PRACTICES IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF TURNS: THE "TCU" REVISITED[1]

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1. Introduction

This study began with a simple question that has been on our minds, individually and collectively, for some time: What are the basic units of talk-in-conversation? Units in conversation must be understood as usable for the construction of joint activities, not merely as packages of information to be parsed. Features of turn construction are adapted to such functions as displaying responsiveness to other turns and making interpretable contributions to an ongoing interactional sequence. Furthermore, timing of speaker onset is crucial to the making of meaning in conversation, whether that onset is produced in overlap, after some gap, or precisely at the point where a current speaker stops. It has been manifestly clear for some time that, for the description of the basic units of talk-in-interaction, neither a strictly syntactic/semantic nor a strictly prosodic approach to conversational units will suffice by itself (Schegloff 1996); "sentences" and "clauses" are only part of the picture, but "tone units" (Crystal 1969; Cruttenden 1986) or "intonation units" (Chafe 1987, 1988, 1992, 1993, 1994; Du Bois et al. 1993) are also only part of the picture. The basic conversational unit must be an amalgam of at least these two types of units, but its niche in a developing interactional context must also play a major part in its construction.

An obvious place to turn for discussion of this question is to Conversation Analysis (CA), since this framework has concerned itself intensively with the organization of turn-taking. In their celebrated and highly influential paper outlining the practices underlying conversational turn-taking, Sacks et al. (1974) propose a model in which turns at talk are analyzed as being made up of "turn-constructional

units" (TCUs), a "unit-type with which a speaker may set out to construct a turn" (p. 702). The Sacks *et al.* treatment of the notion of TCU places syntax in a central position. Syntactic units allow for the prediction of possible completion points in advance of their arrival and thus contribute to the precise exchange of speakership, with pauses and overlaps carrying interactional meaning:

> Unit-types for English include sentential, clausal, phrasal, and lexical constructions. Instances of the unit-types so usable allow a projection of the unit-type under way, and what, roughly, it will take for an instance of that unit-type to be completed. Unit-types lacking the feature of projectability may not be usable in the same way. (Sacks et al. 1974: 702)

While Sacks et al. do not 'define' the TCU as syntactically based, the passage above, the further discussion of the TCU in that article, and its treatment in subsequent literature have all strongly implied a syntactically-based view of the TCU. This fact allowed us to consider the TCU seriously as the basic grammatical unit of conversation that we were looking for: A unit of syntax, "albeit a syntax conceived in terms of its relevance to turn-taking" (Sacks et al. 1974: 721). Furthermore, we felt that as linguists we could perhaps provide input to a definition of TCU, and that that would be our contribution toward answering the question of what constitutes turn units.

However, things did not work out that way. And the reasons they did not are significant and interesting. First and foremost, in looking closely at possible cases of multi-unit turns, we found numerous contingencies to be in operation as further segments of talk are produced by the same speaker. In fact, one reason that Sacks *et al.* did not define a TCU was because it was seen as a unit which is contingent and interactionally achieved, by its very nature always negotiable:

> The turn-unit is of a sort which (a) employs a specification of minimal sizes, but (b) provides for expansion within a unit, (c) is stoppable (though not at any point), and (d) has transition places discretely recurring with it, (e) which can themselves be expanded or contracted; all of these features except the first are loci of interactional determination. By virtue of this character, it is misconceived to treat turns as units characterized by a division of labor in which the speaker determines the unit and its boundaries, with other parties having as their task the recognition of them. Rather, the turn is a unit whose constitution and boundaries involve such a distribution of tasks as we have noted: that a speaker can talk in such a way as to permit projection of possible completion to be made from his talk, from its start, allowing others to use its transition places to start talk, to pass up talk, to affect directions of talk etc.; and that their starting to talk, if properly placed, can determine where he ought to stop talk. That is, the turn as a unit is interactively determined. (Sacks et al., 1974: 726-7)[2]

Indeed, for users, participants in interaction, the ultimate 'indefinability' of TCUs is essential to their functionality. Interactants regularly extend, foreshorten, reanalyze, and repair their developing turns in response to contingencies emergent at particular points in particular conversations. It is the fact that TCUs are interactionally achieved that makes TCUs and turns impossible to precisely define

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[2] We are grateful to Emanuel Schegloff for bringing this passage to our attention in the context of this discussion.

and precisely predict. Rather than a static set of resources to be deployed, TCUs are best understood as ephiphenomena resulting from practices.

A second source for the difficulty we had in answering the question of how many TCUs we found in particular turns involved the role of syntax in such a determination. In looking at turns in our database, we were not able to convince ourselves that syntax was playing a more central role than a range of other interrelated systems in projecting turn trajectories and possible completion points. This range of factors included constellations of pragmatic, prosodic and gestural cues.[3] Thus, we found it problematic to describe points of possible completion without considering the sequential location and the interactional import of an utterance (we use the term "pragmatics" to cover these facets of talk). For example, in (1) below, one of the participant gets up from her seat at the picnic table and says *I gotta go* (first arrow). Looking at the developing turn, we can say that *I* might constitute a complete turn in some imaginable interactional environment and that *I gotta* may also be possibly complete in some contexts (for example, in the sequential slot just after an accusation of the sort: *Why are you leaving me?*). But in the particular sequential location of this turn in this conversation, neither *I*, nor *I gotta* is possibly complete. It takes a contextual and an interactional notion of completion for one to recognize that in the present utterance, possible completion will not be reached until a complement to the verb *gotta* is produced. That is, how syntax is heard as projecting possible completion depends in great measure on the sequential location and the interactional import of the utterance under construction.

(1)

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Pam:  .hh Oh yeah you've gotta tell Mike tha:t.  Uh cuz they
      [want that on fi:lm.
Car:  [Oh: no: here we go ag(h)        [(h)ain o(h)o(h)o.hh=
Cur:                                   [Huh huh huh huh
Gar:  =I      [don't thin    k it's that funny.
Car:          [ O h :        [ :,
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[3] Schegloff (p.c.) has suggested that the claim that syntax is primary in the way participants assess ongoing speech for potential turn ends is supported by the Sacks et al. (1974) claim that next speakers tend to start at the ends of syntactic units; Sacks et al. suggest that the data show that places where "next speakers begin (or try to begin) next turns" recur at possible completion points" of "sentences, clauses, phrases, and one-word constructions" (p. 721).

Sacks et al. (1974) provide five examples to illustrate this claim, but to demonstrate it, two further steps are necessary, which have not yet been taken, as far as we know. First, it is necessary to do a systematic study of where next speakers do come in relative to current speaker's talk, and second, it is necessary to "control for", or factor in, prosody. Based on evidence provided in Ford & Thompson (1996), there is reason to believe that those syntactic boundaries where speakers do come inn will in fact be prosodic boundaries as well, and that next speakers are orienting to at least the convergence of syntactic and prosodic cues for timing the location of their starts. If this is so, then there would again be no reason to reify syntax as the primary factor in projectability. At any rate, until such a study has been conducted, we must all remain agnostic on this point.

It should be noted that, although Sacks et al (1974) treat syntax as the key resource for projection of upcoming completion, they also acknowledge the role of intonation in the projection of turn units (721). And more recently, Schegloff (1988, 1996) notes the importance of "pitch peaks" in projecting the imminent possible completion of TCUs in certain cases.

-->Pam: [I gotta go t'the joh: [n before I hear <u>tha</u>[t again.
-->Car: [You'll like it, you'll   really like it.

Finally, in our search for TCUs, we discovered that focusing on units rather than on the activities that participants are engaged in in constructing talk encouraged us to make what seemed to be unwarranted binary decisions that glossed over the complexity of the actual production of a particular utterance. For example, consider once again excerpt (1). In the first turn in this excerpt, Pam (responding to a turn which is not captured on the tape) encourages Curt to tell a joke. With the utterance *You'll like it, you'll really like it.*(second arrow), Carney is assuring Mike and Phyllis that they will enjoy the joke (this passage is discussed in detail in section 4). When we first approached Carney's turn, for the purposes of a project on conversational units, we wanted to ask the question: Is it a single-unit turn (that is, does it consist of one TCU), or is it multi-unit turn? The turn appears to contain two syntactic units; but do they constitute one TCU or two? As we will suggest in section 4 below, the intonation is built to be exactly equivocal on this point, and on closer examination even the syntactic formulation of the utterance can be seen to be equivocal on the issue of one unit or two. On grounds such as these, we found it difficult to answer the question "One TCU or two?" And more importantly, we found that asking a question about units, rather than a question about how, i.e., through what recurrent methods, contributions are shaped, encouraged us to miss crucial aspects of the architecture of turns. Because of experiences such as this, as we examined our data it became clear to us that the question "One TCU or two?" was forcing us to take a step back and consider a range of basic issues which needed answering before the unit questions could be addressed. Thus, questions regarding the number of units in particular turns were leading us to new and perhaps more fundamental questions about how turns are produced and heard.

Going back to Sacks et al. (1974) we could see that the tension we were finding was there as well, a tension between the notion of unit and the notion of   practice . The Sacks et al. model employs the notion of unit in order to account for projection, a concept which is meant to capture the fact that participants can and do orient to utterances as having identifiable trajectories, that is, beginnings, middles, and ends.[4] And the units which are considered to produce such trajectories, at least in the original 1974 model, are interpretable (and indeed have been so interpreted) as an inventory of structures.[5] While we obviously accept the existence of projection, our inquiries have led us to consider the possibility that utterances can have trajectories without being constructed out of clear units.

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[4] Schegloff (1996) notes that "from the point of view of the organization of talk-in-interaction, one of the main jobs grammar or syntax does is to provide potential construction-and recognition-guides for the realization of the possible completion points of TCUs, and potentially of turns" (p. 46).

[5] Recent work in CA has more clearly articulated the dynamic nature of the units from which turns are constructed. Consider for example the following passage from Schegloff (1996): "When the grammar we attempt to understand inhabits actually articulated talk in interaction..., its realization in structured real time for both speaker and recipient(s) is inescapable. If "sentences", "clauses", and "phrases" should turn out to be implicated, they will be different in emphasis, and perhaps in kind, from the static syntactic objects of much linguistic theorizing" (pp. 4-5).

Therefore, instead of searching out and attempting to define TCUs, we have come to see our task as asking and beginning to answer the following questions: What are the practices according to which participants construct their co-participation? What are participants orienting to in order to locate, situate, and interpret their own and each other's contributions? What are the projected points of completion? How are such points treated by speakers and recipients as they arrive? And how are subsequent contributions by a same speaker built to be understood relative to prior contributions?

The goal of this study is thus twofold: First, we want to suggest to other linguists that, while it would be natural, given our training, to adopt the Sacks et al. model with too strong a focus on units, and questions related to units, we believe that it is more constructive to start with the Sacks *et al.* model but to focus on the entire range of relevant practices for constructing conversational co-participation; and second, we want to argue that syntax is but one part of a constellation of practices oriented to by participants in projecting and shaping turn trajectories.

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows: Section 2 provides an overview of relevant literature. Section 3 describes the data from which we draw our examples. Section 4 gives a detailed analysis of particular turns, concentrating on the multiple practices that are used in the architecture of these contributions. In this section we return regularly to the original question of whether these contributions involve one or more TCUs. We argue that that question itself, while compelling to our linguistic sensibilities, appealing in its focus on the centrality of syntax, and productive in that it leads to more basic questions (Schegloff p.c.), is not ultimately the question we need to answer in accounting for what participants in conversations seem to attend to in their production and responses to turns. In section 5, we discuss some of the implications of this work and directions for continuing this line of research.

2. Relevant literature: Intonation, syntax, gaze, body movement

The construction of spoken discourse involves a complex and manipulable relationship between grammar and prosody, among other things. One important research tradition emphasizes the prosodic unit called a "tone unit" (Crystal 1969; Cruttenden 1986), or "intonation unit" (Chafe 1987, 1988, 1992, 1993, 1994; Du Bois et al. 1993; Schuetze-Coburn 1992, to appear; and Tao 1996), roughly characterizable as "a stretch of speech uttered under a single coherent intonation contour" (Du Bois et al. 1993). Numerous pitch and timing cues which play a role in shaping prosodic contours are discussed in these works.

Bolinger's (1986) complex treatment of prosody, encompassing at least pitch, rhythm, tempo, and amplitude, has also been important to our own understanding of the diverse, and sometimes conflicting, vocal practices by which speakers project how their utterances are going to proceed. His treatment of the issue of prosodic units, though not based in an analysis of conversation, echoes our shift in emphasis away from "what constitutes a 'single utterance'":

> ...the question of where a contour ends is left open, because there is no precise way to determine it. Syntactic considerations enter, especially with compound or complex versus

> simple sentences .... Syntactic junctures are also a factor....As the effects of combining profiles [contours - CEF, BAF, SAT] are much the same within clauses and between them, the question of contour extent will be left to the indeterminate notion of what constitutes a "single utterance." (1986: 277)

A number of linguists are currently conducting research at the intersection of grammar and interaction with special attention to prosody. In her work on speech rhythm, Couper-Kuhlen (1992, 1993, this volume) gives special attention to conversational sequences and activities, offering researchers in language in interaction fine examples of how the details of prosody can be incorporated into the analysis of talk. Her findings support the claim that rhythmic integration of one person's talk with another's may carry a general interpretation of things going smoothly or something being "the matter" or "out-of-the-ordinary" (1992: 362), but she also insists that the "interpretation of the moment depends on the type of move which they frame and upon the activity within which this move is located." Couper-Kuhlen is thus moving toward the kind of interactionally situated understanding of prosody that Schegloff (1995) has called upon linguists to provide. Local & Kelly (1986) and Local (1992) also provide models for the use of phonetic detail as a source for understanding turn projection and the opening up and closing of repair work within a turn's space. Auer (1992) notes and explores the "in-principle expandability of turns in time," insisting that such expandability is "not a mere fact of interactional structure, but it serves urgent interactional needs" (49). He distinguishes possible turn completion points from possible syntactic completion points and outlines a variety of ways in which extensions can be realized through prosody and syntax. In both his 1992 essay and his subsequent detailed study of turn extension (1996), Auer's findings resonate with the work of Ford & Thompson (1996, discussed below) and with the goals and findings of the current study. ·However, a central explanatory resource used in the 1996 study is the information status ("thematic relevance") of the additions to possibly complete turns rather than the interactional motivations for such extensions, which is the focus of our work here.

Ford & Thompson (1996) are also concerned with what aspects of participant contributions are associated with completion and turn transition (see also Örestrom 1983). Taking the notion of "unit" for granted, and looking at the factors contributing to a "transition-relevance place" (TRP) in American English conversations, they find that these points are defined by a convergence of syntactic, prosodic, and pragmatic completion. Based on the analysis of the places where next speakers actually begin their turns relative to prior turns, Ford & Thompson suggest that speakers orient to at least these three kinds of input in deciding when a transition-relevance place has been reached. Furthermore, syntax does not appear to be the primary factor, but intonationally complete units seem to select from among the many syntactically complete units being produced. In other words, Ford & Thompson's results can be seen as ratifying the understanding that the "transition-relevance place" is the end of a "unit" with a final intonation contour (high rising or low falling pitch beginning at a pitch peak). They do not, however, consider the role that the TCU might play in projecting when such a point is or is not imminent.

Before and during the time that linguists have been studying the syntax and prosody of spoken and conversational language, conversation analysts have been

supplying a framework for grounding such work in practices of social interaction. In fact, the linguistic research related to turn-taking is founded on the work of conversation analysis, the Sacks *et al.* account standing as the classic source on the subject. With a focus on interactional practices rather than linguistic form, conversation analysts have dealt with the turn-taking system.

In his lectures, Sacks (1992a,b) touches in numerous places on the problem of turn taking, and several of his published lectures are specifically occupied with issue of turn taking and utterance completion (Fall 1967: 2-5). While the emphasis is not on the TCU, one can find reference to "sentences" as the units possible completion is projected. For example, he suggests that "there are ways of producing and attending utterances such that if a sentence form is used, people can be listening while it is happening, to see such things as: It's not yet complete, it's about to end, it just ended." (1992a: 642). In this sense, Sacks' discussion of turns does not differ from that ultimately published in Sacks et al. (1974). Also, consistent with Sacks et al. (1974), his lectures contain reference to the contribution of intonation to the projection of possible completion (e.g., 1992a: 651).

The work of Emanuel Schegloff (including in particular 1988, 1989, 1996) has made significant contributions to our understanding of the relationships among syntax, prosody, gesture, and sequential action, as we note throughout our current paper. Schegloff has carefully documented the role of prosody in projecting what will count as a place of possible completion, as well as the manner in which speakers can transform places of possible completion by reference to ongoing recipient actions. Schegloff 1996 a discussion of "units", turns, and syntax, includes detail on what a model of syntax might look like which is based on attention to the beginnings, middles, and ends of TCUs.

Jefferson (1973, 1983, 1986) provides a detailed examination of another aspect of turn trajectories. Her emphasis is not on TCUs *per se*, but on the mechanisms for projecting turn ends in relation to the precise timing of next speakers' overlapping utterances. This body of work is highly relevant to the issue of what TCUs are and to what extent they can be syntactically or prosodically defined.

Work by Lerner (1991, 1996) has provided a view of the "semi-permeable" nature of grammatical units in interaction. Lerner demonstrates, through close interactional analysis, the manner in which the production of syntactic units may be shared by different participants. He explores collaborative turn production and the interactional contexts and consequences of the use of this interactional resource. Lerner does not specifically question the notion of a TCU, but we believe his work clearly points to the need to reassess the use of such a notion as an unproblematic foundation for explaining turn transfer.

The research of Charles and Marjorie Goodwin constitutes a major contribution to the discussion of interactional units. In a masterful demonstration of the interactive organization of assessments, Goodwin & Goodwin (1987) show how participants hear talk as it is emerging, and what the consequences are of syntactic, intonational, and pragmatic structure for the organization of turns and turn units. Their discussion includes a wealth of examples in which projectable aspects of a turn are confirmed by the time the turn reaches completion. For example, conversational participants can be shown to orient to the intonational, syntactic, and semantic properties of intensifiers like *so* and *really* in utterances such

as *It was s::o: good*. Intensifiers allow for the interpretation of emerging talk as doing assessment, and in fact, make it possible for recipients to join in, producing collaborative assessments of their own just as an intensifier comes to completion. In other words, recipients produce assessments by making projections about speech which has not yet occurred (1987: 30), and can orchestrate their actions to systematically bring an assessment to a recognizable close (1987: 33).

Not only has this work pointed to the critical role of prosody in the formulation and recognition of turn actions, but these researchers have also shown the importance of factoring in body movement and gaze, now seen as crucial to turn taking in face-to-face communication. In three particularly important studies, C. Goodwin (1979, 1981, 1995) demonstrates the variety of interactional factors at work in projecting the ends of turns and in extending a turn beyond the first location of potential turn change ('transition relevance place', or TRP hereafter). 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[6].

Streeck & Hartge (1992) provide a review of current work on gesture, followed by a detailed analysis of the role of gesture, including posture, hand movement and facial expressions in a conversation in Ilokano. Their focus is on the use of gesture at "'transition places', 'high definition' environments in conversational interaction, due to the constraints of the turn taking system" (138). At such points, potential next speakers use gesture to display both intent to talk and also a preview of the type of talk they may engage in in the upcoming turn. The work of Streek & Hartge not only provides a clear description of the use of gesture in this conversation and a basis for further study of these resources in that community, the research also provides a compelling example of the crucial contributions of non-verbal aspects of interaction to the joint management of turn taking.

The studies briefly discussed in this section have been vital in providing linguists with ways of thinking about the relationship between grammar and other aspects of conversational organization. However, we find that neither linguistic studies nor conversation analytic research has resulted in a specification of the TCU; none of these studies has placed a primary focus on examining the viability of the notion the TCU in itself.

3. Database

The database with which we worked included three video-taped face-to-face interactions and two telephone conversations. The participants in these interactions are all native speakers of American English, with the exception of one speaker of what appears to be British English. We draw on one particular face-to-face, multi-party conversation in order to illustrate a variety of ways in which turns are

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[6] Further detailed study of turn-extension can be found in other studies by C. Goodwin (1980, 1986a,b,c, 1989, 1995) and in Goodwin & Goodwin (1996), where analyses are given of both extended turns that continue beyond first points of possible completion and turns that designedly occur before the first point of possible completion in the speaker's talk, showing how speakers may modify the emerging structure of the utterance they are producing in response to what the recipient is, or is not, doing.

produced, and how points of possible completion are projected and manipulated through syntax, prosody, gesture, and gaze.

As discussed above, our initial goal was to examine the production of multi-unit turns, but as we assembled candidate cases, we found that we needed to back up and explore the notion of the TCU itself. In fact, the aspect of the collection process that we found most revealing was the difficulty we encountered in *finding* instances of TCUs that were isolable, definable, and predictable such that the criteria for identifying one could be applied unproblematically to finding the next. It is this last problem that led us to a very close examination of the practices employed in turn construction. Some results of that exercise are presented in the following section.

4. Exploration of examples from the database

In this section we will be considering the ways in which "contingently achieved configurations of phenomena converge at locations in turns, and how these configurations project, or decline to project, points of possible completion" (Robert Jasperson, p.c.). We also consider how speakers shape their turns as they talk past points of projected possible completion; at such points, a speaker may use multiple practices to display the next piece of talk to be clearly a continuation of the prior piece or to display it as something 'new' (see also Auer 1996, Schegloff 1996, Couper-Kuhlen this volume). As a means of exemplifying what we have found to be crucial aspects of turn construction, we will examine approximately 20 seconds (primarily continuous) of a multi-party face-to-face interaction. We have chosen these segments of data because they are rich with utterances which illustrate some of the major practices in the production of turns.[7] For each utterance discussed in this section, we examine aspects of its production that have been shown in conversation analytic studies to be critical to the coordination of talk-in-interaction: pragmatics (the fitting of talk to its sequential context), syntax, prosody, gaze, and body movement.[8] Each of these is considered for its contribution to the projection of upcoming turn completion, to the treatment (e.g., confirmation or manipulation) of points of possible completion as they are reached, and the production of talk past such points.

As most of our examples come from one stretch of continuous talk, we first present the passage in its entirety and then discuss individual utterances within it. The conversation from which this passage is taken was videotaped at a backyard picnic in Ohio, in the early 1970s. The participants are three married couples seated at a picnic table (children and dogs are also present, but do not figure in this particular fragment). Before the videotape begins, someone has apparently suggested that Curt tell a joke, a joke that three of the participants have already

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[7] One important resource for turn construction not taken up in our present discussion is repair (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977; Jefferson 1974).

[8] We thank Robert Jasperson for advice on the description of prosodic features for some of the cases we examine here.

heard (Pam, Carney, and Gary). We hear four reactions to that suggestion: (1) Pam's *Oh yeah you've gotta tell Mike that. Cuz they want that on film* , (2) Carney's *Oh no here we go again*, (3) Gary's *I don't think its that funny* and (4) Pam's *I gotta go to the john before I hear that again.* Much of the talk that follows is directed to Gary in response to his negative assessment: *I don't think it's that funny.* The passage begins when the videotape begins, which is not the beginning of the interaction (please see appendix for a key to transcription):

(2)

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1   Pam:    .hh Oh yeah you've gotta tell Mike tha:t.  Uh cuz they
2           [want that on fi:lm.
3   Car:    [Oh: no: here we go ag(h)        [(h)ain o(h)o(h)o.hh=
4   Cur:                                     [Huh huh huh huh
5   Gar:    =I     [don't thin     [k it's that funny.
6   Car:           [ O h :         [ :,
7   Pam:                           [I gotta go t'the joh:     [n  before I hear
8           tha[t again.                                      [
9   Car:                                                      [You'll like it,
10          you'    [ll really like it.
11  Cur:            [you  do  too  y     [ou laugh like hell you hhuh!
12  Phy:                                 [ehheh huh
13  Gar:    Well I  [:,
14  Cur:            [Y-
15  Gar:    hat'n hadda   [beer ye:t.=
16  Pam:                  [You don'like it      [becuz       [you didn'
17          thin          [k of it!=            [            [
18  Gar:                  [                     =[eh-heh-heh  -[huh-hah-huh!
19  Cur:                  [                                   [ehh!
20  Cur:                  [ehh-heh
21  Cur:    at's  ri   [ (h) g h (h)      [t nnn .hh
22  Phy:               [ohehhhhhhuhh      [
23  Gar:                                  [I:a-n't adda bee    [r ye:t.I: c'n
24          laugh      ['t anything git a bee:r,                [
25  Cur:               [                                       [nh huh huh huh,
26  Cur:               [huh-huh
27  Phy:               [ehhu::n
28  Cur:    eh-heh
29  Gar:    heh-heh   [ -heh-heh      [-heh-ha-ha-ha-ha-ah!ah!ah!ah!
30  Cur:             [Thats  ri       [(h) :g h t.
31  Mik:                              [hah:hah:hah:
32  Cur:    [(huh!)
33  Mik:    [ hah huh huh, huh huh [hah huh
33  Phy:                           [hnnn n-hn-hn
34  Cur:    (h)You wan'another beer you better (keep laughing).
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Let's start with what appears to be a straightforward case where speaker projects completion and makes good on that projection, and at a point of possible completion, a next speaker starts up.

(3)

Pam: .hh Oh yeah you've gotta tell Mike tha:t. Uh cuz they

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         [want that on fi:lm.
Car:     [Oh: no: here we go ag(h)      [(h)ain o(h)o(h)o.hh=
Cur:                                    [Huh huh huh huh
Gar:  =I      [don't thin    [k it's that funny.
Car:         [ O h :       [ :,
Pam:                       [I gotta go t'the joh:    [n  before I hear tha    [t again.[
Car:                                                [You'll like it,  you'    [ll really like it.
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We are interested in Gary's utterance at the first arrow: *I don't think it's that funny.* How is this turn projected during its production? Gary's gaze and posture are difficult to see, as Curt is between the camera and Gary; he seems to be gazing at Curt, the person whose joke is in question. Gary's turn follows a proposal for a retelling of the joke and one negative response to that proposal, *Carney's Oh: no: here we go a(h)g(h)ain.* From an abstract syntactic perspective, *I don't think* could constitute a well-formed intransitive clause, and, as with the *I* and *I gotta*, discussed for (1) above, the end of each word added to the turn could conceivably mark the end of a turn in different sequential contexts. However from a pragmatic perspective, in this specific sequence of actions, a clause ending after *think* would be missing a regular feature of utterances in interaction: A display of its relevance to the prior turns (Sacks et al. 1974: 722). In this particular sequential slot more is projected for the unit in progress - a complement of some sort. The intonation can be heard to project a similar trajectory: *I* is produced at a slightly higher pitch than is *don't think*, but nothing in the intonation of *think* indicates possible completion. The lack of stress on the verb does not project imminent completion, and *it's* is produced with no significant rise or fall. The prosodic delivery of *that* - the same pitch as the preceding word and with no sound stretch - clearly indicates that this *that* is a modifier and not a demonstrative pronoun, and hence prosody and syntax jointly suggest that the utterance is not possibly complete at that point. There is a slight rise in pitch on *fun-*, which now suggests upcoming completion. Syntax and prosody thus converge on *-ny* as a place of possible completion (it is very difficult to hear whether the pitch comes down on this syllable or whether it stays at the same level as *fun-*). And notice that it is quite near this point of possible completion that Gary's wife Carney starts up with a response: *You'll like it, you'll really like it* (second arrow), a response that goes against Gary's assessment and supports the proposed retelling. In the presence of overlapping talk, the placement of Carney's turn relative to Gary's is one of the ways she may be displaying her turn to be responsive to his talk. Supporting this interpretation, we can see that just as Gary finishes his turn, Carney turns her head in his direction and begins her turn.

    Thus, Gary's utterance, *I don't think it's that funny,* provides a clear case where syntax, prosody and expectations based on sequential slot produce trajectories which converge at the same place. And, in fact, the speaker stops talking at that place and another self-selects. It is in exactly this kind of situation where we might feel comfortable saying that a speaker has produced a turn consisting of a single TCU.
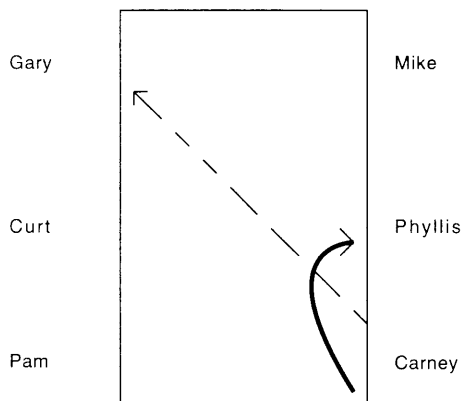
Figure I: Carney turns her head and begins as Gary completes his turn.

But there are many cases where prosody, syntax, and body movement create what appear to be conflicting trajectories (see illuminating discussion of this type of situation in Schegloff 1996), and there are many cases where a speaker speaks past what appears to be a place of possible completion, from a syntactic or prosodic perspective (see Ford & Thompson 1996). When we first examined such cases, we wanted to ask the questions: How many TCUs are in this turn, and how are these TCUs constructed and connected? In addressing these issues, we were hoping to respond to Schegloff's (1996) call for research, as stated below:

> One basic task of analysis in this area is to examine the succession of TCUs that occur in turns and ask whether or not such examination reveals recurrent, oriented to, and interactionally consequential constructional types. (Schegloff 1996)

However, in order to document "constructional types", we needed first to establish how and where TCUs reach possible completion points, and how and where new TCUs begin. To answer these questions entails a careful examination of the complex work being done in and through the multiple practices of prosody, syntax, and body movement. The array of turns presented below challenge us to define the notion of projection to allow for stronger and weaker possibilities, and to elaborate on the concepts of syntactic dependence and prosodic continuity across segments of turns. Furthermore, these cases display practices of gesture and gaze that are also integral to turn production. Consider the following utterance in lines 7-8 of the passage presented in (2):

(4) Pam: I gotta go t'the joh:[n before I hear that again.

As discussed above, in strict syntactic terms, this turn could be complete after *gotta*, but not only does its slot in the interactional sequence militate against completion at that point, *gotta* and *go* are produced without any terminal-implicative rise or fall in pitch. Further into the utterance, the syntax projects possible completion after *john* (Subject + Verb of motion + Goal) and the prosody is compatible with this projection: The pitch starts mid on *I* and falls until the beginning of *john*. The turn

could also reach possible pragmatic completion at *john*, since an announcement of the activity of disengaging from interaction is complete there; concurrently, as Pam starts the utterance, she begins turning to get up from the table. Thus, both her verbal and nonverbal actions are compatible with taking leave of the conversation rather than the initiation of a longer interactional sequence. Furthermore, as the word *john* is reached, Pam has also provided the relevance of her turn to the context as an account for her departure. All of these features project that the utterance could have a completion coinciding with the end of the main clause. The fact that Carney begins her turn during the production of *john* (see (2) above), may indicate that she has heard Pam's utterance as possibly complete (though, as argued above, Carney's turn appears to be most directly responsive to Gary's turn).

But Pam doesn't bring her pitch down on *john*; she produces the word with a slight jump up in pitch and then holds the pitch level. Thus, while the intonation up to this point has been compatible with upcoming completion, just as one projected possible completion point is reached, the pitch is manipulated in such a way as to project continuation (Schegloff 1996). And, indeed, Pam speaks past this point of possible completion. Furthermore, she is just straddling the picnic bench as she reaches the point of projected possible completion, her body movement continuing the turning motion begun during the first clause. Her body movement and intonation thus produce trajectories that cross the possible turn boundary.
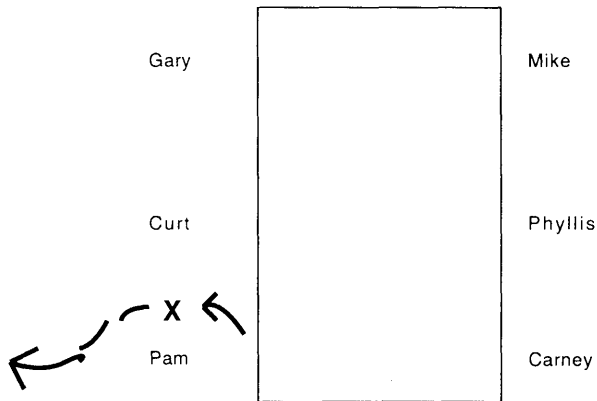

Figure II: The location (X) in Pam's movement when she reaches the
word *john*(broken line represents trajectory of continuing movement)

The continuation of the utterance is done with continuing syntax (a dependent *before*-clause). It is also produced with prosodic features compatible with continuation: There is no break in phonation and the contour is extended with a drop in pitch on *be-* and a further drop on *-fore*. In terms of the developing sequence of actions, Pam's adverbial clause explicitly ties her departure back to the proposal for retelling: Pam wants to visit the bathroom before hearing the joke again.

The point of this moment-by-moment account is that all of the practices

described converge to project that the turn will be over after the NP expressing the Goal, *john*. But the way Pam produces *john* (level pitch) and the features of her continuation display that the place of **possible** completion isn't an **actual** place of completion; she displays through syntax (an adverbial clause conjunction), prosody on *john* and *before*, and body movement (unbroken continuation of movement) that she hasn't finished, and the clause she produces turns out to be particularly relevant as a displaying the connection of her announced and enacted movement to the ongoing sequence.

   Now we could ask the following question: Is this utterance composed of one TCU or two? From the analysis we have just given, we would probably want to say that it is one TCU, extended by means of an adverbial clause. But we have found this question to be helpful only to the extent that it encourages us to explore the range of practices by which participants speak past a place of projected possible completion and the activities they achieve by so doing. It seems, in fact, that an analysis of the number of TCUs in an utterance will be entirely derivative from, and secondary to, an understanding of these practices and activities.

   A more complex case follows. In lines 9-10 of (2), overlapping with the utterance we just examined, Carney produces two syntactically independent clauses:

(5) Carney: You'll like it, you'll really like it.

The first clause has prosodic features that are compatible with either continuation or completion, and there is a slight break in phonation at the juncture between the clauses. Her gaze, however, is held in the direction of the recipients (Phyllis and Mike) until she reaches the end of the second clause.
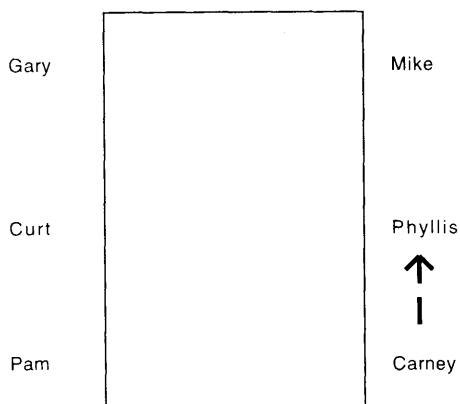

Figure III: Carney's gaze as she produces her first *it*.

As can be seen in (2), Carney, who is Gary's wife, is responding, at least in part, to Gary's *I don't think it's that funny*. The syntax of her turn projects possible completion after the first it, and, as noted above in the discussion of (2), Schegloff

(1996) considers this to be a multi-unit turn. The intonation is somewhat less clear, however: Carney starts the utterance at a mid pitch and holds the pitch level through the (unstressed) verb *like*. If there were a pitch peak on *like*, it would be clear that a place of possible completion would be coming up, but since there is no pitch peak, it is possible that the speaker will produce talk past what, viewed only syntactically, would be interpretable as a place of possible completion. The prosodic projection weighs against the syntactic projection. Thus some, but not all, of the facets of the talk converge to project an upcoming place of possible completion after *it*. The turn production practices up to this point are equivocal as to whether the end of the clause will also be the end of the turn.

As Carney comes to *it*, her pitch drops, but not fully, and she maintains her body orientation. An important pragmatic factor is emerging as she produces this pitch drop: There is no clear response to her turn as it stands so far. Carney is surely monitoring her recipients as she nears a projected possible completion point (Goodwin 1981; Davidson 1984; Schegloff 1996). She then starts another clause, one which is not syntactically dependent on the first, but which is clearly related to the first by means of repetition and lexical upgrade with *really*. There is a slight break in rhythm at the juncture of the two clauses, and the pitch descent started on *it* continues through the second *you*. Finally, she withdraws her gaze at the end of the second *it*.

Again, the binary question would be: Is the second clause a new TCU or a continuation of the first one? In our view, all of the resources are deployed precisely to be ambivalent on this question: The syntax is done technically as a new clause but built directly out of the syntactic frame of the first clause. In fact, the repetition and upgrade achieved in the second clause would not be hearable as such without the presence of a first version; so there is a strong symbiotic relationship between the two syntactic units. The intonation in the first clause does not clearly project possible completion after the object of *like* nor does it clearly rule out such a projection. The end of the first clause does not come to a terminal fall, but there is a drop, and the second clause starts with a slight drop from the end of the first, suggesting that the second clause is a continuation of the first. Body posture and gaze are maintained constant throughout the juncture between clauses, also suggesting continuation. There are thus indications of continuing as well as indications of not continuing. An approach to turn-taking which forced us (and the participants) to analyze this utterance as **either** one TCU or two would miss exactly what this utterance seems to be accomplishing and the practices through which it does this: At a point which is compatible with possible completion and beyond that point, Carney is able to build further on the same turn, and, through a variety of practices, she fits the new material to its context such that it is interpretable as a continuation, a repetition, and an upgrade of the prior talk.

A somewhat different configuration of practices can be seen in the following utterance, line 11 of (2), with syntax and prosody produced equivocally as to projected completion, and later material in the turn produced as syntactically separate but pragmatically, prosodically and gesturally continuous. In this case, the action of disagreeing may at least "weakly project" what, for lack of an existing term, we might call an "account space", a space into which the turn will continue in order to produce one recurrent action associated with disagreement:

(6)   Curt: <u>You</u> do too you laugh like hell you <u>hhuh</u>!

Curt, like Carney in our last example, is responding to *Gary's I don't think it's that funny*, in this case, with an overt disagreement. Analyzing the syntax, in isolation, is complicated here. *You do* could be complete, as could *you do too* (probably a formulaic retort). But the projection initiated by the prosody does not correspond clearly to either of these syntactic completion points. *You* starts fairly high and there is a slight drop on *do*, and a slight drop from *do* to *too* - there is no terminal fall on *too*, nor is there the fall-rise on *too*. The intonation is thus allowing for the interpretation that there is more to come. This is compatible with one action sequence which is regularly found in disagreeing turns: A disagreement followed by an account for the disagreement (Pomerantz 1984; Schegloff 1996).

The second *you* is produced at the same pitch as is *too*; that is, there is no pitch reset at the beginning of the second clause. Curt also holds his gaze toward Gary across the juncture of the two clauses. Syntactically, the second clause is done as independent clause, and pragmatically it provides an account for the disagreement presented in the first clause. So we can say that the intonation, the pragmatics, and the body movements are done as continuations from the first clause to the second, but the syntax is done as a new clause.

What interests us most in this and the other cases is the analytic depth one reaches by taking the TCU question out of the main focus and concentrating instead on the multiple practices of turn architecture. Answering the question of whether an utterance is composed of one TCU or two is difficult, because most of the resources are deployed as if Curt is continuing; syntax alone is produced as possibly complete. Again, it is our contention here that this question is not the most useful one for our purposes. It has proven much more valuable to ask instead: What are the many practices by which participants speak past a place of possible completion, and what are they achieving by so doing? In Curt's turn in (6), he is able to produce a disagreement and the typical account which follows such actions. While the syntax of the first segment is not projecting past the end of the first clause, and the second action is expressed as an independent syntactic unit, at the same time, the production of the first clause does project continuation in other ways: Through intonation, gesture, and some sort of weak pragmatic projection of an account space. This format allows for the interpretation of the segments as separate yet strongly connected.

In the next case, all the features of turn architecture converge, but the convergence is produced well after the first point where a non-pragmatic, non-contextual notion of syntax would predict possible completion. In this utterance, lines 16-17 in (2), Pam joins in the chorus of participants responding to Gary's *I don't think it's that funny*. Recall that Carney started the chorus by cajoling Gary that *You'll like it, youll really like it.*, Curt continued by disagreeing with him (*You do too you laugh like hell you hhuh!*), and now Pam joins in by giving him a teasing insult:

(7)   Pam: <u>You</u> don' like it becuz <u>you</u> didn't <u>think</u> of it!

Gary

Mike

Curt

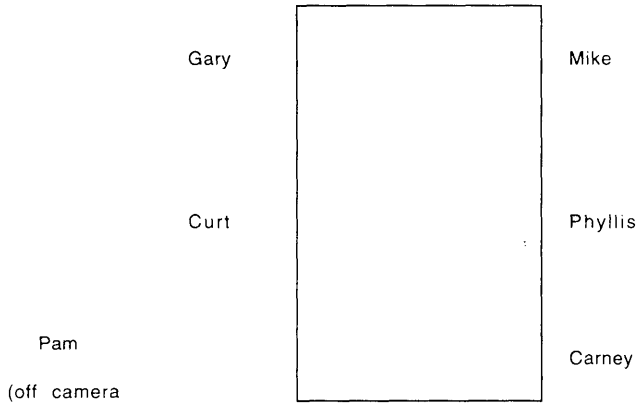Phyllis

Pam

Carney

(off camera

Figure IV: Pam's position as she delivers the utterance in (7).

What is added after a syntactic completion point is an adverbial clause. Unlike the format of (4) above (*I gotta go t'the joh:n before I hear that again*), the adverbial clause in the present case is produced after a point where prosodic completion has not in any way converged with syntactic completion. Recall that in case (4), the pitch has descended into *john*, though a full fall is not ultimately produced. In (7), while we do not have access to the body movements of the speaker, who is off-screen at this moment, we do find that neither pragmatics nor prosody allows for projected completion at the end of the first clause. All turn-constructional practices, apart from a very abstract notion of syntax, project continuation. *You* is heavily stressed, through volume and pitch. The pitch comes down on *don'* and there is no stress on *like*, producing no projection of possible completion after the direct object that is syntactically projected to follow. Furthermore, *it* is produced at the same pitch as *like*, so there is no hint of completion-relevant fall or rise. From a decontextualized view of syntax we can say that *You don' like it* is possibly complete (as, one could argue, would be *You, You don'*). However, given the sequential location of this utterance as a response to someone who has already said *I don't think it's that funny*, Pam's *You don' like it* shows its relevance to the prior talk, but allows, again, for a kind of weak pragmatic projection of the more material to express this turn's contribution to the sequence (Sacks et al. 1974: 722). There is evidence of some orientation to the first clause as complete in the onset of Gary's laughter (see line 18 example (2)), but laughter is not necessarily produced only upon completion of turns, overlap being a regular placement for the production of laughter (Jefferson 1979).

So, pragmatically and intonationally the initial shape of Pam's turn does not project completion. Like the adverbial clause in (4), a syntactically dependent segment is added without any break in phonation, and the pitch on the conjunction, *becuz*, at least on the syllable *-cuz*, is lower than the pitch on *it*. Such a case weighs against the centrality of an abstract syntax for the projection of possible turn completion.

Cases (4) through (7) involved continuations which, regardless of their

syntactic dependence or independence, were produced as continuations of a coherent intonation contour. The next case contrasts with the previous ones in that a second syntactically independent segment is produced not only after a point of syntactic and intonational completion but also with a pitch reset. In this utterance, lines 23-24 of (2), Gary is responding to the utterance we just analyzed as (7), Pam's teasing insult *You don' like it becuz you didn't think of it!*:

(8)   Gary: I: a-n' adda b̲eer ye:t. I: c'n laugh't a̲nything git a b̲ee:r.

With his gaze and upper body turned toward Pam (off camera), Gary starts the utterance at a fairly high pitch, which he maintains through *a-n' adda*; the pitch jumps up on the stressed *beer*, suggesting that a place of possible completion is upcoming. The syntax also projects possible completion after an object NP; so both syntax and intonation project that the utterance is possibly complete at *beer*; Schegloff (1996) also labels this particular utterance unequivocally as a "multi-unit turn". But Gary does not produce beer in a completion-relevant way: There is no sound stretch and there is no pitch fall on *beer* itself. Rather, those prosodic indicators of completion are produced on *yet*, although even here the pitch does not fall to a typical terminal low.
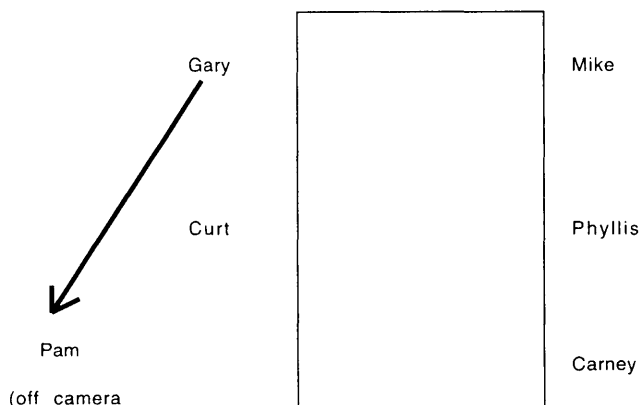

Figure V: Posture and gaze direction through Gary's first clause and into the start of his second.

With his utterance hearably complete at *yet*, Gary continues speaking, with no break in phonation from the prior segment but with a slight rise in pitch on *I* (higher than yet but not as high as the first *I*). He maintains his gaze orientation and body posture toward Pam through the beginning of this second clause. While the second clause is syntactically independent with regard to the first, pragmatically this clause expresses an explanation for the first. Furthermore, viewed in its sequential context, Gary's first clause is actually a repetition of his last contribution (at the first two arrows):

(from (2))

```
   Cur:          [ you   do   too  y        [ou laugh like hell you hhuh!
   Phy:                                      [ehheh huh
-->Gar:          Well I  [:,
   Cur:                   [Y-
-->Gar:          hat'n hadda      [beer ye:t.=
   Pam:                           [You donñke   it        [  becuz        [you didn'
                 thin      [k of it!=                      [               [
   Gar:                    [                                 =[eh-heh-heh- [huh-hah-huh!
   Cur:                    [                                              [ehh!
   Cur:                    [ehh-heh
   Cur:          at's  ri        [ (h) g h (h)   [t nnn .hh
   Phy:                          [ohehhhhhuhh  [
-->Gar:                                         [l:a-n't adda bee     [r ye:t.I: c'n
                 laugh    ['t anything git a bee:r,                    [
   Cur:                   [                                            [nh huh huh. huh
```

Coming after Pam's teasing turn, and with Gary's gaze and posture displaying Pam to be his primary recipient, this repetition is presented as a response. The reuse of the exact same words, though with a somewhat different prosody, comes across as expressing something like "I just told you the response to that" (a more detailed prosodic analysis is called for here, but the overlapping talk precludes acoustic measurement). The fact that the clause is presented as a second doing is compatible, we believe, with the weak projection of some continuation, a continuation that would go beyond repetition to add a further contribution. In information terms, the repetition presents background or given information, a status that can be understood as setting up for a piece of new information.

Whether this turn is composed of one TCU or two is again a difficult matter. The practices of syntax and intonation allow for possible completion at *yet* (although earlier in the turn, *beer*, or some NP, was projected as a place of possible completion); but the fact that the first segment is a repetition may introduce a kind of pragmatic projection beyond its completion, arguably forming a kind of complex TCU composed as Repetition + Further Contribution. The second clause is syntactically independent, which could indicate that it is not a continuation of the first clause. This is reinforced by the pitch reset at the beginning of the second clause, but that reset is very slight. Gaze, body posture, and phonation remain steady, without break. While one could argue on the basis of these facts that Gary has produced a multi-unit turn, that is, a turn in which there are two TCUs, such an analysis, if not done carefully, could ignore the complexity of how Gary formulates this contribution. For example, in addition to missing the complexities of the continuation, such an analysis would gloss over the fact that in the initial clause, both syntax and intonation project possible completion at *beer*, except that in finishing the word *beer*, Gary does not produce *beer* with intonation compatible with completion. It is only as he produces *yet* that he drops his pitch and lengthens the vowel of *yet*.

Furthermore, an analysis focusing on TCUs would also fail to distinguish the shape of Gary's utterance in (8), in which there is continuous phonation across a clause juncture, from a case like Mike's turn in (9) (below, taken from later in the same conversation). Here more constructional practices are deployed to format two

consecutive segments as separate: The phonation is not continuous, and pitch is
reset at a higher level at the beginning of the second clause:

(9)

Curt:	He:y. Where c'n I get a::, uh, 'member the old twenny
	three Model T spring,
	(0.5)
Curt:	Backspring 't came up like that,
	(1.0)
Curt:	Dju know what I'm [talk what I'm talkin a [bout,
Mike:	[Ye:h, [I think- I know
	whatchu mean,
Curt:	Wh'r c'n I get o:ne.
.	
.	
.	
Gary:	[I know uh-
--> Mike:	[Lemme ask a guy at work. He's gotta bunch a'old clunkers.

In this passage, Curt is asking Mike where he can get a particular kind of spring for
a car. Mike's answer, at the arrow, looks a bit like Gary's utterance in (8): It is done
syntactically as two independent clauses; pragmatically, the second clause provides
an explanation of the first; the first clause comes to possible completion with a fall
in pitch; and the second clause starts with a pitch reset. But Mike's utterance is
quite different from Gary's in other ways: The pitch fall on *work* is much lower than
on Gary's *yet*, and the pitch reset on Mike's *He's* is much higher than on Gary's *I*.
In fact, the pitch on *He's* appears to be higher than on *Lemme* and could easily be
characteristic of a turn-beginning (see "full" vs. 'partial' reset, Couper-Kuhlen this
volume). Moreover, in Mike's utterance, there is a break in phonation at the clause
juncture.

      Related to these differences in production format are differences in the
actions being performed by the turn segments: Mike is initiating a change in the
direction of the talk, whereas Gary was contributing to the ongoing sequence.
Looking at (10), below, we see that in Mike's next utterance, he corrects the
characterization *old clunkers* (not highly valued cars) to a *Cord* (highly valued car),
and he subsequently revises that to *two Cords* (first arrow) and later *very original*
(second arrow). The production of these revised characterizations involves
coordination with Curt, whose role, formerly as questioner, is being constructed now
as that of a recipient of Mike's telling, a telling which leads into a story about the
man with the Cords:

(10)

Mike:	[Lemme ask a guy at work. He's gotta bunch a'old clunkers.
Gary:	Y'know Marlon Liddle?
	(0.2)
Mike:	Well I can't say they're ol' clunkers he's gotta Co:rd?
	(0.1)
--> Mike:	Two Co:rds,
	(0.7)
Mike:	[And
Curt:	[Not original,

```
                (0.7)
 --> Mike:      Oh yes. Very origi(h)nal
    Curt:       Oh::: reall      [y?
    Mike:                        [Yah.  Ve(h)ry origi(h)nal.
    Curt:       °Awhh are you shittin m[e?
```

((continues with identification of Cord owner, description of Cords,
   and story))

The point of this added interactional sketch for our current concerns is that Mike's production of two clauses in (9) in a slightly different manner than Gary's in (8) is associated with distinct interactional work. If we analyzed both Mike's and Gary's utterances as two-TCU turns, which is plausible on a number of grounds, then we would not capture the hearable and consequential differences in their production formats, differences that are related to the different interactional functions of each turn in its sequential context. An analysis which focuses on the multiple practices of turn production rather than on isolating units provides a richer basis for a functional grammar of interaction.

Our final example, also taken from later in the conversation, offers a further contrast with (8) and (9). (8) and (9) involve second clauses which are syntactically independent and initiated with pitch reset. In (11), the speaker, Gary, goes past a point which syntactically and prosodically constitutes projected and confirmed completion. He then adds what would traditionally be seen as a syntactically dependent structure. Features of pragmatics, prosody, and gesture (in this case recipient gesture) figure in the extension of the turn. Just before this utterance, Gary has asked Curt for a beer, but Curt displays no recognition of Gary's turn and, instead of responding, folds his arms on the picnic table, between Gary and the beer. Gary re-initiates his request for a beer with this utterance:

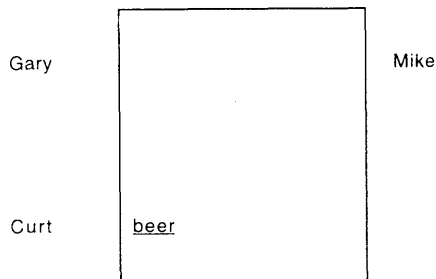(11)   Gary: Bartender how about a beer. While you're settin there.

Figure VI: Positions of the participants and the beer.

The turn starts with a summons to Curt (*Bartender*), which in itself is interpretable as possibly complete, although preliminary to some other action (see Schegloff

1980). Part way through *Bartender* Curt turns to look at Gary, so the summons has succeeded in getting Curt's attention. It also serves as an advance formulation of the role that Curt could be playing in response to the utterance, that is, alcohol server. Prosodically and syntactically, *how about a beer* allows for the interpretation of possible completion at an NP in the position that *beer* is produced, and that projection is made good on by a fall in pitch in the production of *beer*. Pragmatically, however, this may constitute a kind of 'monitor space' (Davidson 1984), a space "in which [a speaker] can examine what happens or what does not happen there for its acceptance/rejection implicativeness" (1984: 117). It may also be the case that accounts regularly follow calls for recipient action, although to our knowledge this has not been systematically studied. Gary's first clause could thus create a pragmatic projection of an account space, as discussed earlier with regard to example (6).

Clearly, however, recipient work is shaping the trajectory of Gary's turn (Goodwin 1979, 1981). During the request segment of the utterance (*how about a beer*), the recipient, Curt, looks down and unfolds his arms, in a somewhat exaggerated manner, possibly displaying surprise or annoyance. He then begins to reach for a beer. At this point, although Gary's utterance has come to completion, and the request it articulated has achieved the result it sought, Gary speaks again, adding the syntactically dependent clause *While you're settin there. While* is produced at a slightly lower pitch than *beer*, and the whole clause continues down in pitch and volume. Pragmatically, Gary's addition is interpretable as giving an account rather than merely expressing a temporal adjunct: Gary is drawing attention to the fact that Curt is not only closer to the beer, between Gary and the beer, but he is also the host of the picnic, thus the *bartender*.[9] The fact that Curt has displayed through gesture some reaction to Gary's request beyond simple compliance provides evidence that Gary's extension of his turn is prompted, at least in part, by his recipient's immediate response. That directives and requests are interactionally sensitive moves is attested in the literature on conversation and pragmatics (e.g., Davidson 1984; Brown & Levinson 1987).

This utterance further illustrates the complexity of the practices by which turns are constructed. Projections through intonation and syntax converge to locate the end of *beer* as a place of transition relevance. And yet the speaker goes on, speaking in a way that builds his new contribution prosodically, syntactically, and pragmatically as "more of what I was saying before". The "more" that is added constitutes a kind of account for his request, an account that may in fact have been expectable after such a call for recipient action, and the addition is, furthermore, responsive to recipient (Curt's) behavior.

What we have examined in this section are turns most of which could be analyzed with respect to the number of TCUs they contain. Based on close attention to the production of these turns, we have shown that projection of possible completion is done not through syntax alone but through practices involving the fitting of a contribution to its context of action (pragmatics), through prosody, by means of the gaze and body movements that accompany verbalization, and through

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[9] See Ford (1993), and Ford & Mori (1994) for discussion of final adverbial clauses as accounts.

the monitoring of recipient behavior. We have argued that the crucial contingency of the system as it is embodied in these individual instances requires that the projection in operation at any point be continuously revisable, even to the extent that an already completed turn can be retroactively treated as unfinished through the formulation of further talk with features of continuation. Thus projection creates a manipulable potential end point, a provisional and negotiable goal that can be confirmed or manipulated through the same practices that produced it in the first place. To provide an account for the architecture of turn production, we have distanced ourselves from a binary question regarding the status of a segment as a TCU. This distance has in the end provided us with a closer view of the processes used by co-participants in constructing their contributions.

5. Conclusions

We started this investigation by observing that our attempts to determine what the basic make-up was of 'conversational units' were complicated by three factors: (1) TCUs are emergent and thus cannot be pre-defined; (2) TCUs have been seen as primarily syntactic units with certain kinds of intonational contours, but we have found this to be a problematic account; (3) trying to identify TCUs in the data yields only a partial account of what is actually going on in the interactions we are observing. In trying to understand conversational contributions in terms of TCUs or any other unit, then, we were confronted with practices that form multiple constellations of convergence and divergence in turn construction. And while syntax plays a role in turn construction, syntactic units are always produced with intonation, in particular contexts, embodying specific local actions, and, in face-to-face communication, coordinated with non-verbal behavior. Thus, whereas the TCU has been conceived of as a primarily syntactic unit, we would argue that intonation and gesture are just as implicated in the nomination of points of possible completion, with pitch peaks, for example, providing an alert to recipients that they should now attend to syntax for possible turn completion. Furthermore, we find numerous cases in which, instead of clear cases in which syntax, prosody, gesture, and action predictably converge to form unequivocal units, even emergent ones, an array of combinations are produced, which are open to manipulation of various sorts as they are being built. Indeed this is not surprising, as conversation analytic scholarship since 1974 has pointed strongly in this direction (section 2, above), and such a system, one that involves multiple practices and is open to constant revision, is well-adapted to the moment-by-moment contingent nature of co-participation in conversation.

The issues we have addressed here are based on a study of a set of American English conversations, but they are obviously consequential for the study of co-participation in other languages as well. There is every reason to believe that the practices which have been described for English may also be found in conversations among people speaking other languages, but the specific ways in which these practices are deployed may well differ. We see a fruitful avenue of research in the continued investigation of turn construction practices in languages other than English, examples of which can be seen in Selting (1987, this volume); Streeck & Hartge (1992); Auer (1992,1993, this volume); Ford & Mori (1994); Lerner &

Takagi (1995); Tao (1996), and Schuetze-Coburn (to appear), among others. In fact, the reexamination of the TCU that we have begun in the present paper is being nicely applied to Japanese turn construction in recent research by Hayashi; Mori & Takagi (1995).

In our analysis we have tried to deconstruct turns into their composite parts to ascertain the role of each of them: Prosody, grammar, pragmatics, and non-verbal movements. We have come to understand that both analysts and participants must be accountable for all these contributions (and probably others as well) at all times for constructing and interpreting, thus doing, co-participation in talk-in-interaction. We have come to see the notion of a conversational unit, in other words, as a gloss for crucial aspects of the turn-building process. Thinking in terms of 'units' seemed to allow us to miss building an account of what people are doing in interaction, since these various practices that we have considered, syntactic, pragmatic, prosodic, gestural, can be drawn upon in a wide variety of ways to frame conversational actions as nearing, or not nearing, completion, and thus displaying participants' understanding of whether or not it is someone else's turn to talk. We hope to have shown how these practices can be understood as actions on the part of participants working together to achieve co-participation in conversation. We also hope to have offered a necessary corrective to unquestioning generalizations about the fundamentally syntactic nature of turn building, generalizations that seem to have become entrenched in the CA and interactional linguistic literature since the appearance of Sacks et al. in 1974. We would strongly suggest that researchers interested in turns and turn-taking must approach the analysis of turns with an informed respect for the complex array of practices through which contributions are shaped and revised within the contingencies of talk-in-interaction.

Appendix: Transcription symbols

Symbol	Interpretation
(.)	A short, untimed pause
(0.3)	A timed pause
hhh	Audible breath
thi-	Hyphen indicates a sound cut off
=	Latching, rush into next turn or segment
[	Brackets indicate the onset of overlap
she	Prominent stress
SHE	Higher volume than surrounding talk
°she°	Lower volume than surrounding talk
she:	Sound stretch
.	Ending, low falling, intonation
?	High rising intonation
,	Intermediate intonation contours: level, slight rise, slight (fall

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