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Interaction and Linguistic Structures

Turn Continuations:

Towards a Cross-Linguistic Classification*

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Previously published in this series:

1. Introduction: Turn Continuations

In producing turns-at-talk speakers reach points of possible syntactic (or grammatical), prosodic and pragmatic turn completion, i.e. points where a turn can be conceived of as being a complete syntactic gestalt[1] with either a low fall or a high rise in pitch at its end and "interpretable as a complete conversational action within its specific sequential context." (Ford/Thompson 1996: 150). These so-called (complex) transition relevance places (TRPs hereafter) are locations of potential speaker change. Occasionally, however, having reached such a possible turn completion point, a participant may nevertheless decide to continue speaking. In carrying out such a continuation, speakers have two options: They can either produce a new turn constructional unit (TCU) or they can expand the prior turn-constructional unit. In distinguishing between these two options, Schegloff points out that new TCUs start with 'recognisable beginnings', whereas continuations of prior talk do not (1996: 74f). The phenomenon of a turn being provisionally completed but then continued will be referred to here as TURN CONTINUATION (cf. Auer 1996).

The following excerpt, taken from a telephone conversation between two college students, serves to illustrate the phenomenon:

(1) Home (Schegloff 1996:90)
```
1     Ava:  Yeh w'l I'll give you a call then tomorrow.when I get in
2           'r sumn.
3           (0.5)
4     Bee:  Wha:t,
5     Ava:  <I'll give yih call tomo[rrow.]
6     Bee:                          [Yeh:]
7     Bee:  'n [I'll be ho:me t'mor]row.
8     Ava:     [When I-I get home. ]
9     Ava:  I don't kno-w- I could be home by- 'hh three,
10          I c'd be home by two [I don't] know.]
11    Bee:                       [ Well  ] when ]ever. ((etc.))
```

In line 1 Ava says *Yeh w'l I'll give you a call then tomorrow,* arriving at a point where her turn is syntactically complete, is heard as prosodically complete (indicated by the period) and is arguably pragmatically complete. Following this completion,

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[1] The term 'syntactic gestalt' is taken from Auer 1996, who states that "a possible syntactic completion point has been reached when a structure has been produced which is syntactically independent from (i.e. does not project into) its following context." (1996: 60). Just like Auer, I take syntax to be a real-time phenomenon. Syntactic gestalts emerge over time and during their production the predictability of what is still to come gradually increases until a syntactically complete gestalt has been produced.

however, Ava continues speaking and produces *when I get in 'r sumn*. This is what has been called an INCREMENT in the conversation analytic literature (Schegloff 1996, 2001). Increments in this sense are described as "elements of talk added to the TCU and the turn which re-occasion possible completion; that is, which constitute extensions to the TCU or the turn (the two are different) and which themselves come to another possible completion of the TCU or turn" (1996: 90).[2] Turn continuations that expand a possibly complete TCU in prior talk will be called TCU CONTINUATIONS.

Returning now to the excerpt above, following a brief delay shown in line 3 Bee initiates repair on Ava's prior turn (line 4) and Ava subsequently self-repairs with *I'll give yih call tomorrow* (line 5*)*. The fact that Bee now initiates a next turn in overlap with Ava's *tomorrow* provides evidence for the existence of a TRP at this point. But again Ava adds on a temporal adverbial clause *when I-I get home* (line 8). At the end of this increment, she arrives at another point of possible completion for the unit *I'll give yih call tomorrow when I-I get home.* But here too, she chooses to continue speaking. This time, however, rather than expanding the prior unit, she opts for producing an entirely new unit, prefaced by an epistemic discourse marker:[3] *I don't kno-w- I could be home by- hh three* (line 9). Whereas Ava's first two expansions were TCU continuations, this is a new TCU. Turn continuations that are realised as new TCUs not only have independent syntax but also have a looser semantic connection to the immediately preceding unit, whereas TCU continuations prolong or expand the syntactic gestalt of the prior unit and are thus semantically more closely related to it.

The following example shows that not only the same speaker can continue a syntactically potentially complete turn, but also any other participant. Thus, there are same-speaker and other-speaker turn continuations. The latter could be called collaborative continuations.

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[2] Ford/Fox/Thompson also use the term 'increment' in this sense: "any nonmain-clause continuation of a speaker's turn after that speaker has come to what could have been a completion point, or a 'transition relevance place', based on prosody, syntax, and sequential action" (2002: 16).
[3] 'Prefatory epistemic disclaimers' are often found in the first TCU of multi-unit turns that are projecting more talk (Schegloff 1996: 61f).

(2) Crying Boy

"The doctor is examining a boy who is crying as the doctor prods and pulls. There has been no talk for a bit." (Schegloff 2001)

```
1     DOC:   He doesn't like to be manipulated.
2  →  MOM:   at all.
```

With his talk in line 1 the doctor arrives at a point of possible syntactic and prosodic turn completion. Mom adds on to this structure by producing the adverbial *at all* and thus collaboratively continues the prior turn.[4] Subsequently, both the doctor and mom return to silence and the boy continues crying. As this excerpt shows, it is not only the speaker of the current turn but also any other participant who can choose to continue a possibly complete turn. In this case, mom's *at all* is recognised as a TCU continuation because it expands the prior structure.

As a consequence, turn continuations can be characterised and classified as follows.

Turn Continuations
▪ continue a possibly complete turn
▪ can be either same-speaker or other-speaker

TCU Continuations	New TCUs
▪ syntactic and semantic expansions of the prior TCU	▪ syntactically and semantically *un*related to prior TCU
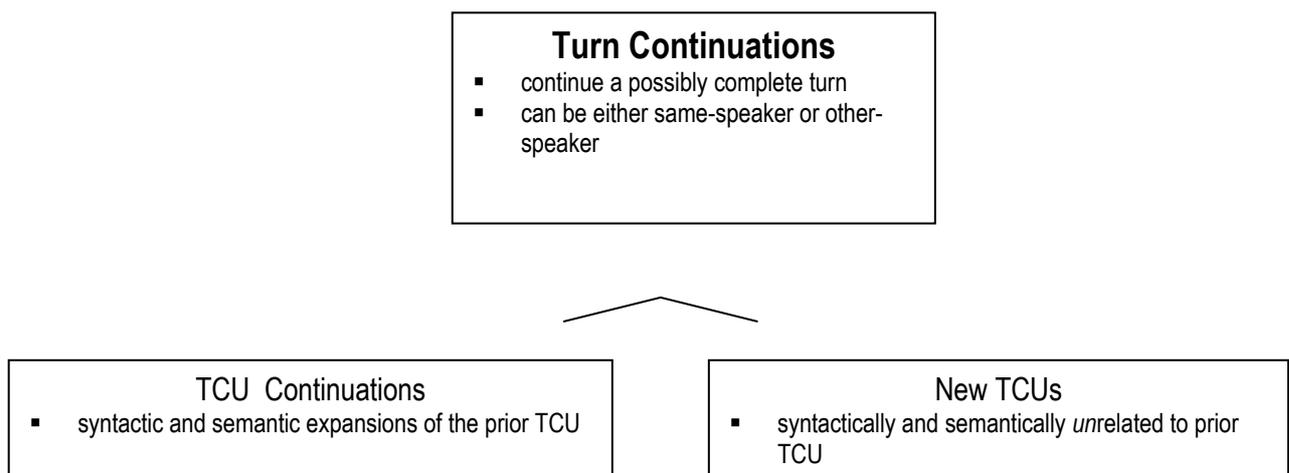
The focus of my paper is on same-speaker turn continuations that syntactically and semantically expand prior structures (for a discussion of ways to continue a turn with a new TCU, see e.g. Schegloff 1996). I will propose a preliminary cross-linguistic classification of such turn continuations based on the examination of everyday talk-in-interaction in English[5] as well as on German (Auer 1996) and Japanese conversational extracts (Ono/Couper-Kuhlen 2002). The examples I will provide in

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[4] See Szczepek 2003 for a study of collaborative turn productions in English conversation.
[5] The so-called 'Holt' corpus, a large collection of informal British English telephone calls transcribed by Gail Jefferson, has been my primary source of data.

support of my claims are mainly taken from English. As different languages provide different lexical, grammatical and prosodic resources for continuing turns at talk, there appear to be skewings within the categories of the cross-linguistic classification depending on what specific resources each language has to offer.

2. TCU Continuations

TCU CONTINUATIONs are syntactically and semantically related turn continuations that expand the prior TCU. Based on an examination of my corpus of spoken English and examples taken from the relevant literature, a subdivision of this category seemed to be necessary. See, for instance, the following examples, in which a possibly complete syntactic gestalt is expanded:

(3) Frightening (from Geluykens 1994: 114)

```
1  → A:    that's very frightening that
2    B:    (…)
```

(4) That girl (from Geluykens 1994: 116)

```
1    B:    ((…)) she's been talking about leaving and going to a
2          train. teacher's training college - -
3  → A:    ((but))she's brilliant that girl
4    B:    I know. well ((…))
```

In these examples, which come originally from the London Lund Corpus (Svartik/Quirk 1980), possible syntactic completion is reached after *frightening* and *brilliant* respectively; arguably the turns are pragmatically complete at these points, too. Yet in both cases more speech is produced. It is true that according to the transcripts the material added is part of the same intonation contour as in prior talk. But the nuclear accent is on *frightening* and *brilliant* respectively, and it could be argued that the turns are possibly complete prosodically at these points, the parts in bold print being tails to the nuclear accents. If so, then these examples could be considered instances of TCU continuations.

Auer (1996) provides a related set of examples from German. He claims that there are turn continuations that internally expand/modify the last constituent of a turn which has been brought to possible completion by a right-hand syntactic bracket.

(5) China 20 (Auer 1996: 76)[6]
```
1      'hh ansónstn von Kuala Lúmpur bis t- Kota Bháru sin
2 ->   so sé:chs acht Stúndn}  mim Bús-


1      'hh apart from that from Kuala Lumpur to Kota Bharu it takes
2       about six or eight hours} by bus
```

(6) Altweiberfasnacht (Auer 1996,79)
```
1 ->   det is fúrchbare fúrchbare Stímmung hier}  im Hau:s


1      there is a horrible horrible atmosphere here}  in the house
```

Auer claims that if these turn continuations are part of the same prosodic contour as prior talk, they do not come off as additions, i.e. they are not heard as having been added on: "When syntactic continuations are prosodically integrated into the previous syntactic gestalt, there is no indication of an expansion at all" (Auer 1996: 75).[7] In examples (3)-(6), the prior unit and the TCU continuation are produced within one intonation contour. I will call such instances NON-ADD-ONS, because they do not come off audibly as additions.

However, there is a second set of examples in my corpus of spoken English. One of these is shown in (7) below. The excerpt is taken from a telephone conversation between Leslie and her mum. In what precedes this excerpt Mum has told Leslie that she suggested that Ann, a close relative of Leslie, send Leslie's children money for Christmas. Leslie has expressed some discontent over this suggestion. In the sequence below she becomes openly disparaging about Ann and her Christmas presents:

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[6] In Auer's transcripts, syntactic completion is indicated by a square bracket. In order not to cause confusion with the transcription conventions I have used, where square brackets indicate overlap, I've changed his square brackets into curly brackets.
[7] As we will see below, an internal expansion of the last constituent of prior talk can also be realised as a prosodically separate 'add-on', i.e. with a break between the host and the continuation (see section 4).

(7) What we shall see

```
1       Les:    .hh Yes but when she sends Mu:m she only ↑se:nds a very
2               little .hh I m' ↑all that talk about (0.2) generosity:
3               (0.6) .t.hhh (.) eh-:-:m she hasn't been at ↑all
4               generous to th'm in that way.
5               (0.3)
6       (M):    °°(Really:)°°
7               (1.2)
8 ->    Les:    .p.hh (.) Anyway we sh'l see.
9               (0.4)
10      (M):    °(Mm:)°
11              (0.4)
12      ( ):    (.t)
13              (0.2)
14->    Les:    .tc[h.hhh (0.2) What we sh'll ((nasal)) see:,
15      (M):       [°(        )°
```

Although Leslie produces several negatively coloured descriptions of Ann
suggesting that she is miserly (lines 1-4), Mum's response is rather non-committal
(lines 5-6). After a longish pause Leslie moves to close the sequence with *anyway
we sh'l see.* At this point she has arrived at possible prosodic, syntactic and
pragmatic completion. However, when Mum first pauses and then provides only a
scarcely audible 'Mm', Leslie continues speaking, producing another clause *what we
sh'll see::,* which functions as a syntactic complement to the prior verb *see*. As there
are several pauses and scarcely audible receipt tokens from Mum between Leslie's
turn and her TCU continuation, a clear prosodic gap is created inbetween. So, unlike
instances of non-add-ons, this type of TCU continuation is set off from prior talk by a
prosodic break. Such TCU continuations will be called ADD-Ons here. I will be using
the term 'host' for the talk preceding such an add-on.

Add-ons are set off from prior talk by a prosodic break producing a bipartite
structure. Prosodic breaks include interruptions of emerging prosodic contours such
as pauses. But also a break in the pitch contour, i.e. a slight step-up interrupting the
declination line of the prosodic contour, can constitute a prosodic break. Moreover,
when a rhythmic pattern (with regular timing) is established in the host but is
disturbed by the added material, there is a prosodic break. If the add-on comes too
late or too early, it may not fit the prior rhythmic pattern and may therefore cause a
break.

By contrast, in non-add-ons there is no prosodic break between the 'prior talk' and the 'continuation'.[8] Note that the term non-add-on is <u>not</u> to be understood as indicating that there is nothing 'added on' at all. In fact, further talk <u>is</u> actually added on to a syntactically possibly complete turn. The term rather refers to this type's prosodic shape: the additional material is <u>not</u> <u>heard</u> as being added on to the preceding talk. In contrast to this, add-ons are TCU continuations that are <u>clearly</u> <u>heard</u> as being added on to prior material due to the prosodic break between host and add-on. Thus, the distinction made on this level of the classification is solely based on prosody.

In my corpus of spoken English non-add-ons are less common than add-ons. Most English non-add-ons, as for example the ones provided by Geluykens (1994), are replacements or repetitions of pronominal forms in prior talk, specifically ones in which the pronoun is replaced by a semantically empty noun phrase or is simply repeated (*emotive right-dislocations*: Geluykens 1994: 113-117, 121-123).

The chart given below illustrates this purely prosody-based distinction between the two types of TCU continuations:

```
                    ┌─────────────────────────────────────────┐
                    │          TCU  Continuations             │
                    │  ▪ syntactic and semantic expansions     │
                    │    of a prior TCU                        │
                    └─────────────────────────────────────────┘
                                      ╱╲
                          ╱─────────╱    ╲─────────╲
        ┌──────────────────────────────┐   ┌──────────────────────────────┐
        │          Add-ons             │   │        Non-Add-ons           │
        │  ▪ prosodic break between    │   │  ▪ no prosodic break between  │
        │    the host and its expansion│   │    prior talk and its         │
        │  ▪ come off audibly as       │   │    expansion                  │
        │    additions                 │   │  ▪ do not come off as audible │
        │                              │   │    additions                  │
        └──────────────────────────────┘   └──────────────────────────────┘
```

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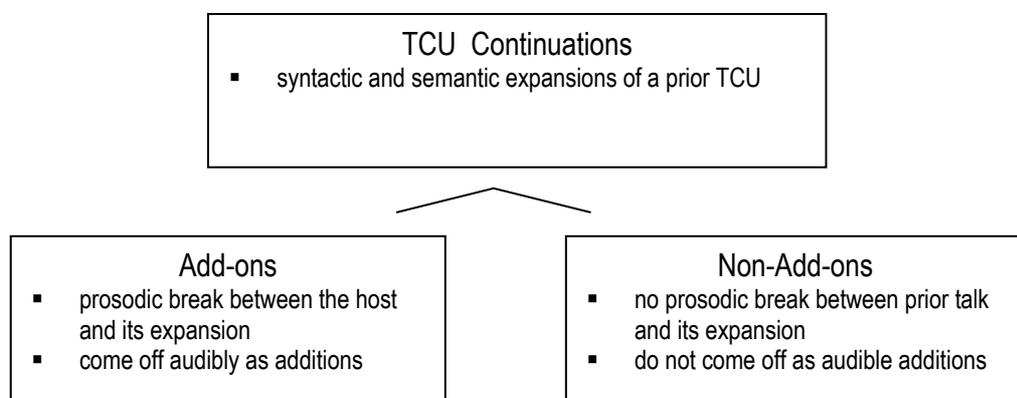
[8] I am deliberately avoiding the terms 'host' and 'increment' here, because in terms of prosody, non-add-ons are not 'bipartite structures'. They are produced as one 'phonetic chunk' (Couper-Kuhlen/Selting 1996:16), or, to use Schegloff's terminology, they are 'through-produced'.

3. Add-ons

Taking a closer look at the instances of add-ons that I found in published data and in my corpus of spoken English, I noticed that again a subdivision needs to be made. Consider, for instance, these examples from Geluykens (1994):

(8) University (from Geluykens 1994: 96)
```
1 → A: /well it's a ´jolly 'nice place # - the/new uni-versity #
```

(9) Films   (from Geluykens 1994: 96)
```
1 -> C:    ((1 syll))/these were 'made all - in the `thirties #
2 ->       these par``ticular 'films #
```

In both of these cases, the added-on part replaces some part of the host. In (4a) the additional unit *the new university* is co-referential with and replaces *it*, in (5a) *these particular films* replaces *these*. I will therefore call such cases REPLACEMENTs. This phenomenon has been called right-dislocation (RD) (Geluykens 1994). In Geluyken's understanding the prototypical case of RD involves a semantically empty or non-specific pronoun being replaced by a postposed noun or noun phrase that specifies it. In less prototypical cases, the replacement may be a prepositional phrase, a gerund or a subordinate clause.

A similar example is given in Schegloff (2001):

(10)
```
1      Nor:  Anyway. hh hh:: yih- ye:s. I see, ye:s. But they're
2            quite big are they real[ly,
3      Ivy:                         [Uh well the're not (.) weeny
4            WEEny ↓lit[tle thi:n:gs you kno:w=
5      Nor:     [°Nu:h,°
6 ->   Ivy:  =they'r- they're smaller th'n Tessa is.
7            (0.7)
8      Nor:  Oh [they ah::re.]
9 ->   Ivy:     [Both of them.] Oh yes.
10     Ivy:  Both a'th'm uhr smaller th'n °Tessa.°
11           (0.2)
```

When Ivy says *they'r- they're smaller th'n Tessa is*, she arrives at a point of possible turn completion. Following this statement there is a short pause, after which Norman starts talking. But in overlap with Norman's turn in line 8, Ivy produces an add-on *Both of them*, replacing the pronoun *they* from prior talk with a noun phrase *both of*

8

them. Ivy's *they're smaller th'n Tessa is. Both of them* is what Geluykens would classify as a prototypical RD.

However, my corpus of spoken English provides an instance of a replacement that Geluykens' classification does not include: in excerpt (11) Gordon is planning on a longer stay in France. In what precedes he tells Susan that he has been in touch with a Frenchwoman whose husband is an architect.

 (11) Bilingual

```
1    Gor:   [An' she said that uh (.) if I r (.) if I decided
2           after the thi:rd year that I wanted to do: my year of
3           practice in-:-: ↓Paris .hhhhhh then it (0.2) would be
4           completely acceptable b'cz all the family speak about
5           half a dozen languages,hh .hh-.hhh S:o I c'd work for
6           hi:m.
7    Sus:   ↑Oh brillian:t. Oh that's good[news.
8    Gor:                                  [.t.plak It's really good.
9           .kl[.k.plp[.k.h
10   Sus:      [Mm::: .[
11                     [((soun[d)) ((Maybe from music in background))
12-> Gor:                    [.klI'd like t'be like that.
13          (0.3)
14-> Gor:   Bilingual.
15          (0.3)
16   Sus:   Ye[:s.
```

At the beginning of this excerpt Gordon is telling Susan about an offer his French acquaintance has seemingly made – that he could work for her husband in Paris and stay with her family. Susan receives this news rather enthusiastically (line 7) and Gordon agrees that *it's really good* (line 8). When Gordon says *I'd like t'be like that* in line 12, he arrives at a point of possible prosodic, syntactic and arguably also pragmatic completion. Yet, after a pause, he continues speaking. The adjective he produces as an extension of this potentially complete turn, *bilingual*, can be understood as replacing a part of the immediately preceding talk, *like that*. In doing so, the add-on specifies it. Yet this is different from what Geluykens conceives of as right-dislocation. All of his lexical referents are nouns, whereas *bilingual* is an adjective and does not replace another lexical item but a prepositional phrase instead. So, strictly speaking, this add-on does not conform to Geluykens' description of right dislocation, although it does replace a part of the prior talk.

It is worth noting that among the three types of right dislocation Geluykens identifies, *emotive RDs* are overwhelmingly 'through-produced', i.e. they are realised in one tone unit and are not divided into two parts by a prosodic break. Thus, these are

non-add-ons (see examples (3) and (4) for instances of 'emotive RDs').[9] So both add-ons and non-add-ons can be replacements; or, to put it the other way around, replacements can be delivered in either prosodic shape.

The data I have examined included a second type of add-on. What makes this type different from replacements is that these add-ons do not replace a part of the host but add further material to it instead. These I will be calling INCREMENTs. The following graph summarises the points made in this section and prepares the ground for the detailed discussion of increments in section 4.

```
                    ┌─────────────────────────────────┐
                    │            Add-ons              │
                    │  ▪  prosodic break between the host │
                    │     and the add-on               │
                    └─────────────────────────────────┘

                              ╱‾‾‾‾‾╲

┌─────────────────────────────┐      ┌─────────────────────────────┐
│         Increments          │      │        Replacements         │
│  ▪  add further material to the host │   │  ▪  replace some part of the host │
└─────────────────────────────┘      └─────────────────────────────┘
```
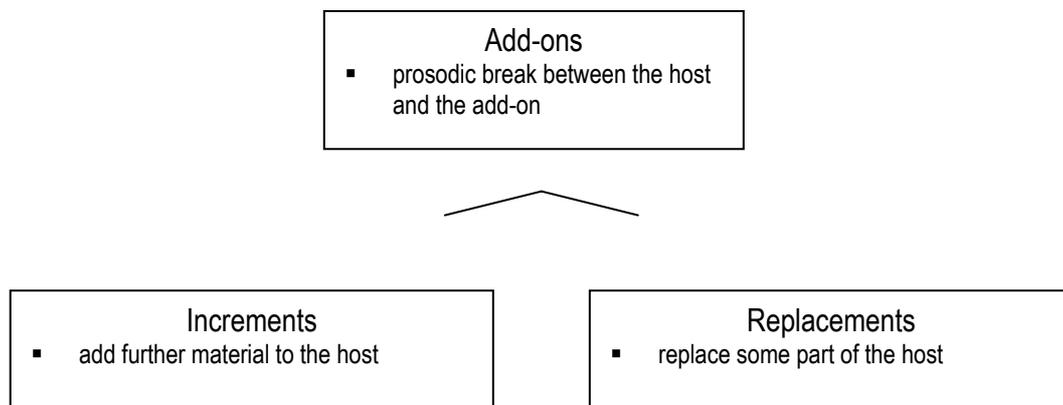
4. Increments

4.1. Extensions (Glue-ons)

Ford/Fox/Thompson (2002) differentiate between two types of increments: *extensions*, which are increments that continue the prior turn in terms of syntax and action, and *free constituents*, which continue neither the syntax nor the action of the prior turn but still show a semantic relation to it. The authors point out that extensions "are done as prototypical 'endings' of a turn, prototypical 'completions'" (2002: 31), i.e. the extension constitutes a possible ending of the turn. In other words, if the host and its increment are joined together, the structure which results is

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[9] Geluykens found that about half of the right-dislocations that accomplish interactional repair show a pause or intervening talk between prior talk (the proposition) and the add-on (the referent). Interestingly, according to him, emotive RDs, i.e. the non-add-ons, do not accomplish interactional repair.

grammatically well-formed. There are a number of instances in my collection which fulfil these criteria, one of which is (12) below:

(12) Stalled car (from Schegloff 2001:4)

```
1       Donny:      Guess what.hh
2       Marcia:     What.
3       Donny:      ˙hh My ca:r is sta::lled.
4                   (0.2)
5       Donny:      ('n) I'm up here in the Glen?
6       Marcia:     Oh::.
7                   {(0.4)}
8       Donny:      {˙hhh}
9       Donny:      A:nd.hh
10                  (0.2)
11      Donny:      I don' know if it's po:ssible, but {˙hhh}/(0.2)}
12  →               see I haveta open up the ba:nk.hh
13                  (0.3)
14  →   Donny:      a:t uh: (.) in Brentwood?hh=
15      Marcia:     =Yeah:- en I know you want- (.) en I whoa- (.) en
16                  I would, but- except I've gotta leave in aybout
17                  five min(h)utes.[(hheh)
18  →   Donny:                      [Okay then I gotta call somebody else.
19  →               right away.
20                  (.)
21      Donny:      Okay?=
22      Marcia:     =Okay [Don
23      Donny:            [Thanks° a lot.=Bye-.
24      Marcia:     Bye:.
```

Donny's car is stalled. He calls Marcia and implicitly asks her to give him a lift to the bank where he works (lines 11-12). The host *I haveta open up the ba:nk.* is a clausal structure, which is expanded after a pause by the addition of a locative adverbial *a:t uh: (.) in Brentwood*. This is a typical glue-on increment. When Marcia declines this request (lines 15-17), Donny says *Okay then I gotta call somebody else,* arriving at another point of possible syntactic and prosodic turn completion. Again, he expands the clausal host by producing a glue-on increment with the temporal adverbial *right away.*

In his 1996 article, Schegloff describes a variant of such an extension. He states that some increments grammatically restructure prior possibly complete talk. To exemplify this, he provides the excerpt reproduced as (13) below:

(13) Classes (from Schegloff 1996: 91)

```
1       Bee:    Mm, tch! I wz gonnuh call you. last week someti(h)me
2               ˙hhh[hh!
3       Ava:        [Yeh my mother a:sked mih I siz I don't know I
4→              haven't hea:rd from her. I didn' know what day:s you
5→              had.˙h[hh
6       Bee:          [Yeh
```

```
7            en I[: didn' know w-]
8→    Ava:       [cla:sses 'r  ] a[nything,
9     Bee:                       [I didn't know when you were
10           hh[ome=
11    Ava:     [Tch
```

This is again an excerpt from a telephone conversation between the two college students Ava and Bee. They have been trying to get in touch with each other but have not managed to do so because of their busy schedules. In lines 3-5 Ava says *Yeh my mother a:sked mih I siz I don't know I haven't hea:rd from her.I didn' know what day:s you had.* At this point she has arrived at a TRP, i.e. her turn is syntactically, prosodically and arguably also pragmatically possibly complete. In line 8, however, she continues speaking – despite Bee's incipient response. With *cla:sses 'r anything* she produces an increment to her prior turn. Schegloff argues that this increment restructures the preceding talk in that the object of the verb *have* changes: in place of *what days* the increment *classes or anything* becomes the complement of *have*. This kind of restructuring does not occur in example (12).

I found a third variant of an increment expansion in my corpus of spoken English that differs from both (12) and (13), although it is still an extension:

(14) Comic Murder
```
1     Les:  .hhh Oh: •next Saturday we're going to um (0.4) .hhh
2           a performance: of the Castillian Players they're doin:g
3→          (.) uh: comic (.) murder.
4     Mum:  Oh:. lovely.
5→    Les:  pla:y,
```

In this excerpt, Leslie is telling Mum about her plans for the following weekend: *we're going to um (0.4) .hhh a performance: of the Castillian Players they're doin:g (.) uh: comic (.) murder*. In line 3 she arrives at a point of possible completion, both syntactically and prosodically. The fact that Mum comes in with a news receipt token *oh:* and an assessment *lovely* at just this point provides evidence for a TRP here. In line 5, however, Leslie continues her turn, restructuring the host-final noun phrase *comic murder* with another noun *play*, which then becomes the head of the NP *comic murder play*. In this example the host and the increment are not only separated by a prosodic break but there is also intervening talk between the two. Yet the noun *play* is clearly heard as being added on to the prior unit. It does not replace a constituent in the host but restructures it instead. Compared to example (8), this is not a restructuring on the clause-level but on the phrase-level.

Note that with examples (12)-(14), added material is located where it 'ought to have been'.[10] Thus, extensions are combinations of host plus increment forming a structure that is grammatical with respect to written and/or spoken grammar. To stress the fact that the grammatical bond between extensions and their hosts is particularly tight and that they are simply 'stuck on' to the host's end, I call them GLUE-ONs. These increments provide further material that is not only semantically but also grammatically tightly related to the host.

Many glue-ons are local or temporal prepositional phrases. According to English sentence grammar, such time and place adverbials are canonically located at the end of a clause. Often they are non-obligatory. When a speaker arrives at a point of possible syntactic, prosodic and pragmatic completion, the structure s/he has produced may - but clearly need not necessarily - correspond to what is conceived of as a clause in traditional grammar.

The observation that the host is often a clausal or sentential structure corroborates Schegloff (2001), who reports having found only a few phrasal hosts and no lexical host at all.[11] It seems that the end of a clause in English is more easily expandable

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North Cadbury
```
1       Joy:    Which one is that. Is that the one that the dih- the:
2               nu:rse, the district ↑nur[se the ]younger ]one
3       Les:                          [T h e ]youn:g o]ne: no: no
4→              hh Missiz Baker's daughter.
5               (0.5)
6→      Les:    Fr'[m North Cadbur[y.
7       Joy:       [hhh           [^Oh:::.  Oh ↑oh oh:,  hhh Oh ^she
8               wants to join do[es she?
9       Les:                    [Yes she did belong to Evvikridge.
10              (0.5)
11      Joy:    ^Oh[::[g r e a : t.]
12      Les:       [ h[ But it got ]very political over the:re
13      Joy:    Oh did it
14              (0.3)
15      Les:    Ye- (0.2) ihYes
```

In line 4 Leslie arrives at a point of possible syntactic and prosodic completion, but after a half-second pause, during which she does not get any recipiency signals from Joyce, she

grammatically by the addition of a local or temporal adverbial. When such phrases are added on to a clausal host they end up at their 'rightful' place according to traditional grammar.[12] This type of increment thus fits positionally and grammatically with its host and provides further non-obligatory semantically related material.

When examining actual talk-in-interaction, one quickly notices that there are cases that look similar to glue-ons but do not fit the category description very well. It may even seem odd to call them glue-ons. Consider, for instance, example (15).

(15) Womaniser (from Walker 2001: 61)

```
1       C:      i don't know whether it's all an act with
2  →            him though or (0.6) or (0.4) i don't know he
3  →            has s:lept with quite a few girls hasn't he:
4               (0.5)
5  →            since he's been here
6       D:      i wouldn't know
7               (0.2)
8               has he
9               (0.3)
10      C:      well i dunno maybe i just get
11              [that impression:
12      D:      [i only know sam but he was
13              s:[l:agging sam off a treat
14      C:        [he slept with: (0.2) with erm (0.1)
15      D:      beth
16      C:      sh:e called jane i think [as well
17      D:                               [which one's jane
```

Preceding this excerpt, talk has concerned a fellow student known to both speakers. In lines 2 and 3 C produces a declarative with a tag-question: *he has slept with quite a few girls hasn't he*, making a response sequentially relevant in next turn. The following half-second pause, i.e. the lack of uptake, prompts the production of an add-on. Here, the increment *since he's been here* (line 5) delimits the temporal scope of the host: The increment modifies the prior turn so that it now inquires into his recent sexual experiences rather than the totality of them. Following the increment, D moves to respond to the now delimited inquiry.

The combination of host and increment given in example (15) is not canonical. From the point of view of traditional grammar, a tag question comes at the end of a

---

continues speaking, adding on a locative prepositional phrase *from North Cadbury* (line 6). Following this add-on Joyce produces a number of receipt tokens.

[12] Although these are typical cases, clearly not all glue-ons in English are temporal or local adverbials. In example (7) above the glue-on is an object complement that is added-on to a clausal host.

sentence and the clausal increment should therefore precede it. Yet there is some indication that the deployment of a tag question may be positionally less constrained in British English, where it is particularly common, than in other varieties. As in this excerpt, it seems to be perfectly acceptable in British spoken discourse to have part of a declarative sentence following the tag question. Support for this is provided by the participants themselves: C receives an answer right after the increment, which shows that D recognises and accepts the declarative+tag question+clausal increment structure as a first pair part in a question-answer sequence.

Instances such as (15) above, however, are problematic for a classification of turn continuations. They cannot be categorised as prototypical glue-ons, because although their sequential positioning may be perfectly acceptable in spoken discourse, it is not canonical. Problems arise for the category of glue-ons when languages have different standards of acceptability for speech vs. writing.

4.2. Insertables

My corpus contains a further set of instances that are clearly not glue-ons. Example (16) is one of them:

(16) The wedding

```
1       Mar:  Uh:m Leslie's been teaching the whole'v this yea:r?.hhhh
2             Uh::: she went in to do uh:: uh a couple a'weeks: for
3             uh:: .hh teacher who had s-back trouble 'n: this teacher
4             had such seve:re t-trouble that she finished up h .hhhh
5             uh:m she's only- she's (0.4) gunna stop hh (.) eeyuh
6             e-the end'v this::: uh m:o:nth.h .hhh[hhhh
7→      Les:                                      [°Well tell'er I
8→            may not b[e able to come]cz there's so m'ch]t'do at]=
9       Dwa:           [ Oh what fr'm ] t a k i n g  over]from'er]=
10      Dwa:  =[(           ) o]r ↓what. ]
11→     Les:  =[s c h o o :l.°]To the we]dding.=
12      Mar:  =SORRY?
13            (0.3)
14      Dwa:  Is is Leslie taking ↓o:ver from her?[or ↓wha[t.
```

This excerpt is from a phone call between Dwayne and Mark. They are talking about Mark's wife Leslie, who has been working as a supply teacher but has just taken over a permanent teaching position that has become vacant due to a fellow teacher's illness. Both Mark and Leslie have been invited to Dwayne's daughter's upcoming wedding. Standing close to Mark, Leslie asks him in a whisper to tell

Dwayne (and his wife) that she may not be able to attend the wedding because of her new job: *well tell'er I may not be able to come cz there's so m'ch t'do at schoo:l* (line 11), arriving at a point of possible prosodic and syntactic completion. Nevertheless, Leslie continues speaking, adding the prepositional phrase *to the wedding* (line 11). Joined together, the host+increment structure is not well-formed from a sentence grammar point of view. In fact, even in spoken English it sounds odd to have the PP *to the wedding*, which complements the verb *come*, placed after the *because*-clause. Yet, this increment can easily be <u>inserted</u> into the host to form an acceptable English structure: *well tell'er I may not be able to come <u>to the wedding</u> cz there's so m'ch t'do at schoo:l.*

Such increments are different from glue-ons, in that when put together with their host, they do <u>not</u> form a structure which a sentence grammarian would consider to be well-formed. They are not where they 'ought to have been'.[13] Yet, they can be inserted into the host resulting in a canonical structure. I will call instances of this type INSERTABLES.

Auer provides examples of insertables in German, including the following:

(17) Seglerinnen (from Auer 1996: 64)

```
        B:      die ham gestern @ zuviel geschnápselt.-
→               wahrscheinlich.
        A:      ja:,

        B:      they had too much schnaps yesterday.-
→               probably.
        A:      yes,
```

(18) Seglerinnen (from Auer 1996: 64)

```
1               A:      der liegt also @ flách
2       →               schon den ganzen Ta:g,

1               A:      he's been lying in bed
2       →               already all day,
```

---

[13] As Auer (1996) has pointed out with respect to examples (17) and (18) below: "It is a matter of dispute whether post-closure continuations of this type [= my 'insertables', S.V.] should be regarded as altogether normal, as exceptional, as marked or even as ungrammatical in spoken German (…) Yet even if one takes the extreme stance that spoken (in contrast to written) German permits post-field constituents without any restraint, there can be no doubt that the sentence adverbial *wahrscheinlich* and the temporal adverbial phrase *schon den ganzen Tag* are produced after a possible syntactic completion (…)" (1996: 64). This point is also valid for English.

The place where the insertable 'ought to have been' is marked in Auer's excerpts with @: "@ marks the canonical location of the expanding structure within the sentence frame according to standard written grammar" (Auer 1996:40).

Interestingly, although insertables are not uncommon in German, my English corpus contains very few of them. There may be a typological explanation for this: in German syntax there is a 'sentence brace' rule according to which the infinitive, past participle, separable prefix or noun phrase of a composite verb form (finite verb plus infinitive or past participle), a verb with a separable prefix or a *Funktionsgefüge*[14], respectively, must be put in clause-final position in verb-second clauses. These elements are said to constitute a right-hand brace demarcating syntactic completion, whereas the finite verb represents the left-hand brace. The so-called 'sentence brace' is a resource for signalling syntactic completion in German. Non-obligatory constituents which are added onto a syntactically complete gestalt beyond this brace 'ought to have been' placed earlier (cf. Auer 1996). Due to the fact that English does not have a sentence brace rule, syntactic gestalts are never definitively complete. Unlike German, clauses can always be expanded by adding on elements such as optional adverbials. For this reason, the endings of turns in English seem to be more hospitable to additions. Adding on to them leads more often to structures that are grammatically acceptable than is the case in German.

According to Ono/Couper-Kuhlen (2002), Japanese everyday talk-in-interaction also has increments similar to those in German. There seems to be something like a right-hand brace in Japanese, too: final particles indicate syntactic completeness and if semantically related elements are produced following them, they must be categorised as additions which are 'out of place', i.e. not where they 'ought to have been'. However, some of these add-ons are not easily classified as insertables, strictly speaking. To illustrate this point Ono/Couper-Kuhlen present the following example:

(19) Koalas and kangaroos (from Ono/ Couper-Kuhlen 2002)
```
1    H:    koara ni  aenakattan          da     ne            ja.
           koala with meet:can:not:past copula final.particle then
```

---

[14] This is "an idiomatic combination of a semantically neutral verb such as *bringen* (…) with a noun, e.g. *in Erfahrung bringen* 'bring into experience, ascertain' " (Auer 1996: 62).

```
2      R:      soo soo
               no   no

3→     H:      kangaruu toka ni
               kangaroo etc. with

1      H:      (She) wasn't able to meet with koalas then
2      R:      no no
3→     H:      with kangaroos and others
```

In what precedes this excerpt, R has been telling H about an acquaintance who was
not able to take a planned trip to Australia. In line 1 H says *koara ni aenakattan da
ne ja* arriving at a point of potential syntactic and prosodic completion. After a
confirmation from R, H continues speaking, producing an increment to his prior talk.
However, in contrast to the other examples presented in this section, here the
increment *with kangaroos and others* <u>cannot</u> simply be inserted into the host. Some
change must be carried out – either on the increment or on the host – to produce a
well-formed structure. One possible way this could be done is given below as (19'):

(19') Koalas and kangaroos (constructed) (Ono/ Couper-Kuhlen 2002)
```
1      koara toka kangaruu toka ni    aenakattan          da       ne          ja
       koala etc. kangaroo etc. with  meet:can:not:past   copula   fin.particle then

1       (She) wasn't able to meet with koalas, kangaroos, and others then
```

For the increment to be insertable into the host, the *ni* of the host has to be replaced
by *toka*, a particle that coordinates nouns in Japanese.[15]

In such cases then a simple insertion does not result in an acceptable grammatical
structure. Increments of this type can only be inserted into the host provided some
change in the host or the increment is made prior to the insertion. In other words,
some reduction or alteration is necessary for increment and host to grammatically fit
each other. I did not come across such instances in English – which again suggests
that this language is much more hospitable to glue-on increments than, for instance,
Japanese - or German, for that matter. Auer presents a similar example from
German:

(20) Antennenkabel (from Auer 1996: 67)
```
1      M:      des auf der éinen Seite is also áußen sonne Hülse,=
2      F:      =j[a,
3→     M:        [rund,
```

---

[15] The second *toka* following *kangaruu* is not obligatory.

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```
1    M:    that's on the one side is you know outside a kind of
            sheath,=
2    F:    =ye[ah,
3→   M:       [round,
```

Concerning this fragment, Auer points out that the add-on, *rund*, is not insertable into the preceding syntactic structure *auf der éinen Seite is also áußen sonne Hülse*. For this increment to fit its host, it would have to be slightly altered. In German, adjectives inflect for agreement in number, gender and case with the noun they pre-modify. In this case, only the form *runde* would be insertable in the host: *auf der éinen Seite is also áußen sonne runde Hülse*. As in the Japanese example above, some kind of operation, this time on the increment itself rather than on the host, is necessary in order for host and increment to fit each other grammatically. Such increments have an even looser grammatical relation to their hosts than insertables proper.

4.3. Free Constituents

A final set of examples that I came across in my corpus of spoken English is illustrated by example (21) below.

(21) Spooky
```
1     Les:  =Oh well Kathrine's got to sleep in her house alo:ne
2           this weekend up in York
3     Tre:  Sorry?
4           (0.2)
5  →  Les:  Kathrine's got to sleep, in:: the house up in York
6  →        alo:ne this weeken[:d.
7     Tre:                     [Oh really?
8  →  Les:  An' she's no-t too-oo ha-ppy about it.=
9     Tre:  =No:.
10          (0.3)
11→  Tre:  House on 'er ow:n.[°Oh G]od.°
12    Les:                    [Ye:s.]
13          (0.3)
14→  Tre:  Spooky.
15          (0.3)
16    Les:  °M[::.°
17    Tre:    [°ehhu-hhu .hhh°
18          (0.4)
19    Tre:  °Dea:r°
```

In this excerpt, Leslie tells Trevor that Katherine, her daughter, has to spend the following weekend alone in her house in York (lines 1-6) and that *she's no-t too-oo ha-ppy about it* (line 8). With this assessment Leslie arrives at a point of possible

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completion with respect to syntax, prosody and pragmatics. After a display of understanding in line 9, Trevor produces two additions - *House on 'er ow:n* (line 11) and *Spooky* (line 14). These additions do not have any grammatical relation to Leslie's prior turn. Yet although they are grammatically unattached, they are only interpretable with respect to Leslie's prior turn: they summarise and characterise respectively the situation Katherine will be in the following weekend.

The phenomenon shown in line 11 has been described as an *unattached NP* (Ono/Thompson 1994), that in line 14 as a *free constituent* (Ford/Fox/Thompson 2002). Both are closely related to the practice of incrementing. For further illustration consider (22) below, from the telephone conversation between Ava and Bee cited above. The fragment starts with Bee announcing a piece of news:

(22) Ten pounds (Ford/Fox/Thompson 2002: 27)
(*bo:way* in Bee's first turn is a marked pronunciation of *boy*)

```
1       Bee:   Oh Sibbie's sistuh ['sister'] had a ba:by bo:way.
2       Ava:   Who?
3       Bee:   Sibbie's sister.
4       Ava:   Oh really?
5       Bee:   Myeah,
6       Ava:   [°(That's nice)°
7→      Bee:   [She had it yesterday.
8→             Ten:: pou:nds.
9       Ava:   °Je:sus Christ.°
10      Bee:   She had a ho:(hh)rse hh .hh
```

Following Bee's news announcement in line 1, Ava initiates repair targeting the person she is referring to. After Bee's repair (line 3), Ava then produces the conditionally relevant response, the newsmark *Oh really?*, but she does so rather unenthusiastically. For this reason Ford/Fox/Thompson (2002) claim that there is a recipiency problem at hand and that Bee – by now providing further detail about the birth, *she had it yesterday* – is pursuing more adequate uptake from Ava. At the end of line 7 Bee reaches a point of potential syntactic, prosodic and pragmatic completion, but she nevertheless continues speaking, producing a free constituent - in this case an unattached NP: *Ten:: pou:nds*. It is only after this addition that Ava provides more adequate uptake *°Je:sus Christ.°*. It is worth noting that Bee's unattached NP is delivered with strongly marked prosody. According to Ford/Fox/Thompson, Bee uses prosodic means to display her stance with respect to the bit of news she is telling Ava, thereby offering "a standard toward which the

recipient could orient in producing a response, a display of the sort or response the speaker is pursuing" (2002: 30).

In Ono/Thompson's line of argumentation, unattached NPs show a strong semantic relation to their hosts because they characterise, assess, ascribe, identify, label, classify, summarise, encapsulate, recapitulate or specify a situation or a referent given in prior talk. In (22), for instance, Bee characterises the baby as remarkably big. However, unattached NPs are 'outside the clause' having nothing to do with 'clause grammar'. They "are neither grammatical predicates nor are they arguments of any grammatical predicates" (Ono/Thompson 1994: 414). But they accomplish predicating work, which makes them semantically related to and dependent on prior talk.

4.4. An Interim Summary

The clear-cut categorisations proposed in Ono/Thompson (1994) and Ford/Fox/Thompson (2002) do not fully capture the complex phenomenon of incrementing, because they deal only with certain rather narrowly defined types which are prevalent in English. Even for the types examined, they have to admit the existence of 'blends', i.e. instances where features from more than one category are intermixed and potentially constitute a new type of increment. Due to this, boundaries between categories become rather fuzzy, which makes the phenomenon hard to capture as a whole.

To resolve this problem, it is helpful to think of the various types of increments as points on a continuum, with glue-ons and free constituents at its extremes and insertables somewhere inbetween. The various types of increments located at different positions on the continuum differ in terms of the grammatical relation they have to their hosts. Whereas glue-ons have a very tight grammatical bond with their host because they fit the host grammatically and positionally, the grammatical relation gradually becomes looser, the further one moves to the right of the continuum. At the right-hand extreme the grammatical relation disappears altogether and host and increment are only related to one another semantically. Thus, the characteristic that all types of increments share is a semantic one: they add on further semantic material to the host. The semantic relation to the host is so close that they can only be interpreted with respect to the content of the prior turn.

With such a continuum the instances that share features of two categories, e.g. of glue-ons and insertables as in example (15), or of insertables and free constituents as in example (20), can be accounted for more adequately. They are located on the continuum somewhere between glue-ons and insertables, or between insertables and free constituents, respectively. The following chart illustrates what such a continuum would look like. The shorter lines between the categories are intended to indicate that there may be an indefinite number of 'in-between' types.

```
┌──────────────────────────────────┐
│          Increments              │
│  ▪  add further material to the host │
└──────────────────────────────────┘
              /\
 ┌─────────┐  ┌───────────┐     ┌─────────────────┐
 │ Glue-ons│  │Insertables│     │ Free constituents│
 └─────────┘  └───────────┘     └─────────────────┘
```
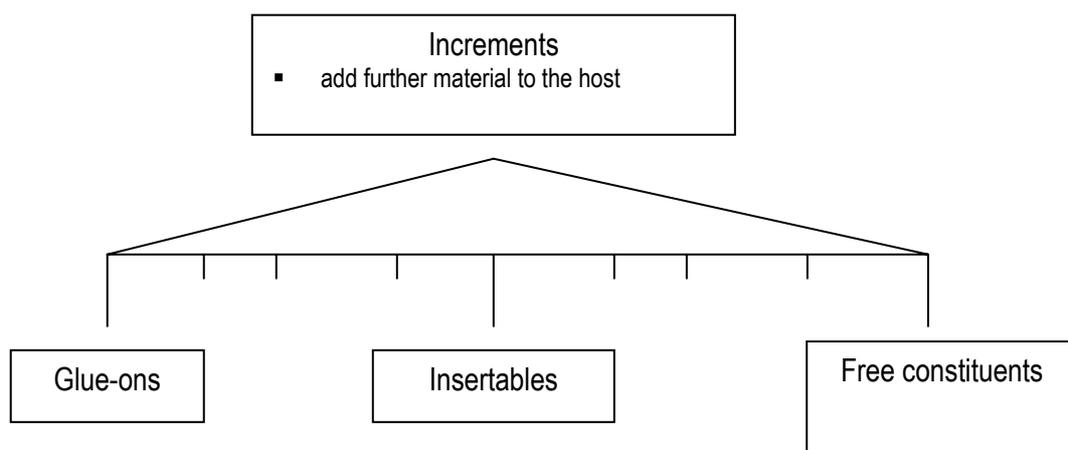
By conceiving of the different types of increments as items on a continuum, much finer distinctions become possible. Glue-ons, for instance, as well as any type of increment that is located somewhere between glue-ons and insertables on the continuum would fall into Schegloff's category of 'increment', which he describes as "further talk (...) fashioned not as a new TCU, but as a continuation of the preceding TCU, (…) by making it grammatically fitted to, or symbiotic with that prior TCU, in particular, to its end" (Schegloff 2001: 11). The notion of grammatical symbioticity implies that the increment fits the end of the prior turn, the host. That is, the host plus its increment can be joined together to build a grammatically well-formed unit. This does not hold for insertables or free constituents, the latter of which, however, Ford/Fox/Thompson clearly categorise as increments.

Thus, the classification proposed in this paper is an attempt to capture the phenomenon as a whole, including glue-ons, insertables and free constituents as well as any in-between type or blend.

5. Summary

The preliminary cross-linguistic classification proposed in this paper has emerged from an examination of English and Japanese talk-in-interaction data, as well as from published German data. I have focused on turn continuations that are not new TCUs but are syntactically and semantically related expansions of the prior TCU, i.e. TCU continuations. Such TCU continuations are produced with or without a prosodic break between prior talk and its continuation (add-ons and non-add-ons, respectively). TCU continuations showing such a prosodic break, i.e. add-ons, can either replace some part of the host (replacements) or simply add on further material to the host (increments). The addition of further material can be achieved in a grammatically 'symbiotic' or 'fitted' fashion (glue-ons) or in a grammatically unrelated fashion (free constituents). Between these two extremes there are other types of increments, among them insertables, elements that – if they are to be integrated with the host – must be inserted into it.

Free constituents do not fulfil the criterion of being syntactically related to prior talk, although they bear a strong semantic relation to it and cannot be interpreted independently. However, this category does not fit smoothly under the cover term TCU continuation, because as free constituents they are not grammatically related to the prior turn and therefore do not fulfil the criterion of being a syntactically related expansion of it. So the category of free constituents shares features with TCU continuations, i.e. a strong semantic relation to prior talk, as well as with new TCUs, in that there is no grammatical relation to prior talk. In the graphical synopsis of my preliminary cross-linguistic categorisation of turn continuations (given in the appendix), free constituents are therefore connected to both TCU continuations and to new TCUs. The dashed line is intended to indicate a rather loose connection to both categories.

6. Conclusion

Languages provide specific sets of lexical, grammatical and prosodic resources for continuing turns at talk. One way of accomplishing a turn continuation may be found predominantly in one language, whereas the same type may be rather rare or even non-existent in another language. Thus, there are clear skewings within the

categories of the preliminary cross-linguistic classification I have presented, depending on what resources each language has to offer. For example, insertables are relatively common in German, but are rather rare in English, where the majority of increments are glue-ons. However, there is a language-independent factor that all TCU continuations share: due to the syntactic and semantic relation they have with prior talk, they cannot be interpreted as standing on their own. Therefore, they are not considered to be new TCUs in their own right but additions to a prior turn.

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8. Appendix

8.1. Graphical Overview

Turn Continuations
- continue a possibly complete turn
- can be either same-speaker or other-speaker

TCU Continuations
- syntactic and semantic expansions of prior TCU

New TCUs
- syntactically and semantically *un*related to prior TCU

Add-ons
- prosodic break between the host and its expansion

Non-Add-ons
- no prosodic break between prior talk and its expansion
- do not come off as additions

Increments
- add further material to the host

Replacements
- replace some part of the host

Glue-ons
- grammatically fitted to or symbiotic with the host's end

Insertables
- not grammatically fitted to the host's end but can be inserted in the host

Free constituents
- not grammatically related to their hosts