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Constituency and the Grammar of Turn Increments

CECILIA E. FORD, BARBARA A. FOX,
& SANDRA A. THOMPSON

Much work in linguistics of the last fifty years has relied on the notion of grammatical "constituents," hierarchically organized groups of words and phrases. Since the 1930s, "constituent" has generally been understood as a schematic group of words which is:

1. identifiable in terms of characteristic distributional properties as a recurrent part of a larger unit
2. identifiable as a coherent unit in terms of three types of groupings: syntactic, semantic, and prosodic.

This two-part understanding of constituent incorporates both the insight that a "constituent" is a *part of* a larger element (1) and the insight that it has *internal* "coherence" (2). The notion of "constituent" has proven itself to be valuable to analysts, both within the generative paradigm (see, e.g., Radford 1988, 1997) as well as within a discourse-functional framework (see, e.g., Givón 1995; Nichols 1986; Payne 1990). Langacker (1995, 1997) notes that syntactic distributional criteria for grouping clusters of words may not always coincide with semantic and/or prosodic groupings. He proposes the term *classic constituent* for a cluster of words in an utterance in which all three groupings coincide. We will also find this concept useful in our analysis.

Moreover, studies from within the Conversation Analysis (CA) tradition have provided evidence for how such "classic constituents" might actually be oriented to by participants as a resources for social action in a conversation. That is, CA studies have shown that what linguists would label grammatical constituents can be formats for strategic interactional functions. Turn taking is a closely monitored and coordinated joint activity, with many turn transitions achieved without any overlap or silence; when overlaps or gaps emerge, they are patterned and accountable. Thus, gap-free turn transition and turn changes that involve overlaps or gaps are all interactionally exploited alternatives.

What conversation analysts, beginning with Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974), have suggested is that grammatical constituency (though they have not used this linguistic terminology) is central to the projection of points of possible turn completion (see also Ford and Thompson 1996; Selting 1996). In two influential contributions, C. Goodwin (1979, 1981) demonstrates the variety of interactional factors at work in projecting the ends of syntactic units and in extending a turn beyond the first location of potential turn change ("transition relevance place" [Sacks et al. 1974]). Goodwin's research suggests that turn completion and turn extension are coordinated through at least a combination of gaze and syntax in face-to-face interaction. Some of his key examples of "added segments" are, in fact, "classic constituents," such as Noun Phrases (NPs) and adverbials.

Similar patterns of constituents as added segments are evident in the examples cited by M. Goodwin (1980). In that article, she examines the ways that speakers and recipients mutually coordinate their contributions to description sequences, with speakers adding segments to their assessment turns so as to arrive at completion while their recipients are making appreciative contributions. Lerner (1987, 1989, 1991, 1992, 1996a, 1996b) shows how collaborative turn sequences, turn units produced by two or more speakers, provide evidence for the role of syntactic units in projecting completion points. The collaborative turns he analyzes include units whose structures are projected beyond the first point of syntactic completion, such as adverbial clauses. Ford (1993) points to the work of adverbial clause turn extensions as resources for managing emergent disagreement, while Couper-Kuhlen (1996) looks at the complex manner in which prosody contextualizes *because*-clause constituents coming after main clauses in English conversations. Mori (1999) and Tanaka (1999) analyze interactional functions of additions to turns in Japanese conversations, and Auer (1996) examines the information management aspects of turn continuations in German. Fox and Jasperson (1995) and Fox, Hayashi, and Jasperson (1996) offer evidence that "classic constituency" is relevant in analyzing the way English interactants organize turn completion. And Ford, Fox, and Thompson (1996) explore the relationship among possible turn completion, constituency, and features of prosody, gaze, and sequential action.

Against the backdrop of this research in linguistics and CA, in this chapter we provide further evidence that constituency is functionally exploited by participants in naturally occurring American English conversations; that is, we will suggest that participants in a conversation use constituency (or nonconstituency) as an interactional resource.

The constituents we will be exploring all occur as what Schegloff (1996) terms "increments," constituents that are added to turns that, at a just prior point,

are interpretable as possibly complete syntactically and prosodically and as possibly complete actions in a local interactional sequence (Ford and Thompson 1996; Tanaka 1999). As noted earlier in this chapter, upcoming points of possible completion are carefully constructed and monitored by interactants. Social meaning is attached to turn transitions; the "meaning" of a turn can depend on whether the speaker begins just at the termination of the previous turn, in overlap with that turn, or only after a pause. A consequence of this split-second timing (Jefferson 1973) is that a speaker will listen and watch for cues as to whether a recipient is about to begin a turn, and if such immediate uptake does not seem imminent, the speaker may add a unit, thereby producing a new point of completion.

In this chapter, we examine the interactional use of increments and suggest that the way these increments are used by speakers tells us much about the motivations for the sorts of groupings that linguists call (classic) constituents as well as about how speakers exploit grammatical resources in the systematic way they add more talk to what is hearably an already-complete utterance.

Let us now turn to a consideration of what constitutes an "increment."

What Are Increments?

For the purposes of this work, we define an increment as a nonmain-clause continuation after a possible point of turn completion. That is, an increment will be defined here as 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 (see Sacks et al. 1974; Orestrom 1983; Ford and Thompson 1996; Tanaka 1999). In English such added increments may take the form of simple NPs; they may be prepositional phrases, signaled at their beginnings with a preposition; or they may be subordinate clauses, often introduced by a subordinating morpheme.

In this chapter we will be more concerned with portion (1) of the characterization of "constituent" given earlier: the way in which "constituents" emerge as recurrent portions of material in larger units. By focusing on this aspect of "constituent," we can distinguish two kinds of increments in our data. The first are what C. Goodwin (1981: chap. 4) and M. H. Goodwin (1980) have termed "added segments" and Schegloff (1996) has termed "extensions." Following Schegloff, we will call these Extensions as well. They are increments that are interpretable as continuations of the immediately prior possibly completed turn. That is, they can be heard as syntactically and semantically coherent with what has come before. In example (1) the extension is in boldface:

(1)
Bill said that he was at least goin' eighty miles an hour.
⇒ **with the two of 'em on it.**

In this example, the speaker comes to a place of possible completion at the end of hour. At this juncture, the utterance is hearably complete syntactically (a complete

clause), prosodically (low falling intonation), and pragmatically. Nonetheless, the speaker speaks again. Crucially, when he speaks, he does so not with a syntactically independent unit but rather with what can be heard as a syntactic continuation of what had looked like a syntactically complete turn. He produces with the two of 'em on it, which can be interpreted as an adverbial continuation of he was at least goin' eighty miles an hour. For our analysis, then, Extensions can be thought of as constituents of prior turn units.

Compare example (1) with our second kind of increment. In these contrasting cases, as with Extensions, the speaker comes to a place of possible completion and speaks again. However, in the second type of increment what is added is not interpretable as a constituent of the possibly completed turn. While there is a range of grammatical types that can occur in this environment, we will focus on what appears to be the largest subclass of these syntactically independent constituents, those that Ono and Thompson (1994) have called "Unattached NPs."[1] These are NPs that occur as increments after a place of possible completion but that are not interpretable as syntactic constituents, or syntactically integrated continuations, of that immediately prior turn.[2] Consider example (2):

(2)
Curt: °(Oh Christ)° fifteen thousand dollars wouldn't touch a Cord.
(0.7)
Curt: That guy was (dreaming).
fifteen thousand dollars [for an original Cord.
Gary: [Figured he'd impress him.

Although *That guy was dreaming* is possibly complete in terms of syntax, prosody, and sequential action, the speaker adds an increment. In this example the increment is not a possible syntactic constituent of *That guy was dreaming*. Rather than being a continuation of the prior clause, or what we term an Extension, the increment in example (2) is an Unattached NP.

Figure 2.1 summarizes the distinction we have made. To roughly determine the relative frequencies of the types of increments we are discussing, we used a separate and previously coded audio data base from Ono and Thompson (1995). In that data base, out of a total of sixty-four increments, forty-five were Extensions and nineteen were Free Constituents, and of Free Constituents, a great majority (fifteen) were Unattached NPs.

Increments (64)
Extensions (45)
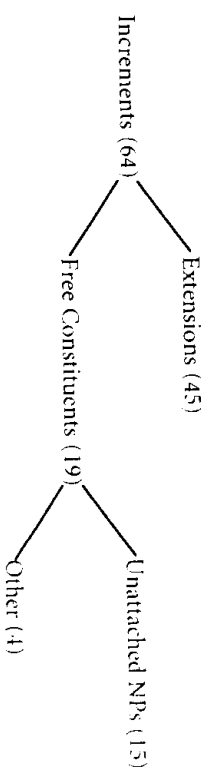Free Constituents (19)
Unattached NPs (15)
Other (4)

Figure 2.1   Types of increments.

In looking closely at constituents added past points of possible completion in the current data, we have found systematic interactional tasks that correspond to the formal and semantic dichotomy of Extensions and Unattached-NP increments. Our collection of cases offers support for the claim that speakers use the structural resources of English to perform different interactional tasks, making use of Extension increments and Unattached NP increments in documentably distinct ways.

In terms of function, what the two types of increments have in common is that they emerge in environments where *recipiency* is a particular issue; that is, increments are added where there are identifiable problems faced by the speaker in pursuing uptake from a recipient (Heath 1984; Pomerantz 1984). Our data suggest, however, that speakers exploit the formal distinction between Extensions and Unattached NPs for interactional ends. Neither type of increment is interpretable as standing on its own; that is, neither can be taken in context as the beginning of a new and independent clause; but what we have found and will attempt to illustrate here is that Extension increments, as *constituents of* the preceding clause, continue the action of that turn, while Unattached NP increments, though not new turns, do the functionally separate action of assessing or commenting on the prior turn material.

The next section ("Increments as Extensions") examines some of the interactional work accomplished by increments as Extensions, and "Increments as Unattached NPs" examines the interactional work done by Unattached-NP increments. In "A Comparison of Increments as Extensions and Unattached NPs" we point to the importance of semantic properties for the notion "Extension." "Prosody and Increments" briefly considers prosody. In the final section, we discuss some implications of our findings.

The data for this study consisted of five videotaped conversations and one audiotaped telephone conversation among friends speaking American English.[5] The speakers are all in their twenties or thirties.

Increments as Extensions

Extensions turn out to be relatively common; we were able to make a collection of forty Extensions, culled from our conversational data base. While all of our Extensions fit the definition given earlier—that is, they are increments that can be heard as syntactic constituents of the immediately prior turn—the Extensions themselves are of a variety of syntactic types, including NPs, adverbs, adverbial phrases, prepositional phrases, relative clauses, and adverbial clauses. Some further examples from our collection follow (the Extensions themselves are given in boldface):

(3)

Have you been to New Orleans?
ever?

(4)

We could'a used a little marijuana.
to get through the weekend.

While our instances of Extensions are heterogeneous in terms of their internal makeup, they are quite homogeneous in their ability to serve as what Tanaka (1999:87) calls "recompleters"; that is, units that are added after a turn has passed through a possible transition-relevance place and "recomplete" that turn. So our Extensions can all be heard as "constituents of" the preceding utterance.[4]

We would like to emphasize that Extensions appear to be interactionally homogeneous as well: The one kind of interactional work they all seem to be engaged in is pursuing uptake by continuing the action of the just possibly-completed turn. In other words, they are attempted solutions to a lack of displayed recipiency. The speaker may be pursuing acknowledgment of or uptake to his/her utterance, pursuing a gazing recipient, or dealing with some other kind of "trouble" with the way the utterance so far is being treated by the addressees. For example, Goodwin (1979) provides illustrations of Extensions being related to the pursuit of a gazing recipient, and Ford (1993: chap. 5) discusses the ways in which adverbial clause Extensions are used when there is some perceived trouble with recipiency, such as lack of uptake, which provides an interactional warrant for further elaboration. In example (5), for instance, S adds an *if*-clause after failing to receive any acknowledgment or uptake from the recipient (taken from Ford 1993: 108; see appendix at end of chapter for transcription symbols):

(5)

S: Ya know when it- (.) came from the:: I think air conditioning system, it drips
    on the front of the cars?
    (.)

⇒ S: **If you park in a certain place?**
    R: Mm hmm

Ford argues against the notion of "afterthought," a term that draws attention away from the interactional factors involved in turn construction; she suggests that researchers need to consider how such increments could be "products of speaker–recipient negotiation specifically aimed at achieving interactional ends" (ibid.: 102). And one of those interactional ends is clearly pursuing uptake.

Let us now turn to a discussion of some of the Extensions in the current data to see in more detail the recipiency work that is being accomplished here.

Example (6) comes from a videotaped conversation known as "Chinese Dinner," so named because in it two heterosexual couples and two children are eating takeout food from a Chinese restaurant. These are data shared with us by Charles and Marjorie Goodwin, and our thinking about this example is entirely based on the groundbreaking interactional analysis in Goodwin 1981: 134–135 (also discussed in Goodwin 1989, 1995). The meal takes place at the home of John and Beth; the other couple, Ann and Don, are guests. Ann is visibly pregnant. In the fragment we will be concerned with, Ann is holding her hands to her waist; John is asking her a question and by doing so is proffering a topic for further talk:[5]

(6)

John: An' how are you *feeling?*
    these days,
    (0.4)
Ann: Eat! I can't—I don't have a waist anymore,

In this example, John comes to a place of possible completion at the end of *feeling.* At this juncture, the utterance is possibly complete syntactically (a complete clause), prosodically (high rising intonation), and pragmatically (the first part of an adjacency pair, a fundamental interactional sequence (Schegloff and Sacks 1973)). After a pause, John adds *these days,* which can be retroactively integrated into the previous clause as a temporal adverbial.

Just prior to this fragment, one of the children present has been talking. Ann and Don have been attending to the child. Ann leans back and touches her waist, and John begins a new sequence with his question. As John's turn reaches possible completion after *feeling,* Ann, the intended recipient, is looking down at her plate. Thus, John has come to a place of possible completion without a gazing recipient, a condition that is regularly oriented to by speakers as problematic (see Goodwin 1979, 1981). Moreover, there is no uptake or response from the recipient (Figure 2.2).

This utterance is a wonderful example of the extent to which speakers will go in order to correct such problems. As John comes to the end of *feeling,* he starts to put a piece of food into his open mouth. Finding that he does not have a gazing or responding recipient, he removes the food from his still-open mouth and continues the utterance, using the Extension *these days.* It is possible that the movement of the food serves as a "hitch," a momentary break in the progressivity of an action (Goodwin 1979, 1981), which attracts Ann's gaze.[6] In fact, Ann brings her gaze to John just as he begins the Extension.

Figure 2.2. *Ann (far left) looking down as John (middle) completes* feeling.

Because speakers regularly treat the lack of gazing recipient as problematic, any Extension of the turn here would deal in some minimal way with the possible problem, offering a renewed point of possible completion, where the recipient might now meet the gaze of the speaker. The Extension in example (6), however, is designed to elicit the recipiency of Ann in an interesting manner. The question *An' how are you feeling?,* on the one hand, could have been meaningfully addressed to either Don or Ann; hence it is possible that Ann, hearing that particular question without seeing John's gaze direction, might not have found herself to be the intended recipient. *These days,* on the other hand, clearly specifies Ann as the recipient—Ann is pregnant, and it is a commonly held belief among members of this culture that a pregnant woman may feel many different ways in the course of her pregnancy. Thus, time (*these days*) and feelings changing over small periods of time may be relevant topics of discussion to direct toward a pregnant woman, in contrast to, for example, a (nonpregnant) man. And Ann apparently hears the Extension in just this way—she hears it as about her pregnancy, which she demonstrates with her answer (*Eat*).

A similar but alternative analysis is also available. Since Ann's gaze has already been secured by the beginning of the Extension, it is possible that John's Extension serves not to specify Ann as the recipient but to further specify the topic that is being proffered. *These days,* in this interpretation, could thus serve to further specify the question/topic proffer.

Whatever the best analysis for the Extension is, it is clear that John produces an Extension to his turn because of lack of displayed recipiency or uptake from Ann. Moreover, John can be heard to be continuing the same turn as before *and* continuing the same action as before, namely, a question/topic proffer. A continuation of the same action is done through the resource of syntactic Extension: continued action is done in the form of a constituent of the prior syntactic unit. This is a pattern we find throughout the data—continued action done with continuing syntax. We thus see that "constituency" can be usefully viewed as arising from interactional work that speakers do in real time and that is expandable in real time.

While the Extension in example (6) is in the form of an NP, it is not interpretable as an Unattached NP, since it provides a temporal adjunct in a syntactically integral manner for English. This case provides us with an opportunity to underscore the importance of both semantics and syntax for interpreting increments. While NPs may be Unattached (see "A Comparison of Increments as Extensions and Unattached NPs," below), the NP in example (6) is an Extension, a "continuation of," because it relates back to the previous turn unit as a temporal adverbial. Temporal adverbials are regularly included at the ends of intonationally and syntactically coherent units, that is, units without possibly complete subcomponents as marked by prosody. Consider example (7), in which temporal adverbials are, in fact, produced as parts of single syntactic and prosodic units, without gaps and, in one case (a), with the rest of the clause "wrapped around" the adjunct:

(7)

    Adverbial NPs
    (a) they went **the next day** to find (0.2) what room I lived in (SN4:311)

(b) I only went out one night.   (SN4:387)
(c) I've been thinking 'bout it everyday.   (AR:192)

It is precisely the recurrence of adverbial NPs as fully integrated constituents of larger utterances that makes them useful formats for adding increments as Extensions of prior actions. In contrast, in the case of Unattached NP increments ("A Comparison of Increments as Extensions and Unattached NPs"), there is no possibility of syntactic integration with the prior turn material.

Our next Extension, in example (8), was introduced as example (1) and comes from the videotape known as "Auto Discussion," also provided to us by the Goodwins. This tape was made in the seventies at a backyard picnic in central Ohio. When the tape begins, there are three heterosexual couples present; the women gradually remove themselves from the picnic table, leaving behind the three men. The men's conversation revolves for the most part around cars and the "guys" who build and race them. Just prior to the following fragment they have been discussing one such guy, a guy by the name of Little. Little with his snowmobile raced some other guy has just told a story about how Little owns a snowmobile, and Gary with a motorcycle, on dry land, and *Little beat his ass!* In the interactional moment, Gary has not been very successful in securing enthusiastic reciprency from his interlocutors, but Curt eventually displays appreciation for Gary's story with *Those snowmobiles are fast.* Gary now offers another story:

(8)

> AD: 36
> Gary: Well he took Bill (Silvio), a good friend of mine, he weighs about two
> hunderd'n s::(0.5) two hunderd (fifty)-five pounds I think he weighs. 'Took
> him for a <u>ride</u> on that'n Bill said that he was at <u>least</u> goin' <u>eighty</u> miles an
> <u>hour</u>.
> **with the ↑ two of 'em on it.**

As noted, Gary was faced with a lack of displayed appreciation and uptake at crucial points in his earlier story about Little and the guy with the motorcycle. In the fragment given in example (8), Gary is again faced with problems in reciprency: the two other men present, Curt and Mike, are not looking at Gary at all until the turn comes to a place of possible completion (at *hour*), at which point only Curt looks over to Gary. But at this point Gary is looking toward Mike; thus, Gary has the problem of reaching a point of possible completion while directing his gaze toward a nongazing recipient (Figure 2.3). Gary has thus not yet secured an appropriately appreciative audience.

Gary then adds an Extension. *With the two of 'em on it,* an increment in pursuit of an appropriately appreciative audience. This Extension emphasizes what Gary is treating as the remarkable aspect of the event he is sharing—that a snowmobile could go that fast even with so much weight on it. Gary withdraws his gaze from Mike while producing the Extension, approximately at the word *'em (them),* and finds Curt as a gazing recipient (Figure 2.4). The Extension thus continues the action of the previous turn unit and provides a new place of possible completion,

Figure 2.3.   Gary directing his gaze at Mike, a non-gazing recipient (*left to right: Curt, Gary, Mike*).

where appropriate recipiency could be displayed (and, in fact, is displayed, albeit by a different recipient).

The intonational and gestural components of Gary's Extension can be interpreted as indicating salience. The Extension reaches its highest pitch on the word *two,* while the hand configuration that accompanies the Extension is iconic (McNeill 1992), being two fingers pointed downward and slightly apart, like two men on a snowmobile. The gesture also has a "beat" component to it, an up-and-

Figure 2.4.   Gary gazes toward Curt, a gazing recipient (*left to right: Curt, Gary, and Mike*).

down motion with the hand configuration maintained, which McNeill would analyze as a speaker-indication of importance. So Gary has built this Extension to draw attention and to elicit recipiency. These gestural features of the Extension enable it to do the work of pursuing recipiency in a fashion specifically tailored to prompting the actions relevant on completion of a story: assessment, appreciation, and displays of understanding (Jefferson 1978).

In this case, then, as in example (6), an Extension increment is used in order to address the problem of lack of appropriate recipiency; the Extension addresses the recipiency problems by continuing the action of the turn and providing a second and place of possible completion, where another speaker could offer a show of alignment with the unfolding story. Gary's Extension thus provides another location at which he might secure an appreciative response from one of his recipients.

Our last example of an Extension increment, (9), comes from a videotaped interaction known as "Game Night." This tape was made in 1995, at the home of two of the participants, Terry and Pam, a lesbian couple. During this interaction, Terry, Pam, and three other women friends are playing a game of Pictionary. In the fragment we will be examining, the group is taking a break from the game because Pam is talking on the phone and one of the other participants, Cindy, is leaving to get ice cream. Three participants remain seated at the game table (Terry, Rachel, and Abbie); Cindy is off-camera, preparing to leave. The participants have been discussing a picture on the wall, drawn by the ten-year-old nephew of Pam and done in the style of Toulouse-Lautrec. The question of whether the boy copied a real Toulouse-Lautrec drawing or did an original drawing in the style of Toulouse-Lautrec has come up. Terry has suggested that he was studying Toulouse-Lautrec in school, and the talk continues:

(9)

Cindy: But still to be able to pr- reproduce it like that
Rachel: [Wow.
Terry: [It was cool. (.) We were very impressed. (.) He's an artistic little guy.
         (0.2)
Rachel: I should say so.
         (2.2)
Rachel: Is that his name? John Holms? ((reading from picture))
         (0.2)
Terry: Yup.
         (0.8)
Abbie: [Ah:
⇒ Terry: [We had him, (.) this summer, (1.5) for five weeks.
         (0.8)
⇒   when we were out at the campground?
         (0.4)
⇒ Rachel: Oh really.
Rachel: Where.

At the first arrowed line, Terry starts to tell a piece of news about this young nephew, possibly prefacing a story. The turn is not possibly complete at *him*, since

pragmatically that would not be a complete action at this sequential location; the turn is ambivalent as to whether or not it is possibly complete at *summer*, since prosodically *summer* does not come to a terminal rise or fall (it also has the same rise-fall profile as *had him* but does not come down as low as *him*, creating, to our ears, the perception of it being a next but not the last part of a list). Furthermore, just at the completion of *summer*, Terry withdraws her gaze to look upward, displaying a search or calculation of some kind (Goodwin 1981:79; Argyle and Cook 1976:122). She thus treats this turn space as her own and not as a transition-relevance place. After the production of *weeks*, Terry brings the turn to a place of possible completion, with her gaze toward Rachel (first arrow). But Rachel, the recipient whose gaze Terry has secured, produces only a slight lateral head movement and no other uptake at this point. After a fairly long silence (second arrow), Terry adds the Extension increment *when we were out at the campground?*, which ends with the rising intonation characteristic of "try-marked" (Sacks and Schegloff 1979) turns, turns that are built to elicit at least minimal tokens of uptake. Immediately upon completion of this Extension, Terry receives a more aligned uptake from Rachel (*Oh really*). In this example, then, as in the other cases, the speaker comes to a place of possible completion, receives no uptake from the intended recipient, and produces an Extension to the possibly completed turn. The Extension is syntactically continuous with the prior turn unit, treating it as still ongoing in syntax and in action. Terry's Extension provides a second transition-relevance place and thus a second opportunity for her recipient to offer a response.

To summarize the discussion so far, we have found the following interactional features in all of our examples of Extension increments:

• They occur in the environment of lack of uptake at a transition-relevance place.
• They provide a second transition-relevance place, at which the recipient could display recipiency.
• Rather than doing a new action, they continue the action of the extended turn, often by further specifying when, where, or with whom the event being related took place.

Grammatically, we find that adjuncts—prepositional phrases, adverbial NPs, and adverbial clauses—that *could* have occurred as *constituents*, as integral parts, of clauses (as shown in example (7)) are used by speakers as Extensions. Through this grammatical and interactional practice, speakers display that what they are doing with the Extension is not to be heard as "starting something new" but rather as a continuation of what they had just been saying.

Increments as Unattached NPs

The examples we have been examining are instances of increments that could serve as grammatical constituents of a turn in progress; such increments work retroactively on the previous turn unit, the one that was possibly complete, reinterpret-

ing that unit as still in progress. In contrast, the next set of examples illustrates a different kind of increment. While they pursue uptake from a recipient, Unattached-NP increments do not do so by extending the syntax or the action of the previous turn segment. In these cases, the speaker comes to a place of possible completion and then adds an NP that cannot be interpreted as a syntactic part of the just possibly-completed turn; that is, the NP is not a syntactic "constituent of" that turn. In our data, we have found that Unattached-NP increments do a distinct kind of interactional work: in addition to providing an additional transition-relevance place, a new point at which a recipient could display appropriate responsiveness (after lack of uptake), Unattached-NP increments also display a stance toward what has just been said or an assessment of a referent from the previous unit. This stance display serves as a standard or model of alignment for the recipient, a model for the kind of response the speaker may be pursuing from the recipient.

Our first example of an Unattached-NP increment, (10), previewed in example (2), comes from "Auto Discussion." Mike has just told a story about a guy with two original Cords (a valued car from the 1930s). In the story, a guy from California comes to Ohio with $15,000 cash in hand to buy one of those Cords, in spite of the prior warning from the owner of the Cords that such an offer would be a waste of time. As predicted, the owner rejects the offer of $15,000. Although it is not possible from the video to see to whom Mike's gaze is directed during the story, both Curt and Gary are acting as engaged recipients during the course of the story:

(10)

Mike: The guy ended up turnin' around'n goin back 'cause [he wasn' about to
     sell it.

Curt: [°Oh Christ), fifteen
     thousand dollars wouldn' touch a Cord.

                       (0.7)

⇒ Curt: That guy was (dreaming).
     fifteen thousand dollars [for an original Cord,

Gary: [Figured he'd impress him,

In this excerpt, Mike comes to a place of possible completion not only of a turn but also of this story. As Jefferson (1978) and others have noted, possible ends of stories are interactionally delicate spaces; appreciation of the story is relevant, as is a return to turn-by-turn talk. In this fragment, Curt provides an appreciation of the story by showing that he understands the significance of it (*Oh Christ, fifteen thousand dollars wouldn't touch a Cord*). But Mike does not acknowledge or second Curt's displayed understanding (perhaps because Curt's appreciation ends up in overlap with the completion of Mike's turn). Curt thus tries again, at the arrowed line; he again offers an understanding and stance toward the story just told (with *That guy was (dreaming)*), possibly in pursuit of a second appreciation or assessment from Mike. But Curt's turn also gets no ratification or second from Mike. Curt then adds an Unattached-NP increment—*fifteen thousand dollars for an original Cord*. Curt produces this Unattached NP in a scornful tone, and it pro-

vides yet another display of Curt's assessment of and stance toward the "antagonist" of the story, a display that can be seen as a prompt for the sort of action the recipient might take at this point. Notice that there is no syntactic integrity between this increment and the clause that Curt has just completed.

Why does Curt use an Unattached-NP increment here? In English conversations, as pointed out in Ono and Thompson (1994), Unattached NPs at the ends of turns tend to be used for assessing, evaluating, summarizing, labeling, and classifying. As we have suggested, Curt's Unattached-NP increment, *fifteen thousand dollars for an original Cord*, can be seen as a display of specific appreciation for the outlandishness of the antagonist's actions: Curt's Unattached NP is indeed serving to summarize, evaluate, and assess the absurdity of anyone thinking they could get a Cord for fifteen thousand dollars. Given that the NP increment is produced in the context of Mike's lack of uptake of Curt's first appreciation display, we can see this upgrade of assessment and stance being used as a strategy for attracting and even modeling recipiency action.

Example (11) comes from an audiotaped conversation known as "Two Girls." In this conversation, two women, who used to be friends but who have not been in touch for a while, are talking on the telephone. In example (11), Bee begins with an announcement that is also a topic proffer:

(11) (*tag·way* in Bee's first turn is a marked pronunciation of *boy*)
  1 Bee: Oh Sibbie's sistuh ['sister'] had a baιby boυway.
  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:: pounds.
  9 Ava: °Jesus Christ. °
 10 Bee: She had a hc(hh)rse hh .hh

As an announcement sequence, this fragment is problematic from beginning to end. It is common for announcements to be done in an expanded sequence type, starting with a pre-announcement (such as *Guess what.*). A pre-announcement is itself a first pair part, which makes relevant a second pair part from the recipient, namely a go-ahead (or pre-emption of the prefaced news, in case the recipient has already heard it). It is generally after such a go-ahead that the announcement itself is produced (cf. Terasaki 1976; Levinson 1983; Schegloff 1996). Notice that in this example the announcement (*Oh Sibbie's sistuh had a baby boway*) is done without being heralded by a pre-announcement; this may partially account for the problems of recipiency that ensue.

Now it has been argued (Terasaki 1976) that an announcement or a piece of news is also a first pair part, which makes relevant as a second pair part an assessment (e.g., *that's great*) or a display of appreciation or interest (e.g., *oh really?*) with respect to the news. Whether or not we make this argument, notice that in example (11) the response from Ava at line 2 (*Who?*) is not an assessment but is rather that

ever-possible but dispreferred response, the Next Turn Repair Initiator (NTRI) (Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks 1977). An NTRI indicates trouble with the preceding turn and requests that the next turn be taken up with addressing the trouble. Because it is concerned with initiating repair rather than with doing the next expected action, it temporarily delays the progress of the sequence.

Thus line 3 provides a redoing of the problematic reference (*Sibbie's sister*) rather than a further action in the announcement sequence. With the redoing of the reference, the announcement's sequential relevance is reinstated, and at line 4 we might expect Ava to produce the now-delayed appreciation/assessment. Ava's *Oh really?* is a slight display of interest, a kind of appreciation to the degree that it orients to the newsworthiness of the announcement. However, this response is of such an undifferentiated sort that it indicates no clear stance toward the event—it is not possible to tell if Ava finds the event positive or negative, a joy or a misfortune. This may be because Bee did not indicate what stance *she* was going to take toward the news, a framing that often takes place in the pre-announcement.[8] After responding to Ava at line 5, Bee then speaks again at line 7 (overlapping a contribution from Ava that is extremely difficult to hear but sounds like *That's nice*, an even less appreciative response to the news than her earlier *oh really?*) with *She had it yesterday*. There is no uptake from Ava here, and Bee speaks again (line 8) with an Unattached-NP increment, *Ten: pounds*. This NP qualifies as Unattached in that there is no way to interpret it as a syntactic continuation of the prior turn segment. The phonological prominence given to this NP—created by the steep increase in pitch on *ten* and the sound stretches on both *ten* and *pounds*—is indicative of assessment activity (see Goodwin and Goodwin 1987, 1992), and it is clear that the baby's weight is being constructed as worthy of note. Thus, although it remains somewhat unclear what stance Bee is taking to the birth in general, we now have a clear affective stance toward the size of the baby: he is remarkably big. And this finally gets an appreciation from Ava, who produces a very quiet *Jesus Christ*, acknowledging the remarkableness of the size.

In this example, then, we see an Unattached-NP increment that provides another place of possible uptake after a noticeable lack of uptake from the recipient. This NP increment can again be seen as a comment and display of the stance that the recipient might take toward the speaker's turn. The Unattached NP, produced with a markedly high pitch, works nicely to prompt an affective display from the recipient.

Example (12) is from the "Game Night" conversation. This fragment comes from earlier in the discussion about the artistic young nephew of Pam:

(12) Rachel: The Cafe de Yin Yang? When he was tw- ten?
      Terry: Yeah.
             (0.8)
      Rachel: [That is really something.
      Terry: [An' an' note the uh
             (0.5)
      Rachel: Is that [a real feather on there?
      Terry: [Y'see on the dress? the yin yang? symbols?

⇒ Terry: I was so impressed.
⇒   (1 mean) this kid.
          (1.2)
    Rachel: Ten years old.
    Terry: °Yeah.°

Rachel: Oh my go:sh.

Just prior to this fragment, the participants have been talking about the dust on Cindy's coat (Cindy is the participant in the process of leaving to get ice cream). There is a slight "lull" in the conversation after that, and then Rachel, settling into a position looking at the remarkable drawing on the wall, asks a question that is also a topic proffer—*The Cafe de Yin Yang? When he was tw- ten?* Her question and gaze draw the attention of the other two participants at the table to the drawing on the wall. In fact, during *An' an' note* Terry starts to get up from her chair to go over to the drawing to point out something she too finds remarkable about the drawing. While Terry is doing that, Rachel seems to guess at what that remarkable thing might be—*a real feather* is suggested. But Terry goes on to bring attention to the *yin yang* symbols drawn on the figure's dress (and does not explicitly answer Rachel's question about the feather). Rachel displays appreciation for this detail with *Oh my gosh*. Terry gives the upshot of her noticing with *I was so impressed*, delivered at a much higher pitch register than her previous utterance, and she starts to return to her chair. Rachel gives no verbal response to this but does an appreciative wrinkling of the eyebrows and lateral head shake. While it is unclear from the video exactly what Rachel's gaze is focused on during that head shake, it seems that she is still looking at the drawing on the wall while Terry is talking. If this is true, then Terry has reached a point of possible completion without a gaze-secured recipient.

So there are potentially two dimensions along which Terry could view Rachel's response as not entirely satisfactory. First, Terry may view the bit of appreciative behavior from Rachel as inadequate to the "impressiveness" that has just been displayed. And second, Rachel may be gazing at the drawing rather than at Terry. What is clear is that the end of Terry's turn (at the first arrow) is not immediately met with a next verbal turn. This places special responsibilities on Terry for engendering continued talk; that is, her turn has failed to be sequentially implicative (Schegloff and Sacks 1973).

In the environment of no immediate next turn, Terry produces the Unattached-NP increment we are interested in—(*1 mean*) *this kid*. We take the possible occurrence of *I mean* before the NP (parentheses indicating uncertainty of hearing) to be an epistemic "discourse marker" rather than being interpretable compositionally as a subject and main verb (Schiffrin 1987; Redeker 1991). The NP *this kid* cannot be interpreted as a continuation of the prior turn segment, nor can it be seen as a repair replacement of any syntactic constituent of the prior unit, which is a possible interpretation of an NP that follows *I mean*. This Unattached NP is produced at the same high pitch as the segment before it and with *gaze* toward Rachel. With this particular pitch pattern, it serves to provide a further stance display toward the referent (how amazing and impressive this child is). It displays

Terry's stance and may thus serve as a standard toward which the recipient should orient in producing her response.

What we have seen so far suggests that Unattached-NP increments have the following features in common with Extension increments:

- They occur in the environment of lack of uptake at a transition-relevance place.
- They provide a second transition-relevance place, at which the recipient could display recipiency.

But unlike the Extension increments, these Unattached-NP increments seem to be recurrently used for an additional purpose:

- They display an assessment and stance with respect to the referent. They offer a standard toward which the recipient could orient in producing a response, a display of the sort of response the speaker is pursuing.

A Comparison of Increments as Extensions and Unattached NPs

From the preceding discussion it can be seen that increments as Extensions and Unattached NPs are similar in certain facets of the interactional work they do, and yet they also differ in interactionally consequential ways. They are both used in the environment of problems with recipient uptake, and they both provide for another place of possible completion, a new location at which the recipient could produce a responsive turn. This is the turn-taking work that they both accomplish. But why might speakers use one or the other of these two kinds of increments? How are these resources distinct with respect to how they function in their sequential environments?

We propose that the format of an increment is iconic with the interactional work that increment does. A speaker comes to a point when his/her recipient could, but does not immediately, begin a responsive turn. This presents a problem to which there is more than a single solution. The Extension format embodies continuation of a same action rather than the performance of a new, next, or even repeated action. As "continuations of," Extensions created *renewed points of possible completion* without producing new actions. Just as they are syntactically done as constitution, or continuations, of the "same" turn, so are they interactionally heard as part of the "same" turn. In fact, it is possible that, interactionally, adding an Extension retroactively "deletes" the last place of possible completion and makes the end of the Extension hearable as the "first" real place of possible completion for the turn, thereby masking the interactional trouble that the lack of uptake could represent.

In contrast, Unattached-NP increments are not constituents, or continuations of, their prior turns; they are not syntactically integrated into the prior segment, and they do not necessarily continue the action of the possibly completed turn. In our data, Unattached-NP increments embody the performance of a new action, one of assessing and stance-taking toward a referent. Even if the possibly completed

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prior turn is an assessment and the Unattached-NP increment may in some sense do the same action, it is nonetheless presented as a further assessment rather than as a continuation of the first assessment. The syntactic form of an Unattached NP, a unit not integrated into the prior turn unit, is well tailored to its interactional function. That is, a less syntactically integrated form does a less interactionally integrated action. Whereas Extension increments add more of the same form and action, Unattached-NP increments are not formally connected to the prior turn segment, but they do function as continuations in pursuit of uptake by modeling the type of stance or assessment that the speaker is pursuing from his/her recipient.

Another dimension of this form–action relationship can be found if we look in greater detail at the kinds of phrases that occur as Extensions and as Unattached-NP increments. Extensions are done as prototypical "endings" of a turn, proto-typical "completions." We would then expect them to be done with semantico-syntactic items that can be easily interpreted as "endings" or "completions." And this is in fact what we have found: Extensions are regularly done with prepositional phrases, temporal or locative adverbials, infinitival clauses, relative clauses, and other subordinate clauses—all of which regularly occur at the ends of turns in utterances in general. This is in keeping with our observation that Extensions often further specify where, when, or with whom the event being related took place. Even when simple NPs are interpretable as Extensions, as with *these days* in example (6), they are regularly temporal phrases.[9] Consider the following examples of tempo-ral NPs that serve as Extensions in example (13):

(13)

   (a) Ah, John wz determining that.
       a minute ago.

   (b) I gave, I gave up smoking cigarettes::
       I-uh one-one week ago t'day.
       actually.[10]

   (c) Mm, tch! I wz gonnuh call you.
       last week someti(h)me .hhhh!

As we have attempted to underscore in this discussion, Unattached-NP in-crements in our collection are not possible constituents of their prior turn segments, and they are never temporal or locative phrases. They are either NPs that express a stance or attitude (often with prosodic salience), as with *this kid* (example [12]) or NPs that express degree or amount, as with *ten pounds* (example [10]) or *fifteen thousand dollars for an original Cord* (example [10]). Both are often found in assessments (Goodwin and Goodwin 1987, 1992; Pomerantz 1984); how good or impressive something is can be indicated by an epithet NP or by an expression of its quantity or size. It is thus clear that, even if we compare only NPs in the two collections, there is an important difference in the semantic classes exhibited in them.

In this semantic sense, then, an interaction-based understanding of added constituents requires more than an analysis of the internal syntactic structure of an increment. For example, in order to account for the fact that *these days* is a con-

stituent of its immediately prior turn while *ten pounds* is not, we need to recognize that *these days* is a temporal phrase, while *ten pounds* is a term of degree or amount. We cannot rely entirely on the fact that both are NPs to help us decide if they are continuations of the prior turn or not.

Prosody and Increments

For another perspective on the cases in our collection, we can explore the Extension versus Unattached NP distinction further by examining the prosodic formats of each increment type. Based on important research on prosody and turn completion (especially Auer 1996; Couper-Kuhlen 1996; Ford 1993; Ford and Thompson 1996; Ford et al. 1996; Local 1992), we would expect there to be prosodic correlates to the distinction we are proposing between Extensions and Unattached NPs. In particular, Extensions and Unattached NPs may differ in terms of pitch reset. The Extensions, which are syntactic continuations of the immediately prior possibly completed turn, would be uttered with the pitch of the first accented syllable at the same pitch as, or lower than, the last accented syllable of the just-completed turn. In contrast, the Unattached NPs, which are not syntactic continuations and which, we have argued, can be interpreted as new conversational actions, may be uttered with pitch reset (cf. Couper-Kuhlen 1996 for pitch reset in two types of conversational actions in *because*-clauses; we are grateful to her for valuable discussion of this point).

In the cases we have examined, there is indeed some support for these expectations. For example, the pitch patterns in four of the six cases we have closely examined here are in line with these predictions. The two exceptions are both Extensions (examples [6] and [8]). Unfortunately, in both of these the sound quality does not allow us to extract a pitch trace (an acoustic measurement of fundamental frequency), but auditorily they appear to be counterexamples. In one of these two, namely example (6), with *these days*, testing our predictions is complicated by the overall pitch rise in this utterance (see note 4). The other problematic instance is example (8), with *with the two of 'em on it*, where *two* sounds distinctly higher in pitch than the preceding accented syllable. This example, repeated here, is especially interesting because it is a kind of "blend" of our two types of increments: the increment is a prepositional phrase, which is a canonical example of an Extension, but it contains a numeral which forms part of an expression of stance, as we have argued that our Unattached NPs do.

(8)

    Gary: Well he took Bill (Silvio), a good friend of mine, he weighs about two hunderd'n
    s::(0.5) two hunderd (fifty)-five pounds. I think he weighs. Took him for a ride
    on that'n Bill said that he was at least goin' eighty miles an hour.
    with the ↑ two of 'em on it.

We surmise that the pitch reset could be related to the stance-expressing function, which "overrides" the continuation-of-same-action function that we have suggested Extensions usually have.

Constituency and the Grammar of Turn Increments

At this point, then, we take the existence of prosodic correlates to be worth pursuing further, but with our current data base we are not able to make a case for a clear correlation. We keenly anticipate future research that will shed additional light on this question.

Conclusions

In this chapter we have examined a common occurrence in conversation, the addition of more talk by a single speaker in the interactionally sensitive and consequential location of a just possibly-completed turn. As Sacks et al. suggest in their 1974 account of turn-taking, one important functional component of a turn at talk, a central concern for a speaker in producing a turn, is that there be a subsequent and responsive turn by a recipient. Increments added past points of possible turn completion offer one way of dealing with the interactional contingency that emerges when uptake is not immediately forthcoming upon possible turn completion. Not surprisingly, given the manifold sequential contexts for turns and the manifold actions that can be taken in turns, increments are not homogeneous in form or function.

In this study, we have explored some of the ways that increments are used in a sample of American English interactions. We have found interactional consequences for variation in the form of increments and in their relationships with just-completed turn units. Looking at the classic constituents that are used as increments, we have found that while they always address problems of recipiency and uptake, they deal with such problems in distinct and iconic ways. Specifically, increments that are syntactic Extensions of prior turn segments function as action continuations, adding more to the same turn action. As integrated continuations of syntactic structures, Extensions produce renewed opportunities for recipient uptake, but they do not produce new or different actions. In contrast, when speakers produce Unattached NP increments, the actions characteristically involve stance displays or assessments. Thus, these nonintegrated increments are vehicles for accomplishing separate actions, actions such as assessing or displaying a stance that can provide recipients with a model or standard for the type of response the speaker is pursuing.

We have emphasized that the way in which Extension increments can do their interactional work is related to the recurrent use of these same types of phrases and clauses as integrated parts of larger utterances. This is clearly a language-specific matter. Work on grammar and interaction in Japanese has suggested a radically different way of using "added segments" for interactional goals, given the radically different way in which Japanese grammar emerges from interactional patterns (see especially Hayashi 2000, 2001; Mori 1999; and Tanaka 1999 for insightful discussions). We look forward to much more research on conversation in a wide range of languages to uncover the way in which grammatical resources and interactional patterns work together to allow speakers to accomplish their interpersonal goals.

Our work here has been in the spirit of seeking functional contexts and sources for recurrent linguistic resources. We have provided support for the interactional

relevance of the classic notion of constituent and for the distinction between Extensions and Unattached NPs in English, in the interactionally salient context of increments to possibly completed turns. To the degree that we have been able to show the interactional relevance of the analytic category of constituent, one dear to us as linguists, we hope to have contributed to the enterprise of building a truly functional account for recurrent linguistic patterns, an account that we believe should be well grounded in the natural social-interactional habitat of language use.

Appendix: Transcription Symbols

Symbol	Interpretation
( )	A short, untimed pause
(0.3)	A timed pause
hhh	Audible breath
thi-	Hyphen indicates a sound cut off
[	The onset of overlap
she	Underscore indicates prominent stress
°she°	Degree signs indicate lower volume than surrounding talk
she:	Colon indicates sound stretch
.	Low falling intonation
¿	High rising intonation
?	Intermediate intonation contours: level, slight rise, slight fall
Bold	Bold type highlights increments in the examples

NOTES

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1. For Unattached NPs in Mandarin and Finnish conversation, see Tao (1996) and Helasvuo (2001), respectively.

2. Ono and Thompson (1994) actually use the term *unattached NP* to cover all NPs that are produced without a predicate (except, for example, in answers to questions where the predicate is clearly recoverable from the question). In the current study, we are looking only at a subclass of their unattached NPs, namely those that occur as increments, interpretable as additions to a prior possibly completed turn, though syntactically unintegrated.

3. Supplementing our own data, we are grateful to Charles and Marjorie Goodwin, Robert Jasperson, and Emanuel Schegloff for generously sharing their data with us.

4. Tanaka (1999), however, does use the term *extension* in a slightly different way from the way we are using it here.

5. While rising intonation is not usually associated with Wh-questions such as John's in this example, there is indeed a rise in the pitch contour at the end of this turn. We do not have an explanation for the use of this intonation in this instance. We have omitted a simultaneous conversation between Beth and one of her children.

6. We are used to thinking of verbal repair when we think of "hitches." But it is possible that a body movement repair could also accomplish the work of a hitch.

7. This redoing of reference provides a natural example of the phenomenon observed by Labov (1966) in his famous study of r-lessness in New York City: In our example, we can see that the first reference formulation is r-less, while the second, done in response to an NTRI, is r-ful.

8. It is possible that the unusual phonetic production of *lady leway* is also some clue to Bee's stance toward the event, but it is unclear at least to us as analysts exactly what that stance might be.

9. In our audio increment data base, out of forty-five extensions, seven are NPs, and four of these seven NPs are temporal phrases such as *these days* or *ten years*.

10. See Goodwin (1979, 1981) for the groundbreaking analysis of this example, which provided the stimulus for much of the research into "added segments" and grammatical resources.

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3

Cultivating Prayer

LISA CAPPS & ELINOR OCHS

A central function of language is to establish and maintain a sense of continuity and well-being throughout the life course. Language provides a medium for making sense out of past events and coping with the unpredictability of the future. This endeavor involves sorting out temporal-causal orderings of events (i.e., what did/did not or will/will not happen) and imbuing them with moral castings (i.e., what should/should not have happened or should/should not happen). All levels of language are recruited to this end, including genre (Bakhtin 1981, 1986). Every community has a repertoire of genres that organize particular events and trajectories in terms of conventional structurings, understandings, and sentiments. These communally sanctioned templates can be soothing to those who are working through disarming events. Beyond offering structural containment, genres facilitate collective involvement in grappling with events remembered and anticipated.

Distinct from other genres, public prayer offers a template for recruiting support from the Divine as well as from community members. Prayer is a form of communication in which there is a conscious and active attempt to enter into dialogue with higher powers. In its ideal form, "prayer is religion in act . . . no vain exercise of words, no mere repetition of certain sacred formulae, but the very movement itself of the soul, putting itself in a personal relation of contact with the mysterious power" (James 1902/1982:361). While in that quote William James emphasizes the personal relation of contact, communities the world over attend