
127. αν θέλει ας τους κάμει (1.9) θέλουν να'ρτουν Γρηγορία μου
128. Γ =α θέλουν να'ρτουν
129. Λ θέλουν να'ρτουν, θέλουν να'ρτουν, θέλουν να'ρτουν. τζέινος θέλει να'ρτει. (0.6)
130. Γ ε:: (3.2)
131. Λ ε να βάλει την δύναμην του θεού, (1.5)
132. Γ ε: <όι> τζαι τωρά σύντομα, μπορεί να [περάσεις τζαι κανέναν χρόνος] πάλε,
133. Λ [νναι. νναι. νναι.]

134. Γ ε τζαι να δουν είντα'μ πόν να κάμεις τζ' εσύ.
135. εν τζαι τούτον τζαι η σκέψη:: νομίζεις να::-
136. Λ εν να το αποφασίσω να πάρουμες μαγαζά που δαμαί- εν δέχεται
137. κατ'ουδέναν λόγο να:
138. Γ [ε μμα::]
139. Λ [αν θα κά]τσεις τζαμαί εν έρκουμαι.
140. Γ εν εν πράμαν Λούλλα. να μαζεύκουνται τα <παιθικά> σου Λούλλα,
141. θέλεις έναν τόπον να κάτσουν. εν τζ' εν μες την [κρεβατο]κάμαραν πόν να κάτσουν.
142. Λ [°χμ. χμ.°]
143. Γ θέλεις ε- (0.6)η κουζίνα σου μεγάλη, η κουζίνα με το χωλ όπως τα'σεις
144. τωρά μαζί,
145. Λ =μαζί νναι.
146. Γ τζαι ναν μεγάλον νά'ν τόσον να κάτσουσιν. (0.8)
147. μαζεύονται [τα παιθικά σου, πολλυνίσκουσιν άδε.]
148. Λ [εν δέχεται θα πάω να νοικιάσω,]θα πάω να νοικιάσω.
149. έστησεν πόδιν. δεν δέχουμε. δεν δέχουμε. να σε φκάλω. (.)
150. έκαμες τα εσύ τόσα χρόνια τζαι νά'ρτω τώρα εγώ να σε φκάλω?
151. *δεν το κάμνει η συνείδηση μου μάμμα!* ((animated))
152. Γ =ακριβώς. όι.
153. Λ =είπα σου το εκατόν φορές. [δεν το κάμνει η συνείδηση μου.]
154. Γ [ακριβώς. όσα εν να δώκεις δαμαί,]
155. εν να τα: κάμεις [τζαμαί-]
156. Λ [εν να] τα <κόψω> θκυο. (1)
157. α: οι θκυο οι κρεββατοκάμαρες πόν πάνω; (0.7) τζαι το μπάνιον το αποχωρητήριο.
158. τζαμαί πόν οι κολώνες πάνω, που τζαμαί.
159. Γ =μ. νά'ν το ποδά?
160. Λ νά'ν το ποδά.
161. Γ όι το [ποτζεί]
162. Λ [τέλεια] °ποδά°
163. όι το ποδά της Κούλλας,
164. Γ =το ποδά ε::-
165. Λ =τζαι. να κάμω την είσοδον ποδά. (.)
166. Γ ↑ε::.
167. Λ =όι ποτζεί μπροστά.
168. Γ μμ. στο >πλευρόν<?
169. Λ στο πλευρόν.

170. Γ =μια χαρά!(.)
171. Λ τζαι να'χω τζαι την αυλούαν μου τζειαμαί να φκαίννω, να [κάθουμαι,]
172. Γ [ε νναι μάν']
173. τωρά- μάν τωρά:: εγιώ εν τωρά [που σου το λαλώ;]
174. Λ [να φυτέψω:::]
175. να φυτέψω κυπαρισσούθκια έτσι ψηλά να κάμει τοίχο έτσι ψηλά πάνω πράσινο,
176. Γ μμ.
177. Λ σαν τζείνον πο'δει απέναντι της η Καλλού; (.) τζείνης της Αφρούλλας. (1.4)
178. εν έδει:: τοίχον με τα κυπαρισσούθκια? ψηλόν. (.)
179. Γ τζαι η: τούτη έδει η Σούλλα μου. (0.6) μιτθά κυπαρισσούθκια τζαι
180. κλα[δεύ]κει τα τζαι γινίσκεται τοίχος.
181. Λ [νναι.]
182. όι εν τα θέλω έτσι σαν τον Βιράμπο [που τα κλαδεύκει.]
183. Γ [Οι τούτα εν τζ' εν-]
184. τούτα εν τζ' ενν ε: κυπαρίδθα. (1.5)
185. τούτα εν άλλον είδος.
186. Λ ε εγώ θέλω τζείνα τα λεπτά τα κυπαρίδθα που ψηλώννει έτσι πάνω [τζαι-]
187. Γ [νναι]
188. νναι εν ειδ- ειδικά τα κυπαρισσούθκια τούτα
189. Λ =ειδικά νναι
190. Γ =που γινίσκεται φραμός.
191. Λ = νναι νναι.
192. Γ όπως του: η: Βιραμπό.
193. Λ νναι αλλά εν το θέλω έτσι φαρδύν να πκιάσει
194. Γ όι πκιο στενόν. [βάλλεις το πκιο στενόν νναι.]
195. Λ [έτσι λεπτούιν τέλεια νναι .] (.)
196. να μου κόψει το αυτόν ναβάλω τζαι το τραπεζούιν μου τζειαμαί (.) τζαι ούλα.
197. τζ' εν <αρκετός> χώρος Γληορού. που τον διάδρομον μου,
198. Γ τζαι που πάνω κάμνεις μιαν πέρκολαν [μα ξέρεις] εν να φκαίννεις,
199. Λ [νναι. νναι.]
200. τζαι [να φκαίννω.]
201. Γ [°τζειπάνω° η]
202. συμπεθερά ήταν <παλιόν> το σπίτιν λαλώ σου, α(γ)όρασεν το έτσι παλιόν.
203. ε: ήταν όμως ε: ο- ούλα χτισμένα, εμείναν μόνον οι:: τοιδοι λαλεί
204. Λ [μμ.]
205. Γ [τζ' ε]κάμα:ν (.) όπως το δικόν σου ακριβώς που μπαίννεις, εν η τραπεζαρία, (.)

206. τζαι συνεχίζεις τζαι πάει εν η <κουζίνα>. τζαι εν τη εφήκαν μονοκόμματην,
207. εν η πόρτα έτσι πλαθικά μονοκόμματη μπαίννεις στην κουζίναν χωρίς πόρταν
208. τζαι τον μισόν τον τοίχον εκάμαν σαν το παραθυρούιν, τζαι σερβίρεις τα φαγιά
209. [που ποτίζει τζ' εβάλαν [το έ]τσι::
210. Λ [ε εν- [μμ χμ.]
211. Γ μάρμαρον τζαχαμαί πολλά ωραίον.
212. Λ =νναι ξέρω.
213. Γ =που ποδά:: μ- εν μπαρ, άμαν είσαι να πούμεν μες το σαλόνιν,
214. Λ νναι.
215. Γ τζ' <ευρύχωρα!> τζει πάνω ήταν στενοχωρημένοι, μα'ν τζ' είδεν.
216. κάτι υνποδωματούθκια- η κουζινούα της που δαμαί ως τζειαμαί. τόσον
217. όσον τζ' εφόρεν το τραπέζιν. εν σε εφόρεν να'σαι θκυο πλάσματα να μπουν
218. μέσα να μαειρεύκουν
219. Λ νναι. (2)
220. Γ έκαμεν τον πολλά ωραίον.
221. Λ μμ. (1) όι εβολεύτηκα με τζεινήν τη::ν αυτήν του νερού εγώ.
222. Γ α εν πκιάννεις τωρά
223. Λ άλλαξα το φίλτρον τζαι να δεις μες τζειν το φίλτρον πράμαν,
224. να δεις μες τζειν το φίλτρον <πράμα:ν>
225. Γ μμ
226. Λ να μείνει στον νουν σου άλλαξα το-
227. Γ =εν μεγάλον πράμαν πόσον φορεί?
228. Λ ↑φορεί: παραπάνω που μιαν μπουκκάλλαν κάθε φορά
229. Γ χα. βάλλεις το τζεινον γεμώννεις το.
230. Λ νναι
231. Γ ενν εν μεγάλον πράμαν να φορεί παραπάνω?
232. Λ όι. ε εμ- εν το είδες?
233. Γ στο ψυγεί- όι εν το είδα ένε ένε ένε επήα ποτίζει προχτές
234. Λ α
235. Γ στο ψυγείον πρέπει να βάλλεις άλλον τζαι να το γύρνεις ύστερα τζει μέσα
236. Λ τζεινον θα [το] φύκω έξω. εν μεγάλον για να μπει μες το ψυγείον.
237. Γ [μμ]
238. Λ μπορεί να του κάμω χώρο να κατεβάσω τη σχάρα κάτω
239. Γ μμ
240. Λ αλλά εν [θέ]λω. να μεινίσκει έξω τζαι το καλοτζαίριν θα γεμίζω ένα θκυο
241. Γ [μμ]

242. Λ μπουκκάλλες γυάλλενες τζαι τον βάζον μου, τζαι τον βάζον μου!
243. συνέχεια αυτό φιλτράρει.
244. Γ μμ:
245. Λ αλλά έμεινεν στον νουν μου τι <ξημαριδάν> που έφκαλεν που μέσα.
246. Γ τζαι άρεσεν τους το νερό? ενν εν-
247. Λ =<ούλλοι> ευχαριστημένοι.
248. Γ μμ. έσει πολλύν κόσμον που πίννει που την φουντάναν.
249. Λ =ΟΥΛΛΟΙ!
250. Γ τωρά τούτου πόσα εν να του βάλλουμεν κόρη μου δέκα σελήνια που έθελεν? (1.3)
251. πόσα::
252. Λ ε. εν χαζίρι::ν εν εν δώδεκα-
253. Γ ε όι είντα εν πολλά έναν ευρώ.
254. Λ έναν ευρώ εν πολλά.
255. Γ ξε:ρω τζ' εγώ. (.) ε μάχουμαι μα αφού δέκα σελήνια κάμνει τα τούτον? (.)
256. Λ ούτε ξέρω Γληορού.
257. Γ έχω δεκασέληνον εν να του βάλω. (2.2)
258. ή τζείνον σκέφτουμαι ή: τζαι τούτο το άλλο που έχουν ο κόσμος ούλλος
259. με τις μπουκκάλλες.
260. Λ εν καλό τζείνον; >πού να το βάλεις< ρε Γληορού πε μου. (.)
261. Γ τζειαμαί λαλώ έσει μιτσήν.
262. Λ α τζειαμαί. εγώ 'ν έχω πρίζαν. (.)
263. [εν έχω πρίζα.]
264. Γ [α έσει πρίζα-]
265. Λ μian [πρίζα] έχω εν το ψυγείον τζαι η ↑τελεόραση πάνω.
266. Γ [α:.]
267. γινίσκεται διπλή. αμέσως.
268. Λ ε μα τζαι τζει- να βάλω τζαι τζείνην πας την τελεόρασην τζαι το ψυγείον?
269. Γ (γ)ιν- γινίσκεται διπλή. πρίζα. αμέσως.
270. Λ νναι
271. Γ δίπλα της άλλης. έτο εγώ τζειαμαί είχα μιαν.
272. Λ =νναι
273. Γ [>κοίταξε να δεις.<]
274. Λ [νναι νναι νναι.] ξέρω.
275. Γ για να που βάλλω το έαρ κκοντίσον τζαι βάλλω τζαι τον ανεμιστήραν ήρταν
276. τζ' έφκαλεν μου το τζ' έβαλεν μου- ε έβαλεν μου διπλήν πρίζαν.
277. Λ ε [έ:σει]

278. Γ [τζαι βά]λλω το έαρ κκοντίδον ξεχωριστά τζαι τον ανεμιστήραν ξεχωριστά. (.)
279. Λ έτσι έτσι
280. Γ δέκα λίρες. έναν δεκάλιρον. έβαλεν μου τζαι δαμαί.
281. Λ όι εν έχω εγώ. χώρον για τζείν τον κου::λλέν εν έχω να τον βάλω όι.
282. Γ τζειαμαί πό'θεις το τραπεζούιν σου, ε: δίπλα του ψυγείου
283. [μπαίννει.]
284. Λ [ε φακκά]ο ήλιος ούλλη μέρα! (1)
285. μόλις πκιάσει ο ήλιος ουλ- τζαι το ψυγείον να πκιάσεις χογλά. (0.8)
286. πρέπει να κάμω κουρτίναν αντηλιακήν.
287. Γ μμ νναι. ε [έδει της] πόρτας.
288. Λ [με το::]
289. νναι.
290. Γ μιαν κουρτίναν τούντις αντηλιακές μια χαρά
291. Λ εγώ με τζείνην την μπρίκκαν εβολεύτηκα πολλά καλά. (.) εγέμισα τα ποτήρια μου,
292. εγέμισα τον βάζον μου έβαλα τον μες το ψυγείον, >σε θκυο λεπτά< κάμνει μου άλλον.
293. σε ↑θκυο λεπτά!
294. Γ μμ.
295. Λ τρέδει το φίλτρον που κάτω. (1.2) όι είμαι ευχαριστημένη. πολλά καλά έκαμα (.)
296. Γ [>πόσα< τζείν'το πράμαν?]
297. Λ [τζαι άλλαξα το.] (0.7)
298. δεκαεννιά λίρες. (0.9) τζαι θέλεις να παίρνεις φίλτρον να το αλλάσσεις.
299. Γ ↓α::.
300. Λ ↑ε. τόσα νερά που διάς δαμαί τζαι κουβάλησε κουβάλησε,
301. τζαι να τό'χω οχτώ μέρες να φουσκώννει τζει μέσα; ((animated))
302. ↑είπα σου την βρωμιάν που είχα εγώ τζει μέσα.
303. Γ =όι εγώ τωρά έβαλα ρύζι:, [έτριψα] το έσεισα το εν είδεν τίποτε.
304. Λ [α::]
305. Γ εκαθάρισα το εμάχουμουν τόσην ώραν.
306. Λ όι.
307. Γ να'βρω τζ' έναν δεκασέλινον. έχω. προχτές είχα πολλά μάνα μου
308. μα είπουν σου ήρτεν ο Γιώργος εκκιάλεξεν τα. είδεν τρία τέσσερα.
309. προχτές ήβρα τα είδεν μες την πούγκαν μ(η)ου θκ(η)υο του παλτού;
310. Λ μμ.
311. Γ επήα να το φορήσω μέσα. (.) κάποτε που τα
312. [σύρ:νουμεν που] πάμεν στην εκκληθάν
313. Λ [νναι νναι νναι]

314. =τζ' εγώτζ' εγώ βρίσκω.
315. Γ τζαι βρίσκω μες τις τζέπες.
316. Λ τζ' εγώ βρίσκω δεξιά αριστερά.
317. τζαι μες τις τζέπες τζαι μες τις τσέντες ούλλες έχω σκορπισμένα λεφτά
318. Γ ούλλα περνούν Λούλλα μα πάλε επότισεν με φαρμάτζιν ο άγγονας μου
319. *μαύρον: τωρά με: στην Πρωτοχροιάν ((crying))*
320. Λ [τι?]
321. Γ [την:] εχτές τα Φώτα. έφαεν την Παρασκευήν κόρη μου τζαι έφυεν μιαν χαρά
322. που δαχαμαί. καρτέρα καρτέρα, (1.3) ε πκιάννω τον το Σάββατον-
323. την Παρασκευήν την νύχταν, εν απάνταν. ξαναπκιάννω τον, ε:: (1.6)
324. *ε:: κά-κάπου είμαι: εν μπορω-εν μπορώ να σου μιλήσω τωρά εν νά σε πκιάσω μετά.*
325. ((stylised)) 'ντάξει γιε μου εν για αύριο. ε:
326. *μεν κάμεις τίποτε για μέναν τζαι εν θα'ρω. ((stylised))*
327. Λ =μμ.
328. Γ ε να ξέρω είντα'μ πόν να του κάμω είμασταν καλεσμένοι ούλλοι
329. στην συμπεθεράν να πάμεν
330. Λ =νναι.
331. Γ λαλώ α:ν μεν θα πάει να του κάμω: τίποτε φαίν. τζ' αρωτώ τον Γιώργο,
332. ο Γιώργος έξερεν το (.) αχ! *είπουν του εκόπηκεν το κάθε τι ((animated))*
333. μεταξύν μας Γιώργο. δεν θέλω τα ψέματα. δεν θέλω να με
334. *κοροϊδεύεται, είμαι η γιαγιά σας ό,τι θέλεις ((crying))*
335. ήρτεν το πρωίν προχτές, γιαγιά: έχει τίποτε::
336. να προγευματίσω? τζ' ήταν με την πυζάμαν. επήεν έφκαλεν το παντελόνιν
337. *τζαι φόρησεν πυζάμαν ((animated))* τζαι παντόφλες ((tapping the table))
338. τζείνην την ώραν ήρτεν να ππέσει. εφτάμιση οχτώ
339. Λ μα έτσι εν οι νέοι
340. Γ =ετσι εν ναι. ε μα γιε μου εσηκώθηκες τωρά? *ε::: όι ((animated))*.
341. μα τωρά ήρτες? νναι.
342. έσει γάλαν να σου κάμω γάλαν είντα'μ που θέλεις?
343. έκοψα τυρίν, χαλλούμιν, παξιμάθκια, έκαμα του το γάλαν,
344. έσει τζ' αφκά γιαγιά? έσει. να βράσουμεν τζαι θκυο αφκά?
345. *να βράσουμεν γιε μου ((crying))*
346. Λ του Γιώργου?
347. Γ του Γιώργου. *τζαι χαττ[ίριν] δεν σας χαλώ. ((animated))*
348. Λ [μ μ.]
349. Γ *[έσσετε το σπίτι σαν το σπίτι σας] ((animated))*

350. Λ [σαν το σπίτι της μάνας τους σαν ναι]
351. Γ τζαι αγα[πώ] σας τζαι ούλα, τζαι να μου λαλείτε ψέματα?
352. Λ [μμ]
353. Γ δε-δε δεν σου το συγχωρώ Γιώργο. εν τζ' έιπεν μου να μεν σου το πω:
354. μα για να μεν μαραζώννεις, για να μεν-
355. Λ χμ χμ
356. Γ γιατί? για να μεν- να μου το πείτε να ξέρω. ειντά έτσι έπκιαννα το τηλέφωνο
357. °τζαι εν διαφορετικός ο <κρότος> άμαν εν μακριά°
358. Λ χμ χμ
359. Γ =κάμνει έναν βουισμόν άλλο:ν, (.) τς.
360. μα κύριε ελέησον το τηλέφωνον του κάτι έδει.
361. άραγε επήεν στα Τούρτζικα [λαλώ]
362. Λ [χμ χμ]
363. Γ τζαι επκιάν τους τίποτε ποτζεί τζ' έμεινεν ποτζεί? ((animated))
364. Λ είδες που βάλλουμεν [σίλλια θκυο]
365. Γ [πκιάννω τον]
366. Γιώργον, ρε Γιώργο εν μου απαντά ο: Βάκης,
367. πκιάννει το κάποτε τζαι λαλεί μου: εντάξει γιαγιά ε::ν-ι-μπορώ τωρά να μιλήσω:
368. τζαι:: τώρα να τον πκιάσω εγώ τζαι να σου πω (0.6)
369. Λ χμ
370. Γ Παρασκευή νύχτα ξημερώματα τα Φώτα. Σάββατο νύχταν. ε έπκιαν με ύστερα ε:: εν
371. εντάξει γιαγιά εν να μείνει σπίτιν του να δει την μάππαν
372. Λ μμ
373. Γ ε γιατί να με κοροϊδεύεις? (1.4) εξημέρωσεν ο θεός, ήρτεν ο Μιχάλης
374. δαμαί με τα μωρά, εκάτσαν, ου: καλημέρα τζαι τα Φώτα τζαι την πουλουστρίναν
375. [πρώτα τα μωρά]
376. Λ [ε είδαν τον είδα] τον με τα μωρούθκια του
377. Γ να τους δώσω, α θέλω κι εγώ πουλουστρίναν,
378. ούτε ήξερεν είντα 'μ πό'ταν ((smiling))
379. Λ μμ
380. Γ έδωκα τους είχα σεντ τζείνου έδωκα του πέντε: ευρώ
381. Λ =χμ
382. Γ χάρτενον δήθεν. τζαι χαρές εν να τα κάμω συλλογήν. εκάτσαν τα μωρά δαμαί
383. εν ηθέλαν τίποτε πιλέ μου να φάει
384. έφηκα τζαι τρία τέσσερα

385. κομμάθκια πίττα (.) ε γιέμωσα τζαι της [Γρη]γορούς-¹⁰⁰
386. Λ [νναι]
387. Γ [>έκαμα την σινάκκαν την μεγάλην έναν τόπ[ον]<.
388. Λ [ε [νναι]
389. Γ είντα'μ που'ν να μάχουμαι θκυο τόπους να <ψήνω> λαλώ.
390. εν τζ' έφας αλόπως
391. Λ έφαα ήταν πολλά ωραία
392. Γ =έφας? ε[::]
393. Λ [πο]λλά ωραία
394. Γ τζ' έβαλά της τζ' ετζείνης έναν τταπερούιν τζ' επήρεν
395. Λ =ήταν πκιο ωραίον τ- που σένα που της Γιαννούλλας
396. Γ =μμ. εν-ι-ξέρω
397. Λ εχτές εκάλεσεν μας τζαι επήαμεν ούλλοι με τον Ζήνο τζαι
398. [με την- Κούλλα [τζαι με τον άντραν] της
399. Γ [α. α. [εν πολλά καλά]
400. Λ τζαι λαλεί μου τούτον εν της Γληορούς τζαι τούτον εν της Γιαννούλλας. ε λαλώ της της
401. Γληορούς εν πκιο ωραίον. της Γιαννούλλας ήταν ζυμαρένον που μέσα
402. Γ μμ
403. Λ εν εψήθηκεν καλά. ένη γουέι
404. Γ όι άφηκα την [ανάμισ-]
405. Λ [πε μου]να δω είντα'μ που έγινεν
406. Γ ε. (2) έπκια λαλώ του ρε Μιχάλη εν-ι-ξέρω: εν να πα- να'ρτεις στην συμπεθερά,
407. έλα να σε πάρουμεν ((animated)), σάστου να σε πάρουμεν.
408. ε: πάω με την Λίνα λαλώ [του], πηέννετε
409. Λ [χμ]
410. Γ εσείς με τα μωρά σας τζαι έρκουμε με την Λίναν. εν η έννοια του τούτου
411. που με πκιάννει,
412. Λ =χμ
413. Γ εν του έκαμα με τίποτε, ε: άμαν του [πω] εν να'ρτει. (0.7)
414. Λ [χμ.]
415. Γ αλλά εν εσουνενοηθήκαμεν εν τον ήβρα. πκιας τον γιε μου εσύ να δούμεν.
416. έπκιαν τον απάντησεν του. (1.8) εν-ι-ξέρω αν του είπεν, ε λαλεί μου:
417. εν θα'ρτει γιαγιά εν μακριά κάπου ένι μακριά
418. εν-ι-ξέρω- μπορεί να'ν τζ' εξωτερικόν. τς.

¹⁰⁰ Γρηγορού/Grigorou is Gregoria's granddaughter.

419. °τελευταίες ημέρες:° ε: εμίλαν. εγγλέζικα δαμαί τζαι έκατσεν τζαι έφαεν τζαι ύστερα
420. λαλεί μου *χαιρετίσματα που την Νατάλια*. ((animated)) (1.7)
421. λαλώ του έδει τέσσερις πέντε μήνες ούτε έξερεν ούτε το τηλέφωνον μου
422. ούτε να μου μιλήσει τωρά πέμπει μου *θαιρετίσματα*?
423. ευχαριστώ λαλώ του μα'ν τζαι θέλω *θαιρετίσματα* να μου πέμπει.
424. έτσι η- καρθικά μου εκρύανεν. έφηκεν σε τζ' έφυεν ότι τζαι να της έκαμα
425. εφάετε καλά καλούλλικα τζ' εφύετε. εν εμπορούσεν να με πκιάει έναν τηλέφωνο?
426. έξερεν τζαι λίες λέξεις τζαι καταλάβω της άμαν μου ελάλεν κάτι γιατι-
427. ε εν εγώ που της είπουν να μεν πκιάει κανέναν.
428. Λ μμ.
429. Γ τζ' εν για τζείνον πόν σε ενόχλησεν. εγώ την έθκιωξα. (0.7)
430. Λ μμ.
431. Γ εν εγώ που την έθκιωξα, έφταια τζ' εγώ, τζαι ξέρω γω,
432. τζαι τωρά μι[λούμε]-
433. Λ [α:!]]
434. Γ έφυεν τζείνη αλόπως μες τζείν' τες ημέρες τζ' εμιλήσαν τζ' επήεν.
435. τζ' επήεν ταπισών της τζ' εν τζει κάτω τωρά. ((tap on the table)) (1.3)
436. ε. ε. έφυεν ο Μιχάλης,
437. αφού του εμίλησεν να πκιάω τζ' εγώ τηλέφωνον. έπκια τον επολογήθηκεν.
438. νναι γιαγιά είντα 'μ που θέλεις είντα:- γιε μου γυρεύκω σε λαλώ του
439. εν σε βρίσκω, ε είντα 'μ που γίνεται εν να πάμεν στη συμπεθερά,
440. ε >εν θα ρτω- εν θα ρτω<
441. 'ντάξει γιαγιά, πηέννεται είμαι στη Μολζαβία λαλεί μου. (2.1)
442. Λ °(αχ) °
443. Γ α Παναΐα μου έμπηξεν μου ένα μαδαΐριν. εν είπα τίποτε ούτε καλόν ούτε κακόν.
444. εντάξει γιε μου λαλώ του φτάνει που μου είπες. γιατί δεν μου μιλάς, έπκια σε τεσ-
445. δέκα φορές τηλέφωνο. 'ντάξει γιε μου χρόνια πολλά: γεια σου. τζαι έκλεισα το.
446. με για λλόου της είπα με για λλόου του είπα. έρκουμαι την Τρίτη λαλεί.
447. εν-ι-ξέρω εν πρωίν εν νύχταν που'ν νά'ρτει ούτε ξέρω (1.5)
448. Λ [τι να κάμουμεν]
449. Γ [τόσην ομορκιάν] έφυεν αφού ενν εν:
450. εν μιτδά Λούλλα ενν εν που τα πλάσματα πόν να μείνει μαζίν του
451. Λ [τι να κάμουμεν Γρηγορία δεν μπορούμεν να ()]
452. Γ [τζαι να πεις εν πειράζει να πω εν πειράζει. (.) γιε μου δεν] την-ι-φτάνεις.
453. ε μα εν πόν εδούλευκεν τωρά ήβρεν δουλειά. μα που ήβρεν δουλειάν?
454. που να βρουν δουλειάν [τούτες να πά]σιν?

455. Λ [νναι: τούτες]
456. Γ να πκιάσουν. μα είπουν του τα Λούλλα έναν όέριν.
457. ου τζ' εσου! ου τζ' εσου! ((stylised anger))
458. μά'νταλος ου τζ' εγώ? αφ'έν έκαμνες χαΐριν, εν σο'μινείσκαν λεφτά.
459. τωρά δούλεψε: Πρωτοχρονιάν, μα κάθη μέρα; ούλλη μέρα, α Χριστούγεννα,
460. ούλλα τα: προχτές ήταν Λάρνακα: έκαμεν
461. <ούλλη> μέρα που το πρωί τηλεφωνώ του η ώρα οχτώ,
462. τωρά μόλις ξεκινώ γιαγιά τζ' έρχομαι,
463. τζαι να πκια-συνάξει τα έξτρα ούλλα πο'πκιασεν να πάει να κόψει εισιτήριον
464. τζαι να πάει στα του- να μεν-ι-ξέρουν το δικόν τους το κουμάντο τους
465. Λ όι εν-ι-ξέρουν
466. Γ =τζαι να κουμαντάρουν τον εαυτόν τους. τζαι να πει μά'ντα να πάω εγώ τωρά, αφο'ν
467. να'ρτει στο κάτω κάτω. ↑θέλεις τζ' εν να <μερώσεις> εν να μου κροστείς εμέναν?
468. όι. αλλά τούτα τα έξοδα τα παραπάνω?
469. πα να πκιορώσεις πεντακόδες λίρες εισητήρια να πας τζαι να'ρτεις?
470. τζ' άλλες πεντακόδες τζείνης? μά'ν τζ' είσαι ο (.) Ωνάσης. (.)
471. πκιάννεις έναν μισθόν. (.) δεν κανούσιν
472. Λ =τίποτε δεν κάμνουμεν Γληγορού
473. Γ όι
474. Λ αν δεν ο νους τους δεν κόψει τζαι αν-
475. Γ =λαλεί μου μάμμα να μεν-ι-σκά[ζεις]. τζ' ο Μιχάλης
476. Λ [μμ]
477. Γ άφης τα πράματα να παν όπως έρτει. γιαγιά πρόσεχε τον εαυτόν σου
478. Λ νναι.
479. Γ γιαγιά <ΠΡΟΣΕΧΕ> τον εαυτόν σου!
480. Λ μά'φου η χαρά μας εσείς είσασεν πες του. άμαν θωρώ τζαι εν πάτε εσείς καλά
481. πώς θα <ησυχάσουμεν> εμείς?
482. Γ =κα[λό:]
483. Λ [πώς] θα ησυχάσουμεν?
484. Γ =τι να κάμουμεν?
485. Λ =θέλουμεν να ησυχάσουμεν αλλά- (.)
486. Γ εν μπλεμένος ακόμα με την άλλην να πκιάσει τα- ε διαζύγιον έπκιασεν.
487. εμείναν τα καταστήματα, καθυστερούν, γιε μου κάμε κάτι. ε:: εν τζ' ο (.) δικηγόρος
488. (0.8) το πορνόν εμφανίζεται κάμνει δειρόττερα που τον άλλον να του ((πει))
489. πκοια εν η: τούτη: να πάεις να-
490. ώσπου τζ' είπεν η κόρη μου τι να κάμω να τα πκιορώσω λαλεί. να μεν μου βάλει ξένον

491. μες τα πόθκια μου. ούτε πενήντα ῥιλιάες λίρες εν-ι-φκαίννει που πάνω. ((clar))
492. Λ °Παναΐα μου °
493. Γ τζαι: να αναγκαστεί η κόρη μου να πάει να: να της πει πόσα εν που θέλει να της τα
494. δώσει, τζ' ακούεις άμαν κάμει τζαι μεταβίβαση πκιορώννει τζαι φόρον,
495. Λ νναι τωρά
496. Γ ε να δούμε πόσα εν να θέλει τζαι για τον φόρον, εν τζαι χρεωμένα, να τα δεχτεί ούλλα
497. η κόρη μου, επήραν την απόφασην τι να κάμουν τζαι γυρεύκει τον έλα
498. ((tap)) να μιλήσουμεν, έλα ((tap)) να ΜΙΛΗΣΟΥΜΕΝ, >ε μα τωρά εν τζαι μπόρω-<
499. τζαι όπως το- τζαι φεύκει σαν το τούτον. τζαι δεν κάθεται να μιλήσει με κανέναν
500. Λ εν αρκιμός να τον ισκουλλίσει το: αυτόν τζαι να του έρτει-
501. Γ =νναι εν τούτο που σκέφτουμε
502. Λ ο θεός να πογυρίζει] Γρηγορία
503. Γ [τζαι:]
504. το σπίτι. είντα εν τζ' εν πάνω του. μπορεί να το πουλήσει τζ' αύριον το σπίτι τζαι
505. να τον αφήκει έτσι.
506. Λ ο θεός να πογυρίζει
507. Γ αφού ΔΕΝ <συνεργά[ζονται> Λούλλα μα'φού <φταΐσιν> Λούλλα] φταΐσιν
508. Λ [εν συνεργάζονται εν συνεργάζονται]
509. Γ δεν συνεργάζονται
510. Λ μα'ν <ούλλα> τα παιθκια του κόσμου σήμερα έτσι
511. Γ ξέρω το
512. Λ [ούλλοι ούλλοι έτσι]
513. Γ [έδει διειρόττερα.]
514. τούτη η Τόσκα ήρτεν που τόσα μάκρη τζ' έφερεν τον.
515. έναν μαντράχαλον δαμαΐσα δα ήταν τζει μέσα τζει με την μαφίαν τζ' έφαν της
516. κο-χωρει- χρωστεί καμιά πενηνταρκάν ῥιλιάες λίρες, <τζαι δουλεύκει>
517. όπως την μαύρην τζαι πέμπει του να πκιερώσει; τζ' έπκιαεν να τον φέρει
518. δαμαΐσα πως εν να δουλέψει; (.) ε. αμμα θέλουσιν τζαι σπίτιν να μεινίσκουν,
519. τζαι να κάμνουν, [τζαι να τρώσιν, πκοιος] σε κάμνει? (.)
520. Λ [τζαι τα έξοδα τους]
521. Γ επήεν ήβρεν μιαν πεζίναν με τρακόδες λίρες
522. εν λι- τετρακόδες πόσα του εδιαν, εν λλία! (0.9)
523. <έκαμεν> την τζ' εκάχρισεν. έφυεν που δαμαΐ τζ' επήεν Ιταλίαν. (.)
524. >τουλάιστον< εν μακριά τζ' εν τον θωρώ [λαλεί].
525. Λ [α:::!]
526. Γ ότι θέλει ας πάθει.

527. Λ =θειρόττερα πε της. δαμαί [τουλάχιστον [εν κο]ντρόλ.

528. Γ [έσει- [έσει-]

529. έσει θειρόττερα °πράματα°. (0.8)

530. Λ όκκεϊ [Γρηγο]ρία μου

531. Γ [εζά-]

532. εζάλισα σε τζ' εσέναν με τα-

533. Λ =Ο::

534. Γ =κό:ρη μου κόρη μου είντα'μ που'ν να κάμουμεν

535. Λ ούλλοι μας τα ίδια έχουμε. εν έσει σπίτιν πόν έσει τούτα. άτε!

536. Γ =ά:τε στο καλόν. να κλείσω τζαι τούτον. (4)

1. L my god my god Gregoria. (.)

2. G eh? (1.2)

3. L instead of reducing eh- you increase them?

4. G well they are that many. I haven't taken anything.

5. I [don't know] what I should eat so that I can take them.

6. L [well I-]

7. G I don't know *kori*. (.) what I will do. (.) now I should make a toast.

8. a piece of ↓cheese.

9. [I lost my mind again.]

10. L [I've learnt] to eat these corn flakes in the morning with milk, (.)

11. G I used to eat them and now I don't like them. (1.3)

12. L these whole grain ones. they are very nice.

13. G ↑yes. but Maro brought me:: I don't know if it is those:

14. Charis eats them as they have no sugar.

15. L =they neither have sugar. and they are (made) of wheat. (1.3)

16. G °I don't know if they are the same. ° I used to eat these other but now she

17. brou:ght these to me. (.)

18. L bring them to see. <Alpen>.

19. G yes.

20. L these are also good. these are also good. these also have othe::r

21. G =some nuts

22. L nuts [yes, <yes yes yes yes>]

23. G [little seeds inside,]

24. they have [raisins]

25. L [yes they have all these different (things) inside. (.)

26. I used to drink- eat them myself
27. G hm.
28. L with the nuts.
29. G =hm.
30. L but look I like these now. (1.2)
31. I used to eat as well-
32. G =I want something that does not have SUgar that's the thing.
33. L [yes they don't have]
34. G [those you eat] might have sugar.
35. L no they don't. since they are a hundred per cent no sugar. (.)
36. G she brought me I was eating in the beginning, now it's been a long time I don't-
37. L =no no you [should eat one of this]
38. Γ [I ate that little-]
39. L it fi:lls you [with] the fresh milk
40. G [hm]
41. hm.
42. L I went at the butcher's and I took the::: meat I tell you
43. and he brought it down at that time (0.8) the yogurt.
44. G hm.
45. L and I [took one] pipkin,
46. G [it's nice]
47. =no there is another jar [tall like-]
48. L [jar]
49. Simeo¹⁰¹ that one?
50. G no it's not Simeou. he brings it also rustic
51. [very nice his yogurt] is <homemade> yogurt.
52. L [yes? I haven't tried it]
53. but this one says (.) from sheep's milk.
54. G hm,
55. L a hundred per cent sheep's milk.
56. G well this one says. (.)
57. L <and I took> one spoonful and I ate and I <felt> it was so soft
58. how nice *re* Gliorou.
59. G hm. I myself detest the pipkins. (1.3) (h)

¹⁰¹ A brand of yoghurt

60. L yes?
61. G well each woman takes them to he:r house, then [they take them]
62. L [well but then]
63. they should disinfect them to put them otherwise
64. their yogurt will go off. (0.8)
65. G well. they might use them for something else and they get dirt, [I] don't know
66. L [eh!]
67. G well anyway they are good from the pipkins they always [absorb-]
68. L [I took]
69. it at that- he was [unlo]ading at that time because it was fresh
70. G [hm.]
71. L and I will make them a bit of bulgur wheat
72. G [yes]
73. L [pi]laf, and *afelia*¹⁰² and some salad.
74. G ye:s
75. L I have some jelly meat they should eat it to finish it
76. G now it showed a salad it's nice. in the past my: boss
77. that Milliex used to do it. just with yogurt. if the yogurt is
78. a bit think you put a tiny bit like a bit of water a few drops
79. and you mix in the salt. and it has different vegetables
80. any vegetables you want you put in. and he cut cherry tomatoes,
81. L hm
82. G salt pepper and he mixed it. do you know how nice tasty it is with the yogurt.
83. [no oil no vinegar nothing.]
84. L [I didn't (see) it sometimes-]
85. G it is only mixed with yogurt it is barely visible on the vegetable [some ve]getables-
86. L [ehm::]
87. my sister brought me yesterday a cabbage one of these so:ft
88. G a those fres- yes
89. L and we cut it and we grated it one carrot. (1.8) in the grater.
90. in the cheese grater (0.9) and lemon only and nothing else.
91. cabbage and carrot and it absorbed [that]
92. G [yes]
93. L flavour from the lemon

¹⁰² Local dish with diced pork.

94. G that one is sweet the:-
95. L =no oil as you say no nothing
96. G [tha::t ca]rrot- cabbage is very sweet it is very nice that one
97. L [very nice]
98. yes yes we ate it we did not waste anything. [we] ate it.
99. G [ah::]
100. eh.
101. L the day before yesterday I made d-stuffed cabbage leaves for them.
102. mother of Jesus they went mad!(.)
103. °they are so nice!, they are so nice mum!° ((stylised)) there was nothing left. (1)
104. G well they need every day-
105. L =I made them everything. I made them musakka, I made them pasta,
106. and em I made them ravioli. well tomorrow Thursday (.) no tomorrow is Wednesday
107. on Thursday I will make a rolled pastry (1.9) that she will take with her
108. G mm
109. L on Thursday or on Friday morning. early morning on Saturday she leaves
110. G well do it on Friday
111. L I will do it on Friday
112. G but if you have other jobs
113. L and I might put it in the container, and i might make her a container
114. of ladies' fingers.¹⁰³
115. G mm
116. L to take to the children. I would have made an olive pie and a cheese pie for her
117. if she were to go straight. she will stay for four days in Greece.
118. G mm
119. L these are pre::served the ladies' fingers and the rolled pastry.
120. G yes
121. L but the::
122. G and [the cheese pie] can be preserved if she seals it
123. L [the cheese pie]
124. G leave it in the container if it is round ((do)) not ((cut it)) in small small piece
125. and you can put it somewhere. oh. em:: enough. well whatever they eat
126. L I will show her when I make it if she is at home and I will give her the ingredients
127. if she want she can make for them (1.9) they want to come Gregoria

¹⁰³ A local pastry.

128. G =oh they want to come
129. L they want to come, they want to come, they want to come. he wants to come. (0.6)
130. G eh:: (3.2)
131. L well may with god's power, (1.5)
132. G we:ll <not> now soon, maybe [after one year has elapsed] again.
133. L [yes. yes. yes.]
134. G and they will see what you will do.
135. it is that also the thou::ght you think to:-
136. L I will decide to take the shops from here- she does not accept
137. no way to:
138. G [Well bu::t]
139. L [if you go] there I am not coming.
140. G this is not good Loulla. your <children> will gather Loulla,
141. you want a place for them to sit. they will not sit [in the] bedroom.
142. L [°hm. hm.°]
143. G you need eh- (0.6) your kitchen to be large, your kitchen and hall like you have them
144. now together,
145. L =together yes.
146. G and it should be big should be that big so they can sit. (0.8)
147. your children [gather, they multiply look.]
148. L [she will not accept I will rent,] I will rent.
149. she is stubborn. she will not accept. she will not accept. I will not throw you out. (.)
150. you have made them all these years and I should come now to throw you out?
151. *my conscience does not allow it mum!* ((animated))
152. G =exactly. no.
153. L =I told you a hundred times. [my conscience does not allow it.]
154. G [exactly. the money you will give here,]
155. you wi:ll make [there-]
156. L [I will] <separate> the two.
157. ah: the two bedrooms which are upstairs;(0.7) and the bath the toilet
158. up there where the pillars are, from there.
159. G =hm. will it be here?
160. L it will be here.
161. G not [there]
162. L [exactly] °here°
163. no here ((is)) Koulla's

164. G =here eh::-
165. L =and I will make the entrance here. (.)
166. G ↑eh::.
167. L =no t there in the front.
168. G hm. in >the side<?
169. L in the side.
170. G =great! (.)
171. L and I will have my small yard there to go out, to [sit,]
172. G [well yes for a]
173. long- for a long time:: now [I have been telling you;]
174. L [I will pla:::nt]
175. I will plant cypress trees like high to make like a high green fence up,
176. G hm.
177. L like the one that Kallou has opposite her; (.) that Afroulla's. (1.4)
178. doesn't she ha::ve a fence with cypress trees? high. (.)
179. G a::nd that one my Soulla has . (0.6) small cypress trees and
180. she pr[unes] them and they become a fence.
181. L [yes.]
182. no I don't want them like Virambo¹⁰⁴ [who prunes them.]
183. G [NO these are not-]
184. these are not eh: cypress trees. (1.5)
185. these are another type.
186. L well I want those thin cypress trees that go up like high [and-]
187. G [yes]
188. yes these are sp- special cypress trees
189. L =special yes
190. G` =that are made into a fence.
191. L =yes yes.
192. G like: the: Virambo.
193. L yes but I don't want it that wide to take
194. G no narrower. [you put it narrower yes.]
195. L [like utterly thin yes.](.)
196. when he cut the thing I should put a little table there (.) and everything.
197. and the space is <enough> Gliorou. from my corridor,

¹⁰⁴ Virambo is the name of a local function hall.

198. G and you can make a pergola [you know] you can go out,
199. L [yes. yes.]
200. and [I will go out.]
201. G [°over there°]
202. my in-law her house was <old> I am telling you, she bought old like that.
203. em: but e: ev- everything were built, only the:: walls remained she says
204. L [hm.]
205. G [and] they made: (.) exactly like yours when you go in, is the dining room, (.)
206. and it continues and goes it is the <kitchen>. and they did not leave it open plan,
207. it is the door like wide one-piece and you go into the kitchen without a door
208. and they turned half of the wall into like a small window, and you serve foods
209. [from there and they [it li]ke::
210. L [ehm it's- [hm hm.]
211. G marble there very nice.
212. L =yes I know.
213. G =from this side:: m- it's a bar, when you are let's say in the living room,
214. L yes.
215. G and <spacious!> up there they were crammed, there wasn't.
216. small bedrooms- her kitchenette from here to there. that much
217. it could barely fit the table. it could not fit two people to go
218. in to cook
219. L yes. (2)
220. G she made it very nice.
221. L hm. (1)well I am fixed with tha::t thing for the water.
222. G ah you don't buy now
223. L I changed the filter and you should see things in that filter,
224. you should see <thi:ngs> in that filter
225. G mm
226. L it's impressive I changed the-
227. G =is it a big thing how much ((water)) does it take?
228. L it ↑take:s more that a bottle every time
229. G ah. you put that and you fill it up.
230. L yes
231. G is not big enough to take more?
232. L no. em h-haven't you seen it?
233. G in the fri- no I haven't seen it I did not not not go there the day before yesterday

234. L ah
235. G you need to put another in the fridge and then pour it in there
236. L I will leave [that] outside, it is too big to go in the fridge,
237. G [mm]
238. L I might make some space for it if I lower down the grid
239. G mm
240. L but I don't [want] to. it should stay outside and in the summer I will fill one two
241. G [mm]
242. L glass bottle and my vase, and my vase!
243. it filters all the time.
244. G hm:
245. L well it impressed me the <dirt> that took out from inside.
246. G and they liked the water? isn't it-
247. L =<all> are happy.
248. G mm. there is a lot of people who drink from the tap.
249. L =ALL!
250. G now how much should we give him he wanted ten shillings? (1.3)
251. how mu::ch
252. L well. it's almo::st it's not twelve-
253. G no it's too much one euro.
254. Λ one euro is too much.
255. Γ I don't know. (.) well I fret but does this thing convert ten shillings? (.)
256. L I neither know Gliorou.
257. G I have a ten0shilling to put for him. (2.2)
258. I consider either that o:r the other thing that all people have
259. with the bottles.
260. L that's good >where will you put it< Gliorou tell me. (.)
261. G I say there is a small one over there.
262. L ah there. I don't have a fuse. (.)
263. [I don't have a fuse.]
264. G [ah it has a fuse-]
265. L I have one [fuse] and my fridge and my ↑television are on.
266. G [ah:..]
267. it become double. straight away.
268. L but that als- should I put that also on the television and the fridge?
269. G it (b)e-becomes a double. fuse. straight away.

270. L yes

271. G next to the other one. look there I had one.

272. L =yes

273. G [>look here.<]

274. L [yes yes yes.] I know.

275. G so that when I plug the air condition and I plug the fan also they came and

276. he took it off and put it- eh he put a double fuse.

277. L eh [the:re is]

278. G [and I p]lug the air condition separately and the fun separately. (.)

279. L that's right

280. G ten pounds. a ten-pound ((note)). he also put here.

281. L no I don't have. space for that ja:g no I don't where to put it.

282. G there where you have your little table, em: next to the fridge

283. [it can fit]

284. L [well the sun] hits it all day! (1)

285. as soon as the sun al- even if you touch the fridge it is boiling. (0.8)

286. I need to get a sun proof curtain.

287. G hm yes. [there are for] the door.

288. L [with the::]

289. yes

290. G one curtain these sun proof ones ((are)) fine

291. L I am fixed very much with that pot. (.) I fill my glasses,

292. I fill my vase I put it in the fridge, >in two minutes< it make more.

293. in ↑two minutes!

294. G hm.

295. L the filter runs under it. (1.2) no I am very please. I did very well (.)

296. G [>how much< that thing?]

297. L [to change it.] (0.7)

298. nineteen pounds. (0.9) and you need to buy filter to change it.

299. G ↓ah::.

300. L ↑eh. *all thos you give here for water and ((you have to)) carry all the time,*

301. *and I should have it eight days to soak in there; ((animated))*

302. ↑I told you about the dirt that I had in there.

303. G =no I have now put rice:. [I scrubbed] it I shook it it did not have anything.

304. L [ah::]

305. G I cleaned it I was fretting for so long.

306. L no.
307. G I should find a ten-shilling. I have. the day before yesterday I had many oh dear
308. but I told you Giorgos came and he chose them. there were three four.
309. the day before yesterday I found them there were in the pocket t(h)wo of m(h)y coat;
310. L hm.
311. G I tried to wear it on inside. (.) sometimes we
312. [throw them] when we go to church
313. L [yes yes yes]
314. =me too me too I find.
315. G and I find in my pockets.
316. L me too I find left and right.
317. in pockets and in all my handbags I have money scattered
318. G everything passes Loulla but again my grandson embittered me
319. *gravely: now with: in New Year's Day ((crying))*
320. L [what?]
321. G [on:] yesterday at Epiphany. he ate first *kori* and he left from here
322. fine. I was waiting waiting (1.3) em I call him on Saturday-
323. on Friday night, he didn't answer. I call him again, em:: (1.6)
324. *we::ll I am some-somewhere: I can't I can't talk to you now I will call you later.*
325. ((stylised)) ok my sone it is for tomorrow. em:
326. *don't make anything for me and I will not come. ((stylised))*
327. L =hm.
328. G well so that I know what to make for him we are all invited
329. to go to the in-law
330. L =yes.
331. G I say i:f he will not go I should make: him some food. I ask Giorgos,
332. Giorgos knew (.) ah! *I told him it's all over ((animated))*
333. between us Giorgio. I don't want lies. I don't want you
334. *to fool me, I am your grandmother anything you want ((crying))*
335. he came in the morning the day before yesterday, grandma: do you have anythi::ng
336. to have for breakfast? and he was with the pyjama, he went and took off his trousers
337. *and he wore his pyjama ((animated))* and his sleepers ((tapping the table))
338. that time he came ((home)) to sleep. half seven eight
339. L youth are like that
340. G =yes they are like that. but son did you wake up now? e::: no ((animated)).
341. well did you come now? yes.

342. there is milk to make a milk for you what do you want?
343. I cut cheese, halloumi, stale bread, I made him milk,
344. are there any eggs grandma? there are. shall we boil two eggs?’
345. *let’s boil my son* ((crying))
346. L for Giorgos?
347. G for Giorgos. *I do all [your] favours.* ((animated))
348. L [hm hm.]
349. G [*you have the house like your house*] ((animated))
350. L [like the house of their mother like yes]
351. G and I lo[ve] you and all, and you lie to me?
352. L [hm]
353. G I – I – I don’t forgive you Giorgo. he did not tell me not to tell you:
354. just so that you don’t get upset, so you don’t-
355. L hm hm
356. G why? why don’t- you tell me to know. why now I called him
357. °and the <bang> is different when he is away°
358. L hm hm
359. G =it makes a differe:nt buzz, (.) pff.
360. god help me there is something wrong with his phone.
361. perhaps he went to the Turkish side [I say]
362. L [hm hm]
363. G *and they were caught there and they stayed there?* ((animated))
364. L you see how we fear [for the worse]
365. G [I call him]
366. Giorgo, re Giorgo: Vakis does not answer my call,
367. he sometimes answers it and tells me: ok grandma em:: I can’t talk now:
368. a::nd let me call him now myself and i’ll tell you (0.6)
369. L hm
370. G Friday night dawn of Epiphany. Saturday night. well he called me then eh:: it’s
371. ok grandma he will stay home to watch football
372. L hm
373. G but why do you fool me? (1.4) god dawned the day, Michalis came
374. here with the children, they sat, oh: good morning it’s the Epiphany give us our treat
375. [now’ the children]
376. L [I saw him I saw] him with his babies
377. G to give them, ah I want the Epiphany treat as well,

378. *she didn't know what it was* ((smiling))
379. L hm
380. G I gave them I had cents I gave him five: euros
381. L =hm
382. G note like. and he ((was)) happy I will make a collection. the children sat here
383. they even did not want anything to eat.
384. I left three four
385. pieces of pie (.) I also filled up for [Gre]gorou-¹⁰⁵
386. L [yes]
387. G [>I did the large tray all in one pla[ce]<.
388. L [eh [yes]
389. G I say to myself why I should struggle to <bake> it in two places.
390. maybe you haven't eaten?
391. L I ate it was very nice
392. G =you ate? eh[:]
393. L [ve]ry nice
394. G and I put ((some)) in a container for her and she took it
395. L =it was ni::cer th- yours than Giannoulla's
396. G =mm. I don't know
397. L yesterday she invited us and we all went with Zenos and
398. [with- Koulla [and her husb]and
399. G [ah. ah. [it's very nice]
400. L and she tells me this one is Gliorou's and this is Giannoulla's. well I tell her
401. Gliorou's is nicer. Giannoulla's one was doughy inside
402. G hm
403. L it was not baked properly. any way
404. G no I left it [one and a ha-]
405. L [tell me] to know what has happened
406. G well. (2) I called I tell him *re* Michali I don't know: will you go- come to the in-law,
407. *come we will take you* ((animated)), get ready and we will take you.
408. em: I go with Lina I tell [him], you go
409. L [hm]
410. G you with your kids and I come with Lina. he is the one
411. I worry about,

¹⁰⁵ See footonote 100, p. 315.

412. L =hm
413. G I haven't made him anything, em: if I [tell] him he will come. (0.7)
414. L [hm.]
415. G but we did not arranged I have not got a hold of him. you my son call him let's see.
416. he called him he answered. (1.8) I don't know if he told him, well he tells me:
417. he will not come grandma he is somewhere far away he is somewhere far
418. I don't know he might be abroad. pff.
419. °lately:° he: was talking in English here and he sat and ate and then
420. he tells me *greeting from Natalia* ((animated)) (1.7)
421. I tell him it's been five months she neither knew my number
422. nor did she speak to me now she sends me greetings?
423. I tell him thank you but I don't want her to send me greetings.
424. like my- heart is cold. she left you and I did for her
425. you ate very well and you left. couldn't she give me a call?
426. she knew a few words and I would understand her if she said something why-
427. well it is I who told her not to call anyone.
428. L hm.
429. G that's why she did not bother you. I chased her away. (0.7)
430. L hm.
431. G it is I who chased her away, it was my fault as well, and you know what
432. and now we [talk-]
433. L [ah:!]]
434. G she left probably during those days and they talked and she went.
435. and he went after her and he is over there now. ((tap on the table)) (1.3)
436. well. em. Michalise left
437. after he talked with him I should phone him. I called him he replied.
438. yes grandma what do you want what- son I am looking for you I tell him
439. I can't find you, what will happen we are going to the in-law,
440. em >I will not come- I will not come<
441. ok grandma, you go I am in Molzova he tells me. (2.1)
442. L °(ah) °
443. G mother of Jesus he stabbed a knife on me. I said nothing neither good nor bad.
444. ok son I tell him as long as you told me. we don't you talk to me, I called you four-
445. ten time on the phone. ok son season greeti:ng bye. and I hung up.
446. I neither talked about her nor did I talk about him. I am coming on Tuesday he says.
447. I don't know if he is coming morning or night I don't know (1.5)

448. L [what can we do]
449. G [she so nicely] left since she is no:t
450. she is young Loulla she is not a person who will stay with him
451. L [what can we do Gregoria we can't ()]
452. G [and if it doesn't matter it doesn't matter. (.) my son] you can't satisfy her.
453. well it is because she wasn't working now she got a job. but where did she get a job?
454. where can they get a job [these to go] to?
455. L [ye:s these]
456. G to get. but I told him Loulla boldly.
457. *come on you! come on you!* ((stylised anger))
458. what do you mean? since you did not make do, you had no money left.
459. now wo:rk New Year's day, every day; all day, even Christmas,
460. all the: the day before yesterday he was in Larnaca: he was there
461. <all> day since morning I was call him at eight,
462. just now I leave grandma and I am coming,
463. and he took- he collected all these extra that he got in order to buy a ticket
464. to go to the tu- they don't know how to manage themselves
465. L no they don't know
466. G =and manage themselves. and he should've said but why should I go now, since
467. she will after all. ↑if you want to <make up> will you listen to me?
468. no. but ((what about)) all these extra expenses?
469. how come you are going to pay five hundred pounds for tickets to and come?
470. and another five hundred for her? you are not (.) Onassis. (.)
471. you get one salary. (.) they are not enough
472. L =we don't do nothing Glorou
473. G no
474. L if their mind does not understand and if-
475. G =he tells mum don't get up[set]. and Michalis
476. L [hm]
477. G let things go as it comes. grandma take care of yourself
478. L yes.
479. G grandma <TAKE CARE> of yourself!
480. L but you are our joy tell him. when I see you not doing well
481. how can we <be calm>?
482. G =that's [ri:ght]
483. L [how] can we be calm?

484. G =what can we do?

485. L =we want to be calm but- (.)

486. G he is still involved with the other one to take the- em divorce he got it.

487. the shops are outstanding, they delay, son do something. em: there is the (.) lawyer

488. (0.8) soon he appears to do to him worse than he did to the other and he ((may tell))

489. him who is the: thi:s to go to-

490. so much so that my daughter said what can I do I will pay she says. so he doesn't bring

491. a stranger among us. even fifty thousand are not enough. ((clap))

492. L °mother of Jesus°

493. G a:nd my daughter will have to: to tell her how much she needs to

494. give it to her, and you know when she does the transfer she pays tax,

495. L now yes

496. G we will see how much she will for the tax, they are also mortgaged, my daughter will

497. accept everything, they have decided what can we do and she looks for him come

498. ((tap)) to talk, come ((tap)) to TALK. >well I can't now-<

499. and like the- he evades like the thing. and he does not sit to talk with anyone

500. L it's not hard for the: to swamp him and the thing comes-

501. G =yes that's what I am thinking

502. L may god pre[vent] Gregoria

503. G [a:nd]

504. the house. it's not at his name. he may sell the house tomorrow and

505. leave him with nothing.

506. L may god prevent

507. G it's because they DON'T <coope[rate> Loulla it's <their fault> Loulla]their fault

508. L [they don't cooperate they don't cooperate]

509. G they don't cooperate

510. L but it's <all>children of people nowadays like this

511. G I know

512. L [all all like this]

513. G [there's worse.]

514. this Toshka came from so far and brought him.

515. a hulking guy here there he was with the mafia and cost her

516. he-is- owes around fifty thousand pounds, <and she works>

517. like a negro and sends him to pay; and she attempted to bring him

518. here to work; (.) eh. well they need house to stay,

519. and do, [and eat, who] does it for you? (.)

520. L [and their expenses]
521. G he went and found a petrol station for three hundred pounds
522. they are li- four hundred I don't know, they are too little! (0.9)
523. <she made her>very upset. he left from here and went to Italy. (.)
524. >at least< he is away and I don't get to see him [she says].
525. L [ah:::!]
526. G he can do as he pleases.
527. L =tell her ((it's)) worse. at least [here [it's] control.
528. G [there are- [there are-]
529. there are worse °things°. (0.8)
530. L okay [Grego]ria
531. G [I have tr-]
532. I have troubled you as well with-
533. L =NO::
534. G *ko:ri kori* what shall we do
535. L we all have the same. there is no house that doesn't have these. come on!
536. G =o:kay good bye. I will turn this off as well. (4)
- (conversation A1) 28.13

Excerpt 7-2: Typical characteristics of third age and bereavement

(participants: Anna, Myria)

22.46

1. A ε-όταν ας πούμεν βλέπεις μι-μια γυναίκαν της τρίτης ηλικίας πκοια νομίζεις ότι είναι
2. (.) έτσι τα <συνηθισμένα> χαρακτηριστικά μιας γυναίκας τρίτης ηλικίας? (1.3)
3. M σαν τι δηλαδή? χαρακτηριστικά?
4. A =ε π-σωματικά, εξωτερικά πώς-
5. M =μα ε θωρείς τον πρώτα απ'όλα που κουτσεύκ(η)ει. χα[χαχαχαχα]χαχα
6. A [χαχαχαχα]
7. M ε εν μετρημένες τζείνες [κα]κά εν τα ψέματα που είμασταν:
8. A [νναι]
9. M [γε]ρές μετά τα εβδομήντα προπάντων.
10. A [νναι]
11. νναι.
12. M νοιω- ε θωρείς την πκιον ότι:: εμπήκεν σε μια::ν πκιο μεγάλην ηλικ(η)ίαν
13. A =νναι.
14. M αρκετά π(η)ιο μεγάλην ηλικίαν. (1.2)
15. αλλά (.) έδει που κουτσεύκουν τζαι π(η)ον ν(η)έ(η)ε(η)ες.

16. Α νναι.
17. Μ ε εντάξει. ε καταλάβεις τες. τζαι, που το πρόσωπο, τζαι όλα να πούμε. (.) ότι
18. ένι:: ΜΕΓΑΛΕ:Σ γυναίκες. ε σαν εμείς τον γυρό:ν μας που ξέρουμε τζαι τις ηλικίες
19. μας- (.) σαν εμείς στην Ατα[λάντα] εμείς οι Αταλάντισσες αφού ξέρει η μια (.)
20. [νναι]
21. Μ την άλλην, την ηλικίαν της αν εν πκιο μεγάλη σου αν εν πκιο μιτσά σου αν εν::
22. καταλαβαίνεις να πούμε τζαι: (.) ε.
23. τζ' άμαν τες δεις τζαι κουτσέφκουν τζαι ξέρεις ((smile voice)) ↑να χα[χαχα]χαχα (2)
24. Α [χαχα]
25. ε:μ (2.5) πώς ένοιωσες πού:: (.) που: έφυεν ο κύριος Φίλιππος?
26. [η] χηρεία πώς σε επηρέασεν?
27. Μ [αμ]
28. =α οι που- πάρα πολλά οι γιατί η >αλήθεια να λέγεται< επέρνουν πολλά καλά
29. με τον άντραν μου, (1) παρ'όλο που ήταν τζαι τζέινος άρρωστος υπόφερεν με: (.)
30. άσθμαν. εστοίχισεν μου <πάρα> πολλά; γιατί όσον τζαι να σου το λαλούν οι γιατροί
31. ότι θκυόμισι μήνες του εμείναν; (0.7) εσύ λαλείς εν δυνατόν? εν εν δυνατό
32. ώσπου να σου συμβεί εν να το:: (1) πεις ε πράγματι ήταν δυνατό, τζαι στοιχίζει (.)
33. πράγματι (.) ΠΑΡΑ πολλά ((crying voice)) πάρα πολλά. ↓τζ' εστοίχισεν μου που έφυεν
34. τζαι η κόρη μου μετά που τον θάνατον του:: Φίλιππου. (0.6)
35. που έφυε::ν (.) εις τους εφτά μήνες, ε σαν να είχα: (3) εστοίχισεν μου πάρα πολλά.
36. Α νναι. (1)
37. Μ ενόμιζα ότι ήταν να μείνει. (1) ότα:ν ήταν δα τζ'[ε]χάσαμεν τον παπάν της
38. Α [νναι.]
39. Μ ενόμιζα πως ήταν να μείνει, (2) ↑έτσι το επήρα (.) ενώ όταν ε έφυεν (1)
40. ήταν σαν να έχω δεύτερο: (0.6)
41. Α δεύτερη απώλεια. επροσπάθησες να [κάμεις κάτι-]
42. Μ [παρ'όλον] πόν της το είπα τούτο,
43. Α =νναι,
44. Μ αλλά έτσι ένοιωθα. ((crying voice)) (1.9)
45. Α επροσπάθησες να: κάμεις κάτι, για να <καλύψεις> το κενό, (.)
46. τουλάχιστον να μεν νοιώθεις <μόνη> σου
47. Μ να συνδεθώ ε έτσι με τις φίλες μου. με τις- ΑΛΛΑ (0.7) μπορεί να το πω::
48. λέω χάρη τούτο ότι μου εστοίχισεν, (0.8)
49. Α νναι
50. Μ οι ότι μου εσυνέβηκε δεύτερος >°πουτούντο (χτύπημα)°< αλλά ε:: (1)

51. επροσπάθουν τζ' εγώ μόνη μου να: (.) ε να ζήσω.
52. να δώσω κουράγιο στον εαυτόν μου. ((crying voice)) (2)
1. A em-when let's say you see a-a woman of third age which do you think are
2. (.) like the <typical> characteristics of a woman of third age? (1.3)
3. M like what? characteristics?
4. A =em s-physical, appearance-wise how-
5. M =well em you see first of all that (she) li(h)mps. ha[hahahaha]haha
6. A [hahahaha]
7. M em lying aside there [are] few who we are:
8. A [yes]
9. M [hea] lthy after seventy especially.
10. A [yes]
11. yes.
12. M you fee- em you see tha::t she has now entered a::n more *megali* (h)age
13. A =yes.
14. M quite a b(h)it more *megali* age. (1.2)
15. but (.) there are those who limp and wh(h)o are (h)you(h)ng(h).
16. A yes.
17. M oh well. you recognise them. and, from the face, and everything let's say. (.) that they
18. are:: MEGALES women. like us in our ci:rcle that we know our ages-
19. (.) like us in Ata[lanta] us Atalantans since each knows (.)
20. A [yes]
21. M the other, her age if she is more *megali* than you if she is younger than you if she is::
22. you understand let's say a:nd (.) yes.
23. *and when you see them limping and you know* ((smile voice)) ↑to ha[haha]haha
24. A [haha]
25. he:m (2.5) how did you feel whe:n: (.) when: Mr Filippas passed?
26. [how] did widowhood affect you?
27. M [oh]
28. =oh no when- very much no because >truth be told< I had a very good time
29. with my husband, (1) although he was sick he was suffering fro:m (.)
30. asthma. it cost me <very> much; because no matter that the doctors tell you
31. that he has two and half months left; (0.7) you say is it possible? it isn't possible
32. until it happens to you you wi::ll (1) say indeed it was possible, and it costs you (.)
33. indeed (.) VERY much ((crying voice)) very much. ↓and it cost me that my daughter

34. le:ft (.) in seven months, well as if I ha:d (3) it cost me very much.
35. A yes. (1)
36. M I thought that she was gonna stay. (1) whe:n she was here and [we] lost her dad
37. A [yes.]
38. M I thought she was gonna stay, (2) ↑that's what I thought (.) but when she left (1)
39. it was like having a seco:nd (0.6)
40. A second loss. did you try to [do something-]
41. M [although] I didn't tell her that,
42. A =yes,
43. M *but that's how I felt.* ((crying voice)) (1.9)
44. A did you try to: do something, to <fill> the void, (.)
45. at least not to feel <alone>
46. M to get close like with my ((female)) friends. with- BUT (0.7) I might say i::t
47. let's say that cost me, (0.8)
48. A yes
53. M not that a second >°this (blow)°< happened to me but em:: (1)
54. I was trying on my own to: (.) well to live.
55. *to give myself courage.* ((crying voice)) (2)
- (from interview B3) 25.28

Excerpt 7-3: Charoulla's friends

(participants: Anna, Charoulla)

21.45

1. A ↑ο- (.) όταν έχεις κάπκοιον πρόβλημαν σε πκοιον θα το πεις?
2. πκοιο- πκοιου:ς θεωρείς πκιο κοντινά σου πρόσωπα?
3. X =μόνον την κόρην μου.
4. A =μμ.
5. X τζαι καμιάν γνωστήν φιλε↑νάδαν να της εκμυ::στηρευτώ να πούμε ότι το και το
6. συμβαίνει κόρη μου. σαν να πούμεν την Λούλλαν, την Γρηγορίαν που ξέρω πως εν
7. γυναίκες (.) δικές μας; (0.7)
8. A °νναι. °
9. X =της ηλικίας μας; που έχουν η κάθε μια τον πόνον της,
10. A °μμ. °
11. X εν θα φκει τζαι να πει τζειθθε μέρου έτσι τζέινο τι τζαι τζέινον έπαθεν η Χαρούλλα.
12. εν να εκμυστηρευτείς (.) σε μιαν (1) μιτθάν? που ε-εν:-ι-ξέρει απού: πόνο?
13. που εν-ι-ξέρει απού:: βάσανα? η: ηλικία της τζέινης ε εν ούλον χαρές τωρά εν ένι?

14. A νναι
15. X εν-ι-ξέρει που τούντα (.) προβλήματα που έχουμε εμείς. εν μπορείς να το
16. εκμυστηρευτείς σε μιαν μικρήν.
17. A °νναι. °
18. X μόνον σε μεγάλην ηλικίαν.
19. A μμ
20. X που ε- που είναι: δική σου, που είναι φίλη σου
21. A νναι.
22. X να το εκμυστηρευτείς. (2)
23. A εμ. (1) ο-όταν θέλεις έτσι να: αλλάξεις λίγο να περάσεις καλά:,
24. σε πκοιον θα- με πκοιο:ν (1.5)
25. X με πκοιον?
26. A νναι με πκοιον θα μιλήσεις, σε πκοιον θα πκιάσεις τηλέφωνο? (1)
27. X ε. (1.3) συνήθως εν τζαι πολλοκάμνω έτσι πολλές (.) παρέες.
28. A =μμ.
29. X =οι παρέες μου πο'νι εν τούτες τζει πάνω που κάθουμουν. (.)
30. αλλά είπαμεν ότι εν-ι-μπόρω να 'ης ↓πω:: 'μα σήμερα έτσι μου έτυχεν', (.)
31. A νναι.
32. X διότι εν-ι-ξέρω, α εν- ↑ενε: εκφράζομαι εύκολα.
33. A νναι
34. X εν το εκφράζομαι τούτον εύκολα σε άλλον εν το εκφράζομαι.
35. εν να μιλήσω στην κόρην μου να 'ην πάρω τηλέφωνο έτσι τζ' έτσι οι αρρώσκιες μου,
36. τζείνον τούτον εν η κόρη μου που εν να με βουρήσει
37. [τζαι] στον γιατρόν τζαι σ'ούλα. (1)
38. A [νναι]
39. X ε είντα'μ πόν να: πεις στον άλλον? τίποτε εν μπορείς να πεις στον άλλον.
40. A πκοιες- πκοιες έτσι συνομήλικες είναι οι παρέες σου? (0.7)
41. X οι παρέες μου που π[άντα?]
42. A [νναι.]
43. X μα ε εμείς δαμαί άτε εν να πάμεν στον κύκλον πρώτα απ'όλα;
44. A =νναι
45. X βρεθούμασιν μιλούμεν ↑τζειν'την ώραν,(.)
46. A μμ
47. X αλλά εν τζαι μπ- να πάεις σπίτιν τους,
48. A νναι
49. X εγώ εν τζ' είμαι έτσι πολλά: ανοιχτό:ς (.) πλάσμαν για να πάω εύκολα. (1)

50. είπα σου ότι μόνη οι παρέες μου τούτες ένι. (.)
51. A νναι.
52. X τζαι οι παρέες πάνω πόν το σπίτιν. αλλά, (1.2) μπορεί να κάμω παρέαν.
53. άμαν κάτσω κάπου τζαι να μιλήσω τζαι να πάρω τζαι να φέρω. αλλά: αποτραβηγμένα
54. [ό]ι: (.) αννοιχτά. να [μεν]εν
55. A [μμ.] [μμ.]
56. X ε που ήμαστιν εις το χωρκόν μας είχαμεν τις παρέες- ε μα ήμαστιν τζαι μιτθές
57. εν τωρά? που ήρτα? αφού ήρτα που το πενηνταπέντε. (1.8) ε πκιον χάννεις τες παρέες
58. σου, ούτε αθυμούμαι με πκοιες εί-ένι τωρά με πκοιοι ζουν με πκοιοι επεθάναν;
59. A μμ
60. X τόσα χρόνια που να σκεφτείς τζαι να κάμεις. (2)
61. A εσύ άμα-όταν θα πάεις για καφέν >δηλαδή< πκοιες-πκοιες εν να'ναι συνήθως?
62. X συνήθως άμαν πάμεν για καφέν?
63. A =νναι
64. X η ΚΛΙΚΚΑ μας.
65. A ν(h)αι ↑ΧΑ↓χα (.)
66. X εν τζαι αλλάσσει η κλίκκα μας. ((smile voice)) η Γληγορού, η Τασούλλα, η: Λούλλα,
67. η Μύρια. (1.5) ε εν τζ' έδει άλλη. μια Ολιβία ποτζεί, τούτες ούλες.
68. A νναι
69. X αν πάμε ταξίδι, τούτες εν να κάτσουμεν μαζί να'ες συνάξουμεν. να κάτσουμε μαζί ε::
70. πάνω η: Νίτσα του Κεπέρη ξέρεις την,
71. A =νναι
72. X εν κουμέρα μου, εβάφτισεν μου τον γιον μου. η Σταματία?
73. ξέρει-πρέπει να την-ι-ξέρεις τζαι τζείνη, δίπλα που την Πεπού
74. A εν την-ι-ξέρω
75. X ε:: πρέπει να μεν την-ι-ξέρεις.
76. ε τούτον εν να κάτσουμεν στο τραπέζιν, να:: πειράξει η μια την άλλην,
77. να αστείέ[ψου]μεν
78. A [χμ]
79. X να γελάσουμε. τα χωρκάτικα μας, τα [λό]για μας, τα αυτά μας, (.)
80. A [χα]
81. X ε. κουτσοπερνούμε. (2.4)
82. A πκοια εν η πκιο αστεία (.) που τούτες η παρέα?
83. X η πκιο αστεία? ε μα εν ούλες το ίδιον πρ(η)άμαν. ((smile voice)) [χα]
84. A [χα]
85. X πκοια ένι. (2) εν-ι-μπόρω να ξεχωρίσω.

86. A μμ.
87. X η Τασούλλα!
88. A χαχα[χα]
89. X [η] Τασούλλα ε: η Τασούλλα η Τασούλλα. (1.8)
90. η Τασούλλα εν (.) κάμποση. προχτές επήρεν μας κάτω στο (1)
91. έδει:: <εστια-> ξενοδοχείον ο γιος της μαζίν με την νύμφην της. τζ' εκάλεσεν μας εμάς
92. τις τρεις-τέσσερις τζ' επήαμεν.(.)
93. A μμ. (.)
94. X επεράσαμεν ωραία ποτζείνον, αστείεψεν μας, εκαλοδέχτηκεν μας πώς να σου πω ε
95. (1) ε- έτο η παρέα τούτη ένι (.) εν τζαι μπορείς να κάμεις τωρά που εμεγάλωσες
96. εν τζαι μπορείς να κάμεις παρέα. πρέπει:: να υπάρξει: καιρός για να
97. A συνδε[θείς]
98. X [ξέ]ρεις την κάθε μιαν τι καπνά φουμάρει; εν ένι?
99. A ε νναι.
100. X =εν μπορείς εν μπορείς να κάμεις.
101. A στο- στο ξενοδοχείο τωρά της Τασούλλας πκοιοι επη-? επήες εσύ,
102. [η:]
103. X [η] Μύρια, η Ευούλλα.¹⁰⁶ (1) η Λούλλα ήταν κάτω. (1) τζαι η Κετσίνα.
104. ξέρεις την [°Κε]τσίνα°?
105. A [νναι.]
106. X νναι τζαι η Κετσίνα. εμείς επήαμεν. (2.6)
107. A με του- τούτην την κλίκαν >που λες< κάθε πόσον (.) συχνά: βρέθεστε?
108. X >κάθε πόσον-< ε σαν τωρά επειδή ήταν τζαι διακοπές τζαι ξέρω γω, ο κόσμος λείπει.
109. A μμ.
110. X ε κάμνει κάθε φορά:: κάθε: μια (.) κάτι έναν καφέν να τους προσφέρει ένα γλύκι[σμα]
111. A [μμ.]
112. X ξέρω γω, (1.5) κάθε δεκαπέντε έτο σειρά σειρά.
113. πκιάννει σειρά η [μια] η άλλη η άλλη η άλλη.
114. A [μμ]
115. νναι.
116. X ή αν έχου:ν (1.5) ππάρτυ ξέρω 'γω οι κόρες τους είντα'μ που ένι, γενέθλια,
117. παντρεύκουν τες,
118. A νναι.
119. X εν ο (1.4) κάθε μ- (.) όπως λάχει. εν τζ' έδεις τζαι ημερομηνία

¹⁰⁶ Ευούλλα/Envoulla is Myria's daughter.

120. A νναι.
121. X όποτε λάχει.(1.6)
122. A και (.) άμα βρέθεστε τι πράματα μιλάτε?
123. X ε τούτα ούλα τα κουτσομπο[λιά] μας.
124. A [°χα°]
125. X εί[ντα]’μ που έκαμες κόρη, τι εμαείρεψες, ου τζειν’το φουστάνιν σου ου:
126. A [(h)]
127. X τζειν’τα παπούτσα σου πόθθεν τά’πκιαες? ε. [εν] είδες το?
128. A [μμ.]
129. νν(h)αι χα [χα χα
130. X [χα χα
131. παπούτσα τα κότσίνα που έθελα. ((smile voice))
132. A =χα χα
133. X =τζει τζεινα.((smile voice)) έτο αυτά. κουτσομπολιά, ε κόρη είμαι άρρωστη-
134. α τες αρρώσκιες μας!
135. [ε λαλούμεν τζει τες αρρώσκιες μας. οι αρρώσκιες μας εν °το (πας)°
136. A [↑χαχαχα
137. X όι κόρη εγιώ πονώ το σέρι μου, όι κόρη εγώ πονώ το πόδιν μου, όι η ράση μου,
138. όι, ε (1.5) ε::πήαμεν στο γιατρόν τζ’ έδωσεν μου κόρη- ↑ε τούτα ούλα:
139. θα τα ακούσεις. οι [α]ρρώσκιες. (1) οι αρρώσκιες. (1.4)
140. A [νναι]
-
1. A ↑whe- (.) when you have a problem who will you tell it to?
2. who- who: do you consider your closest persons?
3. C =only my daughter.
4. A =hm.
5. C and an acquaintance girl↑friend to co::nfide in to say that so and so
6. happens *kori*. like let’s say Loulla, Gregoria who I know who they are
7. our (.) women; (0.7)
8. A °yes.°
9. C =of our age; that each one has her pain,
10. A °hm.°
11. C she will not go out and say this and that happened to Charoulla.
12. will you confide (.) in a (1) young ((woman))? who d-does no:t know abou:t pain?
13. how can she know abou::t torment? he:r age is all joys now isn’t it?
14. A yes

15. C she does not know of these (.) problems that we have. you can't
16. confide it in a young one.
17. A °yes.°
18. C only to *megali* age.
19. A hm
20. C who em- who i:s your own, who is your friend
21. A yes.
22. C to confide it. (2)
23. A em. (1) wh-when you want like to: change a little to have a goo:d time,
24. to who will- with who: (1.5)
25. C with who?
26. A yes with who will you talk, who will you call? (1)
27. C well. (1.4) I usually don't socialise a lot like with many (.) companions.
28. A =hm.
29. C =my companions who are are those when I was living up there. (.)
30. but we said that I can't ↓te::ll her 'oh today that happened to me', (.)
31. A yes
32. C because I don't know, em I- I ↑don't express easily.
33. A yes
34. C I don't express this easily to someone else I don't express it.
35. I will talk to my daughter I will call 'er my illnesses so and so,
36. this and that it is my daughter who will take care of me
37. [to] the doctor and everything. (1)
38. A [yes]
39. C what ca:n you say to the other? you can say nothing to the other.
40. A who- who like same-age ((female form)) are your companions? (0.7)
41. C my companions who a[lways?]
42. A [yes.]
43. C well we here first of all we will go to the circle;
44. A =yes
45. C we meet we talk at ↑that moment, (.)
46. A hm
47. C but you ca- go to their house,
48. A yes
49. C I am not like very: ope:n (.) person to go easily. (1)
50. I told you that my only companions are these. (.)

51. A yes.
52. C and my companions up where my house is. but, (1.2) I may keep company.
53. when I sit somewhere and I talk and I interact. bu:t being withdrawn
54. [no]:t (.) openly. not [to]
55. A [hm.] [hm.]
56. C when we were in our village we had our companions- but we were also young
57. is it now? that I came? but I came since fifty-five. (1.8) well since you lose your
58. companions, I don't remember who they ar- are now nor who live and who died;
59. A hm
60. C so many years how can you think and do. (2)
61. A you when-when you go for coffee >I mean< who-who will be usually?
62. C usually when we go for coffee?
63. A =yes
64. C our CLIQUE.
65. A y(h)es ↑HA↓ha (.)
66. C *our clique does not change.* ((smile voice)) Giorou, Tasoulla:, Loulla,
67. Myria (1.5) well there are no more. one Olivia there, all these.
68. A yes
69. C if we go to a trip, these we will sit together we will gather them. to sit together e::m
70. up there: Nitsa of Keperia you know her,
71. A =yes
72. C she is my *kumera*, she has baptised my son. Stamatia?
73. you know- you must know her as well, next to Pepou
74. A I don't know her
75. C em:: you must know her.
76. well that we will sit at the table, to:: tease each other,
77. to jo[ke]
78. A [hm]
79. C to laugh. our provincial, our [wo]rds, our that, (.)
80. A [ha]
81. C well. we sort of get by. (2.4)
82. A who is the funniest (.) out of these the company?
83. C the funniest? *but they are all the same th(h)ing.* ((smile voice)) [ha]
84. A [ha]
85. C who is it. (2) I can't differentiate.
86. A hm.

87. C Tasoulla!
88. A haha[ha]
89. C [Ta]soulla: Tasoulla Tasoulla. (1.8)
90. Tasoulla is (.) something. the day before yesterday she took us down to (1)
91. he ha::s <restau-> hotel her son with the daughter-in-law. and she invited us
92. the three-four and we went. (.)
93. A hm. (.)
94. C we had a nice time actually, she joked with us, she welcomed us how shall I tell you em
95. (1) well here this is the company (.) you can't make now that you are older
96. you can't make friends. there mu::st be: time to
97. A conn[ect]
98. C [to] know each one what sort of person she is; isn't it?
99. A oh yes.
100. C =you can't you can't make.
101. A at- at the hotel now of Tasoulla who we-? you went,
102. [the:]
103. C [My]ria, Evoulla (1) Loulla was down. (1) and Ketsina.
104. do you know [°Ke]tsina°?
105. A [yes.]
106. C yes and Ketsina. we went. (2.6)
107. A with the- this clique >as you say< every how (.) ofte:n do you meet?
108. C >how often-< well like now because it was holidays and so on, people are away.
109. A hm.
110. C every time:: ea:ch one makes (.) something a coffee to offer them a pudd[ing]
111. A [hm.]
112. C and so on, (1.5) every fortnight in turns.
113. it's turn of [one] the other the other the other.
114. A [hm]
115. yes.
116. C or if they ha:ve (1.5) party I don't know their daughters whatever it is, birthdays,
117. they marry them,
118. A yes.
119. C it's the (1.4) every d- (.) as it happens. you do not have a date
120. A yes
121. C as it happens. (1.6)
122. A and, (.) when you meet what do you talk about?

123. C eh all these our goss[ips.]
124. A [°ha°]
125. C *kori* [what] did you do; what did you cook; that dress of yours
126. A [(h)]
127. C oh: that shoes you have where did you get them from? eh. [you] didn't see (h) it?
128. A [hm.]
129. γ(h)es ha [ha ha
130. C [ha ha
131. *red shoes that I wanted.* ((smile voice))
132. A =ha ha
133. C =and these. ((smile voice)) you see that. gossips, eh *kori* I am ill-
134. ah our illnesses!
135. [eh we talk about our illnesses. our illnesses are °the (everything)°
136. A [↑hahaha
137. C oh *kori* my hand hurts, or *kori* my foot hurts, or my back,
138. or, eh (1.5) we we::nt to the doctor and he gave me *kori*- ↑eh you will hear a:ll
139. that. the [i]llnesses. (1) the illnesses. (1.4)
140. A [yes]
- (from interview B4) 28.07

7.5.2 Additional Excerpts for Chapter 3

Excerpt 7-4: *Kojakari* losing her cane

(participants: Myria, Tasoulla, Gregoria, Loulla)

39.38

1. M °α το είδεν μιαν κοτζάκαρη προχτές°, έχαννεν το παστ(η)ούνιν τ(η)η-
2. ↑χαχα όπ(η)ου επ(η)ήεννεν άφ(η)ηννέν το,
3. '↑ε: το παστούνιν μου, ↑έ:δετε το παστούνιν μου' ((stylised)) έβρισκα- εβρίσκαν της
4. το. ύστερα ήρτεν για μιαν στιγμήν τζαι: βαλεν το πας το:- ην καρέκλαν έτσι στο
5. <βάθος>. μαύρες οι καρέκλες μαύρον τζαι το παστούνιν εν εφάινετον. επήεν ξέρω
6. που επήεν ύστερα, '↑ε! το παστούνιν μου!' ((smile voice))
7. °λαλώ της 'έτο τζειαμαί κυ- >θκειούλ- θκ-<°' άης τον έιπα της τζαι θκειούλλα.
8. τζ' έν-ι-ξ(η)έρω. χα[χαχα
9. T [χαχα
10. M ήταν έτσι με τα <μαντήλια> τζαι ξερω γω:: ((smile voice))
11. [είπα της τζαι] θκειούλια λαλ(η)ώ: αν (h)εν χα ((smile voice))
12. T [ε είντα'μ πόν.]

13. =είντα'μ πόν εν θκεια.
14. M αν είμασιν τζαι μ(h)ιαν ηλικίαν, ((smile voice)) διότι αν τη-με περνά κανένα θκυο
15. χρόνια, μες τα μαντήλια εν την εκ(hh)ατάλαβα χαχα.
1. M °ah there was a *kojakari* the day before yesterday°, she was losing h(h)er c(h)ane-
2. ↑haha wher(h)ever she was go(h)ing she was l(h)eaving it,
3. '↑hey: my cane, ↑ha:ve you seen my cane' ((stylised)) (people) would find- would
4. find it for her. then she came for a moment a:nd put it on a:- a chair like in the
5. <back>. black the chairs black also the cane it was not visible. she went I don't know
6. where she went afterwards, '↑hey! my cane!' ((smile voice))
7. °I tell her there it is there mis- >aunt- aun-<° actually I called her aunty.
8. and I don't kn(h)ow. ha[haha
9. T [haha
10. M she was ((covered)) in <scarves> and I don't know:: ((smile voice))
11. [I called her] auntoy I sa(h)y: if she (h)is ha ((smile voice))
12. T [well what.]
13. =what she is an aunt.
14. M we might be the s(h)ame age, ((smile voice)) cause she can-is hardly one two
15. years older, in the scarves I did not rec(hh)ognise her haha.
- (from conversation A6) 40.18

Excerpt 7-5: In the winter the *kojakari* needs to be looked after

(participants: Gregoria, Myria)

26.27

1. Γ ε τζείνος ο μιτσής ο (.)
2. M α.
3. Γ της Μίλκας (.) εν ο μόνος που:
4. M εν εξαναήρτεν τζείνη η Μίλκα?
5. Γ εν-ι-ξέρω εν η μάνα της, που'ν να πεθά(h)νει η μάνα της τζ'(h)ύστερα χα
6. M α:.
7. Γ εν-ι- εν-ι-μπόρει να την αφήκει που να την αφήκει τωρά τζαι νά'ρτει,
8. θέλει σάσμα τωρά η κοτζάκαρες τζαι δειμώνας
9. M καλό καλό καλό
10. Γ βουρά την μάναν της που τάπισω. εν τούτος ο μιτσής της αμμά'ν πολλά
11. καλό::ν: (.) μ- κοπελλούν, εστάθηκεν προκομμένος,
12. M ε είναι να σταθεί με τον Χάρην

1. G eh that young man who (.)
 2. M ah.
 3. G Milkas' one (.) is the only one that
 4. M Milka didn't come back?
 5. G I don't know it's her mother, once her mother di(h)es and (h)then ha
 6. M ah:.
 7. G she ca- can't leave her where will she leave her now to come,
 8. she needs care now the old women and winter
 9. M right right right
 10. G she runs after her mother. it's this young man her son he's a very
 11. ni::ce: (.) s- young man, he proved to be hard-working,
 12. M eh well to stand by Charis
- (from conversation A7)

26.53

Excerpt 7-6: Women no longer look *kojakares*

(participants: Myria, Loulla, Charoulla, Gregoria)

1.02.12

1. M εμάς έρεσσαν μας παραπάνω °ο άντρ°- >εμένα έρεσσαν με< παραπάνω.
2. Λ εμέναν <έξι> με ρέσσει ο άντρας μου αλλά φαίνεται: ότι με ρέσσει δεκαέξι.
3. μα >εχάλασαν [πολλά< ο Ζήνος.]
4. M [άγια: αμάν τον] δεις τζαι κινείται τζαι περπατά
5. εν του φαίνεται του Ζήνου.
6. [ασché]τως-
7. Λ [όι]
8. M ε κοίταξε κόρη η γεναίκα επειδή <βάφφει> το μαλλίν της,
9. περιποιάται διαφορετικά, (.) εν δείχει πκιο:ν. εφκάλαν τζειν'την μαντίλα:ν που::
10. Χ [στέκει]
11. Γ [μμμ]
12. M φορούσαν: που τα μιτσά τους χρόνια [ελάλου]σες (.) εν κοτζάκαρη τούτη
13. Χ [σωστά.]
14. =κοτζάκαρες
15. Γ μμ.
16. M ε τώρα πούντα μαντήλια?
17. Χ ε γιατί εμείς αν ήταν τ'άσπρα τα μαλλιά μας,
18. [τζαι με] την [μα]ντίλαν

19. M [ε για?]
20. Λ [νναι.]
21. X είνταλος ήταν να φαιν[ούμαστιν?]
22. M [εντά:] για για.
23. X μμ.
24. Γ [είδα τζαι την αρφότεχνήν μου [την Κωνσταντία] τη γεναίκα του
25. X [°κοτζακαρούες° [κοτζακαρούες.]
26. Γ τζέινου του (.) αρφού του[: ης Ρέ]ας
27. M [νναι του:]

1. M he was much more older our °husb° - >mine was< older.
2. L my husband is <six> years older than me but it see:ms that he is sixteen ((years)) older.
3. but Zenos >deteriorated [a lot<.]
4. M [come o:n when] you see him and he is moving and walking
5. you can't tell that for Zenos.
6. [rega]rdless -
7. L [no]
8. M eh look *kori* a woman because she <dyes> her hair,
9. she spruces up differently, (.) it doesn't show anymo:re. they took off that vei:l tha::t
10. C [it's right]
11. G [hmm]
12. M they were wear:i:ng from their early years [you would] say (.) this is a *kojakari*
13. C [right.]
14. =*kojakares*
15. G hm.
16. M now where are the veils?
17. C well we if our hair were white,
18. [and with] the [ve]il
19. M [what else?]
20. L [yes.]
21. C how would we look [like?]
22. M [why:] sure sure.
23. C hmm.
24. G [I saw my niece [Kostantia] the wife of
25. C [°*kojakaroues*° [*kojakaroues*.]
26. G that one (.) the brother o:f [em Re]a

27. M [yes o:f]

(from conversation A10)

1.02.48

Excerpt 7-7: When Aliki got older

(participants: Loulla, Gregoria, Myria, Charoulla)

11.02

1. Λ ε. (.) ίθα ίθα εν να φκούμεν Μύρια. (.)
2. [είδες? αν θέλεις] κάνουμεν μιαν μεγάλη ((olive pie))
3. Γ [α έσεται 'κόμα]
4. Μ κάμνουμεν την
5. Λ ΑΝ θέλεις.
6. εσύ κο-κοτζυρά εσύ είσαι.[εσύ κραείς τα κλειθιά της αρμα]ρόλλας ((smile voice))
7. Μ [κάμνουμεν τζαι μιαν μεγάλην]
8. Λ [μάννα μου την Αλίκη] ((stylised))
9. Γ [α για να βάλετε το άλλο] μέσα
10. Λ *αθθυμούμαι την Αλίκη* ((stylised))
11. Μ είντα'μ που ελάλεν?
12. Λ εμεγάλωσεν.
13. Μ [ε?]
14. Λ [έ]γινεν μεγάλη τζαι η μάννα της έδωκέν της τα κλειθιά της αρμαρόλλας.
15. Μ <μά:να μου> την καημένη.

1. L well (.) we will be even Myria (.)
2. [did you see? if you want] we can make a big one ((olive pie))
3. G [oh you still have]
4. M let's do it
5. L IF you want.
6. you are the ho-homemaker.[you hold the keys to the pa]ntry ((smile voice))
7. M [let's do a large one as well]
8. L [poor dear Aliki] ((stylised))
9. G [to put the other] inside
10. L *I remember Aliki* ((stylised))
11. M what was she saying?
12. L she grew up.
13. M [eh?]
14. L [she] became *megali* and her mother gave her the keys to the pantry.

15. M <oh de:ar> the poor soul.

(from conversation A15)

11.26

Excerpt 7-8: I was fifty-three, I wasn't *megali*

(participants: Ketsiana, Myria, Charoulla, Olivia, Loulla)

3.01

1. K [εγώ τον τζαιρόν πο'σπασα] το πόδιν μου. (1) μα υπόφερα, υπόφερα::

2. M [σηκώννεται η τρίχα μου]

3. K πενήντα τριών χρονών ήμουν εν [τζ' ήμουν] (.) μεγάλη

4. M [πόσων?]

5. X πενήντα τριών χρονών.

6. M α.

1. K [the time that I broke] my leg. (1) I suffered I suffice:red

2. M [my hair bristles]

3. K I was fifty-three years old [I wasn't] (.) *megali*

4. M [how much?]

5. C fifty-three years old.

6. M ah.

(from conversation A18)

3.08

Excerpt 7-9: Drugs for young and old age

(participants: Tasoulla and her friend Limbourina)

1. Λι ως τα εξήντα πέντε να πίνεις τα ιδίσταν ((prescription drug)) που τζειαμαί τζαι

2. πάνω, ν'αλλάξεις το φάρμακό σου

3. T ικανοποιείται ο οργανισμός γιατί να αλλάξω?

4. Λι επροειδηποίησαν ότι είναι για νεαρήν ηλικίαν δεν κάμνουν για μεγάλους

5. T αφού ικανοποιείται με το χάππι που πίννω

1. Li until sixty-five you should take the idistan ((prescription drug)) from that point

2. on, you should change your medicine

3. T the body is satisfied why should I change it?

4. Li they warned that it is for young ages it's not good for *megalous*

5. T but it is satisfied from the pill I'm taking

(from participant observations during the first phase of recordings)

Excerpt 7-10: She is too young for him

(participants: Myria, Gregoria, Charoulla, Myria, Tasoulla)

27.03

1. M τζαι όταν μου το επρωτοείπεν α Γληορού εκατάλαβα αμέσως ότι για
2. τούντην κορούα που ελαλούσαν, αλλά λαλώ (h)ε εν γινεται, (.)
3. εν πολλά μιτθά για να τον πάρει τούτη το:ν κύριον Κύπρον. εν πολλά μεγάλος λαλώ

1. M and when she first told me Gliorou I understood right away that
2. they were talking about that *korua*, but I say (h)eh it can't be, (.)
3. she's too young to get married with Mr Kipros. he's too megalos I said

(from conversation A4)

27.10

Excerpt 7-11: *Ilikiomeni* television chef

(participants: Gregoria, Myria, Tasoulla, Charoulla, Loulla)

51.12

1. Γ είπεν της άμαν εν νησιίσιμες ((οι ραβιόλες)) η Μέλανη ((TV presenter))
2. έκαμνεν τες στο Σίγμα: ((Cypriot TV channel)) (.)
3. τζ'έσει μιαν (.) έτσι μεγάλη:ν (.)
4. M νναι
5. Γ γυναίκαν ηλικιωμένην
6. T εν η: στο Σίγμα, εν η: *είντα'μ που την λαλούσιν* ((smile voice))
7. X Στέλλα είντα'μ που τη λαλούσι
8. T όι:: νναι: η:
9. X Στέλλα. Στέλλα. [()]
10. T [το επίθετόν της είντα'μ που] η λαλείς η:?
11. X τζείνη που:
12. M τζείνη η μεγάλη γεναίκα
13. T =εν Μορφίτισσα .εν Μορφίτισσα.
14. X τζείνη [εν] Μορφίτισσα?
15. Γ [α]
16. T ήταν τζαι πέρσυ τζείνη ύστερα έφυεν- ήταν η Έλενα τζαι έφυεν
17. τζαι ήρτεν τούτη η Στέλλα τωρά η:
18. Γ ελάλεν για τα γλυκά: εχτές

1. G Melani ((TV presenter)) told her that if they ((ravioli)) are lentes
2. he was doing them at Sigma: ((Cypriot TV channel)) (.)

3. and there is one (.) like *megali*: (.)
 4. M yes
 5. G an *ilikiomeni* woman
 6. T it's the: at Sigma, it's the: *what's her name* ((smile voice))
 7. C Stella what's her name
 8. T no:: ye:s the:
 9. C Stella. Stella. [()]
 10. T [her surname what] what do you call her the:?
 11. C the one who:
 12. M that *megali* woman
 13. T =she is from Morfu. she is from Morfu.
 14. C is [she] from Morfu?
 15. G [ah]
 16. T she was last year also then she left- it was Elena and she left
 17. and this Stella came now the:
 18. G she was talking about dese:rts yesterday
- (from conversation A3)

51.44

Excerpt 7-12: *Ilkiomeni* mother-in-law

(participants: Gregoria, Myria, Loulla)

25.35

1. Γ έρκεται τζαι <δεν έσχει> έναν σπίτιν να μεινίσκει. (.) ε- τρυπώννει τζει μέσα με την
 2. μάναν του. ↓μα η γεναίκα του εν μαθημένη. έφερεν την που την Αυστραλίαν,
 3. M ε για.
 4. Γ με τα άλλα: [εμ-]
 5. M [άλλ]λα έθ[ιμα.]
 6. Γ [πάει] με μιαν ηλικιωμένην γυναίκα,
 7. ήταν πο'ζεν τζ' ο συμπέθερος, ε θέλουσι να πουν (.)
-
1. G he comes and he <doesn't have> a house to stay. (.) eh- he squeezes in there with his
 2. mother. ↓but his wife is not used to it. he brought her from Australia,
 3. M right.
 4. G with othe:r [em-]
 5. M [o]ther cust[oms.]
 6. G [he] goes with an *ilikiomeni* woman,
 7. it was when my in-law was alive, eh they want to say (.)

Excerpt 7-13: *Gries* with canes

(participants: Loulla, Ketsina, Myria, Gregoria, Tasoulla)

43.55

1. Λ που επήαμεν εμείς είδεν γριές γριές γριές. ΓΡΙΕΣ. ((rhythmic intonation))
2. Λ τζ' ελάλες μα εν δυνατόν? τούτη η γριά να φκει,
3. Κ μα προτύτ[ερα εν γριές που] επηαίννασιν.
4. Λ [με το παστούνι]

1. L when we went there were gries gries gries. GRIES. ((rhythmic intonation))
2. L and you were saying is it possible? this *gria* to climb up,
3. K but forme[rly it was *gries* that] were going
4. L [with the cane]

(from conversation A16)

44.01

Excerpt 7-14: *Gria* Anastasia

(participants: Gregoria, Charoulla, Myria, Loulla)

19.26

1. Γ πε τζαι να πεις τζαι τζείνη η: (h) Αναστασία. 'μα κάμνει πολλά. μα'καμεν πολλά η
2. κυρία Λούλλα:' ((stylised)) ε λαλώ της-
3. Χ =εκαταλάβετε τίποτε πως λαλεί τον λόον τζαι πάλε λαλεί τον η Αναστασία?
4. Γ =νναι. θκυο: τρεις φορές ελα- εκάθουμουν τζειαμαί πίσω της τζαι ε (.)
5. είντα'μ πο να της πω? (.) εντάξει ε:
6. ['κάμνουμε τα παιθκια μας εν νά'ρτουν' λαλώ της, 'εν τζαι ξέρεις πόσοι εν να-']
7. Χ [λαλεί τον τζαι πάλε λαλεί το η Αναστασία, ε εν: ογδόντα και:]
8. [°είντα'μ που θέλεις°]
9. Μ [η Τασούλλα οξά η] Αναστας- η Αναστασία?
10. Γ τζείνη [η Αναστασία η:]
11. Λ [η Αναστασία η γρ]ιά ρε.
12. Γ >ποτζεί που κάθεται< τζειαμαί κοντά σας.
13. Μ ου είντα τζείνη: ((smile voice)) χαχαχα
14. Χ έδει τον νάκκον,-
15. Μ κάθε Κυριακή.
16. 'τζείνη κοπέλλα εν ησ- εν κάθεται. στέκεται ούλλην την ώραν.' ((stylised))
17. Γ α κάμνει παρατηρήσεις.

18. Μ λαλώ της 'εν αρφή της Κατίνας' >η Αντρούλλα τζείνη<
19. Γ α.
20. Χ κόρη μα ο άντρας της ήταν καλαμαράς τζείνης?
((20.06-20.38 omitted, about Katina's husband))
28. Μ που λε:ς. (.) λαλώ της νναι εν κάθεσαι: λαλώ της αρέσκει της να στέκεται.
29. λαλώ της εν αρφή της Κατίνας του Καψού. α. εν αρφή της Κατίνας? νναι.
30. άλλην Κυριακήν [το ίδιον] ((smile voice))
31. Χ [πάλε το] ίδιον.
32. Μ 'τούτ'η κοπέλλα εν καθ-' πάλε επίτηδες λαλώ της το εγώ ((smile voice))
33. 'εν αρφή της Κατίνας του Καψού.' '↑α εν αρφή της Κατίνας του Καψού?' χαχα
34. Γ =[ε χάννει αλόπως (κόρη-)]
35. Χ =[ε αφού σας είπα εγιώ ε]κατάλαβά την, εκατάλαβά την εγιώ
36. Γ ξιχάννει ε-
37. Χ νναι. εν μεγάλη γεναίκα
38. Γ ε έτσι ένι. όταν μεγαλώσει ο άνθρωπος <όλλα παθαίνει τα>.
39. Λ τζαι παρεξηγιέται τζαι με την Ολιβίαν τζαι με τες κόρες της
40. επειδή εν έτσι,
41. Γ α:
42. Λ παρεξηγιέται.[επήασιν τζ'εν με ήβραν-]
43. Μ [μα λαλεί μου εμέναν 'πε]ρίμενε:
44. να πα- [να πάμεν μαζί κυρία Μύρια στην Λούλλα] εν να πάεις περπατητή?'
45. Λ [νναι νναι νναι νναι]
46. Μ 'νναι κυρία Αναστασία καλό να πάμε.' 'ε εν να πάω να πκιάω λλία κόλλυφα.'
47. 'εντάξει. εν να σε περιμένω.' έδωκα της αυλής γυρόν ↑εν την εύρισκα. ήρτα τζ' ήβρα
48. την τζ' εκάθουνταν δαμαί! ((smile voice))
49. Γ έφερεν την κανένας?
50. Χ ξιχάννει ξιχάννει εν την εκαταλάβετε πως-ι-ξιχάννει?
51. Μ [εν την] καταλάβω καλό.
52. Γ [ε νναι.]
53. Λ γ'αυτόν τζαι η Ολιβία αμάν της πω κα- 'ου: η Αναστασία' μου λέει:
54. Γ =νναι εν της βάλλουν [πολλήν] φτι
55. Λ [νναι νναι.]
56. Μ ε μα-
57. Χ =επειδή εν έτσι.
58. Μ άμαν τους κάμνει τζαι έτσι ως γεγον[ός.]
59. Γ? [μμ.]

60. Λ νναι. τζαι οι κόρες της. μιαν φοράν ερώτησα την Ρίτα ‘πώς είναι η ‘άμμα σου?’
61. ‘εγέρασεν κυρία Λούλλα τζαι:: (.) λαλούμεν της κάτι τζαι ξεχάννει τζ’ ύστερα
62. παρεξιγιάζει μας τζόλας.’
63. Χ [νναι]:
64. Γ [μμ.]
65. Λ εν δύσκολο ε γινούμασταν σαν τα μωρά ρε άμαν εν-
66. Χ =ε γινούμασταν βέβαια διότι:: εν τζαι βάλλει το ο νους της ότι: εν που εν
67. <μεγάλη> τζαι ξιχάννει.
68. Λ όι!
69. Γ ετράβησεν, να σου κάμει: ιστορίες που τον άντραν της: πολλές.
70. Μ ελάλεν μου τα παλιά
71. Γ μεθύστακας,
72. Μ =α:

1. G tha:t (h) Anastasia was saying again and again. ‘*well she makes a lot, she has made*
2. *a lot Mrs Loulla:*’ ((stylised)) I told her-
3. C =have you noticed anything that Anastasia says something and then says it again?
4. G =yes. two: three times was say- I was sitting there behind her and (.)
5. what could I tell her? (.) ok eh:
6. [‘we are making our children are coming’ I told her, ‘you don’t know how many will-’]
7. C [Anastasia says it and says it again, eh she is: eighty plu:s]
8. [°what do you want°]
9. Μ [is it Tasoulla or] Anastas- Anastasia?
10. G it is that [Anastasia the:]
11. L [Anastasia the gria re.
12. G >who is sitting< there near you.
13. Μ *oh well she:* ((smile voice)) hahaha
14. C she has it a bit,-
15. Μ every Sunday.
16. ‘*that woman does not re- does not sit. she stands all the time*’ ((stylised))
17. G oh she makes remarks.
18. Μ I tell her ‘it is the sister of Katina’ >that Antroulla<
19. G ah.
20. C *kori* was her husband from Greece?
- ((20.06-20.38 omitted, about Katina’s husband))
28. Μ we:ll (.) I told her ‘yes she doesn’t si:t’ I tell her ‘she likes to stand.’

29. I tell her 'she is the sister of Katina of Kapsos.' 'ah. is she Katina's sister?' 'yes.'
30. another Sunday [*the same*] ((smile voice))
31. C [again the] same.
32. M 'this girl doesn't si-' *I told her again on purpose* ((smile voice))
33. 'she is the sister of Kapsos' Katina'. '↑ah is she the sister of Kapsos' Katina?' haha
34. G =[maybe she's losing it (*kori-*)]
35. C =[well I told you I]recognised it in her, I recognised it in her
36. G she forgets em-
37. C yes. she is a *megali* woman
38. G eh that's the way it is. when a person grows <everything happens to him>.
39. L and she had misunderstandings with Olivia and with her daughters
40. because she is like that,
41. G ah:
42. L she has misunderstandings. [they went and they didn't find me-]
43. M [and she tells me 'w]ai:t
44. to go- [to go together Mrs Myria to Loulla] are you going on foot?'
45. L [yes yes yes yes]
46. M 'yes Mrs Anastasia sure let's go.' 'I will go to take some oblation'¹⁰⁷
47. 'ok. I will wait for you.' *I went round the yard I did ↑not find her. I came and I found*
48. *her sitting here!* ((smile voice))
49. G did someone bring her?
50. C she forgets she forgets you did not recognise it that she forgets?
51. M [didn't I] recognise her of course.
52. G [yes.]
53. L that's why Olivia when I tell her som- 'oh: Anastasia' she te:lls me
54. G =yes they do not listen [to her] much
55. L [yes yes.]
56. M oh well-
57. C =because she is like this.
58. M well actually if she does these to th[em.]
59. G? [hm.]
60. L yes. and her daughters. one time I asked Rita 'how is your ma?'
61. 'she has aged Mrs Loulla a::nd (.) we tell her something and she forgets and then
62. there is even a misunderstanding between her and us'

¹⁰⁷ The oblation referred to here (or 'κόλλυφα' in the original) is boiled wheat with nuts and fruits distributed outside churches in remembrance of dead people.

63. C [ye]:s
64. G [hm.]
65. L it is difficult because we become like babies *re* when we don't-
66. C =of course we become because:: her mind does not understand tha:t she forgets
67. because she is <*megali*>.
68. L no!
69. G =she suffered, she should te:ll you many stories about he:r husband.
70. M she used to tell me before
71. G drunkard
72. M =ah:
- (from conversation A10)

22.11

Excerpt 7-15: Calculating people's ages

This excerpt is also phonetically transcribed and analysed with regards to register shifts.
(participants: Loulla, Charoulla, Gregoria, Myria)

35.00

1. Λ εχτές που'μασταν τζει πάνω [να σας κάμω να γελάσετε]
2. Χ [μά:να μου μάνα μου]
3. Λ είμασταν τζει πάνω στην Πιστούν που μας έκαμεν τραπέζι, ήταν ού:λλοι.
4. ο Στέλιος με τα παιθικά του, η Αναστασού με ((τ))α παιθικά της (1)
5. Γ την Κυριακήν?
6. Λ =η Πιστού, την: περασμένην Πέμπτη. την Παρασκευή είδεν να φύει,
7. την Πέμπτη ξέρεις που τα κουρέια που κάθονται,
8. έκαμε μας τραπέζιν η Πιστού
9. Γ =χμ.
10. Λ ήταν τζ' η Έλλη (.) τζει τα παιθικά της
11. Γ =δεν μπορείς να συναφέρει::ς α για τη::ν (1.7) χρονολογία για τα::
12. Λ όι καταδύ- καταδύ((ναμη))
13. Χ [>είπεν τα χρόνια της?<]
14. Γ [για τούτον,] άκουσα την προχτές που το ελαλου-
15. Λ νναι
16. Μ η Πιστού?
17. Λ η Έλλη.
18. Χ =η Έλλη εν τζει λαλεί τα. (2.2)
19. Λ γυρίζει πκοιος εμ που: ο: Άκης του: Στέλιου, 'θε- θεία:- πόσων χρονών είσαι
20. εσύ? 'εν λαλούν τα χρόνια τους' ((stylised annoyed))

21. Γ χμ.
22. Λ 'ε καλὰ' λαλεί της 'αφού τωρά είμαστεν οικογενειακώς εδώ, αν πείς παραπάνω
23. εν νά σου πει ο Στέλιος αφού είμαι εγώ το:σο,'
24. Χ χα
25. Λ 'αμ πείς έτσι μάν να σου πει η Λουλλού μα εγώ είμαι τόσο-' (1.7)
26. Γ μμ. (1.1)
27. Λ 'Ε: εν τα λαλού:ν τα λο- εν τα λαλούν εν τα λαλούν,' 'ε εντάξει θεία πε μας πόσω
28. χρονών είσαι. πόσω λαλείς εσύ είσαι.' 'εβδομηνταπέντε!' ((stylised)) ντα λαλεί της
29. η Αναστασού 'ειντά εγώ είμαι χαζίρι εβδομηνταέξι' ((smile voice)) χαχα
30. Μ =χαχα
31. Λ 'τζ'έσεις πκιο: μπροστά που μένα'(.)(h) ↑α:!! ((smile voice))
32. Γ πας τους [εβδομηνταέξι ως τους εβδομηνταοχτώ τζ' εβδομηνταεννιά]
33. Μ [εν πκιο μεάλη που την Ειρηνιά κόρη οξά πκιο μιτῶ?]]
34. που την Ειρηνιά την συννύφφισσα μου άραγε?
35. Χ εβδομηνταοχτώ?
36. Λ = 'είμαι του τριανταένα.' ((stylised))
37. Γ =νναι εν εβδομηνταοχτώ χρονών
38. Λ αφού του κοσιεννιά, >αφού είδα το εγώ την ταυτότητα της< (.) 'κοσιοχτώ. (.)
39. 'κοσιωχτό είναι. (.)
40. Γ η Ειρηνιά?
41. Λ η Έλλη
42. Γ α.
43. Χ 'κοσιοχτώ γέννημα? (1.2)
44. Λ 'κοσιοχτώ. εβδομη-
45. Μ =εν ογδόντα.
46. Λ εβδομηνταεννιά χρονών.
47. Χ εβδομηνταεννιά.
48. Μ α.
49. Γ εβδομήντα εννιά
50. Μ χμ (2.2)
51. Λ ε. ότι τζαι να πούμεν Γρηγορία μου πάνω κάτω εν [τζ'αλλάσσει]
52. Γ [έτσι ένι] κόρη μου ↑ό:ι
53. Λ εν αλλάσσει τίποτε
54. Χ εν τζαι [φεύκουσιν, εν τζαι φεύκουν, τζαι να πει::ς πως είσαι τζαι]
55. Γ [είμαι του κοσιεννιά είμαι εβδομηνταοχτώ χρονών είντα εν νά:]
56. Λ =νναι

57. Γ [εξήντα πέντε]
58. Μ [έτο επκιάμεν]το οχτώ, έτο εν χαζί:- εν-ι-ξέρω ειντ' αν εν αρχές που
59. εγεννήθηκεν εν ογδόντα όι
60. Γ ↓όι. τους εβδομηνταεννιά έκλεισεν τζαι έπκιασεν τους ογδόντα.
61. όπως την Λούλλαν που λαλείς. έτσ-έτσι.
62. Μ 'ντάξει [νναι. εντάξει νναι νναι. είντα που είπα? ογδόντα. εν τζ'είπα]
63. Γ [εβδομηνταεννιά έκλεισεν τζαι έπκιασεν τους ογδόντα]
64. Μ παραπάνω.
65. Γ τους ογδόντα εν να τους κλείσει [()]
66. Μ [εντάξει] νναι. έπκιασέν τους ογδόντα.
67. Λ εμέναν ο άντρας μου έξι του Μάρτη του κοσιεννιά. (.) το κοσιεννιά:
68. είναι έναν χρόνον ως το τριάντα. το τριάντα εν εβδομήντα. (.) τζαι: εφτά που το
69. οχτώ εχτές εμπήκεν. τζαι εφτά. εβδομήντα εφτά. τον Μάρτην κλείνει
70. εβδομηνταεφτά τζαι μπαίννει εβδομηνταοχτώ.
71. Μ ε, η Βερενίκη ήταν τον Οκτώβρην έκλεισεν τα <ογδόντα> τζαι μπήκεν
72. στα ογδονταένα
73. Λ νναι
74. Μ αλλά εν τζ'εν να λαλεί [εσύ] είμαι ογδονταένα. έκλεισεν τα ογδόντα.
75. Λ [όι.]
76. Γ νναι. (5)

1. L yesterday when we were up there [I will make you laugh]
2. C [oh de:ar oh dear]
3. L we were there at Pistou's who was making dinner for us, e:everyone was there.
4. Stelios with his children, Anastasou with ((h))er children (1)
5. G on Sunday?
6. L =Pistou, la:st Thursday. on Friday she was supposed to go,
7. on Thursday you know when barbers are closed,
8. Pistou made dinner for us
9. G =hm.
10. L Elly was there as well (.) and her children
11. G =you can't mentio::n about:: (1.7) year abou the::
12. L no nowa-noway((y))
13. C [>did she say how old she is<]
14. G [about that,] I heard her the other day when she was sayin-
15. L yea

16. M Pistou?
17. L Elly.
18. M Elly doesn't say them. (2.2)
19. L he turns who wa:s Stelio:s' ((son)) A:kis, 'aun- aunty:, how old are
20. you?' *'they don't tell their years'* ((stylised annoyed))
21. G hm.
22. M 'oh fine' he tells her 'since now we are just family here, if you say more
23. Stelios will say to you since I am tha:t ((old)),'
24. C ah
25. L 'if you say so Loullou will tell you but I am that-' (1.7)
26. G hm. (1.1)
27. L 'WE:LL they don't sa:y the wo- they don't say they don't say', 'oh ok aunty tell us how
28. old you are. how old you say you are.' *'seventy-five!'* (stylised) well Anastasou
29. tells her *'well I am almost seventy-six'* ((smile voice)) haha
30. M =haha
31. L '*and you are: before me (.) (h) ↑ah:!*' ((smile voice))
32. G around [seventy-six to seventy-eight and seventy-nine]
33. M [k_{ori} is she older than Irinia or younger?]
34. than Irinia my sister-in-law I wonder?
35. C seventy-eight?
36. L = *'I was born in thirty-one.'* ((stylised))
37. G =yes she is seventy-eight years old
38. L but in twenty-nine, >since I saw it on her identity card< (.) twenty-eight. (.)
39. twenty-eight it is. (.)
40. G Irinia?
41. L Elly
42. G ah.
43. C born in twenty-eight? (1.2)
44. L twenty-eight. seventy-
45. M =she is eighty.
46. L seventy-nine years old.
47. C seventy-nine.
48. M ah.
49. G seventy-nine
50. M hm (2.2)
51. L eh. whatever we say Gregoria more or less it [doesn't change]

52. G [that's it] *kori* ↑n:o
53. L nothing changes
54. C they don't [go away, they don't go away, and evenif you sa::y that you are]
55. G [I am born in twenty-nine I am seventy-eight year old well wha:t]
56. L =yeah
57. G [sixty-five]
58. M [well we've] reached the eight, well it's almo::- I don't know if she was born in the
59. beginning she's eighty no
60. G ↓no. she turned seventy-nine and she is going on eighty.
61. like Loulla as you say. like th-this.
62. M ok [yes. ok yes yes. what did I say? eighty. I didn't say]
63. G [she turned seventy-nine and she is going on eighty]
64. M more.
65. G she will turn eighty [()]
66. M [ok] yes. she is going on eighty.
67. L my husband si:x of March of twenty-nine. (.) twenty-nine:
68. is one year until thirty. from thirty it's seventy. (.) a:nd seven since the
69. eight begun yesterday. and seven. seventy-seven. on March he turns
70. seventy-seven and he is going on seventy-eight.
71. M well, Vereniki it was in October that she turned <eighty> and is going
72. on eighty-one
73. L yeah
74. M but she won't say [you] I'm eighty-one. she turned eighty.
75. L [no.]
76. G yes. (5)
-
1. L exte's pu mastan tʃi pa'no [na sas ka'mo na ɣela'sete]
2. C [ma':na mu ma'na mu]
3. L i'masten tʃi pa'no stis pistou' pu mas ekamen trapezin i'tan u':l:i.
4. o steʒos me ta peθca' tu, i anastasu' me a peθca' tis (1)
5. G tin ciriaci'n?
6. L =i pistu', tin: perasmēnin pēmtin. tim baresceví iʒen na fīi,
7. tim bēmti kseris pu ta kurīa pu ka'θo' de,
8. ekame mas trapezin h pistu'
9. G =xm.
10. L i'tan tʒe l el:i (.)tʒe ta peθca' tis

11. G =ðem^mbori's na sinaferi::s a ʔa ti::n (1.7) xronolojia ʔa ta::
12. L oi kataði- kataði
13. C [>ipen ta xroʔa tis?<]
14. G [ja tuton,] akusa tin proxte's pu to elalu-
15. L n:e
16. M i pistu?
17. L i el:i.
18. C =i el:i en tʃe lali ta. (2.2)
19. L jiri'zi pcos em bu: o: acis tu: steʔu, ʰe-θia:- po'son xronon i'se
20. esi? en lalun ta xroʔa tus ((stylised annoyed))
21. G xm.
22. L e kala' lali tis afu' tora' imasten ikojeniako's eðo', an pis parapa'no
23. en na su pi o ste'ʎos afu' ime eyo' to'so,
24. C ha
25. L am bis etsi ma n na su pi i lul:u' ma eyo' ime to'so- (1.7)
26. G m:. (1.1)
27. L E: en da lalun ta lo- en da lalun en da lalun, e eⁿdaksi θia po'so
28. xronon i'se. po'so lali's esi i'se. evðomiⁿdapeⁿde! ((stylised)) ⁿda lali tis
29. i anastasu iⁿda eʔo' ime xaziri evðomiⁿdaeksi ((smile voice)) haha
30. M =haha
31. L tʃeʔis pco: ^mbrosta'pu me'na (.) (h) ↑a:!! ((smile voice))
32. G pas tus [evðomiⁿdaeksi os tus evðomiⁿdaoxto' tʔ evðomiⁿdaeʔ:a]
33. M [en pco meali pu tin iriʔ:a' ko'ri oksa' pco mitʃa?]
34. pu tin iriʔ:a' tis sin:if:is:a mu araʔe?
35. C evðomiⁿdaoxto'?
36. L =ime tu triaⁿdaeʔ:a' ((stylised))
37. G =ne en evðomiⁿdaoxto' xronon
38. L afu' tu kosieʔ:a' >afu' iða to eyo' tin taftotita tis< (.) kosioxto. (.)
39. kosioxto' ine. (.)
40. G i iriʔ:a'?
41. L i el:i
42. G a.
43. X kosioxto' y'en:ima? (1.2)
44. L kosioxto'. evðomi-
45. M =en oyðoⁿda.
46. L evðomiⁿdaeʔ:a' xronon.

47. X evðomiⁿdae²:a'.
48. M a.
49. G evðomiⁿda e²:a'
50. M xm (2.2)
51. L e o^ti t^ʃe na pu^men ɣri^ori'a mu paⁿo ka^to en [t al:a's:i]
52. G [e^ts²i eⁿi] ko^ri mu ↑o:i
53. L en al:a's:i ti^pote
54. C en te [fe^fkusin, en t^ʃe fe^fkun, te na pi::s pos i^se t²e]
55. G [i^me tu ko^sie²:a' i^me evðomiⁿdao^xto' xroⁿon iⁿda en en:]
56. L =n:e
57. G [eksiⁿda peⁿde]
58. M [eto e^pca^men] to ox^to, e^to en xazi:: - en i^kse^ro iⁿda an en a^rçe's pu
59. een:i^θicen en oyðoⁿda oi
60. G ↓oi. tus evðomiⁿdae²:a' ek^lisen t^ʃe e^pcasen tus oyðoⁿda.
61. o^pos til lu^l:an pu la^li. e^ts-e^ts²i.
62. M ⁿdaksi [ne. eⁿdaksi ne ne. iⁿda pu i^pe? oyðoⁿda. en t²e i^pa]
63. G [evðomiⁿdae²:a' ek^lisen t²e e^pcasen tus oyðoⁿda]
64. M para^paⁿo.
65. G tus oyðoⁿda en na tus klⁱsi [()]
66. M [eⁿdaksi] ne. e^pcasen tus oyðoⁿda.
67. L emeⁿan o aⁿdras mu e^ːk^si tu ma^rti tu ko^sie²:a'. (.) to ko^sie²:a':
68. ine eⁿan xroⁿon os to triaⁿda. to triaⁿda en evðomiⁿda. (.) t²e: e^fta' pu to
69. ox^to' exte's e^mbⁱcen. t²e e^fta'. evðomiⁿda e^fta'. tom ma^rtin klini
70. evðomiⁿdae^fta' t²e ^mbeⁿ:i evðomiⁿdao^xto'.
71. M e, i ve^reⁿi^çi i^tan ton ok^tov^rin ek^lisen ta <oyðoⁿda> t²e ^mbⁱcen
72. sta oyðoⁿda^ena
73. L n:e
74. M al:a' en t²e en na la^li [esi] i^me oyðoⁿda^ena. ek^lisen ta oyðoⁿda.
75. L [oi.]
76. G n:e. (5)

(from conversation A2)

37.44

This interactional sequence is carried out mainly in the CG *koine*. Following Tsip^lakou's (2009) criteria of differentiating between continuum-internal and continuum-external code-switching, there appears to be little reliable indication for switches outside the dialectal continuum (i.e. to SMG), since phonetic variants which

are not part of the dialectal repository are not employed in this sequence. Also, in this extract there are no switched to other continuum-external codes, for example English, which are found elsewhere in the self-recordings. Below I focus the discussion to certain, emblematic uses of code-switching either to a more acrolectal or more basilectal register and attempt to extrapolate the communicative purposes of this discourse strategy (cf. Biber & Conrad 2009:6).

On the whole, Loulla in her story telling employs an acrolectal register, incorporating lexicon, morphology and phonology also encountered in SMG. For example, in l. 1 she *pu mastan* instead of the morphologically basilectal ‘*pu mastoun*’, and in l. 7 ‘*kaθonde*’ instead of ‘*káθounde*’, and she also uses the SMG word for barber’s ‘*kuria*’ instead of the dialectal ‘*parpéries*’ (l.7). However, these instances cannot be unproblematically classified as linguistic moves outside the dialectal continuum and into SMG, because as Tsipplakou has pointed out (2009), lexical and morphological variables are problematic criteria for code switching, partly because, SMG lexicon may well be part of the naturally-acquired dialectal continuum and SMG morphology can be easily co-occur with dialect-specific morphology (Tsipplakou 2009:54). It would then be safer to say that Loulla employs a largely acrolectal register, without necessarily switching outside the continuum. Loulla’s register could be partly attributed to the fact that she is the informant who generally employs a more acrolectal register both in the self-recordings and (more so) in the interview.

Furthermore, Gregoria also employs an acrolectal register in l.11 opting for the acrolectal choice ‘*ðen mboris*’, as opposed to the mesolectal ‘*en tje mboris*’. Gregoria, however, is a participant who routinely employs a more mesolectal register. The register shift indicated by the use of this morphologically standardised phrase, in addition to the SMG (formal) word ‘*xronologja*’ (as opposed to the more colloquial *xròna*), might be employed to minimise the face threat of Gregoria’s statement which contains a negative person assessment for the sister of her interlocutor, Loulla. In particular, in l.11 Gregoria implies that Loulla’s sister, Elli, conceals her age and does not allow people to mention anything about it. In fact, in l.14, when Gregoria performs a less disaffiliative act (i.e. agreeing with Loulla’s evaluation in l.12), she employs a mesolectal register (see Pomerantz 1984 about the preference organisation vis a vis agreements). Thus, it appears that Gregoria’s shift to a more acrolectal register is fleeting and inextricably connected with the local act of her turn.

Loulla, on the other hand, seems to employ register shifts of the opposite directionality, i.e. to a more basilectal register, in order to achieve local interactional goals. More specifically, in 1.29 opts for the ‘inda ejò ime’, as opposed to ‘ma eyò ime’, which she chose in l. 23 and 25, to report the speech of her middle sister (Anastasu), once she heard her oldest sister’s inaccurate age telling. Shift into a more basilectal register is not a generalised characteristic of RS, as Loulla maintains her acrolectal/mesolactal register in lines 22-23, which are also constructed as RS. On the other hand, shift to the basilectal register coincides with other strategies that indicate a shift to humorous key: namely smile voice and voiced laughter. Thus, it could be argued that the shift to basilectal register is used for comic effect. Such use of code shift was also found elsewhere in the data (see Section 3.5.1; see also N. Coupland 2001; Albirini 2011;).

Interestingly, in 1.33 Myria uses the term ‘pco meáli’ to refer to Elli’s age categorisation. Throughout the data, ‘megáli’ as a generic category for old women is consistently employed in the SMG (cf. Section 3.2). Here however, this label is employed in the comparative form and with dialectal morphology (meáli instead of megáli). One could argue that the deployment of the CG morphology might be used to hint at category-implied attributions of advanced old age, which add to the humorous key, as they emphasise the incongruity between Elli’s disclosure of chronological age and her actual age and age-related attribution cannot be directly mentioned (Hester & Eglin 1997d).

Another point worth mentioning is the consecutive use of a SMG and then a dialectal type for the same concept. In fact, in 1.54 Charoulla repeats the phrase ‘en tje fèfkusin’ without the dialectal morphology of the verb (i.e. ‘en tje fèfkun’). It has been found that the repetition of the just prior element in a slightly modified form is a strategy employed in cases of extended overlap to reserve the floor (Schegloff 2000). Here then the shift from a mesolectal to an acrolectal morphology might be a strategy to emphasise and give validity to what is being said, in order to obtain then floor. Furthermore, when Loulla makes calculations about someone’s age she employs a more acrolectal register, including preference for the SMG as opposed to idiomatic verb morphology: e.g. ‘ine’ instead of ‘èni’ or ‘en’ (l. 39, 68), klini instead of klii (l.68). This may suggest that shifts to the acrolectal register may be employed to add seriousness, validity and emphasis to what is being said (cf. similar findings in Albirini 2011).

To sum up, narratives do not appear to privilege basilectal register; rather the opposite. In fact, basilectal register is employed in strategic places to achieve certain effects (e.g. shift to a humorous key). Taking into consideration the deployment of register shifts in this extract and elsewhere in the self-recordings it is obvious that, as Eckert argues, the meaning of the different variables and registers is not fixed or precise but they are rather associated with a constellation of potential meaning and interactional affects, each of which may be activated *in situ* (Eckert 2008:453). On the whole, switches to basilectal varieties appear to have a humorous and are often deployed along with other discourse strategies (smile voice, laughter) that aim at constructing a humorous key. In addition, shifts to the CG basilect can emphasise advanced chronological age and age-related decline. On the other hand, shifts to SMG may be employed to add validity or seriousness to one's statements (about age-in-years and ageing), to give accounts and explanations and to mitigate face threats.

Excerpt 7-16: She called us *ilikiomenes*

(participants: Myria, Tasoulla, Gregoria, Charoulla, Loulla)

1.33.27

((For the orthographic transcription and translation of the following excerpt, see Chapter 3.5.1))

1. M =I li^mburina?
2. T n:e: tʃe eʃi tʃe tʃlɪni kaləs parées en èts^hi [ópos]
3. M [m: e] alimono.
4. T EN ET S^hI OPOS ESA Siliciomènes i: parées tis, tʃe kraùn ta smilùθca tus tʃe
5. G =fkaristùmen kóri mu,
6. G [fkaristùmen kóri mu.]
7. T [tʃe na ðis prámata]
8. C [°ipe m:as iliciomènes°]
9. T tʃe na ðis <prámata> pu <kám nusin> tʃe:-
10. C =↑ipem mas iliciomènes!
11. T =e [çélo na po:] en di tʃe, tʃe en af-
12. G [ha ↑ha ↓ha]
13. T e tʃe en afù e
14. θélo na po en ilicioméni tʃe el lali [°kani na stamatisi°]
15. C [↑ksaná! ha ha ha]
16. T kámni sinécia kafées.

17. C *kòri mu!* ((smile voice))
18. G a.
19. T en ùl:o ètima tʃe kámni tʃe:: [(e télɔs páⁿdon)]
20. C [a kaká ta psémata,]
21. M e. lali tʃe i:: verenici tu leoniða mʲan iméra.
22. ma pòses forès na mas pi o ðimarxos iliciomèni iliciom(h)é ha↑haha
23. T [e imastin] triti ilicia: ↓iⁿda m bu:n, °áte.°
24. M [ha ha ha]
25. C esi en ise kòri mem máfese.
26. C [kòri!] [e mem máfese]
27. T [e ime] ime [<EKSI^NDACO> ↑IRONO:N!] panaia mu;
(from conversation A3) 1.34.11

Excerpt 7-17: This is a research for *megales*

(participants: Anthoulla, Myria, Gregoria)

00.00

((this excerpt occurs right at the beginning of a meeting at Gregoria's house. Gregoria here explains to Anthoulla, a peripheral member of the group who has not taken part in the recordings before, about the research and the purpose of the recordings))

1. Γ εν τζαι 'φρήννει τα ούλλα.(.) εν τζαι πκιάννει τα ούλλα.
 2. A =πκιάννει τα τζείνα που <θέλει>.
 3. Γ πκια- εν ναι ύστερα η Άννα. έτο ε- έτσι ε οι γεναίκες οι μεγάλες. άμαν ένι:
 4. A =νναι
 5. Γ στην ηλικίαν μας, τζαι τωρά αθθυμήθηκα το
 6. M μμ
 7. Γ να το βάλω να πκιάει λλία γιατί εν να ρτει την Κυριακή τζαι να δούμεν τε.
-
1. G she doesn't leave everything. (.) she doesn't take everything.
 2. A =she takes those she <wants>.
 3. G she tak- oh yeah afterwards Anna. like th- like em *megales* women. when they are:
 4. A =yes
 5. G in our age, and now I remembered it
 6. M hm
 7. G I will put it to take some because she will come on Sunday and we will see.
- (from conversation A7) 00.18

7.5.3 Additional Excerpts for Chapter 4

Excerpt 7-18: Before we would say jokes but now we talk about illnesses

(participants: Anna, Loulla)

33.09

1. A Άμα συναντιέστε ας πούμεν για πκοια πράματα μιλάτε:.,
2. είναι >ασπούμεν< παραπάνω για (.) ψυχαγωγίαν, ή για να:
3. Λ =χμ. πρι:ν που συννα-που είμασταν πκιο καλά, (1.1)
4. ελέγαμεν τα τζοκ μας, ελέγαμεν τα αστεία μας. (1.3)
5. ε: πάντοτε εθέλαμεν να πηγαίναμεν εκδρομές μαζί να αστειεύουμε να κάνουμε. (0.7)
6. τώρα τελευταία όμως έχει (.) κανέναν χρόνον, όλες οι κουβέντες μας είναι γύρω από
7. τις αρρώσκιες.(1.8) εγώ έκαμα εχχείριση, πκοιος επέθανε, πκοιος έκαμε,
8. ε-έρχονται αυτές ε οι κουβέντες πκιο πολύ από τες άλλες. (.)
9. καμιάν φορά μπορεί να πούμε τζαι για τα πολιτικά, γιατί έγινεν έτσι,
10. γιατί έγινεν το έναν ή το άλλον, (.) ή τι είδαμεν στην τελεόρασην να το συζητήσουμε,
11. ή κάτι το καλόν ή κάτι το κακόν, (1.2) ↑ε τζαι οι συντάξεις μας τώρα
12. κάπως εφτιαχτήκαν, εβελτιωθήκαν; (1.4) ε αυτές εν οι κουβέντες που κά[νου]με.
13. A [νναι.]

1. A When you meet what stuff are you talking about:.,
2. is it >let's say< more about (.) entertainment, or about:
3. L =hm. befo:re when we gath-when we were better, (1.1)
4. we were saying our jokes, we were saying our gags. (1.3)
5. eh: we always wanted to go to trips together to joke to do. (0.7)
6. now lately however it's been (.) a year, all we chat about is around our
7. illnesses.(1.8) I had an operation, who died, who did,
8. eh-those talks come more than others. (.)
9. some time we might talk about politics as well, why it happened that way,
10. why the one or the the other happened, (.) or we discuss what we saw on television,
11. or something good or something bad, (1.2) ↑and our pensions now are
12. somewhat better, improved; (1.4) well these are the talks that we [ha]ve.
13. A [yes.]

(from interview B1)

34.03

Excerpt 7-19: Ketsina complains too much about her aches

(participants: Myria, Charoulla, Loulla, Gregoria)

4.38

1. M ήρταμεν που το νεκροταφείον. (0.6) αρκίνεψεν η Κετσίνα. το έναν.
2. το άλλον. το άλλον. τα βλε- την τζεφαλήν της. τους νώμους [της,]
3. X [μμ]
4. M τα ζινίσα της. το στομάδι της. (.) το:
5. X =[τον κώλον [της?]
6. Λ [τς τς τς [τς]
7. M [λα]λώ της 'α Κετσίνα εν έδει πέντε
8. [λεπτά που'ρταμεν εν να πεις]
9. X [μόνον ένα πράμαν εν γερόν] κόρη
10. M αλλό τίποτε?' ύστερα αρκίνεψεν [πάλε αλλό έναν. είντα 'μ πό'πεν εξίχασα.
11. X [χαχαχα
12. M είπες μας πέντε έξι πράματα ως τωρά
13. Γ εν το πονεί τζαι τζέινο [να- χαχαχα α Χ(hh)ούλλα]
14. M [<τζαι γω καμού:ς>]
15. X [εν το πονεί τζέινον?]
16. M [τζαι γω καμούς] εδιπλώννουμουν να μεν- να μεν συντύχω. (.) τζαι τζέινη χαχα
17. X μα εν δυνατόν να μεν εσύντυδες τζαι να πεις ότι:
18. 'εν μπορώ κόρη εν-ι-μπόρω να περπατήσω' ((stylised))
19. M =όε ((smile voice))
20. Λ όι γιατί εν την σ- εν την άφηνηνεν να μιλή[σει. τίποτε.]
21. M [εμάχουμουν]
22. να της πω σιώπ(η)α για να αρκέψω εγώ::
23. Λ =άλλοι εν πονούν τζέινη πονεί μόνον
24. M σιώπα ν'αρκέψω εγιώ τζαι πάλε εν της είπ(η)α χαχα
25. Λ τζέινοι πονούν. έτσι έني κόρη μου
26. Γ μμ
27. X έδει πολλές [που]
28. Γ [έτσι] [ένι]
29. Λ [μμ.]
30. Γ =η κάθε μια:: να πει: τα δικά της.

1. M we came back from the cemetery. (0.6) Ketsina began. the one.
2. M the other. the other. her eyel- her head her shoul[ders,]
3. C [hm]
4. M her neck. her stomach. (.) he:r
5. C =[her [ass?]

6. L [ts ts ts [ts]]
 7. M [I]tell her 'Ketsina it hasn't been five
 8. [minutes since we came are you going to say]
 9. C [only one thing is strong] *kori*
 10. M anything else?' then she begun [again another one. I forgot what she told me.
 11. C [hahaha
 12. M you told us five or six thing by now
 13. G doesn't she also ache that [to- hahaha Ch(hh)oulla]
 14. M [<and I ((had)) grie:ves>]
 15. C [that doesn't hurt?]
 16. M [and I was in pain] I was hunched not to- not to speak. (.) and she haha
 17. C but is it possible that you didn't speak and say tha:t
 18. 'I can't kori I can't walk' ((stylised))
 19. M =no-eh ((smile voice))
 20. L no because she didn't sh- she didn't let her t[alk. nothing.]
 21. M [I was trying]
 22. to tell her to hu(h)sh so I could begi::n
 23. L =the others are not in pain only she is in pain
 24. M be quiet so I can begin and again I didn't te(h)ll her haha
 25. L they are in pain. that's it *kori*
 26. G hm
 27. C they are many [that]
 28. G [that's] [it]
 29. L [hm.]
 30. G =each one:: to say: her own.
- (from conversation A3) 5.21

Excerpt 7-20: My bones hurt

(participants: Myria, Loulla, Charoulla, Gregoria)

26.14

1. M ύστερα αν κάμνεις Λούλλα τζ' εν πκιο χαμνόν το δικόν σου? να το ξηλώσεις πάλε
2. Λ μεν μουρμουράς εσύ κάμε το (.) τζ'αι (.) εν να δούμεν
3. Χ °Ναί'α μου κόρη μου ()επονήσαν τα κόκκαλά μου°
4. Γ εσοú έκαμες τη:ν (0.8) το ντύμαν τη:ς
5. Μ <όι>. εξήλωσεν μου το η κυρία ((stylised))

1. M latter if you do Loulla and yours is looser? you will unravel it again
2. L don't grumble do it (.) and (.) we will see
3. C °gosh *kori* () my bones ache°
4. G have you done the: (0.8) the cover o:f
5. M <no>. *the lady unravelled it for me* ((stylised))

(from conversation A2)

26.29

Excerpt 7-21: Myria cannot get up

(participants: Myria, Loulla, Olivia, Charoulla)

6.51

1. M εν τζ' εν να τα καταφέρω να σηκωθώ.
2. [α:: Παναΐα μου!]
3. Λ [έδει τζαι άσπρο] έδει τζαι μπεζ
4. M ειιντά εν τζ' εν- τα πόθκια μου που πρέπει εν τζ' εν το τραπέζι. (.)
5. άτε είπεν μας να πά να σερβιριστούμεν
6. Ο έλα σου πω. το μπεζ (.) ασπρίζει ((about the tablecloth))
7. Χ εν να κάτσω λλίον °πέρκιμον°

1. M I am not going to be able to get up.
 2. [oh:: my mother of Jesus!]
 3. L [it comes in white] and it comes in beige
 4. M well it isn't- my legs have to it isn't the table. (.)
 5. come on she told us to go to serve ourselves
 6. Ο let me tell you. the beige (.) whitens ((about the tablecloth))
 7. C I will sit a little bit °maybe°
- ((conversation continues about fabrics between Olivia, Loulla and Charoulla))
- (from conversation A18)

6.59

Excerpt 7-22: Brothers lost abroad

(participants: Loulla, Myria, Gregoria, Tasoulla)

35.12

1. Λ άτε εις υγείαν κο[πέλλες]
2. Μ [εις υγεί]αν
3. Λ καλά να είμασταν υγείαν τζαι [χαράν να]'χουμεν
4. Γ [αιωνία-]
5. <αιωνία> τους η μνήμη κόρη μου

6. Λ αμήν. μάννα μου τα παιθκια μας μάννα μου τζαι επήασιν τζ' εχαθήκαν οι αρφούες μας
7. Γληορού μου, επήαν τζ' εχαθήκασιν! ο ένας ήρτεν τζαι θκυο τρεις φορές ο: μιτσής
8. εν ήρτεν τίποτε.
9. Τ °θέ[λεις νερό να] σας φέρω?°
10. Μ [εμάς της-]
11. ό::
12. Γ ο Μιχαλάκης?
13. Λ ο Μιχαλάκης
14. Μ ο αρφό- της αρφής μου εν εις τις τρεις του:: α- Μάρτη. της Θεοδώρας
15. Λ θκυο αρφούες στην Αμερικήν που εθάψαμεν
16. Τ εσένα?
17. Λ θκυο αρφούες μας νναι
18. Μ τζ' εγώ τρεις. θκυο αρφούες τζαι μιαν αρφήν.
19. Λ νναι
20. Μ στην Αφρικήν (5)
21. ο πρώτος τζαι η [δεύτερη,]
22. Λ [εν να] κρυάνουν ο καφές σου είπα σου έφερα σου τον ποδά
23. ((addresses her husband who is sitting in another room))
24. Μ τζαι μετά ο έκτος. όι ο πεμπτος.(1.2) Η Θεοδώρα ο Γιώρκος (.) η Βικτώρια
25. η Βερενίκη, ο Αντωνά- πέμπτος
26. Λ να την δοκιμάσω τζ' εγώ εν τζ' έφαα σαμούσα αλλά εγέλασα με την Χαρου-
27. με την Ζωούλλα

1. L well to your health *ko[pelles]*
2. Μ [to your] health
3. L let us be well and have [health and] joy
4. G [may they rest-]
5. may they <rest> in peace *kori*
6. L amen. oh dear our children oh dear and they went and got lost our brothers
7. Gliorou dear, they went and got lost! the one came two three times the: young one
8. didn't come at all.
9. Τ °do [you want wa]ter to bring you?°
10. Μ [ours the-]
11. no::
12. G Michalakis?
13. L Michalakis

14. M the broth- my sister's is a the third o::f ah- March. Theodora's
15. L we buried two brothers in America
16. T yours?
17. L two of my brothers yes
18. M and I three. two brothers and one sister.
19. L yes
20. M in Africa (5)
21. the first and the [second,]
22. L [your]coffee is getting cold I told you I brought it here ((addresses
23. her husband who is sitting in another room))
24. M and then the sixth. no the fifth.(1.2) Theodora Giorkos, Viktoria Vereniki,
25. Antona- fifth
26. L I will try it also I didn't eat samosa but I laughed at Chrysou-
27. at Zooulla
- (from conversation A6) 36.11

Excerpt 7-23: The daughter looks after me not the son

(participants: Tasoulla, Charoulla, Gregoria, Myria, Loulla)

1.01.18

1. T ειντά 'αλώ τζαι γιω του γιου μου
2. [θέλει να κάμει να κάμει γιο. [λαλώ του τζ' εγιώ]
3. X [(Ναΐα μου) κόρη μου ο θεός να τον-ι-βλέπει [τζαι να ον ὀδέπει]
4. T 'ρε κόρη ρε!' 'γιατί εν καλλύτερη η κόρη?' 'γιατί τωρά: εγιώνι τωρά εσύ τζαι
5. η κο-αρφή σου εν εσού που με εθώρες οξά εν η αρφή σου που εν δαμαί κοντά τζαι
6. εν τζείνη που βουρά να τύχει τίποτε τζαι ούλα' [λαλώ του]
7. Γ [καλό]
8. καλό [(είντα)]
9. T [εσούνι:]ο τζύρης σου ήταν άρρωστος ήσουν στην Πάφον τζ' εδούλευκες
10. τζ' εν εν η Μα-κόρη που εβ(η)ούρ(η)αν? χαχα είπα του το.
11. M καλό
12. T έρκετουν τζ' εθώρεν μας τζ' έκαμνεν ((smile voice))
13. αλλά εν η κόρη [που μας εβούραν.]
14. X [είντα μέναν τωρά]
15. βουίζει
16. T τζαι ποτζεί ποδά έπκιανεν άδειες ποτζεί [ποδά η φτωθή για]
17. X [βουίζει το φτιν μας.]

18. T να με βουρήσει [νναι]
19. X [έ]δει τρεις ημέρες
20. M έτσι που μι[λούμεν εν σε πειράζει?]
21. T [νναι τζέινος είντα'μ που]
22. είδεν να μου κάμει άδρωπος ας πούμεν: [εν η κόρη που]
23. X [ε άμαν βουίζει]
24. εν σαν να: ακούεις έτσι:
25. Γ =διπλά
-
1. T well I tell my son
2. [he wants to have a son. [and I tell him]
3. C [(gosh *kori* may god look after him [and protect him]
4. T 're daughter re!' 'why is it better to have a daughter?' 'why now: I now you and your
5. daugh-sister is it you who was looking after me or your sister who is nearby and
6. she is the one who runs when something happens and everything' [I tell him]
7. G [sure]
8. sure [(how)]
9. T [you:]your father was sick you were at Paphos and were working
10. and wasn't Ma-daughter who was r(h)unn(h)ing? haha I told him that.
11. M sure
12. T *he was coming and was seeing us and was doing* ((smile voice))
13. but it was the daughter [who was running after us.]
14. C [well now my]
15. it whirrs
16. T and one way or another she took days off one way[or another poor her to]
17. C [my ear is buzzing.]
18. T run after me [yes]
19. C [it] has been three days
20. M now that we are talking [like this it doesn't bother you?]
21. T [yes what was he]
22. supposed to do for me a man let's say: [it is the daughter that]
23. C [eh when it buzzes]
24. it's like: you hear like:
25. G =double
- (from conversation A3)

1.01.57

Excerpt 7-24: Joke with a virgin

(participants: Loulla, Tasoulla, Myria, Gregoria, Ketsina)

7.56

1. Λ α σας πω ένα τζοκ να γελάσετε
2. Τ άτε [πε μας.]
3. Λ [είπεν] μου το ο γαμπρός μου εχτές.
4. Μ α. μιλλωμένον?
5. Λ νάκκον
6. Μ νάκκ(η)ον? [χα χα χα χα χα χα χα χα χα]
7. Τ [εν μιλλωμένα που της λαλεί εν τζαι λαλεί τη:ς]
8. Μ [ο γαμπρός της::]
9. Λ [νάκκο νά]κκον]
10. Τ? [χα χα χα]
11. Κ =που'ν να πάεις: Τασούλλα μου: πε το του: πάτερ Διομήδη
12. Τ [↑α χα χα] χα χα
13. Γ [αδδοϊλέ]
14. Λ μάν τζαι λαλώ τα: τωρά που εν Σήκωσες, ((stylised))
15. [αλλά] εχτές επειδή μου το είπεν φρέσκον, ((smile voice))
16. Τ [όι-]
17. Μ φρέσκον φρέσκον
18. Λ =τζαι να σας κάμω να γελάσετε εσάς τες ↑χήρες ((smile voice))
19. Γ α.
20. Λ [↑ά↓ατε να σας το] πω::
21. Τ [ε άτε είδες ε:]
22. Μ πως σου φαίνεστε? (0.4)
23. Τ ε: εν μιλλωμένον
24. Μ έμπλεξεν μες τις χήρες η [καημε-]
25. Λ [τέλος]πάντων
26. Μ τέλος πάντων.[>πειραζούμαστιν<]
27. Λ [έναν ζευγάρι]ν: ετοιμάζετον να παντρευτεί τζαι να κάμουν
28. πολλά παιθικά.
29. Τ νναι
30. Λ να κάμουμεν πολλά παιθικά. να παντρευτούμεν να κάμουμεν πολλά παιθικά. να
31. παντρευτούμεν να κάμουμεν πολλά. επαντρευτήκαν,(1)επεριμέναν πέντε έξι μήνες εν
32. εκάμαν παιθικά. ε λαλεί: πρέπει να πάμεν στον γιατρόν. (1) επήαν στον γιατρόν (2)
33. λαλεί τους ο γιατρός 'γιατί: εν εκάμετε παιθικά έχετε: κληρονομικότητα καμμένας

34. στην οικογένειαν σας που [εν έκα]μεν παιθικιά τίποτε’
35. T [πόν έκ-]
36. Λ ‘όι’ λαλεί. ‘εσύ?’ ‘όι.’ ‘ε να σας εξετάσω λαλεί του τζαι να δούμεν:
37. είντα’μ πόν το πρόβλημαν.’
38. M να φκει το πόρισμαν
39. Λ εξετάζει την κοπέλλαν παρθένα!
40. M [ου! αχ!]
41. T [α Παναΐα] μου. τζ’ έξι μήνες που κά- κάμνουν να κάμουν κοπελλούιν,
42. Λ ε αφού επαντρευτήκαν έπρεπεν να κάμουν
43. T =νναι::
44. Λ εν τζ’ εξέραν πως έπρεπεν να κάμουν Τασούλλα εν εξεραν πως έπρεπεν να κάμουν
45. τζαι άλλην δουλειάν
46. M α Πα-! α μά[λιστα
47. Λ [χαχαχα
48. M με την παντρειάν ενομίζαν πως ήταν να γίνου:: ν
49. Λ =να γίνουν τα κοπελλούθκια
50. M [να γίνει το μωρόν]
51. T [α Παναΐα μου κόρη μου-]
52. [εν εκά:-]
53. K [ήταν με]τον κρίνον να πούμεν
54. T [εν]εκ[άμναν την δουλειάν]
55. M [νναι]
56. Γ [όπως την Παναΐαν]
57. T α:: ήταν παρθένα
58. Λ λαλεί του- ‘μάνταλος’ λαλεί του, ‘τούτη εν παρθένα,’
59. M α
60. Λ ‘είντα’μ πόν το παρθένα’ λαλεί του ‘είντα’μ πόν τούτον?’
61. T [εν εξέρα]σιν
62. M [α μα:.]
63. Λ βάλλει την κάτω ο γιατρός ‘έτσι’ λαλεί του. ‘θωρ[είς είνταλος] έκαμα εγώ τωρά?’
64. M [άμμα ρε]
65. Λ [‘έτσι θα κά]μνεις τρεις φορές την εφτομάδαν.’
66. T [()]
67. Λ ‘ε εντάξει γιατρέ’ λαλεί του τζείνος. ‘τι μέρες να σου την φέρνω?
68. Δευτέραν ((smile voice)) Τετ(h)[άρτη-]’
69. T [χαχα]

70. [χαχαχα]
71. M [ου! χαχαχαχαχαχα ((continues laughing up to line 77))]
72. K εν τέλεια του σκοτωμού τούτος
73. T <α Παναΐα μου Παναΐα μου>
74. K ήταν τέλεια του σκοτωμού
75. Γ να την θωρεί α?
76. [να την θωρεί?]
77. Λ [↑είδες που]
78. <εγελάσετε>! ((very high pitch))
79. T εν είδεν πάνω του τζείνος? α [Παναΐα μου] αλόπως εν είδεν πάνω του
80. Λ [(ξέρω γω)]
81. 'να κάνουμε ραντεβού'
82. [λαλεί του 'να σου την φέρνω τρεις φορές την εβδομάδα? ((smile voice))]
83. K [έθελεν τον γιατρόν όι μάνα μου: εν είδεν πάνω του]
84. M πκιάννει τα το μαγνητόφωνον
85. [πκιάννει τα το μαγνητόφωνον α.]
86. Λ [ου! έπκιασεν τα! χα χα χα]
87. Γ ε: [μα: θκιαλέει] τζαι βάλλει εν τζαι βάλλει τα ούλλα
88. Λ [χα χα χα]
89. Γ η Άννα θκιαλέει τζείνα πόν να βάλει.
90. T [τζ' αν τ' ακούσουν] είντα'μ πόνι? να γελάσουν.
91. Λ [α Παναΐα μου-]
92. Γ νναι
93. Λ γέλιον Τασούλλα μου στο τραπέζιν [εχτές εφυρτήκασιν]ούλλοι
94. M [α Ναΐα μου κόρη μου]
95. 'πόσες φορές να σου την φέρνω την εβδομάδα α'?
96. Λ 'νναι [πόσες φορές να] ((smile voice))
97. T [τέλος πάντων-]
98. Λ σου την φέρνω την εβδομάδα να κάνουμε ραντεβού? ((smile voice))
99. Λ [Δευ]τέραν Τετ(η)άρτην τζαι Παρασκευήν για Σάββατο? ((smile voice)) χα χα
100. T [νναι]
101. όι μάνα μου
102. M α Ναΐα μου
103. T ήταν τέλεια παλαλός τέλεια?
104. Λ ήταν τέλεια παλαλός
105. Γ [(ανόξερος) εν εξέρεν τίποτε]

106. T [αλόπως ήτα::ν ποτούτους τους-]
 107. έτσι φαίνεται για να [μεν-ι-ξέ]ρει,
 108. Γ [ε έτσι]
 109. K ήταν του σκοτωμού
 110. M [χαχαχα]
 111. Λ [ε:: αλό]πως- καμιά γιαγιά]
 112. T [ε αφού τον επαντρέψαν εν του είπασιν?]
 113. Λ καμιά γιαγιά θα του είπεν άτε με την ευλοϊαν του θεού πόν να παντρευτείς να
 114. κάμετε τζαι κανέναν μωρόν

1. L I'll tell you a joke so you can laugh
 2. T go on [tell us.]
 3. L [my]son-in-law told me yesterday.
 4. M ah. dirty?
 5. L a bit
 6. M a b(h)it? [ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha]
 7. T [he tells her dirty one he doesn'y tell he:r]
 8. M [her son-in-law::]
 9. L [a bit a] bit]
 10. T? [ha ha ha]
 11. K =when you go: Tasoulla tell it to: father Diomides
 12. T [↑a ha ha] ha ha
 13. G [indeed]
 14. L *but I don't tell the:m now that is Lent, ((stylised))*
 15. [but] because he told me yesterday ((it's)) fresh, ((smile voice))
 16. T [no-]
 17. M fresh fresh
 18. L =and to make you ↑widows laugh ((smile voice))
 19. G ha.
 20. L [I↑e↓et me say it] to you::
 21. T [well you see ehm:]
 22. M how about that? (0.4)
 23. T ehm: it's dirty
 24. M she got stuck with us the widows [poo((r))-]
 25. L [any]way
 26. M anyway. [>we are just bickering<]

27. L [a coupl]e: was about to get married and have
 28. lots of kids.
 29. T yes
 30. L to have lots of kids. we will get married to have lots of kids. we will
 31. get married to have lots. they got married, (1) they waited five six months they didn't
 32. make kids. so he say:s we must go to the doctor. (1) they went to the doctor (2)
 33. the doctor tells them 'why: you didn't you make kids do you have: heredity anyone
 34. in your family who [didn't ma]ke no kids'
 35. T [who didn't-]
 36. L 'no' he says 'you?' 'no.' 'then I will examine you he tells him to see:
 37. what is the problem.'
 38. M to reach a conclusion
 39. L he examines the young woman virgin!
 40. M [oh! ah!]
 41. T [oh mother of Jesus]. and six months they d- do to make a child,
 42. L because they got married they should have made a child
 43. T =ye::s
 44. L they didn't know Tasoulla that they had to do they didn't know they had to do
 45. another job
 46. M oh Je-! ri[ght
 47. L [hahaha
 48. M by getting married they thought tha::t
 49. L =that children would be made
 50. M [that a child would be made]
 51. T [oh Jesus oh dear-]
 52. [they didn't unde:-]
 53. K [with the] lily let's say
 54. T [they] [didn't do the job]
 55. M [yes]
 56. G [like Virgin Mary]
 57. T a:: she was virgin
 58. L he tells him- 'but how' he tells him, 'she is virgin,'
 59. M a
 60. L 'what is virgin what is that' he says
 61. T [they didn't] know
 62. M [oh no:.]

63. L the doctor goes on top of her 'that's how' he says. 'do [you see how] I did it now?'
64. M [oh good]
65. L ['that's what you] will do three times a week.'
66. T [()]
67. L 'ok then doctor' he says. 'on what days shall I bring her to you?'
68. *Monday* ((smile voice)) Wedn(h)[esday-]'
69. T [ha ha]
70. [hahaha]
71. M [oh! hahahahaha ((continues laughing up to line 77))]
72. K he was good for nothing him
73. T < Jesus Jesus >
74. K he was good for nothing
75. G to look at her eh?
76. [to look at her?]
77. L [↑ you see]
78. <you laughed>! ((very high pitch))
79. T he didn't have on him? oh [Jesus] probably he didn't have on him
80. L [(I don't know)]
81. 'shall we make an appointment' he
82. [he sais 'shall I bring her to you three times a week?'] ((smile voice))
83. K [he wanted the doctor ((to do it)) oh dea:r: he didn't have his own] ((genitals))
84. M the recorder is recording these
85. [the recorder is recording these]
86. L [oh! it recorded them! ha ha ha]
87. G hem: [bu:t she chooses] what she puts she doesn't put everything
88. L [ha ha ha]
89. G Anna chooses those she will put.
90. T [and if they listen] so what? they will laugh.
91. L [oh Jesus-]
92. G yes
93. L such laughter Tasoulla in the table [yesterday everyone] burst from laughter
94. M [oh Jesus oh dear]
95. 'how many times shall I bring her every week?'
96. L 'yes [how many times] ((smile voice))
97. T [anyway-]
98. L shall I bring her every week shall we make an appointment? ((smile voice))

99. L [Mon]day *We(h)dnesday and Friday or Saturday?* ((smile voice)) hahaha
100. T [yes]
101. oh no
102. M oh dear
103. T he was completely stupid completely?
104. L he was completely stupid
105. G [(ignorant) he didn't know nothing]
106. T [maybe he wa::s one of them- ((gays))]
107. must be if he [didn't] know,
108. G [right]
109. K he was good for nothing
110. M [ha ha ha]
111. L [ehm:: may]be- a granny]
112. T [but since they married him off they didn't tell him?]
113. L a granny must have told him come on with god's blessing when you get married you
114. will make a baby
- (from conversation A16) 11.45

Excerpt 7-25: Joke with a virgin, second telling

- (participants: Ketsina, Tasoulla, Loulla, Gregoria, Myria, Charoulla, Olivia) 21.50
1. K τον Μάην επαν[τρεύ]τηκεν τζαι στ(η)ον μήναν έμεινεν έγκυος
2. T [α.]
3. α ενόμισα ήταν έγκυος τζαι- ((about Ketsina's granddaughter)) (3)
4. Λ α ενν εν σαν τζεινήν την άλλην την κοπέλλαν (.) που έκαμεν έξι μήνες
5. τζ' εν ε:καμνεν μωρά. (1)
6. T [πκοια] κοπέλλα?
7. K [πκοια?]
8. Λ τζεινή η κοπέλλα που μας ελαλούσαν εχτές. (0.9) επαντρεύτηκεν
9. ήθελεν να κάμει μωρά τόσον πολλά, έξι μήνες εν έκαμνεν μωρόν.
10. ε λαλεί να πάμε εις τον γιατρόν να δούμεν
11. T εν που το άγχος της
12. Γ εν τούτον που μας είπεν πρ(η)ο[χτές] ((smile voice)) χαχαχα
13. M [νναι.]
14. K α είπ[εν μας το που εν που μας το είπε? [α εν κο]ντά σου
15. Χ [°ε::ν που τούτα που μας λαλεί η [Λούλλα]°]

16. Γ (h)ε η Ολιβία εν το άκουσεν
17. Κ πε το
18. Ο εν το άκουσα
19. Μ ε? παρακάτω?
20. Λ ε έπκίαν την ο άντρας της να την πάρει στον γιατρόν [για]τί εν [κά]μνουν μωρά
21. Τ [α] [α]
22. (°εν που'ταν παρθένα°)
23. Κ αφού είπεν μας το-
24. Τ =ε εντάξει έφυεν μου
25. Κ χαχαχα
26. Λ ε λαλεί τους 'έθετε οικο-οικογενειακόν πρόβλημα καμιά που εν κάμνει
27. στην οικογένειαν για που την μιαν πλευράν για που την άλλην? 'όι.'
28. Τ =>έντα 'μ που'ννα πει?<
29. Λ 'ε άτε' λέει 'έλα να σε εξετάσω, να σας εξετάσω λαλεί τζαι τους θκυο'
30. Κ °ρούφα τζαι τον καφέν σου°
31. Ο [ήταν έγκυος?]
32. Χ [να σου δώσω] ρα [Τασούλλα]
33. Λ [όι να]πνιείς Τασούλλα οξά άκουσες το?
34. Τ άκουσά το: αφού ε- ήταν παρθένα
35. [ακούσαμεν το]
36. Μ [ε άτε σιωπάτε] να το ακούσει τζαι [η:]
37. Τ [νναι] η Ολιβία πόν το άκουσεν
38. Λ εξετάζει την κοπέλλαν, (.) έμεινεν με το στόμαν ανοιχτόν.
39. 'μα εν παρθένα' λαλεί του 'είνταλος' ((stylised))
40. Μ 'είντα'μ πό'χω [γιατρέ] μου' λαλεί του? 'είσαι παρθένα κόρη μου' λαλεί της
41. Κ [γιατρέ]
42. Τ [αλόπως εν έξερεν είντα'μ που να [κά-]
43. Ο [είντα'μ που εκάμναν δηλαδή? είντα ['μ που] εκάμναν?]
44. Λ ['ε εί]ντα'μ που:] επεριμένετε
45. να κάμετε μωρό αφού είσαι παρθένα? 'ε είπαν μας άμαν παντρευτούμεν εν να
46. κάμουμεν μωρόν, εκαρτερούσαμεν τζαι μεις πως-'
47. Τ άμαν παντρευτούν στην εκκλησάν πως εν να κάμουν κοπελλούν
48. Μ [με τον κρίνον]
49. Τ [()την] γυναικίαν σου ((smile voice))
50. Κ ήταν [άγγελος κυρίου που'ταν] να το κάμουν.
51. Μ [με τον κρίνον? ((smile voice)) χαχα]

52. Λ λαλεί της- λαλεί του τζέινου ο γιατρός 'έλα δα να σου δείξω.' βάλλει την πουκάτω την
53. κοπέλλαν ομπροστά του έτσι λαλεί του να της κάμνεις τρεις φορές [την εφτομάδαν]
54. Χ [έδειχνεν του-]
55. Τ [↑χα χα χα
56. Χ έδειχνεν του κόρη έδει[χνεν του]
57. Τ [έδειχνεν] [του:] στην πράξην
58. Μ [όι!]
59. Λ έδειχνεν του νναι νναι νναι
60. Τ στην πράξην [να δει τζαι τζέινος]
61. Ο [ππε: που να μείνουν] μας λαλείς τζ' εσύ
62. Λ [ακούεις? (.)]
63. Τ [χα χα χα
64. Μ έδει τζαι πάρακατω άκου.
65. Τ α: .
66. Λ 'είδες' λαλεί του 'είνταλος κάμνουν τα μωρά?' λαλεί 'νναι'. 'τρεις φορές την
67. εφτομάδαν' λε-λαλεί του 'να το κάνεις'. 'ε να μας κλείσεις ραντεβού να σου την
68. φέρνω [για[τρέ] τρεις φορές την εφτομάδαν'
69. Τ [χα [χα] χα χα χα χα χα χα χα χα χα
70. Μ [ου !]
71. Γ ήταν τέ[λεια παλαβός κό]ρη μου
72. Κ [ήταν τέλεια πελλός]
73. Τ ήταν παρθένος τζέινος εν έξερεν τίποτε ((smile voice))
74. Ο κόρη μα τώρα έδει έτσι πράματα?
75. Λ [χαχαχ
76. Μ [ε εντάξει. (.)] εν- για να γελάσουμεν
77. Ο νναι.
78. Λ ε είνταλο:ς Ολιβία εν έδει?(.) να τον αφήκει ο άθρωπος στραβόν?
79. να του δείξει ο γιατρός. (0.8) αλλά τζαι τζέινος επατρατράβησεν το
80. Ο άσιλα
81. Λ μάλιστα
82. Ο μμ
83. Γ ήταν τέλεια ανίδεος [κόρη] μου εν έξερεν τίποτε (3)
84. ? [μμ]
85. Λ ε.
86. Γ τωρά π(η)ου κοπ(η)ελλουρούθκια μι[τς(η)ιά ()]
87. Ο [νναι μάνα μου]

88. ζάβαλλε μου δεκατριών χρονών δώδεκα χρονών

1. K they got married in May [and] within o(h)ne month she got pregnant
2. T [ah.]
3. ah I thought she was pregnant and- ((about Ketsina's granddaughter)) (3)
4. L ah she isn't like the other *kopella* (.) who after six months
5. didn't make babies. (1)
6. T [which] *kopella*?
7. K [who?]
8. L that *kopella* that they were telling us about yesterday. (0.9) she got married
9. wanted so much to have kids, six months she didn't have a baby.
10. well she says let's go to the doctor to see
11. T it's from her stress
12. G it's *the one she told us the day before y(h)ester[day]* ((smile voice)) hahaha
13. M [yes.]
14. K ah she to[ld us where did she tell us? [ah it's at yo]urs
15. C [°i:t's from those that [Loulla tells us°]
16. G (h)eh Olivia didn't hear it
17. K tell it
18. O I didn't hear it
19. M eh? then?
20. L her husband took her to the doctor [be]cause they couldn't [ha]ve any babies
21. T [ah] [ah]
22. (°it was because she was a virgin°)
23. K well she told us-
24. T =eh ok it slipped my tongue
25. K hahaha
26. L he tells them 'do you have a fam-family problem anyone in the family who can't
27. have ((children)) either from one side or from the other?' 'no.'
28. T =>what could he say?<
29. L 'come on' he says 'to examine you, to examine both of you'
30. K °sip your coffee as well°
31. O [was she pregnant?]
32. C [let me give you] *ra* [Tasoulla]
33. L [don't] choke Tasoulla or you heard it?
34. T I heard i:t since eh- she was a virgin

35. [we heard it]
36. M [come on hush] so she: can also listen to [it]
37. T [yes] Olivia who didn't hear it
38. L he examines the young woman, (.) he was left with his mouth open.
39. 'but she's a virgin' he tells him 'how come' ((stylised))
40. M 'what's wrong with me [doctor]' she tells him? 'you are virgin my daughter' he tells her
41. K [doctor]
42. T [maybe he didn't know what to [d-]
43. O [what were they doing then? what [were] they doing?]
44. L ['wh]y:: did you] expect
45. to have a baby since you are a virgin?' 'they told us when we get married we will
46. have a baby, we were expecting that-'
47. T when they get married in the church that they will have a child
48. M [with the lily]
49. T [()]your wife ((smile voice))
50. K it was [lord's angel they were] going to do it.
51. M [with the lily? ((smile voice)) haha]
52. L he tells her- the doctor tells him 'come here let me show you.' he places the *kopella*
53. down in front of him and he tells him to do it to her three times [per week]
54. C [he was showing him-]
55. T? [hahaha
56. C he showing him *kori* he was sho[wing him]
57. T [he was showing] [hi:m] in practice
58. M [no!]
59. L he was showing him yes yes yes
60. T in practice [so he can also see]
61. O [go:sh what] do you tell us
62. L [you listen?(.)
63. T [hahaha
64. M it goes on listen
65. T ah: .
66. L 'you see' he tells him 'how babies are made?' he says 'yes'. 'three times a week
67. he te-tells him you should do it.' 'well we should make an appointment to bring her to
68. you [doct[or] three times a week'
69. T [ha [ha] ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha
70. M [oh !]

71. G he was co[mpletely stupid ko]ri
 72. K [he was completely crazy]
 73. T *he was virgin he didn't know anything*
 74. O *kori* are things like that happening now?
 75. L [hahah
 76. M [eh ok. it's- to laugh
 77. O yes.
 78. L eh how co:me Olivia there aren't? (.) should he let the man be blind?
 79. the doctor showed him. (0.8) but he also overdid it
 80. O indeed
 81. L certainly
 82. O hm
 83. G he was completely clueless [*kori*] he didn't know anything (3)
 84. ? [hm]
 85. L eh.
 86. G now f(h)rom li(h)ttle [ki(h)ds ()]
 87. O [yes oh dear]
 88. poor sods thirteen years old twelve years old
 (from conversation A18)

24.27

Excerpt 7-26: Joke about sex in the space

(participants: Loulla, Tasoulla, Myria, Gregoria, Ketsina)

12.00

1. Λ μάννα: μου το α::θεό:φοβο λαλώ του
2. 'ρε Κώστα μα πκοιος σου τα λαλεί?'
3. T Ναΐα μου
4. Λ 'όπκοιον μαχαζίν πάω:: μάμμα' λαλεί μου, 'εν να μου πουν τζ' έναν τζόουκ.
5. <όπκοιον> μαχαζίν πάω' ε::.
6. T α::.
7. Λ είδεν έναν Ρώσσον, τζ' έναν Έλληναν (2) ποτούτους στα διαστεμόπλοια. (0.8) τζαι
8. ελαλούσαν είνταλος κάμνουσιν το τάδε στην Ρωσσίαν, είνταλος κάμνουσιν το τάδε
9. στην Ελλάδα. είνταλος κάμνουν στη-ην Ρωσσίαν, είνταλος κάμνουν στην Ελλάδα.
10. στα πολλά ήρτασιν τζαι στην γονιμοποίηση. λαλεί του ο Ρώσσο, (1.7)
11. ο Έλληνας του Ρώσσου 'είνταλος του: κάμνετε στη: Ελλάδα? 'έκαμεν κάτι του
12. διαστημο:-
13. T =πλοίου

14. Λ [αυτά φανταστικά. έκαμεν το κοπελλούιν.
15. Τ [χαχαχα
16. Μ μμ
17. Λ ε λαλεί του 'να μου δείξεις τζ' εσύ στην Ελλάδαν.' (.) έκαμεν του
18. λαλεί του:- α >τζ' έφκαλεν< κοπελλούιν ο Ρώσος. αμέσως. ότι έκαμεν,
19. Μ =μμ
20. Λ ότι έκαμεν τζείνες τε:ς μαγίες τα::
21. Τ τζει[να που τζεινα που-]
22. Λ [φανταστικά πρά][ματα]
23. Μ [στο]διάστημαν?
24. Λ ↑νναι. έφκαλεν τζαι κοπελλούιν
25. Μ μμ (2)
26. Λ έκαμεν τζαι ο:- 'να μου δείξεις τζ' εσύ' λαλεί του ο Έλληνας. έκαμεν τζ' ο Έλληνας
27. 'ε το κοπελλούιν πούντο?' 'ύστερα που εννιά μήνες.' 'ε τζεινη η γλήορη η
28. *βιασύνη στο τέλος τι ήταν'?* λαλεί του 'τζειν τη βία στο τέλος
29. *λαλεί του τι ήταν αφού το κοπ(η)ελλούιν ε(η)ννά φκει σε ((smile voice))*
30. εν(η)ιά μήνες?
31. [χα[χαχαχα
32. Μ [χα[χαχα
33. Τ [χαχαχα ε για?
34. Λ κατάλαβες?
35. Μ [εκατάλαβα εγιώ.
36. Τ [χαχαχα
37. Λ 'τζείνη βία λαλεί του τόσο: θαΰαρισμό ((smile voice))
38. τζαι να μου λαλείς το κοπελλ[ούιν]
39. Τ [α:.]
40. Λ εν να φκει σε εννιά μήνες?
41. Μ είντα έθελεν το έτοιμον- [έθελεν το έτοιμον [αμέσως?]
42. Λ [καλό ο Ρώσος [έφκαλεν το-]
43. Τ [αφού ήταν]τεχνικόν.
44. Λ ο Ρώσος [έ]φκαλεν το άψε σβήσε κύριε μου.
45. Τ [μμ]
46. Μ νναι. άτε να πα να κάμουμεν τζαι τον καφέν.
47. Τ όι μείνε να πα να τον κάμω εγιώ

1. L oh dear the u::ngo::dly one I tell him

2. 're Kosta who tells them to you?'
3. T my god
4. L 'every store I go:: mum' he tells me, 'they will tell me one joke.
5. <every> store I go' eh::.
6. T ah::.
7. L there was a Russian, and a Greek (2) from those ((who are)) in spaceships. (0.8) and
8. they were saying how they do this in Russia, how they do this
9. in Greece. how they do i-in Russia, how they do in Greece.
10. after a lot the talk also turned to fertilisation. the Russian tells him, (1.7)
11. the Greek to the Russian 'how the: you do i:n Greece?' he did something
12. of the space:-
13. T =ship
14. L [these fantastic things. he made a child.
15. T [hahaha
16. M hm
17. L he tells him 'you show me ((how you do it)) in Greece as well.'(.) he was like he
18. tells hi:m- ah and the Russian >produced< a child. immediately. whatever he did,
19. M =hm
20. L whatever he did tha:t magic the::
21. T tho[se that those that-]
22. L [imaginary thi][ngs]
23. M [in the] space?
24. L ↑yes. he produced a child
25. M hm (2)
26. L and he was li:ke- 'you show me too' the Greek tells him. the Greek did also
27. 'and where is the child?' 'after nine months.' 'well that quick that
28. *hurry at the end what was that all about?' he tells him 'that rush at the end*
29. *he tells him what was it about if the ch(h)ild w(h)ill come out in ((smile voice))*
30. n(h)ine months?'
31. [ha[hahaha
32. M [ha[haha
33. T [hahaha ε γα?
34. L did you understand it?
35. M [I understood it.
36. T [hahaha
37. L 'that rush he tells him all tha:t flurry ((smile voice))

38. and you tell me the ch[ild]
39. T [ah:.]
40. L will come out in nine months?’
41. M he wanted it ready- [he wanted it ready [straight away?]
42. L [well the Russian [produced it-]
43. T [since it was] technical.
44. L the Russian [to]ok it out instantly yes sir.
45. T [hm]
46. M yes. let’s go make the coffee.
47. T no stay I will go and make it
- (from conversation A16)

12.59

7.5.4 Additional Excerpts for Chapter 5

Excerpt 7-27: Cooking with Alzheimer’s

(participants: Charoulla, Myria, Tasoulla, Gregoria, Loulla)

1.14.21

1. M τούτη: (.) η μάνα της Ρέας έπαθεν <Ατσχάιμε>
2. T °νναι αρτηριοσκήρωση°
3. M τζαι: επήεννεν τζ’ εγόραζεν; κολοκάσιν. που τον Κωστήν.
4. [επήεννεν] στον κρεοπώλην, έπκιαννεν τζαι κρέας,
5. X [ε θυμάσαι?]
6. M τζαι όπως ήταν [σωστά το κο]λοκάσιν
7. X [το κολοκάσι]
8. M ακαθάριστον έβαλλέν τα μες την μαείρισσαν να::
9. X ψηθ[ουν]
10. M [ψη]θούν
11. Γ όι ελάλεν εγώ:: (.) άκουσα εμαίρευκεν τζ’ έπκιαννεν την (.)
12. [κατά λάθος]
13. T [έτσι ένι το] Αλτσχάιμερ
14. Γ την πότσαν
15. [με το πετρέλαιον ξέρω γω τζαι πως έγυρνεν μες το φαΐν]
16. T [εγώ ξέρω μιαν που επήεν τζ’ έδεσεν πα στις κουρτίνες,]
17. Γ [πως εν εκαταλάββαινε]
18. [γεναίκα ας πούμεν] που είδεν αρτηριοσκήρωση.
19. M πα στες κουρτίνες?
20. T νναι νναι έδεσεν τζιαμαί τζ’ έκαμεν τα ολόσκατα.

21. [εν έξερεν]
22. X [τζ' έκαμνε] <πολλά> ωραία, φαγιά γλυκίσματα
23. M =ήταν νοικοτζυρά ελαλούσαν
24. X =παλιά αφού μια φορά ο θεός μακαρίσει την αθθυμούμαι έφερεν μου ποτούντους
25. χούμους. (0.8) έτσι "ε-έλα: Χαρούλλα μου έλα." (stylised))
26. ήταν πο[λλά καλή θε]ός
27. M [πολλά καλή]
28. X [μακαρίσει τη]
29. Γ [τζαι: εν ήταν]
30. εν ήταν έτσι όπως τούτες τες κόρες έτσι φλύαρη τζαι: χουμιθάρηες
31. X =που'ταν έτσι άρρωστη επήεν εις την Καλομοίραν που είδεν μπακκάλλικον,

1. M tha::t (.) Rea's mum had <Alzheime>
2. T °yes arteriosclerosis°
3. M a:nd she would go and buy; taro. from Kostis.
4. [she would go] to the butcher, would buy the meat,
5. C [you remember?]
6. M and as it was [whole the ta]ro
7. C [the taro]
8. M she would put it in the cooking pot without peeling it to::
9. C co[ok]
10. M [co]ok
11. G no she would say I:: (.) heard that she would cook and she would take the (.)
12. [by mistake]
13. T [that's how] Alzheimer's is
14. G the bottle
15. [with the petrol oil I don't know and that she would pour it in the food]
16. T [I know one who went and took a shit on the curtains,]
17. G [that she didn't understand]
18. T [woman let's say] who had arteriosclerosis.
19. M on the curtains?
20. T yes yes she took a shit there and she made them full of shit.
21. [she didn't know]
22. C [and she used to make] <very nice>, foods sweets
23. M =she was a good homemaker they used to say
24. C =in the past since one time god grant her peace I remember she brought me these

25. hummus. (0.8) like °‘co-come Charoulla come.’°((stylised))
26. she was ve[ry good may] god
27. M [very good]
28. C [grant her peace]
29. G [a::nd she wasn’t]
30. she wasn’t like like these daughters of hers like verbose a:nd boastful
31. C =when she was ill like that she went to Kalomira who had a grocery shop,
(from conversation A4) 1.15.15

Excerpt 7-28: Olivia’s recipe for *flaounes*¹⁰⁸

(participants: Gregoria, Tasoulla, Myria, Olivia, Loulla, Charoulla) 23.15
((television playing on the background))

1. Γ και με την:: α:: (.) >είντα’μ που την λαλούν?< φέττα- φεττόκρεμες
2. Τ [νναι έτσι στροντζυλά]
3. Μ [κόρη- ε Ολιβία.]είντα ’μ που βάλλεις μέσα στον φωκόν?
4. Ο τίποτε. τυρκά: τζαι
5. Μ όι. για να ψηλώσουν.
6. Ο προζύμιν [τζ’ έναν-]
7. Μ [μόνον?]τζαι μαγιάν?
8. Ο όι εν έβαλα μαγιάν.
9. Τ =μπέκκι ππάουτερ
10. Μ =μπέκκιν [ππάοουτερ?]
11. Ο [μπέκκι ππά]ουτερ την ώρα που τες εξύπνησα.
12. το πρωίν να πούμε
13. Γ την ώραν πόν να τες κάμεις
14. Τ =την ώραν πόν να τες κάμεις τζαι [η κυρία Λούλλα (έβαλε)]
15. Μ [έγινεν έτσι ωραία αφρούγια η ζύμη] πουμέσα
16. Ο εν ωραίες που ήταν λαλ[ώ σου, αν μεν μου] τις έκαμνεν ο φούρνος
17. Μ [ε εν ωραίες]
18. Ο [να μου τες κάψουν αλλά]
19. Γ [είντα: είντα τυρίν βάλλεις?]
20. Ο πκοιαν μάνα μου?
21. Γ είντα τυρίν βάλλεις?
22. Ο έβαλα:: τρία Παφίτικα.

¹⁰⁸ Flaounes are a type of festive cheese-pies, see Image 9, p. 423.

23. Γ α.
24. Ο τζ' έβαλα τζαι θκυο:μισι κιλά κασκαβάλλιν
25. Τ μμ. [εν] το
26. Μ [μμ]
27. Τ κασκα[βάλλιν που τε::ς]
28. Ο [τζ' έβαλα τζαι]
29. θκυο άλλα <του [πίττα>. έναν [ανάλατον τζ' ένα::ν]
30. Τ [τζ' εμείς στην [δουλειά:ν μας]()]
31. Μ [χαλλούμ[ιν? χαλλούμιν?]
32. Γ [τυρίν ανάλατον]
33. Τ [η μαστόρισσα έτσι φλα]ούνες
34. Ο [όι όι τυρίν ανάλατον]
35. Μ α.
36. Γ [ανάλατον μέσα [για να πκιάννει την αρμυράδα.]
37. Χ [εν εψηλώσαν? [εν εψηλώσαν εσένα?]
38. Ο [νναι. διότι ήταν αρμυρά]
39. Λ εμέναν εγίναν η πρώτη χρονιά [που έκαμα καλές φλαούνες ήταν φέτος.]
40. Ο [βάλλω πάντα ποτζείν' τα ανάλατα μέσα]
41. Λ πρώτη φορά. γιατί εψησαμέν τες εις τον Τάκη.¹⁰⁹
42. Ο φέτι?
43. Λ τζ' εφουσκώσαν τζ' εγίναν ήταν πολλά ωραιές.
44. Μ μμ
45. Λ τζαι γευσάτες τζαι ούλα. πρώτη
46. [χρονιά ευχαριστήθηκα φλαούνες.]
47. Χ [προζύμιν κόρη. άμαν βάλλετε] προζύμιν, εν το:: [η φλαούνα] θέλει προζύμι.
48. Ο [το προζύμι]
49. Λ [μες το κάζι δεν κάμνεις φλαούνες. [εν κάμνεις]
50. Τ [() [όι εμε-]
51. εγιώ [κάμνω τες.]
52. Ο [εμείς ε:]
53. Λ ό ο
54. Χ τζαι [μες το κάζι.]
55. Ο [ζυμώννομεν]τον φωκόν,
56. Ο [την ώραν πόν να'ρτουμεν που την εκκλησία]

¹⁰⁹ Takis is a local bakery.

57. Μ ερίχτηκεν του α Γληγορού. ερίχτηκέν του]((talks about TV series))
58. Γ νναι:: [λαλώ σου ()]
59. Λ [την Παρασκευήν?]
60. Μ [νναι ερίχτηκεν του για καλά. τζαι εκα][τά]λαβεν την τωρά τζαι λαλεί της
61. Ο [>ε:: την Τετάρτην έκαμα τες< ()]
62. Λ [μμ.]
63. Μ ε:[για την γεναίικαν του όι εν τούτη]
64. Ο [ε:: εσηκωθήκαμεν που η ώρα τέ]σσερις γιατί ήταν πυρά φέτι.
65. Λ μμ.
66. Ο πάντα [κά]μναμεν τες που την [νύχταν μα] ήταν πυρά φέτι
67. Λ [νναι.] [νναι νναι]
68. Γ <εν τον-ι-ζυμώννεις> έτσι που να φκεις που την εκκλησάν τζ' [ύστερα? τζέιν' την ώραν?]
69. Ο [νναι. εφκήκαμεν]
70. που την εκκλησίαν τζ' εζυμώσαμέν τα. εππέσαμεν εσηκωθήκαμε η ώρα τέσσερις.
71. Γ μμ.
72. Ο τζ' εκάμαμεν τις πίττες τζ' εγεμώσαμέν τες. [τζαι] ως η ώρα::
73. Τ [νναι.]
74. Λ [εζυ]μώσετε τζέιν' την ώραν το ζυμάρι?
75. Γ [ε-]
76. Λ η ώρα τέ[σσε]ρις ή τζαι:
77. Ο [νναι]
78. όι. η ώρα τέσσερις.
79. Λ α α
80. Γ βάλλεις τζαι λλίον προζύμι [μες το ζυμάρι?]
81. Ο [βάλλω τζαι προζύ]μι
82. Τ =ε να σου πω τζαι το ζυμάρι αν το εζύμωννες
83. μπαίννει τζαι γίνεται πκιο αφράτον
84. Γ όι [όι εν-]
85. Ο [ε] χαμνίζει κόρη,
86. Τ ε:: χαμν[ίζει αλλά]
87. Λ [εν τούτο] που σου λαλώ. [νεροστρέφει]
88. Ο [χαμνίζει. ειντά ως]που
89. να το ↑ κάμεις μπαίννει!
90. Λ νναι
91. Γ =[↑ νναι.]
92. Χ [(έτσι ένι)] [(μπαίννει.)]

93. Λ [εν [θέ]λει: να το-]
94. Γ [να το αννοίεις] >πίτταν πίτταν<
95. Ο =εζύμωσα έξι κιλά κόρη.
96. Γ ε: εν κάμποσο.
97. Ο [έβαλα-] [έβαλα ένα-]
98. Λ [το πο]λλύν θκυο ώρες [θέλει να μπει.]
99. >παραπάνω< που θκυο ώρες <νερο>στρέφει. (0.6)
100. Ο έβαλα [έναν ποτ- ένα::ν μαστραππάν βούτυρο σπρά]
101. Τ [°ε:: έτο κάμνω το λλίο σφιχτό για να ξεκουραστεί°] (0.5) ((a woman
102. enters the house))
103. Τ επειδή χαμνίζει αφήννω το λλίο [σφιχτούι.]
104. Ο [γειας]
((25.25-25.31 omitted: another woman enters))
111. Ο >έναν λεπτόν< κόρη
112. Μ 'ντάξει μάνα μου κάμε την δουλειάν σου ((Olivia leaves the room))
113. Λ [που λε::ς πάντα] το ζυμάρι θέλει πρωί θέλει-
114. Τ [()]
115. Χ θέλει πρωί να το ζυμώσεις
116. Τ α.
117. Λ εν πρέπει να::
118. Χ τζαι μες το ψυγείο να το βάλεις το ζυμάρι πάλε
119. Λ =πάλε [πάλε]
120. Χ [πάλε] ώσπου να μπει
121. Λ μόνον τον φωκόν θέλει να μείνει να τραβήσει
122. Χ νναι
123. Λ το ζυμάρι δεν πρέπει να μείνει
124. Γ ο φωκός εν-δεν πρέπει να είναι πολλά::
125. Τ ούτε να μ'εν νεν πο[λλά χαμνός]
126. Λ [χαμνός.]
127. Γ [σφιχτός-]
128. Γ [χαμνός.]
129. Λ [ούτε]χαμνός
130. Τ ούτε χαμνός ούτε σφιχτός [να'ν κα]νονικός
131. Χ [νναι νναι]
132. Γ έφας που την δικήν μου Μύρια?
133. Τ να γίνεται μπαλίτσα

134. Μ ενεκατώσαν μου Γρηγορία χαχαχα εν-ι-ξέρω ((smile voice))
135. Γ α.
136. Μ με πκοια εν πο- τίνος εν της κάθε μιας. ((smile voice))
137. Λ [όι ήταν ωραίες. τζαι της Γρη]γορίας πάντα γίνονται ωραίες.
138. Χ [()]
139. Γ νναι ήταν καλές.
140. Λ νναι ήταν καλές
141. Τ στο κάζιν που τες κάμνεις?
142. Γ όι
143. Λ =ό
144. Γ επήρα τες εις τον
145. Μ =έβαλα της κά::μποσες της Ευούλλας άφηκα
146. θκυο [τρεις εγιώ] έβαλα [τες στο θάλαμο,]
147. Χ [(στον Τάκη?)]
148. Γ [στον Τάκην νναι.]
149. τζ' εν είδεν δαμαί τζ' εστείλαν μας <Αριστοτέλους>
150. τζ' επήραμεν τες. (0.6)
151. [ε α]λλά-
152. Τ [είντα] ώρ]αν?
153. Λ [όι]
154. ευχαρισ[τήθηκα] τζ' εγώ [φέ]τος που τις επήρα στον φούρνο,
155. Γ [έντεκα.]
156. Τ [α.]
157. Λ ήταν πκιο (.) ξεκούραστα.
158. Χ [ε τζ' εμάς] η κόρη μου επήρεν τες
159. Γ [όι εν ωραία,]
160. Γ [ξενοιάξεις κάμνεις τες ούλλες μια φορά]
161. Χ [πρώτη φορά που τις επήρεν στον φούρνον] φέτος.
162. Τ είντα άμαν εν μού[χτιν αν] το'ξερα τζ' εγιώνι να μεν σηκωθώ ούλη νύχτα
163. Λ [μούχτι]

1. G and wi::th ah:: (.) >how is it called?< feta cheese- feta cheese pies
2. T [yes round like this]
3. M [kori- Olivia.] what are do you put in the cheese mix?
4. O nothing. cheeses: and
5. M no. to rise.

6. O leaven [and one-]
7. M [only?] and yeast?
8. O no I didn't put yeast.
9. T =baking powder
10. M = baking [powder?]
11. O [baking pow]der when I wake them up.
12. let's say in the morning
13. G when you are about to do them
14. T = when you are about to do them [Mrs Loulla also (added)]
15. M [the paste was like nice fluffy] inside
16. O they were nice I am tellin[g you, if only the] bakery didn't do them
17. M [they are nice]
18. O [burn them for me but]
19. G [wha:t what kind of cheese do you put?]
20. O which my dear?
21. G what kind of cheese do you put?
22. O I pu::t three ((cheeses)) from Paphos.
23. G ah.
24. O and I also added two:and a half kilos kaskavalli cheese
25. T mm. [it's] the
26. M [mm]
27. T kaska[valli tha::t]
28. O [and also I put]
29. two more [<Pittas'> cheeses. one [unsalted and one::]
30. T [and we at [our: work]()]
31. M [halloum[i? halloumi?]
32. G [unsalted cheese]
33. T [the boss *flaounes*] like this
34. O [no no unsalted cheese]
35. M ah.
36. G [unsalted inside [to balance the saltiness.]
37. C [they didn't rise up? [yours didn't rise up?]
38. O [yes. because they were salty]
39. L mine they were this year was the first year that [I made nice *flaounes*.]
40. O [I always add those unsalted ones]

41. L first time. because we baked them at Takis.¹¹⁰
42. O this year?
43. L and they rose and they were done they were very nice.
44. M mm
45. L and tasty and everything. it is the first
46. [year that I enjoyed *flaounes*.]
47. C [leaven *kori*. if you put] leaven, it is the:: [the *flaouna*] needs leaven.
48. O [the leaven]
49. L [in the cooker you can't make *flaounes*. [you can't make]
50. T [() [no mine-]
51. I [make them.]
52. O [we eh:]
53. L nop nop
54. C and [in the cooker.]
55. O [we knead]the cheese mix,
56. [the time that we return from the church]
57. M [she threw herself at him Gliorou. she threw herself at him] ((talks about TV series))
58. G ye::s [I'm telling you ()]
59. L [on Friday?]
60. M [yes she throw herself at him for good. and now he] [re]cognised her and he tells her
61. O [>eh:: I made them on Wednesday< ()]
62. L [mm.]
63. M eh[: for his wife no she is the one]
64. O [eh:: we woke up at four o'clock because it was hot this year.
65. L mm.
66. O we always [ma]ke them from the [night but] it was hot this year
67. L [yes.] [yes yes]
68. G <you don't knead it> like after you come out of church?[that time?]
69. O [yes. we came out of]
70. the church and we kneaded them. we lay down we got up at four o'clock.
71. G mm.
72. O and we made the pies and stuffed them. [and] by the time::
73. T [yes.]
74. L [did] you knead the dough at that time?

¹¹⁰ See footnote 109, above.

75. G [di-]
76. L at f[our] o'clock or also:
77. O [yes]
78. O no. at four o' clock.
79. L ah ah
80. G do you also put a little leaven [in the dough?]
81. O [I also put lea]ven
82. T =let me tell you if you had made the dough ((the night before))
83. it rises and becomes fluffier
84. G no [no it doesn't-]
85. O [hm] it becomes flabby *kori*,
86. T well: it beco[m]es flabby but]
87. L [yes. that is what] I am talking about.[it exudes moisture]
88. O [it becomes fluffy. in fact as] soon as
89. you ↑do it it rises!
90. L yes
91. G =[↑yes.]
92. C [(that's it)] [(it rises)]
93. L [it does] no:t need to-]
94. G [to form it] >pie by pie<
95. O =I kneaded six kilos *kori*.
96. G we:ll it's a lot.
97. O [I put-] [I put one-]
98. L [it nee]ds two hours at the [most to rise.]
99. >more< than two hours it exudes <moisture> (0.6)
100. O I put [one gla- one:: tin of Spry butter]
101. T [°we:ll look I make it a bit hard so it can rest°] (0.5) ((a woman enters
102. the house))
103. I make it a bit hard because it becomes [flabby.]
104. O [hello]
- ((25.25-25.31 omitted: another woman enters))
111. O >hold on a second< *kori*
112. M it's ok dear do your job ((Olivia leaves the room))
113. L [you're sayi::ng] the dough always needs morning it needs-
114. T [()]
115. C it need to be kneaded in the morning

116. T ah.
117. L it should no::t
118. C and even if you put the dough in the fridge again
119. L =again [again]
120. C [again] until it rises
121. L only the cheese stuffing needs to be left to absorb
122. C yeah
123. L the dough shouldn't be left
124. G the cheese stuffing is-it shouldn't be very::
125. T neither it should be ve[ry watery]
126. L [watery.]
127. G [firm-]
128. G [watery.]
129. L [neither] watery
130. T neither watery nor firm [it should] be regular
131. C [yes yes]
132. G Myria did you eat any of mine?
133. T it should form a small ball
134. M they mixed them for my Gregoria hahaha *I don't know* ((smile voice))
135. G ah.
136. M *which is fr- who made which.* ((smile voice))
137. L [no Gregoria's also were] nice they always turn out nice.
138. C [()]
139. G yes they were good.
140. L yes they were good
141. T did you made them in the cooker?
142. G no
143. L =nope
144. G I took them to
145. M =I gave ma::ny to Evoulla I kept
146. two[three for me] I put them [in the deep freeze,]
147. C [(at Takis?)]
148. G [at Takis yes.]
149. and they didn't have here and they sent us to <Aristotelous>
150. and we took them there. (0.7)
151. [eh]but-]

152. T [what] ti]me?
153. L [no]
154. I also enj[oyed it] this [ye]ar that I took them to the bakery,
155. G [eleven.
156. T [ah.]
157. L it was more (.) relaxed.
158. C [eh and for us] my daughter took them
159. G [no it's nice,]
160. G [you have no worries you do them all at once]
161. C [it was the first time that she took them to the bakery] this year.
162. T well since it's fr[ee had] I known myself not to wake up all night
163. L [free]
- (from conversation A8) 26.36

Excerpt 7-29: Loulla's self-praise

(participants: Myria, Gregoria, Charoulla, Loulla)

16.10

1. Μ εν να μας μείνει ζυμάρι Λούλλα μεν πολλοβάλλεις.
2. Γ τζ' η δουλειά του τζαμαί που::- κάμετε το έτσι κουλλουράκια ύστερα το ζυμάριν
3. μόνον του. (1.1)
4. Μ εχ
5. Γ ειντά εν να τις κάμετε χωρίς ελιές?! [για] να κάμετε πολλές? ((very animated))
6. Μ [όι]
7. Χ κόψε θκυο τρία κομματούθκια χαλλουμούιν τζαι βάρτα
8. Γ =νναι:. ή χαλλουμούι να βάλεις [μέσα]
9. Μ [νναι:]
10. είντα πόσον ζυμάριν ένι τζ' εν να κόψουμεν τζαι χαλλούμι?
11. μες το θάλαμο το χαλλούμι πού να το φκάλλουμεν?
12. Λ πόσες κόρη εμείνασιν? ((very animated)) έδει τέσσερις κουταλιές πέντε.
13. ε πόσα έσει? (.) ίσα ίσα εν να μαστεν.
14. έκαμες με την Λουλλούν πράμαν δεν (λ)ίφκεσαι!
15. ίσα ίσα εν να φκεις να δεις. έτσι ῥ-ῥέριν εν εί'α ποττέ μου.
16. εγώ μόνη μου μμαθικιάζουμαι.
17. Χ ε μα επειδή κάμνεις συνέχεια,
18. Λ όι Μύρια-Χαρούλλα μου έτσι (.)
19. Χ συγκόφκεις.

20. Λ =έτσι. (3) μακάρι να φτάσουν. εν να μας περισσέψει τζαι ζύμη όι- με-γέμιση.
 21. (4)
 22. Γ που τα ήβρετε τα: μαρτζακούδια?
 23. Λ πολλά ωραία αρέσαν μου τζαι μέναν Γρηγορία! είπα το τζ' εγιώ.

1. M there will be some dough left Loulla don't put too much.
 2. G and his job where he::- make the dough into rolls
 3. on its own later (1.1)
 4. M eh
 5. G *are you going to do them without olives!? [to] do more?* ((very animated))
 6. M [no]
 7. C cut two three little pieces of halloumi and put them in
 8. G =ye:s. or halloumi to put [inside]
 9. M [ye:s]
 10. well how much is the dough that we should also cut halloumi?
 11. the halloumi in the freezer why bother taking it out?
 12. L *kori how many are left?* ((very animated)) there are four five spoons.
 13. well how much is there? (.) we will be even.
 14. if you make something with Loullou you will never run short!
 15. you will be even you will see. I have never seen a h-hand like this.
 16. I alone cast the evil eye on me by myself.
 17. C well it's because you do it all the time,
 18. L no Myria-Chryssoulla like this (.)
 19. C you can estimate.
 20. L =like this.(3) I hope there will be enough. the dough will be too much no- th- stuffing.
 21. (4)
 22. G where did you find the: little rolling pins?
 23. L very nice I like them as well Gregoria! I said it as well.
 (from conversation A15) 17.07

Excerpt 7-30: Tasoulla the baker

- (participants: Tasoulla, Charoulla, Myria, Loulla, Gregoria) 32.16
 1. T είντα'μ που λαλούν οι ελιωτές ρε Χαρούλλα? νά'ρτω να τες δω?
 2. Χ ε έλα. *έλα εσου που'σαι ματζίπενα.* ((smile voice))
 3. T [μα εν τζαι:: >νομίζεις< [εγιώνι::]

4. Γ [(°ε τζ' εγώ είμαι°) χα χα [χα χα χα]
5. Μ [χα ↑χα χα] χα χα
6. Χ έλα.
7. Τ ματζίπενα. εν τζ' ενδιαφέρει με. π-εγώ κάμνω την αδιάφορη τζειμαί
8. [να μεν με διατάσσουν πως]εν-ι-ξέρω [εν τζ' εν να:]
9. Χ [έλα ματζίπενα μου έλα]
10. Λ [↓καλά κάμνεις]Τασούλλα.

1. Τ how are the olive-pies *re* Charoulla? shall I come to have a look?
 11. C well come. *come you who are a baker.* ((smile voice))
 2. Τ but I:: >don't you think< [I a::m]
 3. G [(°I am also°) ha ha [ha ha ha]
 4. Μ [ha ↑ha ha] ha ha
 5. C come
 6. Τ baker. I am not interested. wh- I pretend I am not interested there
 7. [so they don't order me that] I don't know [I am not gonna:]
 8. C [come my baker come]
 9. L [↓good for you] Tasoulla.
- (from conversation A4)

32.25

Excerpt 7-31: Tasoulla's watery halva

(participants: Gregoria, Myria)

20.31

1. Γ είπουν της Μάρως, λαλεί μου 'εν να κάμω χαλουβάν εγώ μάμμα,
2. έχω τζαι κούννες μεν κάμεις.' 'καλάν κάμε τον.'
3. Μ ε νναι. αφού νηστεύκουν οι (.) [κυρίες]
4. Γ [ε νναι] νηστεύκουσιν (3)
5. βάλλει τζαι νάκκον σαν το νερόν το πολλύν η:: Τασούλλα.
6. Μ ε καλό δεκατριάμισι ποτήρκα σε θκυο ποτήρκα:: σιμιδάλλιν εν πολλύν.
7. που να το τραβήσει?
8. Γ έ:το κάμνουν το.
9. Μ ενώ να'ρτει νάκκον πκιο:: χαμν[ός] εν πκιο ωραίος. (4)
10. Γ [νναι.]
11. Μ που λες επήαμεν που η ώρα δεκάμισι Γληγορού πάνω στα ιατρεία,

1. G I told Maro, she said to me 'I will make the halvah mum,

2. I have almonds as well don't do it.' 'fine do it.'
3. M yes. since they are fasting the (.) [ladies]
4. G [eh yes] they are fasting (3)
5. she puts a bit like too much wate::r Tasoulla.
6. M yes sure thirteen and a half glasses in two glasse::s semolina it is a lots.
7. how can it absorb it?
8. G you see: they make it.
9. M but if it's a little bit more:: fla[bby] is better. (4)
10. G [yes.]
11. M well Gliorou we went from half past ten to the health centre,
(from conversation A17)

21.00

Excerpt 7-32: Knitting scarves for the grandchildren

(participants: Myria, Charoulla, Loulla, Gregoria)

2.20

1. M Λούλλα εν θέλει πκιο χοντρ[ές σμί]λες
2. X [όι]
3. M εν θέλει. εν καλόν τόσον. να το κάμνεις λλίον ελαφρύν (1)
4. [εν θέλει πκιο χοντρόν]
5. Λ [όι (.) εφάνηκεν μου χο]ντρόν εμέναν
6. Γ =είντα'μ πόν τούτον?
7. X τούτον πρέπει να ππέφτει μόνον του εν [πειράζει]
8. M [ε νναι]
9. αλλά πόσον χοντρόν? άδε άμα- εδεν- άμα- (.) άμα βαρέσει αννοίει. άδε το. (0.6)
10. Γ εν όάλιν πόν να το κάμεις?
11. Λ νναι [θέλει το η Μαρία να της] κάμω όάλι γιατί ούλλες οι κοπέλλες
12. X [κάμε ακόμα λλίον έτσι]
13. Λ στην εκκλη- στο σχολείο
14. Γ =τζαι μακριά ως τζει κάτω τζει
15. M [νναι!]
16. Λ [έκα]μεν τους η γιαγιά τους
17. Γ καλό.
18. M 'τζαι γιω που κάμνει η γιαγιά μου να μου κάμεις τζ' εμέναν.'
19. X =ειντά είπεν μου τζ' εμέν ο Σπύρος προχτές
20. Λ νναι
21. X αλλά λαώ του εμέναν τα όέρκα [μου εν παγωμένα γιε μου]

22. Λ [τζ' εχτές εμπήκα στη Ζάκο-]
23. Γ χα το (h)καλοτζαίρι πε του πούν να πκιάννουν ((smile voice))
24. Χ το καλοτζαιριν τζαι φορείς το τον δειμώναν (1)
25. Γ °χαχα° ↓α::
26. Λ τζ' επήρα τα μαλλιά τζ' έκαμα μιαν κούκλαν. τζέινον ούλλον έκαμά το εξήλωσά το τζ'
27. εφάνηκέν μου χοντρόν (0.7) τζαι τώρα λαλεί μου η Μύρια εν καλόν.
28. ε εμέναν ήταν πκιο χοντρόν
29. Μ ήταν τζαι πολλοί οι πούντοι που έβαλες (0.6)
30. Γ [πόσοι τούτη ένι εν πκιο χοντρές που τζέινες] της Λούλλας? (.)
31. Λ [Ναϊά μου κόρη μου εν μπαίννω δαμαίσα] ((smile voice, trying on a new blouse))
32. Μ ήταν πέντε τζέινον της Λούλλας?
33. Γ όι [εν θέλει πκιο] χοντρόν νομίζω εν καλόν.
34. Χ [>τράβα το πίσω<]
35. Μ εγώ νομίζω εν καλόν ((about the needles))
36. Λ εν καλή μου? ((about the blouse))
37. Γ εν καλόν
38. Χ τράβα το πίσω. (.) α. (1.8)
39. Λ εν-ι-ξέρω φαίνεστε μου εν-

1. Μ Loulla it does not need thick[er nee]dles
2. C [no]
3. Μ it doesn't need. it's ok that much. you should do it a bit light (1)
4. [it doesn't need thi]cker
5. L [no (.) it seems thick] to me
6. G =what is this?
7. C this should fall on its own it doesn't [matter]
8. Μ [that's right]
9. but how thick? see if- not- if- if it's too heavy it opens up. look at it. (0.6)
10. G are you going to make a scarf?
11. L yes [Maria wants it to] make her a scarf because all the girls
12. C [do a little bit more like this]
13. L at chur- at school
14. G =and long all the way down
15. Μ [yes!]
16. L [their] grandma made for them
17. G right.

18. M 'and I whose grandmother makes you should make one for me.'
19. C =well Spyros told me as well the other day
20. L yes
21. C but I told him that my hands [are frozen my son]
22. L [and yesterday I went to Zako-]
23. G ha *tell (h)him in the summer when they will be flexible* ((smile voice))
24. C in the summer and you wear it in the winter (1)
25. G °haha° ↓ah::
26. L and I took wool and I made a doll. all that I made it I unravelled it and
27. it seemed thick to me (0.7) and now Myria tells me that its fine.
28. well mine was thicker
29. M the stitches you used were too many (0.6)
30. G [πόσοι τούτη ένι are they thicker] than Loulla's? (.)
31. L [*gosh kori I don't fit into this*] ((smile voice, trying on a new blouse))
32. M was it five Loulla's one?
33. G no [it doesn't need] thicker I think it's good.
34. C [>pull it back<]
35. M I think it's good ((about the needles))
36. L does it fit me? ((about the blouse))
37. G it's good
38. C pull it back. (.) ah. (1.8)
39. L I don't know it seems to me that it doesn't-
- (from conversation A2)

3.24

Excerpt 7-33: Troublesome needlework and coffee with bread

(participants: Myria, Charoulla, Loulla, Tasoulla, Gregoria)

1.04

1. M εχτές που τό'καμες τούτον?
2. X ↑νναι ↓νναι εχτ[ές.]
3. M [α]
4. ε κόψε τζαι- ο 'ντάξει 'ντάξει °φτάνει°.
5. Λ που λες,
6. Τ =ώστε (.) τούτη-
7. Λ εν η ίδια τούτη, (0.5) εχτός το πουπάνω, (.)
8. ήβρε μου- [ήβρα το μπελαλίτικο] τζ' εν το έκαμα τζ' έκαμα το έτσι
9. Μ [έλα κόρη ()] ((addressing Charoulla))

10. X κόρη [εν γλ]υτζύν τούτον.

11. T [νναι]

12. X ξέρεις το πως εν [γλυτζύ?]

13. T [ε::]

14. 'ντάξει. το μπελαλίτικο εν εν μπελαλίτικο. είντα μπελαλίτικο ένι?

15. Γ α: εν δηλαδή έκαμες το:- κάμνεις το έτσι μακρύν (.) χωρίς σησάμι?

16. X [ε η κόρη μου θέλει σησάμι. τζείνης έκαμα της σησάμι]

17. T [είντα πελαλίδικο? πάει τζαι που στρέφεται ξαναμπαίννεις το ίδ]ιο το:

18. Λ μπαίννεις [τζαι] πουπάνω θκυο φορές.

19. Γ [α]

20. X [κόρη μου καλλιεί]

21. T [ε ύστερα που στρέφεσαι]

22. X [τους εις τον καφέ τζαι (h) κόφκει τους τζαι ψ(h)ουμί ((smile voice)) χαχα]

23. T [μπαίννεις, τζ' ύστερα που στρέφεσαι μπαίννεις τζαι δίνεις το]

24. X [χα

25. Γ [χαχαχα (1)

26. T έν τζ' εν τίποτε. (.)

27. Γ [εν ωραίον που γίνεται ()]

28. Λ [ενν εν τίποτε αμά ξαναμπαίννεις τζειαμαί]

29. Γ [() εν όπως το κου-λλούρι που το κάμνεις ενν εν?]

30. T [εν εν τίποτε αλλά: νά'σει τζαι τίποτε μέσα,]

31. εν [κα]λλύττερο να μενν εν τέλεια::

32. X [νναι.]

33. Λ [εν-ι-ξέρω. όπως θέλεις.]

34. Μ [τώρα που ακριβώσαν] θέμα τα ψουμιά, (.)

35. Λ νά'σαι καλά Χαρούλλα μου. εν [σαν] το:: πρόσφορον κόρη, [εν] ωραίον

36. X [ε.]

37. Μ [νναι]

38. X εν ωραίον.

39. Γ εν ωραίον. μυρί[ζει το:: το προζυμούιν του.]

40. T [η μούττη του εσένα εν η ίδια] με τούτη- μάν να φάω ψουμίν τωρά?

41. X φάε ψουμί ((smile voice))

42. T εν ψουμίν που εν να (h) μας τα- χαχαχαχα

43. Μ έτο με τον καφέν ήταν [ότι έπρεπε. τίποτε εν θέλουμε]

44. T [κάμε τζαι τον καφέν καλό. (τραττάρετε)]

45. τον καφέν ((smile voice))

46. X ελιές. να σας φέρω τζαι ελιές? ((smile voice)) χαχα
47. T κάμε τζαι τον καφέν.
48. M α ψωμίν τζ' ελιάν καλό είντα'μ πόνι?
49. T ε.
50. Λ εφάμεν τόσα πράματα εμείς τζει πάνω [τώρα εν πρέπει να φάμε τίποτε.]
51. M [γιατί η Λούλλα: του Κετσή]
52. έτσι κάμνουν τζει πάνω με την [Άννα με την] κουμέραν της
53. Γ [που επήετε?]
54. Λ τζει πάνω στο:ν Άην Χαράλαμπον
55. Γ α.
56. Λ που εκάμαν αγιασμόν είχαν τζαι τζεράσματα
57. T τζ' η Μυρούλλα:: τζέινη: (.) που εν που την Αταλάνταν τζέινες που'ρτασιν εν πρωινά
58. που κάμνουν τζέινες τζαι μπουκκώνν[ουν::] τζαι πίννουν τζαι τον καφέν τους
59. M [ε καλό.]
60. T με γλυκίσματα κάμνουν, με-
61. M ε [είντα'μ πόν εμείς επκιάμεν] τούντην]πελλάραν.
62. Λ [πο[λλά καλά έτσι.]
63. T [καμιάν ελιάν, λλί]ον χαλλούμιν,]
64. λλί[ον τυρίν. ότι] έχουμεν ας πούμε τζ' ετέλειωσεν.
65. Λ [νναι [νναι νναι]
66. Γ [γύρισε να δω]
67. Λ τζ' εμείς έτσι.

1. M was it yesterday that you did that?
2. C ↑yes ↓yes yesterd[ay.]
3. M [ah]
4. C well cut and- oh ok ok °its enough°.
5. L as you say,
6. T =so (.) this-
7. L this one is the same, (0.5) apart from the top part, (.)
8. I found me-I fo[und it bothersome] and I didn't do it I did it like this
9. M [come kori ()] ((addressing Charoulla))
10. C =kori [this] is sweet.
11. T [yes]
12. C do you know that it's [sweet?]
13. T [eh::]

14. ok. bothersome it isn't bothersome. how is it bothersome?
15. G ah: so you made it:- you make it like this long (.) without sesame?
16. C [eh my daughter wants sesame. I made ((with)) sesame for her]
17. T [how is it bothersome? it goes and when it returns you re-enter in the sa]me the:
18. L you [also] enter from the top twice.
19. G [ah]
20. C [my daughter invites them ((her friends))]
21. T [eh afterwards when you come back]
22. C [*for coffee and (h)she offers them b(h)read as well* ((smile voice)) haha]
23. T [you enter, and later when you return you enter and tie it]
24. C [ha
25. G [hahaha (1)
26. T well it's nothing. (.)
27. G [it is nice ()]
28. L [it's nothing when you re-enter there]
29. G [() do you make them like a ro-ll don't you?]
30. T [it's nothing bu:t it has to have something inside,]
31. it's [be]tter not to be completely::
32. C [yes.]
33. L [I don't know. as you wish.]
34. M [now that the bread is more expensive] as well, (.)
35. L bless you Charoulla. it's [like] the:: sacramental bread *kori*, [it's] nice
36. C [eh.]
37. M [yeah]
38. C it's nice.
39. G it's nice. you can [smell the:: its leaven.]
40. T [your nose is the same] as this- but am I going to eat bread now?
41. C *eat bread* ((smile voice))
42. T is it bread that you are going (h) to fee- hahaha
43. M you see with coffee it was [just right. we don't want anything]
44. T [*well make the coffee as well then. (offer)*]
45. *the coffee* ((smile voice))
46. C *olives.shall I bring you olives as well?* ((smile voice)) *haha*
47. T you also make the coffee.
48. M ah bread and olive well how about it?
49. T eh.

50. L we ate so many things up there [now we mustn't eat anything.]
51. M [why Ketsi:s' ((daughter)) Loulla]
52. they have this habit up there with [Anna with her] *kumera*
53. G [where did you go?]
54. L up at Saint Charalambos
55. G ah.
56. L where they did the asperges and there were treats as well
57. T and Myroulla:: that one: (.) who is from Atalanta those who came it in the mornings
58. that they do and they have break[fa::st] and they drink their coffee
59. M [sure.]
60. T they neither make puddings, nor-
61. M eh [why [did we start with] this]craziness.
62. L [it's [very nice like this.]
63. T [some olives, so]me halloumi,]
64. T so[me [cheese. let's] say whatever we have and that's all.
65. L [yes [yes yes]
66. G [turn to see]
67. L so should we.
- (from conversation A4)

2.34

Excerpt 7-34: Soliciting help in making olive rolls

(participants: Myria, Charoulla, Gregoria, Loulla)

10.00

1. M εν έχουμε:ν άλλον σινί. (.) εγεμώσαμεν τα τζαι τα τρία. (3)
2. X μα έδει αλόπως σκόνη [()]
3. Γ [α που <εφτομάδας>]
4. να'ρτετε να κάμω τζ' εγώ λλίες καλό. κανέναν κιλό.
5. Λ <να'ρτουμεν> Γρηγορία καλό. γιατί να μεν έρτουμε? (0.8)
6. Γ τζαι να κανονίσουμεν την Πέφτην να: κάμουμεν τον καφέν
1. M we don't ha:ve another tray. (.) we have filled all three. (3)
2. C but there is dust [()]
3. G [oh next <week>]
4. you should come so that I can make some. about a kilo.
5. L <we'll come> Gregoria sure. why not? (0.8)
6. G and we should arrange on Thursday to: do the coffee.

Excerpt 7-35: Cooking according to other's dietary needs

(participants: Gregoria, Myria)

29.44

1. Γ να'ρκέψουμεν να νηστέψουμεν τζαι καμιάν εφτ(η)ομάν
2. Μ ειντά έχω τζαι τα τσακρίθκια ακόμα της Ψαρούς. αύριον αν έρτει ο Φοίβος να κάμω
3. τζαι το κοτόπουλλον με τα::
4. Γ α τζαι να κάμεις [τζαι τσακρίθκια]
5. Μ [τα μακαρόνια] τζαι να τα κάμω τζαι τα τσακρίθκια.
6. τηανιτά ξέρω εν τρώει όμως τζείνος πειράζουν τον στο στομάδιν.
7. Γ =α:: έτο εν τζαι τούτα. τα: στομάδα.
8. Μ τωρά που λείπει (.) η Νίτσα να τον καλέσουμεν καμιάν ημέραν.
9. είπουν του ρε έρκου ρε κάτω, εν-
10. Γ έκαμα το εχτές το κολοκάσι, έφαα έτσι, έφκαλα τζ' έναν κοκκαλούιν έτσι με το-
11. εκατάκοψα τζείν'το κρέας μες το ούτο- ↓ έφαα.
12. Μ χαχα

1. G we should start fasting for a week or s(h)o
2. M well I still have *tsakrithkia*¹¹¹ from Psarou. tomorrow if Phivos comes I will also do
3. the chicken with the::
4. G ah and you will do [the *tsakrithkia* as well]
5. M [the pasta] and I will do the *tsakrithkia* as well.
6. but I know that he doesn't eat fried foods it's heavy for his stomach
7. G =ah:: you see we have that stuff as well. the: stomach.
8. M now that (.) Nitsa is away we should invite him someday.
9. I told him *re* come *re* down, no-
10. G I did the taro yesterday, I ate that, I got and one little bone with the- I cut up
11. that meat into that- ↓ I ate.
12. M haha

(from conversation A17)

30.14

Excerpt 7-36: Zouppouthkia

(participants: presenter (Φ/F) and male caller (E))

12.02

¹¹¹ A type of wild edible weeds, often eaten fried with eggs.

1. Ε το λοιπόν σχετικά με τη διατροφή μας κατά τη::ν διάρκειαν του πενήνταημέρου,
2. Φ [μάλιστα.]
3. ? [γεια σου] κύριε Φαντίδη ((this a female voice, probably of a person standing next to
4. the caller))
5. Ε κύριον μέλημα μας ήταν το:: όσπρια.
6. Φ μάλιστα.
7. Ε συνήθως (.) φωνά-φωνάζουν σε- εκάμναμεν δικά μας- επαράγαμε-
8. ήταν δική μας παραγωγή λουφκιά, φασόλια, ζουτζά, φασόλες, πασές,
9. μάχους, ξέρεις τι είναι ο μάχος?
10. Φ ξέρω τι είναι ο μάχος, ε-έφαα τζαι μιαν φοράν σούππαν εις τη::ν στην Φλάσου-
11. στην Λινού ποτζεί παράγουν μάχον
12. Ε πολλά ωραία σούππα. είναι πάρα πολλά εύγευστη. (.)
13. Φ είναι πολύ ωραίος μοιάζει λίγο με τη λουβάνα
14. Ε νναι νναι. λλίον πκιο στητός. το λοιπόν το- το δε επιδόρπιον μας
15. Φ μάλιστα
16. Ε εκάμναν κάποτε καμιάν φοράν την εβδομάδα οι μανάες μας ήταν τα ζου-
17. τα λεγόμενα ζουππούθκια. ξέρεις τι είναι τα ζουππούθκια?
18. Φ όι. πε μου να δω.
19. Ε ζουππούδκια. (.) εκόφκαν το ψουμί έτσι:: κομματάκια μικρά μικρά σαν το
20. αντίδωρον περίπου
21. Φ =νναι νναι.
22. Ε ετηνίζαν τα μεσ' το λάδι το ελαιόλαδο,
23. Φ =>νναι νναι<
24. Ε εφκάλλαν τα εστραγγούσαν τζαι αραιώνναν έψημα το μέλιν
25. του σταφυλιού το λεγόμενο έψημα
26. Φ =του σταφυλιού ή του::ης τερατδός?
27. Ε όι όι εμείς επάνω παράγουμε του σταφυλιού [()]
28. Φ [του σταφυλιού] νναι νναι νναι
29. Ε το έψημα το λεγόμενο
30. Φ νναι νναι
31. Ε ή πετιμέζι στα τούρτζικα έτσι λαλούσι
32. Φ νναι νναι
33. Ε λοιπόν (.) αραιώνναν το λλίον να μεν- τζαι εσβήνναν- ε- εβάλλασιν-
34. εβρέχαν το τζείνα τα ζουππούθκια που ήταν τηανισμένα μες στο ελαιόλαδο
35. Φ >νναι νναι νναι<
36. Ε τζαι ήταν το επιδόρπιο μας. (.) ήταν πολλά ωραία. εγώ να σου πω την αλήκειαν

37. κάμνω το τζαι τώρα γιατί αρέσκαν μου χαχαχα(())]
38. Φ [(μάλιστα)]
39. ε τώρα που μου το εθθύμισες αθθύμηθημα τζ' εγώ την τασή με το μέλι το:
40. Ε α τζαι [τζέινο εν ωραίιο]
41. Φ [το τερατσόμελο,]
42. τζαι λλίον κουλλούριν έτσι μαλαχτόν μαλαχτόν είν' ότι πρέπει.
43. Ε τζαι: τασήν με το: έψημα επίσης είναι σαν να τρώεις <χαλουβά>.
44. Φ α.
45. Ε εγώ κάμνω το τζαι τώρα ακ(η)όμα χαχα αρέσκει μου
46. Φ μα:: εν μεγάλη κουβέντα;
47. Ε νναι είναι ωραία φαγητά εν τω μεταξύ υπήρχεν νηστεία απόλυτη, α.

1. Ε well about our nutrition during the::the Lent,
2. F [right.]
3. ? [hello] Mr Fantidis ((this a female voice, probably of a person standing next to the
4. caller))
5. Ε our main concern were the:: pulses.
6. F right.
7. Ε usually (.) they are call-they are calling you- we used to make ours- we used to
8. produce- it was our production black eye beans, beans, *zoutzia*, butter beans, *pashes*,
9. *mahos*,¹¹² do you knows what *mahos* is?
10. F I know what *mahos* is, I-I ate once soup at:: at Flasou-at Linou
11. they produce *mahos* there
12. Ε it is a very nice soup. it is very very tasty. (.)
13. F it is very nice it is a bit like chickling vetch
14. Ε yes yes. a little more solid. well as for-as for our dessert
15. F right
16. Ε sometimes our mothers were making once a week the zou-
17. the so called *zouppouthkia*. do you know what *zouppouthkia* are?
18. F no. you tell me.
19. Ε *zouppouthkia*. (.) they would cut the bread li::ke small small pieces something like the
20. sacramental bread more or less
21. F =yes yes.
22. Ε they would fry them in oil olive oil,

¹¹² *Zoutzia*, *pashes*, and *mahos* are types of local pulses, which are not widely known and used in Cyprus.

23. F =>yes yes<
24. E they would take them out let them drain and they would dilute molasses the honey
25. from grapes the so called molasses
26. F =from grapes or fro::m locust?
27. E no no we up there produce the one from grapes [()]
28. F [from grape] yes yes yes
29. E the so called molasses
30. F yes yes
31. E or *petimezi*¹¹³ as they call it in Turkish
32. F yes yes
33. E so (.) they would dilute it a little bit so it won't- and they would pour- e- they would
34. add- they were wetting the *zouppouthkia* that had been fried in olive oil
35. F >yes yes yes<
36. E and it was our dessert. (.) they were very nice. to tell you the truth I am making them
37. now as well because I liked them hahaha[()]
38. F [(right)]
39. well now that you reminded me I also remembered the tahini with honey the:
40. E oh and [that one is nice]
41. F [the carob honey,]
42. and a little bit of bread roll soft soft is perfect.
43. E a:nd tahini with the: molasses is also like eating <halva>.
44. F ah.
45. E I still do it no(h)w ha ha I like it
46. F bu::t it is a big thing;
47. E yes they are nice dishes in fact there was absolute fasting, yeah.
- (from broadcast C2)

14.08

¹¹³ Refers to the Turkish word for molasses, 'pekmez'.

7.6 *Models for the sequential organisation of Troubles Talk and Painful Self Disclosures*

Chapter 4 addresses the issue of PTs, drawing, to a great extent, on N. Coupland, J. Coupland and Giles' taxonomy for Painful Self Disclosures (1991a), and, to a lesser extent, on Lee and Jefferson's troubles-telling sequence (Lee & Jefferson 1980). To allow for a comparison between the toolkit described in Chapter 4 and the two original taxonomies, a brief outline of N. Coupland et al.'s and Lee and Jefferson's taxonomies is given below, reserving the authors' terminology.

7.6.1 Lee and Jefferson's candidate troubles-telling sequence

Capital letters indicate the large segments of the troubles-talk sequence and numbered items are the elements that appeared ordered within the segments. In non-bold italics are the different alternatives for each element or segment. Where examples were needed to adequately illustrate an element, they were taken from Jefferson 1988.

A. Approach

1. **Initiation:** If the troubles-recipient is aware of the possible presence of a trouble s/he can inquire about it (*inquiry*), or s/he may notice a possible trouble (*noticing*).
2. **Troubles premonitor:** A *downgraded conventional response* to a question, such as 'how are you?', or an *improvement marker* ('better') can signal the speaker's state of trouble. Another troubles premonitor is a *lead-up*, indicating the presence of a possibly troubled experience (e.g. 'I went to the dentist').
3. **Premonitor response:** This is usually a 'continuer' by the troubles-recipient, indicating readiness to hear the trouble.

B. Arrival

1. **Announcement** of the trouble by the troubles-teller
2. **Announcement response:** An item by the troubles-recipient to mark the arrival of the topic and elicit further talk on it (e.g. 'Did he really?')

C. Delivery

1. **Exposition:** includes description of symptoms, events etc.
2. **Affiliation:** The troubles-recipient signals affiliation and /or empathy to the troubles (e.g. 'how awful').

3. Affiliation response: The troubles-teller next turn is oriented specifically to the previous affiliation.

D. Work-Up

A range of activities can occur after delivery, such as diagnoses, remedies and prognoses, which position 'the trouble by reference to more general circumstances' (Jefferson 1988:430).

E. Close-Implicature

These are segments that are not usually troubles-talk and make relevant a move towards closure of the troubles sequence. Close-implicative elements include *optimistic projections* (e.g. 'It'll iron itself out'), *invocation of the status quo* (re-engaging the trouble with everyday non-trouble activities) and *making light of the situation* (often marked with laughter particles).

F. Exit (cf. Chapter 4.6)

Exit from the troubles-talk sequence is achieved either by *boundarying off/disjunctive moves* (starting an altogether new topic, activity or business) or with a *stepwise transition* into other topics (Jefferson 1984a).

7.6.2 N. Coupland et al. taxonomy of strategies in four-phases of disclosive sequences

Many categories of this model for the taxonomy of painful self disclosures are used in Chapter 4. Since not all categories of this model are drawn upon in my analysis, below I give a fuller outline of the model. The categories that have been employed in the analysis have been adequately discussed in Chapter 4 (Sections 4.3 through to 4.6, above). Therefore here a brief commentary is only given for the categories which are not employed in the analytical chapter. These categories are marked with asterisks. Examples were taken from N. Coupland et al. (1991a).

A. Pre-contexts (cf. Chapter 4.4)

Following Disclosure is:

Recipient-Determined

Pre-contextual type:

→Direct Elicitation

→Indirect Elicitation

Textually-Determined	→Need for expressed attribution →Other's previous disclosure of painful experience
Discloser-Determined	→Own previous disclosure of age* →Own previous PSD →Manufactured need for expressed attribution →Previous closed/closing topic reconstituted* →Zero ('out of the blue')

Because of the interactional history of the participants, disclosures of chronological age cannot occur as all participants know each-other's age. Therefore the pre-contextual type *own previous disclosure of age*, is not applicable at the data at hand. As almost all PTs of this project are re-tellings of topics discussed before, at some point in the group's interactional history, the type *previous closed/closing topic reconstituted* is again a non-applicable category.

B. Modes of Disclosure (cf. Chapter 4.5)

Structural Functioning	→Responses* →Initiations*
Staging	→Foregrounded →Non-foregrounded
Elaboration	→Single →Chained →Core component →Core plus →Minimal detail* →Maximal detail*
Stylistic Encoding	→Prosody/paralinguistics* →Non-verbal accompaniment*

Because *responses* overlap with the category ‘recipient-determined’ (elicitation) and *initiations* overlap with the category ‘discloser-determined’ of phase A, they were not recounted. *Minimal* and *maximal detail* overlap, in my opinion to an extent, with the categories ‘core’ and ‘core plus’, discussed in Chapter 4.5. Also this is about a continuum of possible levels of details, and thus binary distinction would be exceptionally hard to make. *Prosodic and paralinguistic* elements (intonation, loudness, speed, pitch, pauses) are very important parameters in the micro-analysis of each sequences but it is difficult to quantify such parameters, as they shift turn-by-turn. *Non-verbal accompaniments* were not easily accessible, as the data were not video-recorded.

C. Recipient Next Moves

Minimal Moves*

- Sympathetic response (e.g. ‘oh dear’)
- Surprise (e.g. ‘good heavens’)
- Neutral (e.g. ‘mm’)

Full Moves

- Initiation maintaining topic* (e.g. request for clarification)
- Focused evaluative response*
- Neutral reformulation* (restating teller’s comments)
- Matched own disclosure*
- Change perspective
- Shift topic
- Switch topic

Following N. Coupland et al. (1991a) the quantitative analysis in this project focused only on the recipient next moves that were close-implicative, which were more easily quantifiable (see phase D, below). The above categories were drawn upon in the microanalysis.

D. Moves Towards Closing (cf. Chapter 4.6)

Discloser Moves

- Change perspective
- Shift topic
- Switch topic

Recipient Moves

- Change perspective
- Shift topic

Both discloser moves and all three recipient moves were used in this research

7.7 Images



- 1:** Tasoulla's house
- 2:** Gregoria's house
- 3:** Loulla's house
- 4:** Myria's house
- 5:** Charoulla's house

Image 1: The main participants' residences (images created using Google satellite maps)



Image 2: Panoramic view of Atalanta, old and new



Image 3: A hill in the outskirts of Atalanta, where artefacts of the Bronze Age and medieval times were found



Image 4: A Byzantine church in the old part of Atalanta



Image 5: Aspects of the old part of Atalanta



Image 6: Aspects of the old part of Atalanta



Image 7: Old tile roofs surrounded by new buildings



Image 8: The local church



Image 9:
Flaounes:
festive Easter
cheese pies,
mentioned in
Chapter 5



Image 10: *Smili* or crochet-needle, mentioned in Chapter 5



Image 11: *Smili* or crochet-needle, mentioned in Chapter 5

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