

## 'INCREMENTING' IN CONVERSATION. A COMPARISON OF PRACTICES IN ENGLISH, GERMAN AND JAPANESE

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### Abstract

This cross-linguistic study focuses on ways in which conversationalists speak beyond a point of possible turn completion in conversation, specifically on turn extensions which are grammatically dependent, backward-looking and extend the prior action. It argues that further distinctions can be made in terms of whether the extension is prosodically integrated with the prior unit, its host, (*Non-add-on*) or not, and in terms of whether it repairs some part of the host (*Replacement*) or not. Added-on, non-repairing extensions are further distinguished in terms of whether they are grammatically fitted to the end of the host (*Glue-ons*) or not (*Insertables*). A preliminary survey of TCU continuation in English, German and Japanese conversation reveals a number of significant differences with respect to frequency and range of extension type. English is at one extreme in preferring Glue-ons over Non-Add-ons and Insertables, whereas Japanese is at the other extreme in preferring Non-add-ons and Insertables over Glue-ons. German occupies an intermediary position but is on the whole more like Japanese. The preference for Glue-ons vs. Insertables appears to reflect a language's tendency towards syntactic left- vs. right headedness. In conclusion the study argues for a classification of 'increment' types which goes beyond the English-based Glue-on, attributes a central role to prosodic delivery and adopts a usage-based understanding of word order.

**Keywords:** Increment; Turn-constructual unit (TCU); Post-possible completion; Free constituent; Transition relevance place (TRP); Same-turn self-repair; Right dislocation; German sentence brace; Japanese predicate finality; Zero anaphora; Syntactic headedness.

### Introduction

To our knowledge the term 'increment' was first used by Schegloff (1996) to describe a type of *post-possible completion* found in conversation by which a completed turn-constructual unit (TCU) is extended – and thereby recompleted – through the addition of elements which grammatically specify or complement it (1996: 90ff). 'Increments' in Schegloff's sense contrast with 'new TCUs'. Both represent ways for a speaker to continue talking past a turn's point of possible completion. But while 'increments' are grammatical *extensions* of the prior unit according to Schegloff, 'new TCUs' – as their name suggests – are built with *independent* grammatical structure. Rather than continuing the prior unit, they add a new unit to the turn.

Why is this distinction important? As Ford, Fox & Thompson (2002) have argued, it can make a difference in interaction whether a prior possibly complete unit is treated as (i) still in progress, or (ii) over and done with. In the first case, when one speaks further, one is continuing the prior action, recompleting it (backwards orientation), i.e. only one action is involved. In the second case one is engaging in a

new action (forwards orientation). Indeed, which of these one is doing can be interactionally consequential. If there is an intervening pause, for instance, then in the first case (with an 'increment'), the pause will be retrospectively hearable as 'belonging' to the current speaker; it becomes an intra-turn pause located somewhere within that speaker's turn-at-talk. In the second case (with a 'new TCU'), an intervening pause will be attributable to the recipient: it becomes a place where a response could have been produced but was not. An inter-turn pause, i.e. a noticeably absent response, is arguably consequential for the interaction in a way quite different from an intra-turn pause.

In this paper we report on an investigation of the phenomenon of 'incrementing' in three different languages with which we are familiar.<sup>1</sup> In trying to describe the patterns of post-possible completion found in our data,<sup>2</sup> we encountered a number of difficulties with the English-based distinction between 'increment' and 'new TCU'. Some of our problems had already been addressed in studies of the prosody and syntax of turn continuation in German by Auer (1991, 1992, 1996).<sup>3</sup> But we found that Auer's work needed to be supplemented in order to account for what we found happening in Japanese (Ono/Couper-Kuhlen 2002). This finding has led to a preliminary classification of turn continuation which appeared as Vorreiter (2003) and served as the basis for the present cross-linguistic comparison.

In the following we first summarize the categories of turn continuation according to our schema. We then focus on TCU continuation and examine how the types we have identified are realized in English, German and Japanese conversational data respectively, giving a rough impression in each case of distribution and relative frequency. Finally we consider a possible grammatical explanation for the skewings and preferences we observe.

## 1. Classifying turn continuation cross-linguistically

Let us begin by imagining the following conversational event: A speaker reaches a point of possible completion in his or her talk, i.e. completes a turn, but then – for whatever reason – finds it expedient to continue talking.<sup>4</sup> There appear to be at least three different ways of continuing a turn-at-talk – and possibly more. They produce talk which might be thought of as forming a continuum of 'relatedness' to the prior unit. At one extreme is the case of a **new TCU**: This is independent material which is

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<sup>2</sup> For this study our English data base is the 'Holt' corpus of British English telephone calls and the 'Newport Beach' corpus of American English telephone calls (all of these are primarily between family, friends and acquaintances); our German data base is a collection of radio phone-ins and political discussions made available to us courtesy of Susanne Günthner, University of Münster; and our Japanese data base is a collection of informal face-to-face conversations between friends and intimates. For transcription conventions used in the English data, see Jefferson 1984; in the German data, Auer 1996 and Günthner 1993. Conventions for Japanese were adapted from Du Bois et al. 1993.

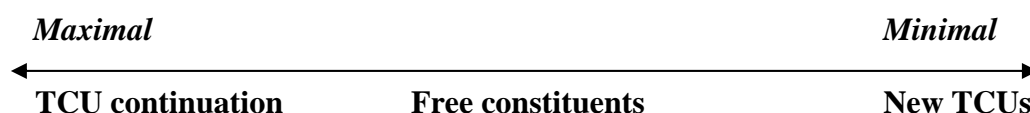
<sup>3</sup> Uhmann 1997 did not come to our attention until after completion of our deliberations but is fully compatible with the schema presented here.

<sup>4</sup> As Schegloff 2001 shows, this can happen immediately ("next beat"), after a silence ("post-gap") or following intervening talk by another ("post-other-talk").

syntactically and semantically unrelated to what came before and constitutes a new action. At the other extreme is the case of a **TCU continuation**, material which is in one way or another syntactically and semantically dependent on the prior unit, its 'host', and continues the prior action. Somewhere in between these extremes is the case of a so-called **Free constituent**. This is material which is not syntactically dependent on the unit that precedes but is semantically and pragmatically so. It often initiates a new action.

**Figure 1. Continuing a turn-at-talk**

*Syntactic & semantic dependence on prior unit*



Within the domain of TCU continuation, some types are set off prosodically from their hosts and others are not. A TCU continuation which follows a strongly marked syntactic closure, and is therefore 'out of place', but shows no prosodic break with its host is termed here a **Non-add-on**. Although strictly speaking such a continuation extends what went before, prosodically it does not come off as being added on to the prior unit. Instead the two parts form a single perceptual (auditory) gestalt. By contrast, material which is clearly separated from the host by a prosodic break – be it in terms of pitch, loudness, tempo/rhythm or pause – is what we call an **Add-on**. This kind of continuation supplies one or more additional elements which are part of the preceding TCU and at the same time, because these elements are noticeably separate from it, makes a display of the fact that they are extending and recompleting that unit.

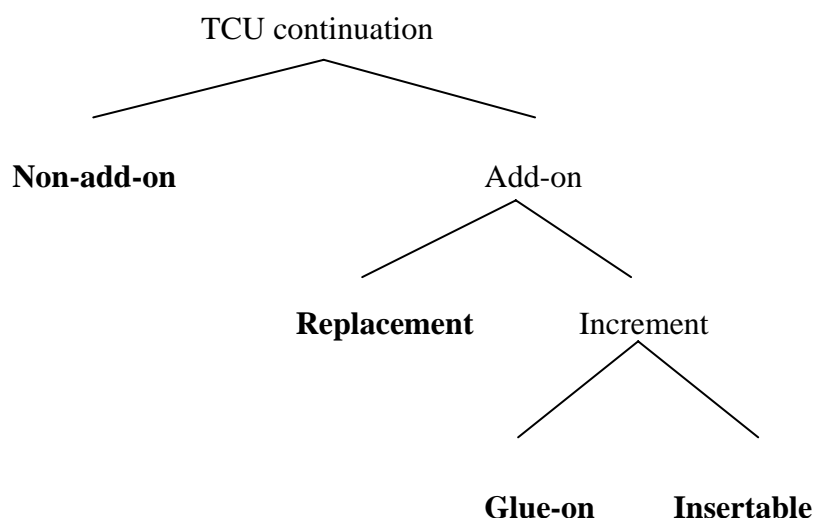
Yet not all Add-ons are alike. Some replace a part of the host and are thus repair-like: They are called **Replacements** here. Others do not replace an element in the prior unit but furnish new elements which are retrospectively seen to be part of the prior unit. These are called **Increments** proper.<sup>5</sup> Here too several types can be distinguished. **Glue-ons** are elements which are grammatically fitted to the end of the host;<sup>6</sup> **Insertables** are elements which do not properly fit the end of the prior unit but belong, canonically speaking, somewhere within it.<sup>7</sup>

A TCU continuation in conversational data can thus be categorized cross-linguistically into one of four different types: (i) Non-add-on, (ii) Replacement, (iii) Glue-on and (iv) Insertable.

<sup>5</sup> To distinguish between our use of the term *increment* and that found elsewhere, we use scare quotes around the word in others' denotation and capitalize it when it is deployed in our sense.

<sup>6</sup> The category of Glue-on thus comes closest to Schegloff's understanding of 'increment'.

<sup>7</sup> As we see below, this category depends upon a notion of word order which more often than not is based on written-language norms. Ideally, it should be possible to invoke spoken-language norms for this category.

**Figure 2. Types of TCU continuation**

In the following sections we illustrate each of these categories as well as the intermediary category of Free constituent in the three languages under investigation. From now on, our use of the term TCU continuation will include the four types of continuation shown in Figure 2 as well as Free constituents. As we will show, speakers of these languages, when 'incrementing', rely to differing degrees on the types of TCU continuation which this typology distinguishes. Readers may wish to refer ahead to Table 1 in section 5 for a summary of the preferences observed.

## 2. TCU continuation in English

Crucial for the identification of TCU continuation in any language is a clear understanding of what counts as a possibly complete turn in that language.<sup>8</sup> There has probably been as much work done on this for English as for any other known language.

Ford & Thompson (1996), for instance, identify three aspects of turn completion: Syntactic, intonational and pragmatic. Syntactic completion is operationalized as an utterance being interpretable in its discourse context as "a complete clause, that is, with an overt or directly recoverable predicate" (1996: 143).<sup>9</sup> Intonational completion is operationalized with respect to the intonation unit<sup>10</sup> as "a point at which a clear final intonation, indicated by a period or question mark" can be heard (1996: 147).<sup>11</sup> Finally, pragmatic completion is operationalized as an utterance with final intonation being interpretable "as a complete conversational action within its specific sequential context" (1996: 150). When these three types of completion

<sup>8</sup> Needless to say, the same holds true for *turn* continuations, or 'new TCUs'.

<sup>9</sup> In their study this category also included "elliptical clauses, answers to questions, and backchannel responses" (Ford & Thompson 1996: 143).

<sup>10</sup> This is an auditory, perceptual unit identified according to the criteria set forth in Du Bois et al 1993.

<sup>11</sup> 'Period' intonation refers to a fall to low pitch at the end of an intonation unit, 'question mark' intonation refers to a rise to high pitch.

converge, Ford & Thompson speak of a "complex" transition relevance place (CTRP). It is at these places that they find nearly half the total number of speaker changes occurring in their data.<sup>12</sup> In general then, the convergence of syntactic, intonational and pragmatic completion as operationalized in their study might be thought of as signalling possible turn completion in English.

Yet much depends on how the three aspects of turn completion are determined, and even for English it is not uncontested what the appropriate operationalizations are. Ford & Thompson consider only period and question intonation as marking intonational completion, thus excluding so-called 'comma' intonation, i.e. cases in which the final pitch is neither a marked fall to low nor a marked rise to high. Yet Szczepek Reed (2004) found smooth turn transition occurring in her corpus after virtually all kinds of terminal intonation contours. From this perspective, any type of final pitch would be have to be called 'complete' in English. More generally, what Szczepek Reed's study suggests is that the importance of type of final pitch movement in an English intonation unit may be minimal in determining presence of a TRP, or transition readiness. This is not to say that intonation is wholly irrelevant in determining transition relevance. There is interactional evidence emerging that certain on-syllable accent types may be the pitch cues which project upcoming TRPs in English (Schgelloff 1987; Wells & Macfarlane 2002). If so, then the presence of a TRP-projecting accent would be an obvious alternative way of operationalizing intonational completion, or its projection.

The upshot of the above discussion is that even for a language as well researched as English, *how* possible turn completion is projected, i.e. what counts as a possibly complete turn, is not yet fully understood (cf. also Fox 2001). In the following we adopt a pragmatic approach to the problem and restrict our discussion to demonstrably clear cases of turn completion in our data.

## 2.1. *Non-add-ons*

Turning now to the various types of TCU continuation in English, we note that what is required for the Non-add-on category is strong syntactic closure such that the material that follows the closure is somehow 'out of place'. English grammar does not mark the right edge of a syntactic gestalt as strongly as some other languages do (see below); in general an English clause can always be prolonged by the addition of adjuncts and post-modifiers. However, on occasion speakers will be heard to append – *post* possible completion of a clause – a subsequent specification of one of its referents, typically one of its core elements. Post-completion specification of a core clausal element is syntactically 'out of place', as reflected in its being called "right dislocation" (cf. e.g. Geluykens 1994). When a "right dislocation" is produced without a prosodic break, we have a Non-add-on in English. Following is an example:<sup>13</sup>

(1) **Non-add-on** (Holt:X (Christmas) 1:1:1)<sup>14</sup>  
(Underlining marks the constituent which is replaceable)

<sup>12</sup> To be exact, speaker change coincided with 47.5%, or 198 out of 417 complex TRPs (Ford & Thompson 1996: 158).

<sup>13</sup> The TCU continuation here and elsewhere is in bold print.

<sup>14</sup> We are indebted to Gail Jefferson for making her transcriptions available to us. Spelling has been regularized for ease of reading.

- 1 Les: Pity you're not here earlier,h you c[ould join:]  
 2 Mum: [My wo:rd]  
 3 ihh hhee! Christmas is ↑he:re isn't it ↑early.=  
 4 Les: =Ye(h)es:  
 5 (0.2)  
 6 Les: You could (.) enjo:y i[:t with us  
 7 Mum: [( [ )]  
 8 Les: [((sniff))  
 9 (1.0)  
 10-> Mum: ↑Cyd rang this evening **Cyd Arnold**  
 11 (.)  
 12 Les: How is she?:  
 13 (0.3)  
 14 Mum: Eh: ye:s she's (.) she's ↑quite ↓goo:d she said she's  
 15 had a (.) complete overhau:l, (0.2)

In this fragment Les and Mum bring the topic of Christmas activities to a close in lines 1-9. Mum initiates a new topic with her news delivery *Cyd rang this evening* (line 10). Yet the referent of *Cyd* is presumably not sufficient for recognition, so Mum adds – in the ‘same breath’ – the full name *Cyd Arnold*. This specification might be said to work on, or repair, the prior referent description *Cyd*. Yet because it is produced in one prosodic ‘gesture’ with the prior clause, it would count as a Non-add-on.

On occasion Non-add-ons occur in English which cannot easily be said to specify or repair an element in the prior clause,<sup>15</sup> because that element is missing:<sup>16</sup>

(2) **Non-add-on** (Holt 2:2)

(@ marks the syntactic slot where the ‘dislocated’ material might be said to belong)

- 1 Les: .hh EHM I-eh-I still owe you the money I think don't I.=  
 2 Bon: =You do actually ye[s I'd forgotten about ] that,]  
 3 Les: [But don't let me forget ]it the]:n,  
 4 Bon: Well I paid it in.  
 5 And then it was done.  
 6 So, you- you owe it [to me one time or another.]  
 7 Les: [I o w e i t t o y o u.]  
 8 Bon: hnh-huh-huh-[huh  
 9 Les: [Y e (h)]es.  
 10-> Bon [.hh Yes. @ Silly thing **that**,  
 11 to come out witho[ut it,  
 12 Les: [ehh heh hehe-heh

At the beginning of this fragment Leslie remembers that her interlocutor Bon has lent her some money which she has not yet returned. The loan appears to have been

<sup>15</sup> Thus, in this category we do not further differentiate between elements which repair something in prior talk and those which do not.

<sup>16</sup> A similar situation arises with even greater frequency in Japanese turn continuation (see below).

occasioned by Leslie's having gone out without her purse. In line 8 Bon assesses this incident with *silly thing*, a predicating expression. Immediately thereafter, she appends the word *that*. In a construction like this, *that* can be treated as the subject of the predicate (*be*) *a silly thing*, in which case it is canonically out of place by being on the right of its predicate, or it can be said to 'replace' an elided subject *it* in the prior clause. Either way *that* is out of place. Since it is unstressed and belongs prosodically to the prior accent unit initiated by the accent on *silly*, it too can be considered an instantiation of the category of Non-add-on.<sup>17</sup>

Non-add-ons in English correspond to Geluykens' (1994) "right dislocations" without a prosodic break – a small group in his corpus<sup>18</sup> – when the completion of the 'dislocated' element creates a TRP. As Geluykens observes, they are prototypically noun phrases. In our own English materials, Non-add-ons are rare.

## 2.2. Replacements

The category of Replacement involves prosodically disjunct added-on material which replaces or repairs one or more elements in the host. Replacements are a subcategory of same-turn self-repair, comprising those instances where the self-repair is carried out during the transition space following a turn's possible completion (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977). The category includes Geluykens' (1994) "right dislocations" produced with a prosodic break, when the completion of the host creates a TRP.

Following is an example from our materials:

### (3) **Replacement** (Holt: X (Christmas) 1:1:1)

(Underlining marks the constituent which is replaceable)

- 1 Les: .tk.hhhh ↑Anyway we had a very good evening↑ o:n  
Saturda:y
- 2 (.)
- 3 Mum: ↓Ye:s?
- 4 Les: We went to North Cadbury:  
5 and Gordon came too an:d  
6 Kenneth Haversham and the Havershams and the Coles  
7 were there .hh
- 8 -> And em .t.hh (0.2) it was in a beautiful ol:d (0.2)
- 9 cou↓:rt. (0.2) uh: (.)
- 10=> **North Cadbury Court which used to be a very old  
monastery**
- 11 (0.4)
- 12 Mum: Oh ↓yes.

<sup>17</sup> We note that Bon produces another turn continuation in line 9 with the specifying phrase *to come out without it*. This phrase is set off prosodically from its host, however, and for this reason would count as an Add-on.

<sup>18</sup> Seventeen out of 123 "right dislocations", extracted from the conversational files of the Survey of English Usage, had no prosodic break (Geluykens1994:118). They tended to be pronominal in form and emotive in function.

In this fragment Leslie embarks upon a story about her Saturday evening in North Cadbury and, as part of her story, introduces the venue of a beautiful old court (line 8). When Mum shows no sign of recognition (line 9), she adds a specification with *North Cadbury Court which used to be a very old monastery* (line 10). Syntactically this material could stand in place of *a beautiful old court*; it would therefore count as a Replacement continuation.<sup>19</sup>

Although "right dislocations" are prototypically noun phrases (Geluykens 1994: 90), Replacements in our materials include other sorts of constituents as well. For instance:

(4) **Replacement** (Holt: Sept-Oct 1988: Side 1: Call 5)  
(Underlining marks the constituent which is replaceable)

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

In this fragment Gordon, who is about to start architectural school, is telling his friend Susan about an opportunity he may have to do a year of practical work in Paris. In lines 4-5 he describes the French family with whom he might be staying as speaking *about a half dozen languages*. Both Susan and Gordon agree in their assessment of this opportunity as *good news* (line 7) and *good* (8). Gordon now expands the sequence in line 12 by observing *I'd like to be like that*, a turn which makes some response from Susan relevant next. But when no reply from Susan is forthcoming (see line 13), he continues, adding on the element *Bilingual* (line 14). This adjective refers back syntactically and semantically to the prior unit: It specifies what Gordon would like to be and thus fills a predicative complement slot with respect to the copula verb *be*. However, since the predicative complement slot is already filled by *like that* in the prior unit, Gordon's Add-on must be considered a Replacement. It could be substituted for *like that*, with the result being a well-formed syntactic gestalt: *I'd like to be bilingual*.

<sup>19</sup> Traditional grammarians might describe it as being in apposition to the noun phrase *a beautiful old court*.



Although we have not done a quantitative study, it is our impression that Replacements are not unusual types of TCU continuation in English conversation. In Geluykens' study, prosodically separate "right dislocations" constituted the largest class (1994: 188).

### 2.3. Glue-ons

The Glue-on category corresponds to the prototypical 'increment' of English studies. It is examples of this type that Schegloff's understanding appears to be based on (1996, 2000, 2001; cf. also Walker 2001, 2004). We cite a few characteristic examples here from our collection.

(5) **Glue-on** (Holt: 1988 Undated: Side 1: Call 9)

- 1-> Gor: [.t O:kay. .h I: sh- I shall leave you. .h  
 2=>           **to get on with your hard studying.**  
 3=>           **that I know I interrupted.** .hhhhh  
 4=>           **rather[rudely**  
 5     Dan:           [(Oh yes.)

In this fragment Gordon moves to open the closing of a rather lengthy telephone conversation with his girlfriend Dana by producing *Okay. I shall leave you* (line 1). A split second later, however, he expands this unit with a reference to what (he implies) Dana was engaged in when he called: *To get on with your hard studying* (line 2). When this line receives no response from Dana, Gordon expands again with a self-critical *that I know I interrupted* (line 3). Again there is no response from Dana, and Gordon adds on *rather rudely* (line 4), now finally provoking – in overlap – a noncommittal *Oh yes* from Dana (line 5).

We note that each of the additions to Gordon's turn in (5) is built to be a syntactic continuation of the (recompleted) unit that preceded it. In each case, if the prosodic break were removed, the Glue-on together with its host would yield a well-formed syntactic gestalt:

- (a) I shall leave you
- (b) I shall leave you to get on with your hard studying
- (c) I shall leave you to get on with your hard studying that I know I interrupted
- (d) I shall leave you to get on with your hard studying that I know I interrupted rather rudely

As the above expansions demonstrate, various different types of syntactic constituents can be used as Glue-ons in English. Illustrated in (5) are (b) a non-finite hypotactic clause of purpose, (c) a restrictive relative clause and (d) an adverb phrase of manner. None of these added-on elements belongs to the core of its respective clause: The expansions in (b) and (d) are adverbial adjuncts, the expansion in (c) a post-modifier within a noun phrase.

The following examples illustrate a noun phrase and a prepositional phrase, respectively, used as Glue-ons:

(6) **Glue-on** (Holt: 1988 Undated: Side 1: Call 3)

- 1-> Gor: hUh:m (0.2) .p.hhhh hu-You going to- (0.3) the music-  
 2-> (0.3) work↓shop.  
 3 Ken: Yes[: I am:.  
 4=> Gor: [.hhhhhh .g **this** ↓**morning**.  
 5 u-What time are you going,  
 6 (.)  
 7 Ken: Well[I'm just about to leave to (pick Rebecca ↓up.)

(7) **Glue-on** (NB:1.1.R:5)

- 1 Guy: W'why don't I: uh (0.6) I'll call uh (.)  
 2-> Have ↑you go(.)t uh: ↑Seacliffs' phone number?h  
 3 (1.1)  
 4=> Guy: **by any chance?**  
 5 (0.3)  
 6 Jon: Yeah?

Here too, we note that the added-on constituents *this morning* (ex. 6, line 4) and *by any chance* (ex. 7, line 4) are not core elements in their respective clauses *You going to the music workshop* (ex.6, lines 1-2) and *Have you got Seacliffs' phone number* (ex.7, line 2). Both expansions are adverbial: that in (6) is an adjunct, that in (7) a disjunct (Quirk et al 1985).

Finite subordinate clauses are also found as Glue-ons in English conversation; they too function as a rule adverbially with respect to a prior clausal unit. Here are two examples from our materials (cf. also Ford 1993):

(8) **Clausal Glue-on** (Holt:1:3)

- 1 Les: .hh Well if I c'd (0.2)  
 2 Is it possible for me to leave an order with you.=  
 3 Bat: =That's perfectly alright.  
 4 =Leave the order with us,  
 5 -> we'll make it up and deliver it on Thursday.  
 6 Les: .hh[Yes.  
 7=> Bat: **[If that's alright with you:,**  
 8 (.)  
 9 Les: Yes.  
 10 .hh Now, u-my daughter should be at ho:me:,  
 11 Bat: Ye[s,  
 12 Les: [.hh But uhm (.) if not, uh could you put it in: the middle ba:rn.  
 =It's got uh:m .hh sliding doors.  
 13 Bat: Yes certainly. N[o problem at [a:ll.  
 14 Les: [But- [I'll tell her to look out for you.  
 15 Bat: Altight fie.  
 16 Les: .hh Tha[nk y o u-]  
 17 Bat : [( ) ] [ ]  
 18 Les: [Oh uh shall I bring it in tomorrow,

- 19 (0.3)  
 20 -> Bat: Uh: Tuesd- uh- uh yeh the sooner the ↓better,  
 21 (.)  
 22 => Bat: **Cuz it gives us a chance to get it out then.**  
 23 (.)  
 24 Les: That's very kind of you,  
 25 Bat: (I'll expect it).

In this fragment, the shop owner Mr Bathwick uses clausal Glue-ons to 'increment' two different turns-at-talk dealing with Leslie's order: In one case the Glue-on is a conditional clause (line 7), in the other it is a causal clause (line 22). Both are produced after the speaker has reached a point of possible turn completion.<sup>20</sup>

Of potentially more ambiguous status are cases in which the further talk produced following a possibly complete TCU is a finite clause prefaced by a coordinator such as *but*, *and* or *or*. Line 12 in example (8) above is a case in point. Assuming Leslie has reached possible turn completion with her unit *Now, u-my daughter should be at home* (line 10),<sup>21</sup> should her continuation *But uhm (.) if not, uh could you put it in the middle barn* (line 12) be thought of as a TCU continuation or a new TCU? The answer would appear to hinge on whether the clause coordinated with *but* is syntactically and semantically related to the prior unit and whether it carries out a separate action. In the case at hand, the first unit (line 10) might be thought of as an indirect suggestion that Mr Bathwick leave the order with the daughter, the second unit as suggesting what to do if she is not at home (line 12). Assuming these suggestions are two separate actions, then the second unit would be analyzable as a new TCU. Yet often this type of judgment is difficult to make when there is little in the interactional record to support one or the other analysis.

On rare occasions, the Glue-on is not an optional element in the preceding structure but one of its core elements. When this happens, the original, possibly complete syntactic gestalt is restructured into a new one built around the glued-on constituent. Here are two examples:

(9) **Restructuring Glue-on** (Holt: X (Christmas) 1:1:1)

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

<sup>20</sup> Line 20 has final "comma" intonation and might be considered an incomplete TCU for this reason; however, because *better* is downstepped to low pitch, the unit comes off as transition-ready.

<sup>21</sup> Mr Bathwick's response in line 11 suggests as much.

- 12 ( ): (t)  
 13 (0.2)  
 14 => Les: .tc[h.hhh (0.2) **what we shall see::**, ((nasal))

(10) **Restructuring Glue-on** (Holt: X (Christmas) 1:1:1)

- 1 Les: .hhh Oh: ↑next Saturday we're going to um (0.4)  
 2 .hhh a performance: of the Castillian Players  
 3 -> they're doin:g (.) a: comic (.) murder.  
 4 Mum: Oh:: lovely.  
 5 => Les: **pla:y**,

Restructuring Glue-ons are quite startling when they occur in English TCU continuation. As we show below, however, they are more common in Japanese.

## 2.4. Insertables

As with Non-add-ons, the category of Insertables requires the prior TRP to coincide with strong syntactic closure. Insertables, however, are produced with a clear prosodic break, so that the new 'out of place' material sounds tacked on. It does not come off as planned or produced in one gestalt with its host.

Just as we observed for Non-add-ons, strong syntactic closure is not particularly frequent in English. In the following case, however, the speaker produces a TCU continuation which attaches not to the immediately prior unit, but to the one before it. The result is like an Insertable in that the added-on material is 'out of place'.

(11) **Insertable** (Holt: 1988 Undated: Side 1: Call 8)

(@ marks the syntactic slot where the 'displaced' material might be said to belong)

- 1 -> Gor: .tch Are you gonna drive in @.  
 2 Cuz I n- I know there was some rumor about it,  
 3 (0.5)  
 4 => Gor: .hhhh **Or** **not**.  
 5 (0.5)  
 6 Dan: No but I'll be downtown (0.2) at nine forty five.

Gordon's unit in line 2 is already an Add-on with respect to his prior completed TCU (line 1). Observe now that after a half-second pause (line 3), during which Gordon's girlfriend Dana could come in with a response to his question but doesn't, Gordon produces an inbreath and then continues, adding on *or not* (line 4). In contrast to the clausal coordinations examined above, this is a phrasal coordination: The word *or* is understood to be linking two polar verb phrases, *drive in* and *not drive in*. Canonically speaking, line 4 should follow the end of line 1 and not the end of line 2, which is where it is produced. In this sense it can be called an Insertable.

Insertables are vanishingly rare in our English materials – in strong contrast, as we shall see, to German and Japanese. Schegloff's (2001) study contains only one comparable example: *Well because he know::s what- the problems are:: alre.ady.*

According to English reference grammars, a temporal adverb like *already* 'belongs' in a medial position, between subject and verb (cf. e.g. Quirk et al 1985 579; 491) and in this sense it might be said to be 'out of place' here. Yet *already* does occur in final position in spoken English, in particular when it carries heavy stress. So *already* in this example is arguably not misplaced but rather its position with respect to the host is simply marked.

This raises an important issue concerning grammatical norms with which we will be confronted on several occasions in this study. Because normative grammar as found in most reference grammars tends to be based on written language, spoken patterns which depart from these norms appear accordingly as 'deviations'. In our study, however, we wish to think of spoken syntax not in terms of how well it conforms to written norms, but rather in terms of what regularities it exhibits on its own and/or how these regular patterns are treated by users on actual occasions of use. Spoken syntactic patterns, we submit, can be called relatively *unmarked* if (among other things) they occur frequently. Otherwise, they can be considered *marked*. Insertables are elements whose position with respect to the host is marked.<sup>22</sup>

## 2.5. Free constituents

In the category of Free constituents, the syntactic structure of material produced in continuation is not dependent on the prior unit. Ford, Fox & Thompson describe such objects as "Unattached NP increments"<sup>23</sup> and observe that although they do not extend the syntax or the action of the previous unit, they "display a stance toward what has just been said or an assessment of a referent from the previous unit" (2002: 26). In this sense they are backwards-looking and dependent on the prior unit for their interpretation.<sup>24</sup> Following is an example from our collection:

(12) **Free constituent** (Holt: July 1986: Side 1: Call 2)

- 1 Les: Katherine's got to sleep,  
 2 in:: the house up in York a<sub>l</sub>o:ne this wee<sub>n</sub>[d.  
 3 Tre: [Oh  
 really?  
 4 Les: And she's no-t too-oo ha-ppy about it=  
 5 -> Tre: =No:.  
 6 (0.3)  
 7 => Tre: **H**ouse on her ow:n.[°Oh G]od.°  
 8 Les: [Ye:s.]

Trevor's *No* in line 5, acknowledging Leslie's report of her daughter's uneasiness about sleeping in the York house all alone, is a complete action and a complete turn. Yet it

<sup>22</sup> Clearly, much more empirical work needs to be done in order to know exactly what counts as unmarked and marked in the languages under consideration here. However, it is in this spirit that we wish to understand the notion of Insertable.

<sup>23</sup> In our classification they would not be called Increments but Free constituents.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. also Helasvuo 2001a, b and Tao 1996, who deal with unattached NPs in Finnish and Chinese respectively.

lacks clear affiliation. This is accomplished when Trevor, following a short pause, continues with *House on her own. Oh God* (line 7). The phrase *House on her own* is not in any sense a syntactic expansion of the prior *No* (*she's not too happy about it*).<sup>25</sup> Yet without this prior unit and the action it implements, the phrase *House on her own* would be uninterpretable.<sup>26</sup> In this sense we could say that the constituent is syntactically free but dependent on the prior unit and its action for interpretation.

It is not only noun phrases which can be used as Free constituents in English to continue talk past a point of possible turn completion, as the continuation of (12) shows:

(13) **Free constituent** (Holt: July 1986: Side 1: Call 2)

- 1 Les: Katherine's got to sleep,  
 2 in:: the house up in York alo:ne this weeken[:d.  
 3 Tre: [Oh  
 really?  
 4 Les: And she's no-t too-oo ha-ppy about it=  
 5 Tre: =No:.  
 6 (0.3)  
 7 -> Tre: House on her ow:n.[°Oh G]od.°  
 8 Les: [Ye:s.]  
 9 (0.3)  
 10 => Tre: **Spooky.**

In line 10 Trevor adds another element to his turn-so-far, *Spooky*. This adjective is used in predicative function to propose an assessment;<sup>27</sup> yet without prior talk it would not be clear what referent this attribute is being predicated of. Based on our initial observation, noun phrases and adjective phrases are the most common types of Free Constituents in English (see also Schneider 2003). Whether other phrasal categories serve as resources for this type of continuation is a question which can only be answered by further empirical investigation.

Summarizing our survey of English, we have found instantiations of all five categories of TCU continuation in our British and American materials. However, whereas Glue-ons and Replacements abound, and Free constituents are not uncommon, Non-add-ons and Insertables are hard to find. We suspect that there is a more general explanation for why precisely the first set of these categories should be so frequent and the second set so rare in our materials. We note that the strong preference found in English for Glue-ons, elements which are fitted syntactically to the end of their host, corroborates the understanding of 'increments' which has developed in English-based work (Schegloff 1996, 2000, 2001; Ford, Fox & Thompson 2002; Walker 2001, 2004).

<sup>25</sup> Nor can it be considered a syntactic replacement for *it* (line 4), which would require something like 'sleeping in the house on her own'.

<sup>26</sup> This may be due in part to the fact that without a determiner, it has unclear reference (cf. also Ono & Thompson 1994).

<sup>27</sup> Thus, in contrast to Trevor's *House on her own* (line 7), which prolongs the action (but not the syntax) of the prior unit (his *No* in line 5 is an acknowledging response to Leslie's report *She's not too happy about it*), *Spooky* (line 10) carries out a new action by assessing the situation Leslie reports.

### 3. TCU continuation in German

In this section we pursue a similar line of inquiry with respect to TCU continuation in German, although our findings are based on a much smaller set of data (Auer 1991, 1992, 1996; Schneider 2003; Uhmann 1997) and for this reason should be considered preliminary.

What counts as possible turn completion in German? Syntactically, as Auer (1996) points out, possible completion at the clausal level is related to the so-called *Satzklammer* or 'sentence brace'. In independent clauses a lefthand bracket is created by a finite verb form occurring early in the utterance;<sup>28</sup> the righthand bracket is provided by an accompanying non-finite verb form, e.g. participle or infinitive, by a particle or a separable verb prefix. In subordinate clauses, the sentence brace is opened on the left by a complementizer or subordinating conjunction and is closed on the right by the finite verb. Following is an example of an independent clause with a non-finite verb form creating the righthand bracket:

(14) **German sentence brace** (Auer 1996: 63)

(The sentence brace is shown with {})

'n gutes Datum {**kann** natürlich der sechste März **sein**}  
*a good date can of course the sixth of March be*  
 'A good date could be the sixth of March'

The lefthand bracket created here by the finite verb form *kann* opens the *Satzklammer*, which is not closed until the accompanying infinitive *sein*.

Prosodically, as Selting's work (1996, 2000) has shown, transition relevance places in German conversation coincide with the end of an 'intonation contour', a unit defined holistically as a single cohesive sequence of accent units. In Selting's data, all types of final pitch movement were found in conjunction with smooth turn transition except one: Level tones. Since would-be next speakers refrain from coming in next when level tones occur at the end of otherwise possibly complete units, these are said to have a turn-holding function in German.

How important, relatively speaking, are syntactic and prosodic cues for transition relevance? Both Auer (1996) and Selting (1996) argue that syntactic closure is stronger than the prosodic closure associated with the final boundary of an intonation contour. Whereas accent units can be added indefinitely to a potentially completed intonation contour, the *Satzklammer* of German syntax affords little opportunity for free expansion once a righthand bracket has occurred (cf e.g. Auer 1996: 70).

In independent clauses the German sentence brace comes into play when there is a composite verb form, a verb with a separable prefix, or a verb with an incorporated noun (*Funktionsverbgefüge*). In other cases the German clause appears to lack strong syntactic closure and is thus partially expandable to the right (e.g. via post-modifiers and adjuncts).<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Typically in second position, occasionally in first (cf. also Uhmann 1997).

<sup>29</sup> If an optional constituent being used in turn expansion is itself ordered with respect to the preceding structure, then the notion of 'dislocation' becomes relevant again. For example:  
*da war ich zufällig @ im Eiscafé- (0.5) mit dem Karsten* 'I happened to be in the ice parlour (0.5) with Karsten' (Auer 1996: 81)

### 3.1. Non-add-ons

Due in part to the prevalence of strong syntactic closure in German, it is not difficult to find speakers needing to continue a turn and having to do so with displaced or 'dislocated' material. Nor is it at all unusual for such TCU continuations to be produced without a prosodic break. Following is an example:

(15) **Non-add-on** (Auer 1996:87)

(@ marks the slot where the 'dislocated' material might be said to belong; the sentence brace is shown with {})

1 -> A: {könn ma nomal @ (.) zusamm SPREChn} [**morgn.**  
can we again together talk [tomorrow

2 B: [ja::  
[yes

'we can talk about that again **tomorrow**'

The sentence brace is opened with the verb-initial finite form *könn* (=können) and closed with the complex infinitive *zusamm sprechn* (=zusammensprechen). Speaker A supplements this structure when he produces *morgn* (=morgen), an adverbial adjunct to the prior clause. Yet this adjunct is 'out of place' according to written-grammar norms, where it would be expected to occur before the righthand bracket created by the complex verbal infinitive *zusamm sprechn*.<sup>30</sup> Although strictly speaking such a pattern is not permitted in written German,<sup>31</sup> in fact 'dislocation' of this sort is relatively common in spoken interaction and can be considered a form of 'spoken syntax'. Prosodically, the word *morgn* in (15) is not separated from the prior unit by a break; instead, the two parts form a single melodic and rhythmic gestalt. This suggests that the non-add-on material may have been planned from the outset for this position, casting even more doubt on the advisability of calling it 'dislocated'.

The frequency with which TCU continuations are done via Non-add-ons in German conversation<sup>32</sup> raises serious doubts about the relevance of a normative syntax based on written-language norms for the description of naturally occurring everyday

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Here the comitative prepositional phrase *mit dem Karsten* 'with Karsten', which is added on, belongs before the locative specification *im Eiscafé* 'in the ice parlour' according to normative grammar.

Yet the same issue arises here as with respect to the English *already* discussed in section 2.4 above: if *mit dem Karsten* presents new information and carries a strong pitch accent, it will be found in this position. Consequently this would count as marked in our understanding (cf. also Uhlmann 1997).

<sup>30</sup> See the position of @ in example (15).

<sup>31</sup> The discussion in Auer 1991:147 suggests that 'dislocating' clausal elements outside the righthand sentence bracket is permissible in written German only under special circumstances, e.g. if the constituent in question is heavy or long.

<sup>32</sup> Auer (1996) discusses numerous other examples, including *als die {sie @ auf den Vortrag a:ngesprochen hat}=während der Ta:gung* 'when she spoke to her about her talk **during the conference**' (p. 80); *das war sehr abstrakt einfach* 'that was very abstract **simply**' (p. 80); *da {hat jemand @ geläutet} am Telefo:n* 'somebody rang **on the telephone**' (p. 81); *da {bin ich @ nich (.) (h)ni(h)ch so kl(h)einlich} dann* 'I won't be so small-minded about that **then**' (p. 87); *das {kannste dir auch (.) selber @ anlesen} vorher* 'you can read that by yourself **beforehand**' (p. 87); *daß die {unheimlich unsicher @ is} über unsere Gefühle ihr gegenüber* 'that she is terribly unsure **about our feelings towards her**' (p. 91).



interaction. In German – and, as we shall see below, also in Japanese – colloquial language use can diverge quite significantly from what written-language syntax dictates, making the question of what counts as the norm a particularly pressing one for an understanding of the practices of TCU and turn continuation.

### 3.2. Replacements

Impressionistically speaking, TCU continuation via Replacement is as widespread a practice in German as it is in English.<sup>33</sup> Yet the way Replacements are structured syntactically in German can be quite different from English. This is related to the syntax of repair, which, as Uhmman (2001) has shown for same-sentence self-repair, often plays out differently in German due to the presence of grammatical gender and rich case morphology.<sup>34</sup> The following example from our German materials illustrates a syntactic practice for Replacement continuation which would not be possible in English:

(16) **Replacement** (SG 017: 22:19-22:54)

(Underlining marks the constituent which is replaceable; the sentence brace is shown with {})

- 1F:    das Problem in Westdeutschland ist nicht,  
          *the problem in West Germany is not*
- 2       dass man vielleicht zwischen guten und schlechten  
          *that you maybe between good and bad*
- 3       Kindergartenplätzen wählen kann,  
          *kindergarten places choose can*
- 4->   sondern {ob        man überhaupt einen bekommt  
          *but whether you at all one get*
- 5       oder nicht}.
- or not*
- 6=>   **bezahlbaren       bekommt oder nicht**}.  
          *affordable (one) get or not*

'The problem in West Germany is not that you perhaps can choose between good and bad kindergarten places, but whether you get one at all or not. **affordable (one) or not.**'

<sup>33</sup> Auer's (1996) examples include *des däd i it, **mogeln** 'that I wouldn't do, cheat' (p. 66); i hab scho seit zwei Stunden Mattscheibe. – ganz blöden Kopf* 'I've had a blackout for two hours – **real dull feeling in my head**' (p. 66).

<sup>34</sup> Uhmman finds that same-turn self-repair in German involves a larger part of the ongoing utterance than in English (2001:397).

In this fragment the speaker repairs the turn that ends in line 5 by recycling part of its verb phrase and inserting the attributive adjective *bezahlbaren*. Because this adjective is marked morphologically for accusative case, it is clear that it must be interpreted as in agreement with the indefinite article *einen* (line 4) and that these two together form the direct object of the finite verb *bekommt*. In the Replacement the final verb *bekommt*, a righthand bracket closing off the subordinate clause syntactically, and its polar opposite *oder nicht* are also recycled, thus recompleting the host's sentence brace.

How Replacements are structured syntactically is thus an issue of cross-linguistic relevance. As the above example shows, the grammatical resources which a language makes available for its speakers constrain the way in which this kind of TCU continuation is carried out. A more extensive survey of German practices for Replacement continuation has yet to be carried out.

### 3.3. Glue-ons

Independent clauses in German with simple verb forms and morphologically simple verbs do not engage with the *Satzklammer* structure and therefore lack strong syntactic closure. When such TCUs are brought to a point of possible completion and then expanded, the continuation may be realized by a Glue-on:

(17) **Glue-on** (SG 011: 42:28-43:02)

1 H: des eh es wird also so aussehen, dass ich en en  
*that uh it will then like this be, that I a a*

2 ('ne Filiale im Ausland behalte ) und da die Tätigkeit  
*(a branch abroad will keep) and there the job*

3 des Leiters übernehme,=  
*of the manager take on,*

'that uh it will be like this, that I keep a branch abroad and take on the job of manager there,'

4 M:: =mhm=,

5 H: =und auf 'nem kleinen Weg also (-) nich' eh (-)  
*and on a short route thus (-) not uh (-)*

6 dass ich da für ewig bleiben werde,  
*that I there for ever stay will,*

7-> sondern also es ist 'ne mehrjährige Tätigkeit.  
*but well it is a multi-year job.*

8 (-)

9=>H: **zwischen drei und fünf Jahren.**

*between three and five years.*

'and so the short way (-) not uh (-) that I will stay there forever, but well it's a job which will take several years. (-) **between three and five years.**'

H's turn comes to a point of possible completion in line 7 with the simple clause *es ist 'ne mehrjährige Tätigkeit*. In line 9, however, following a brief pause, he recompletes this turn by adding on the prepositional phrase *zwischen drei und fünf Jahren*. This phrase post-modifies the last word *Tätigkeit* in the host. If the prosodic break were removed and the host with its add-on were produced together, the result would be a well-formed syntactic gestalt: *Es ist eine mehrjährige Tätigkeit zwischen drei und fünf Jahren*.

Impressionistically speaking, non-clausal Glue-ons of this sort are comparatively rare in German conversation.<sup>35</sup> By contrast clausal Glue-ons, in particular subordinate clauses in adverbial function, are no less common in German than in English. Here is an instance from Auer's collection:

(18) **Clausal Glue-on** (Auer 1996:92)

(@ marks the syntactic slot where debracketed material 'belongs'; the sentence brace is shown with {})

1->A: ja der {muß früh wieder heim}  
*yes he must early back home (go)*  
 'yes he has to go home early'

2 => {**weil der hat abns @ Termine**} **noch**  
*because he has in the evening appointments still*  
 'because he's got appointments this evening still'

3 (1.0)

4A: **mit Em Be Ce da** un[d  
*with M B C there and*  
 'with MBC and'

5B: [mi(h)t s(h)ein(h)er Br(h)au(h)t  
*with his bride*  
 'with his girl'

6 h[hn  
*h hn*

<sup>35</sup> Auer discusses only one other case: *un was halt toll is is die Ostküste: (.) so- (.) d- von Kuantan ho:ch* 'and what is fantastic is the east coast (.) like (.) from Kuantan upwards' (1996:67). As he points out, if rightward expansions are not prosodically set off, i.e. in our terminology if they are not Add-ons, they will be imperceptible as continuations (1996:75f).

7A: [nich mit seiner [Braut  
       *not with his bride*  
 'not with his girl'

8B: [ha ha ha ha ha

We note that A's turn is potentially complete in line 1; yet he continues this turn in line 2 with a dependent clause of reason *weil der hat abns (=abends) Termine noch*.<sup>36</sup> Because adverbial subordinate clauses in German can be post-positioned with respect to their main clause, they belong in the Glue-on category when used to expand a prior TCU following a prosodic break.

### 3.4. Insertables

Just as with Non-add-ons, the category of Insertable depends on there being a strong syntactic closure at the end of a potentially complete TCU. In German this kind of closure is present whenever the *Satzklammer* is in play. There is evidence in conversational German that participants orient to the righthand sentence bracket because they place recipient signals and continuers there, even in the absence of a prosodic break (Auer 1996). Therefore, we would wish to treat the righthand sentence bracket in German as 'unmarked' and call departures from this pattern 'marked'. Material which supplements the host but is added after the righthand bracket (and after a prosodic break) can therefore be considered marked and an Insertable in our typology. This is one of the largest categories of TCU continuation in German conversation (see also Uhmman 1997). We provide a prototypical example below:

(19) **Insertable** (SG 004: 28:13-28:19)

(@ marks the syntactic slot where debracketed material might be said to belong; the sentence brace is shown with {})

1->A: meine Mutter {ist @ ganz furchtbar schwer  
       *my mother has very terribly bad*

2-> an (.) eh Krebs gestorben}.  
       *of uh cancer died.*

3=> ehm **kurz nach dem Zusammenbruch.**  
       *uhm shortly after the collapse.*

'My mother died a very terrible death of (.) uh cancer. uhm **shortly after the collapse.**'

<sup>36</sup> Observe that the Glue-on clause in line 2 contains a Non-add-on in the form of a 'dislocated' *noch* and an Insertable *mit Em Be Ce da* (line 4). Observe too that, although the Glue-on is introduced by the subordinating conjunction *weil*, it has its verb in second position, another feature of colloquial spoken German not provided for in normative German grammar (see e.g. Günthner 1993).

A's turn reaches a point of possible completion at the end of line 2, where syntactic and prosodic boundaries coincide. Yet rather than stop here, A continues talking, expanding her structure with an adjunct specifying its temporal frame. According to normative grammar, the prepositional phrase *kurz nach dem Zusammenbruch* belongs in a slot just after the finite verb in the preceding clause. It is therefore marked and an Insertable here.<sup>37</sup>

Although Insertables are not totally absent in English, as we saw above, they form a very restricted category. In German, by contrast, a wider variety of constituent types can appear as Insertables in TCU continuation. However, they all tend to be optional constituents in the clause in post-modifying or adverbial function. As we shall see below, the situation is quite different in Japanese.

### 3.5. Free constituents

The category of Free constituent in TCU continuation is also documented for German (Auer 1996, 2005; Schneider 2003). As in English, we find Free constituents in German which are noun phrases:

(20) **Free constituent** (SG 002: 10:10-10:24)

- |     |   |
|-----|---|
| 1   | H:    ich nehm auch keine Tablette nix<br><i>I   take   also no   pills   nothing</i>                 |
| 2   | und trink   kaum     Alkohol, oder rauch au-<br><i>and drink hardly any alcohol,   or   smoke al-</i> |
| 3   | auch nich. also wolln mer sagen<br><i>also not. so   let   us   say</i>                               |
| 4-> | ansonsten lebe bewusst, also ih bin schon<br><i>otherwise live aware,   so   I am already</i>         |
| 5-> | auf dem Weg der Besserung.<br><i>on the way to recovery</i>   |

'I don't take any pills either, nothing, and I hardly drink any alcohol or smoke. So you could say I'm on my way to recovery.'

- |   |           |
|---|-----------|
| 6 | P:    [un |
|---|-----------|

---

<sup>37</sup> Auer (1996) discusses numerous similar examples: *die {ham gestern @ zuviel geschnäpselt}. – wahrscheinlich* 'they had too much schnaps yesterday – **probably**' (p. 64); *ruf den an {ob der vielleicht (.) jetzt nächste Woch scho @ mitkann} vierzehn Da:g* 'give him a ring if maybe he can come with us now next week; **for a fortnight**' (p. 65); *da war ich zufällig im Eiscafé- (0.5) mit dem Karsten* 'I happened to be in the ice parlour (0.5) **with Karsten**' (p. 81); *na {hab ich des @ gebu:cht} 'h mit: vier Tage Aufenthalt in Peking* 'and then I booked it 'h **with four days in Peking**' (p. 81); *we:il er - sich erdreistet hatte: 'h {eine Chinesin @ zum Tee einzuladn} nachmittags* 'because he- had dared to invite a Chinese woman for tea **in the afternoon**' (p. 89).

7=> H: [bloß dieser Waschzwang.  
just this obsession to wash.

'just this obsession to wash.'

H's turn comes to a point of possible syntactic and prosodic completion at the end of line 5 with *also ih bin schon auf dem Weg der Besserung*. Yet she continues talking, adding a constituent which is syntactically unrelated to this unit: *bloß dieser Waschzwang*. This is a noun phrase marked morphologically for nominative case, but there is no nearby predicate to which it might associate as subject. Instead *bloß dieser Waschzwang* is syntactically 'free', although its interpretation, and in particular the scope of *bloß*, is dependent on prior talk.

Adjective phrases are also encountered as Free constituents in German – however, only when they are morphologically unmarked for agreement:<sup>38</sup>

(21) **Free constituent** (SG 018 15:07-15:52)

1 A: ich müsste mir einen konkreten Rat  
*I should for me a concrete piece of advice*

2 wissen (-) soll ich mich entscheiden=  
*know (-) shall I myself decide*

3-> =für meine Freundin ich muss mich entscheiden  
*for my girlfriend I must myself decide*

4-> ich weiss es.  
*I know it.*

5 (0.5)

6=>A: **sehr schwierig**.  
*very difficult.*

'I need a concrete piece of advice (-) shall I decide in favor of my girlfriend, I have to decide, I know. (0.5) **very difficult**.'

A's turn continuation in line 6 is accomplished with the adjective phrase *sehr schwierig*. Presumably the attribute *sehr schwierig* describes the decision process which A finds himself in. However, the adjective itself is not marked for agreement with any noun phrase in the preceding turn. Therefore, it is syntactically 'free', albeit backward-looking and semantically dependent on prior talk for the referent to which applies.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Recall from example (16) above that an adjective inflected for agreement is more likely to be a Replacement or an Insertable.

<sup>39</sup> Auer (1996) discusses two further attested cases: *auf der einen Seite is also außen sonne Hülse, rund* 'on the one side is you know outside a kind of sheath, **round**' (p. 67); *na hab i n*

The constraint on adjectives as Free constituents in turn continuation, namely that they must be uninflected, clearly derives from the language-specific morphology of German. This is yet another way in which the grammar of a language impacts upon speakers' practices for carrying out an interactional task.

To summarize the results of our provisional survey of TCU continuation in German, we note that – as in English – all five categories are attested. And yet their distributions are skewed differently. Whereas Glue-ons are the most prevalent type in English, in German it is Non-add-ons and Insertables which appear to predominate. The frequency of Replacements and Free constituents does not seem to diverge significantly in German and English. But these categories do entail different realizational possibilities in the two languages, in particular with respect to adjectives: Due to the morphological marking of German adjectives for agreement with their head nouns, it is inflected adjectives which serve as Replacements, while uninflected adjectives function as Free constituents. As we shall see, this kind of cross-linguistic divergence in TCU continuation increases exponentially when we consider a non-Germanic language.

#### 4. TCU continuation in Japanese

In this section we pursue a similar line of inquiry with respect to TCU continuation in Japanese, although our findings are based on an even smaller data set (Tanaka 1999, 2001; Koike 2001; our own data) and for this reason should be considered even more preliminary.

Japanese is often called a predicate final language, as typically illustrated in standard sources with examples such as the following:

(22) Predicate finality in Japanese reference grammars

watashi	ga	sakana	o	<u>tabete</u>	<u>iru</u>
<i>I</i>	<i>subject</i>	<i>fish</i>	<i>object</i>	<i>eat(ing)</i>	<i>am</i>
	<i>marker</i>		<i>marker</i>		

'I am eating fish.' (Fromkin and Rodman 1993: 121)

Taroo	ga	hon	o	<u>katta</u>
<i>NOM</i>		<i>book</i>	<i>ACC</i>	<i>bought</i>

'Taro bought a book' (Shibatani 1990: 258)

NPs and adverbials which accompany predicates are thus expected to be positioned before the verb, as the following example from conversation illustrates:

(23) Predicate finality in Japanese conversation

ja mama tabechau yo  
*then mom eat:finish FP*  
 'Then Mom (I) will eat (it)'

Mikasan mo akachan dekiteru yo

---

*fantastischen* (.) *Gä Tä I* (.) *gell, absolut neu* 'and I get a fantastic (.) h GTI (.) you know, **absolutely new**' (p. 77). See also Auer (2005).

Mika    MO baby    conceive FP  
 'Mika will have a baby.'

However, it is also well known that Japanese predicates in actual utterances are often followed by other types of elements. In the above conversational examples, we see predicates followed by so-called final particles (e.g. *yo*), which are associated with attitudinal and interactional functions. Consider the following example from our materials:

- (24) Utterance-final elements in Japanese turns  
 koara ni    aenakatta                    n    da    ne  
*koala with meet:can:not:PAST NOM COP FP*  
 '(She) wasn't able meet with koalas'

Let us note first of all that the reference to the subject 'she' isn't overtly expressed in this case, a common feature of Japanese which sometimes goes by the name of 'zero anaphora'.<sup>40</sup> We will see that the analysis of this feature has consequences for the way Insertables are understood in Japanese. In any case, in this example, what can be considered the predicate of the clause *aenakatta* 'wasn't able to meet' is followed by three further elements: First by *n*, a shortened form of the nominalizer *no*, then by *da*, a copula, and finally by a so-called final particle *ne*. Alternatively one could analyze this utterance as involving a nominalized verb with a copula *aenakatta n da* '(It) is that (she) wasn't able to meet with koalas', which is followed by a final particle *ne*. Regardless of the analysis one gives to such an utterance, the point here is that because of these extra elements, predicates in Japanese often do not look very much like their English 'equivalents'. Following the treatment of similar cases in earlier studies, in this paper we will not consider the presence of these extra elements as a violation of predicate finality in Japanese. That is, when we say predicate final, we mean to include cases in which there are one or more of such utterance-final elements following the predicate.

Japanese utterances have been said to have multiple syntactic completions (Tanaka 1999). So, for example, the above utterance could be stopped at the following points and still be considered syntactically complete:

- (25) Possible syntactic completion points in (24)

- a) koara ni    aenakatta
- b) koara ni    aenakatta no<sup>41</sup>
- c) koara ni    aenakatta n    da
- d) koara ni    aenakatta n    da    ne

In (25) a) ends with the verb, b) with the nominalized verb without a copula, c) with the nominalized verb with a copula, and d) with the nominalized verb with a copula followed by a final particle. Each of these utterances can be said to be syntactically complete. However, as discussed by Tanaka (1999), not all syntactic completions

<sup>40</sup> See, however, Ono and Thompson 1997, who question the validity of this notion.

<sup>41</sup> The nominalizer *n* is a shortened form of *no*. As seen here, only the full form is found utterance-finally in standard Japanese.



coincide with prosodic completions.<sup>42</sup> In this particular case, only the last syntactic completion point is hearable as prosodically complete. This is in accordance with an earlier study by Clancy (1980), who points out the relative ease of identifying sentence completion in spoken Japanese due to the correspondence between intonational and syntactic completions. Clancy was apparently talking about those syntactic completion points which are associated with prosodic completion.

Just as researchers seem to more or less agree on syntactic completion, they also seem to agree on what counts as prosodic completion in Japanese, although a precise characterization of it has yet to be made.<sup>43</sup> For the purpose of this study, we base decisions concerning prosodic completion on the notation of the original transcripts (period/question mark vs. comma) together with the re-hearing of relevant utterances by Ono.

#### 4.1. *Non-add-ons*

Similar to German, it is not difficult to find Japanese speakers continuing a turn with displaced or 'dislocated' material after the predicate. Nor is it unusual for such TCU continuations to be produced without a prosodic break. Following are some examples:

(26) **Non-add-on** (Kurieitibitii 28)

(@ marks the syntactic slot where the dislocated material might be said to 'belong')

A researcher couple is talking about writing and publication.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1 | <p>S:    kaku tte   iu no   wa tanoshimi ja    nai<br/>             <i>write quote say NOM WA fun           copula not</i><br/>             'Isn't writing fun?'</p>   |
| 2 | <p>W:    n kaku   koto   wa anmari tanoshiku nai naa<br/>             <i>hm write NOM WA not.very fun           not FP</i><br/>             'Hm, writing isn't much fun'</p>                                 |
| 3 | <p>      noru [   koto   no hoo       ga]<br/>             <i>publish NOM of direction GA</i><br/>             'Rather publishing is'</p>  |
| 4 | <p>S:    [noru koto wa] dai- dainigi                   da   yo<br/>             <i>publish NOM WA       secondary.importance copula FP</i><br/>             'Publishing is only of secondary importance'</p> |

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<sup>42</sup> It should be noted that when this auditory aspect of Japanese utterances is discussed the overwhelming tendency is to use the term 'intonation', particularly 'rising' and 'falling'. We use the more inclusive term *prosody* in this paper because what is involved may be more than just pitch (cf. also Tanaka 2004).

<sup>43</sup> The identification of prosodic completion may of course be influenced by grammatical and/or pragmatic considerations as well.

- 5=> S:@ kaku koto ga tanoshii n da yo **yappari**  
*write NOM GA fun NOM copula FP after.all*  
 'Writing is fun, **after all**'
- 6 W: sooka yappari atashi kenkyuusha toshite mijukuna n da ne  
*I.see after.all I researcher as immature NOM copula FP*  
 'I see, after all, I'm immature as a researcher'
- 7 S: mijuku da yo  
*immature copula FP*  
 '(You) are immature'

(27) **Non-add-on** (Kurieitibitii 40)

(@ marks the syntactic slot where the dislocated material might be said to 'belong')

- 1 S: soko made iu ((dish noise))  
*there till say*  
 '(I) dare say that'
- 2 W: e?  
 'huh?'
- 3 S: soko made iu ka  
*there till say question*  
 'Dare (I) say that?'
- 4 W: n  
 'mhm'
- 5=> @ tabenaide **warui kedo**  
*eat:not:IMP bad though*  
 'Don't eat (the meal that I made) **though (I feel) bad (for saying so)!**'
- 6 S: hora [<@ hajimatta @>]  
*see began*  
 'See here it comes'
- 7 W: [@@@@]

In (26), a researcher couple is talking about research papers. In line 5 after the adjective *tanoshii* 'fun' with the nominalizer and the copula followed by the final particle *yo* (this example is structurally similar to the last example), we find an adverbial *yappari* 'after all'. Canonically, this adverbial should be expressed either at the beginning of the utterance or right before the adjective *tanoshii* 'fun'.

Example (27) is a continuation of (26) from the same conversation. The wife jokingly responds to her husband, who has just been teasing her. She playfully suggests that he should stop eating the food she has prepared. In this utterance, the predicate

*tabenaide* 'don't eat' is followed by an adverbial clause *warui kedo* 'though (I feel) bad (for saying so)', which in written Japanese would be expressed before the main clause.

And in the following example, what would be considered as an argument NP of the clause is found after the predicate without any prosodic break:<sup>44</sup>

(28) **Non-Add-on** (Surprise 369)

S: @ moo sapuraizu no aji o shimeten no **atashi**  
*Already surprise of taste O occupying FP I*  
 'I have already tasted of surprise (parties)'  
 'I (know how fun) a surprise party is.'

Although strictly speaking such a pattern is not found in written Japanese, in fact 'dislocation' is rather common and can be considered part of the grammar of the spoken language. Prosodically, these post-predicate elements are not separated from the prior unit by a break; instead, the two parts of the utterance form a single prosodic gestalt.<sup>45</sup> This suggests that the non-add-on material may have been planned from the outset for this position, casting doubt on the advisability of calling it 'dislocated'. That is, as in German, these elements after the predicates are 'dislocated' only on the basis of written grammar. In the grammar of spoken language, there may be slots after the predicate reserved for such items. Further investigations are called for.

## 4.2. Replacements

As in English and German, TCU continuation via Replacement seems to be rather widespread in Japanese. But as we will see below, the distinction between Replacements and Insertables in Japanese may be dependent on the analysis of so-called zero anaphora. Consider the following example, where the wife tells her husband that someone they both know ended up not going to Australia, although a travel arrangement had already been made:

(29) **Replacement** (Ryokoo 6)

(Underlining marks the constituent replaced)

- 1 R: soshitara oo- asoko ikanakattan da tte.  
*Then Au- there go:not:PAST COP I.hear*  
 'I hear (she) didn't go (to) Au- there then'
- 2 H: [doko e]?  
*where to*  
 'to where'

<sup>44</sup> See Ono and Thompson (2003) for a discussion of similar examples.

<sup>45</sup> One interpretation of this type of utterance is that the element occurring after the predicate may be becoming grammaticized as something similar to final particles. For further discussion of this idea in relation to the use of so-called first person pronouns in Japanese conversation, see Ono and Thompson (2003).

- 3 R: [oosutora]ria<sub>1</sub>  
*Australia*  
 'Australia'

In line 1, the place this person didn't go to is first expressed in the form of a demonstrative *asoko* 'there', which is followed by the addition of *oosutoraria* 'Australia' specifying the place.<sup>46</sup> As can be seen, this is similar to Geluyken's (1994) "right dislocation" produced with a prosodic break, where the completion of the host creates a TRP.

Replacements in our materials include other sorts of constituents as well. For instance:

(30) **Replacement** (Ryokoo 226-230)  
 (Underlining marks the constituent replaced)

- 1 H: sonna yasumi tsuttemo  
*such vacation quote:say:even.though*
- 2 ichinichi futsuka no hanashi ja nai no?  
*one:day two:day of talk copula not final.particle*  
 'Saying 'a vacation', isn't (it) a matter of a day or two?'
- 3 [toru tsuttemo]  
*take quote:say:even.though*  
 'Saying 'taking (a vacation)''
- 4 R: [iyaa]  
 'Well...'

The underlined part *tsuttemo* in line 1 includes the verb *iu* 'say', which takes as its complement the prior word *yasumi* 'vacation'. As can be seen in line 3, when recycling *tsuttemo* from line 1 H replaces it with *toru tsuttemo* 'saying "taking"'. This turns the quoted *yasumi* 'vacation' into the direct object of *toru* 'taking'. Thus, this particular example supports Fox, Hayashi, and Jaspersen (1996), who shows that in self-repair Japanese interactants do not recycle what amounts to the whole verb phrase. That is, in the above example, the direct object *yasumi* 'vacation' is not repeated in the repair in line 3.

We have said earlier that TCU continuation via Replacement is found often both in English and German. This type seems to be even more common in Japanese. However, only a large-scale cross-linguistic study will be able to confirm this informal observation.

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<sup>46</sup> One might suggest that *oosutoraria* 'Australia' in line 3 is simply a reply to the question *doko e* 'To where?' in line 2. But that interpretation is not likely since these utterances are produced simultaneously.

### 4.3. Glue-ons

The Glue-on category appears to be limited in Japanese because syntactic completion is so clearly marked with the final predicate. In conversational Japanese, informal counts suggest that turns ending with final predicates (and so-called utterance final elements) are more common than those which do not. We would thus wish to call predicate-finality the 'unmarked' pattern and call departures from it 'marked' (see, however, Tanaka 2005). Therefore, if any material belonging to the just-completed clause occurs after the predicate with a prosodic break, it cannot be a Glue-on, because it is 'out of place' based on this unmarked pattern. (It would be an Insertable, which we will discuss below.) So Japanese is not like English, where the Glue-on category corresponds to the prototypical 'increment' and elements can be tacked on indefinitely to recomplete the preceding unit (see (5) above for an example). What is sometimes observed in Japanese, however, is that the utterance which has just been completed is reopened by the addition of a complementizer and a verb. The latter function to create a main clause which takes the just-completed utterance as its complement. That is, the initially completed syntactic unit is later restructured to be part of a larger syntactic unit (Tanaka 2001; Hayashi 2003).

#### (31) Restructuring Glue-on (Tanaka 1999: 144f)

- W: ((complains about H))
- 1 H: =sore wa soo ne  
that TOP so FP  
'That's right, isn't it'
- 2 (1.2)
- 3 H: tto iu kara ikenai no  
QUOT say because wrong FP  
'that ((I)) say things like that is what's wrong ((with me))'
- 4 (1.4)
- 5 (): 'N  
'Yeah'

This example is taken from a conversation between a married couple in which the wife W has just complained about an aspect of her husband H's behavior. In line 1, with a syntactically complete utterance *sore wa soo ne* 'that's right, isn't it', H first agrees with his wife's critical remark about himself. Not receiving any verbal response, H further adds *tto iu kara ikenai no* '(it's) wrong because (I) say that' in line 3. The utterances in lines 1 and 3 together create a syntactically well-formed unit: *sore wa soo ne tto iu kara ikenai no* '(it's) wrong because (I) say that "that's right, isn't it"'. That is, the Glue-on restructures the just-completed utterance as the content of the quote, while transforming H's position from agreement with W into self-deprecation.

(32) is another such example:

(32) **Restructuring Glue-on** (Graduate school 110-115)

1 M:anmari datte yappari nokotteru hito tte  
too because after.all stay:stative people topic

2 inai mon ne.  
exist:not nominalizer final.particle

'Because after all there aren't too (many) people who are staying on (for graduate school).'

3 te yuu ka<sup>47</sup>  
quote say or  
'or (rather than) saying (that),

4 guradueeto no hito datte sa  
graduate of people topic final.particle  
as for graduate students,

5 dokka kara kita hito ga ooi deshoo  
somewhere from come:past people GA many tag.question  
people (who) came from somewhere (else) are many, aren't they'

The utterance in line 3 starts with a quotation marker *te* 'that' and a verb *yu* 'say', which together function to create a main clause, turning the just-completed utterance in lines 1-2 into the content of the quote. The addition thus produces a syntactically well-formed unit by glueing on to the preceding utterance.

So we have seen that, due to its clear marking of syntactic completion with the final predicate, the Glue-on category in Japanese is limited to one type, where the added material turns the just finished utterance into a complement clause. Unlike the other types of TCU continuation, Japanese Glue-ons can be relatively long and might be characterized as 'forward looking' rather than 'backward looking', in that the addition is not solely dependent on the host but instead, through the restructuring, 'erases' the view just presented and presents a new view.

#### 4.4. Insertables

In contrast with Glue-ons, Insertables appear to be very frequent in Japanese. Whenever material supplementing the host is added after the predicate with a prosodic break, it must be considered an Insertable due to the unmarked structure of Japanese whereby utterances end with a predicate. Consider the following example:

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<sup>47</sup> The phrase *te yuu ka* 'or (rather than) saying (that)' seems to be associated with some degree of fixedness in Japanese. In fact, it may be best analyzed as a discourse marker which introduces an alternative idea. Further investigation is necessary.

(33) **Insertable** (Ryokoo 6)

(@ marks the syntactic slot where the new material might be said to 'belong')

- 1 R: soshitara @ oo- asoko<sub>i</sub> ikanakattan da tte.  
*then Au- there go:not:PAST COP I.hear*  
 'I hear (she) didn't go (to) Au- there then'
- 2 H: [doko e]?  
*where to*  
 'to where?'
- 3 R: [oosutora]ria<sub>i</sub>  
*Australia*  
 'Australia'
- 4 **akichan**  
*Aki:DIM*  
 'Aki'

This is a continuation of example (29) above. After specifying the place where their mutual friend did not go with *oosutoraria* 'Australia' in the form of a Replacement, the wife specifies who the person is by saying *akichan* 'Aki' (a woman's name plus diminutive). Canonically speaking, the noun *akichan* 'Aki' belongs in a slot marked by @ in the preceding clause. It should be noted that some linguistic theories would posit a zero argument for the intended referent of the goer in line 1. If one's theory has such a construct, the noun *akichan* 'Aki' in line 4 would be considered a Replacement, not an Insertable, because it would be said to replace a zero argument in the utterance in line 1. Thus, the distinction between Replacements and Insertables seems less clear in Japanese than in English or German. In fact, it can only be maintained if the theoretical construct of 'zero argument' is admitted.

#### 4.5. Free constituents

It is interesting that some added elements are similar to Insertables but actually do not fit into the host syntactically. Consider the following:

(34) **Free constituent** (Ryokoo 267)

- 1 H: koara ni aenakatta n da ne ja.  
*koala with meet:can:not:PAST NOM COP FP then*  
 '(She) wasn't able to meet with koalas then'
- 2 R: soo soo  
 'yeah yeah'
- 3 H: **kangaroo toka ni**  
*kangaroo etc. with*

**'with kangaroos and others'**

This is from a later part of the same conversation as in example (29). H comes to a point of possible syntactic and prosodic completion at the end of line 1 with '(She) wasn't able to meet with koalas then'. After a positive acknowledgment from R in line 2, H adds the postpositional phrase 'with kangaroos and others' in line 3. This addition seems intended as part of the list of animals which the person in question was not able to see due to the cancelled trip: Koalas, kangaroos, and others. It is interesting, however, that the insertion of the phrase *kangaroo toka ni* 'with kangaroos and others' in the host would not create a grammatical utterance:

\*koara ni **kangaroo toka ni** aenakatta                      n        da        ne ja  
*koala with kangaroo etc. with meet:can:not:PAST NOM COP FP then*

Inserting it elsewhere in the host would produce equally as unacceptable results. Instead, to make the utterance grammatical, one would have to modify part of the morphology, for instance:

koara **ya kangaroo toka ni** aenakatta                      n        da        ne ja  
*koala or kangaroo etc. with meet:can:not:PAST NOM COP FP then*

Since the added material in (34) does not fit in the host syntactically, this would be a case of a Free constituent according to our typology. It should be noted, however, that this particular Free constituent seems rather different from the Free constituents we saw in English and German above. In fact, it looks rather similar to an Insertable.

In the following example the Free constituent is an adverbial clause:

**(35) Free constituent** (Graduate School 74)

1        M:        tada atashi ga anoo nokoreru kanoosei tte iu no wa  
                  *simply I GA uh stay:can possibility QUOT say NOM TOP*  
                  'Simply, the possibility that I can stay (here)'

2        H:        un  
                  'mhm'

3        M        anoo amerika indian no rangetchi yaritai tte itteru koto  
                  *uh America Indian of language do:want QUOT say:STAT NOM*

4                dake na no ne.  
                  *only COP NOM FP*

'only (comes from the fact) that (I) am saying that (I) want to do American Indian languages'

5        H:        un  
                  'mhm'



- 6 M: un **ichioo** ne sooiu seito hoshii kara sa  
*mhm at.any.rate FP such student want because FP*  
 'mhm, **because at any rate (they) want such students**'

M, an undergraduate student, is talking about the difficulty of staying at her school for the graduate program. In lines 1-4, she says that 'simply, the possibility that I can stay (here) 'only (comes from the fact) that (I) am saying that (I) want to do American Indian languages'. After an acknowledgement from H in line 5, M adds the adverbial clause 'because at any rate (they) want such students', which is one reason for what she said in lines 1-4. This clause is 'out of place' according to Japanese grammar. However, it cannot be inserted in the host because 'such students' refers to 'wanting to do American Indian languages' in line 3. That is, although syntactically the utterance in line 6 is of a form which should be expressed before the utterance in lines 1-4, it is only interpretable if it comes afterwards. It is for this reason that we consider this example a Free constituent rather than an Insertable.<sup>48</sup>

To summarize the results of our provisional survey of TCU continuation in Japanese, we note that – as in English and German – all five categories are attested. And yet their distributions are skewed somewhat differently. Whereas Glue-ons are the most prevalent type in English, and Insertables in German, in Japanese it is Replacements and Insertables which appear to predominate. Also like in German but unlike in English, Non-add-ons are frequent in Japanese. Further, while the frequency of Free constituents in Japanese does not seem to diverge significantly from the two Germanic languages examined, Glue-ons are rather rare in Japanese and German compared with English. Finally, we found that the distinction between Replacements and Insertables is not always clear in Japanese: The actual status of these categories depends on the treatment of referents which are not overtly expressed but may still be intended. We have also seen that some Free constituents in Japanese look rather similar to Insertables.

## 5. Preliminary summary of preferences

Table 1 summarizes the preliminary results from this three-language comparison of the five continuation types. The labels 'Rare', 'Frequent', 'Very frequent' and 'Most frequent' are impressionistic judgments based on the data we have considered here and are by no means statistically reliable. However, they are corroborated to a certain extent by independent studies of "right dislocation" in English (Geluykens 1994), of "Rechtsherausstellung" or "Mittelfeldentleerung" in German (Uhmann 1997) and of 'retroactive complementation' in Japanese (Tanaka 2001).

<sup>48</sup> Some researchers have suggested that the conjunctive adverbial particle *kara* has become grammaticized as a final particle. With that analysis, the clause in line 6 would be considered as an independent clause and therefore a new TCU, not a Free constituent. See Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyuujō (1960), Iguchi (1998), Mori (1999), and Tanaka (1999) for related discussion.

**Table 1**  
**Summary of preferences for TCU continuation**

<i>TCU continuation type</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>Japanese</i>
<i>Non-add-on</i>	Infrequent	Frequent	Frequent
<i>Replacement</i>	Frequent	Frequent	Frequent
<i>Glue-on</i>	Most frequent	Nonclausal: Infrequent Clausal: Frequent	Infrequent (only clausal)
<i>Insertable</i>	Infrequent	Most frequent	Very frequent
<i>Free constituent</i>	Frequent	Frequent	Frequent

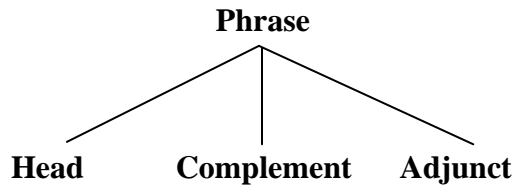
The shading shows TCU continuation types where there are noticeable differences among languages with respect to frequency and range. Certain types of continuation appear to be 'preferred' in the sense that they are significantly more frequent than others and show a wide range of syntactic realization types. Of the three languages investigated, English seems to be at one extreme in preferring Glue-ons over Non-Add-ons and Insertables, whereas Japanese seems to be at the other extreme in preferring Non-add-ons and Insertables over Glue-ons. Glue-ons in English are not only highly frequent, they are syntactically diverse – as compared to Japanese, where they appear to be restricted to one type only. By contrast, in Japanese Insertables are widely diverse syntactically and include so-called core elements of the clause.

German appears to occupy an intermediary position, being however on the whole more like Japanese. Yet with respect to clausal appendages, it is clearly more similar to English. This intermediate position of German we attribute to the fact that in the majority of cases the sentence brace is in play, which makes it like Japanese. However, when the sentence brace is not in play – and in general, when subordinate adverbial clauses are to be added on – German behaves more like English.

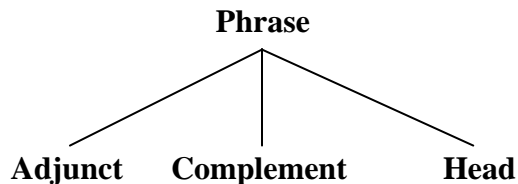
These differences, we argue, cannot be accidental. Instead they offer conversational evidence for the grammatical distinction of right vs. left syntactic headedness. There are at least two idealized types, as shown in Table 2 below:

**Table 2**  
**Left- vs. right-headed syntax**

(1)



(2)



In one case (1) heads of phrases occur to the left and optional elements (adjuncts) follow complements; in the other (2) the mirror-image order obtains.<sup>49</sup>

When these syntactic templates are produced in real time, we get a situation in which (1) the construction emerges 'with' time and optional elements can be added *ad libitum* as time progresses, but another in which (2) the construction of the template takes place 'against' time. In this case, if optional elements are to be added on later in time, they are naturally 'out of place'. Not surprisingly, the idealized template in (1) is characteristic of English syntax; that in (2) is characteristic of Japanese.

## 6. Summary and conclusion

Our study of turn continuation began with the binary distinction between *new TCU*, a way of continuing talk which is grammatically independent, forward-looking and constitutive of a new action and *expansion of prior TCU*, a way of continuing talk which is grammatically dependent, backward-looking and extends the prior action. However, as Ford, Fox and Thompson 2002 show, this simple distinction is somewhat compromised, even for English, by the phenomenon of *Free constituents*, a way of continuing talk which is grammatically independent and forward-looking to the extent that it initiates a new action (typically assessing or taking a stance), but at the same time backward-looking in the sense that that stance is predicated on the prior unit or one of its referents. Talking past a point of possible completion with a free constituent thus appears to be situated somewhere in-between *new TCU* and *expansion of prior TCU*.

<sup>49</sup> Please note here that we are not advocating a particular view of grammatical dependency as suggested by terms such as adjunct and complement. We are simply using them as convenient labels.

The work reported here has shown that it can be meaningful to make further distinctions with respect to type of *TCU expansion*. For instance, we identified and distinguished prosodically integrated (*Non-add-on*) from prosodically separate (*Add-on*) expansions of a syntactic gestalt. All three languages examined appear to have something like a post-possible syntactic completion 'slot' where certain elements can be positioned without a prosodic break. This 'slot' is particularly marked in German and Japanese, both of which have strong righthand syntactic closure. In the data examined here, the distinction between the two categories *Non-add-on* and *Add-on* appears to relate to whether the additional material is displayed as having been pre-planned or not. With a prosodic break, the new elements come off as having been tacked on to a complete unit which is being displayed as in need of further work.

Second, we showed that among the *Add-ons*, it can be meaningful to distinguish those that recycle or repair some part of the prior unit (*Replacement*) from those that don't (*Increment proper*). This distinction relates to whether something said in addition is repairing talk via a recycling or re-doing, or is supplementing it with an extension. The former involves looping back, the latter involves a kind of 'fixing' while moving on. In this sense the difference is not unlike that between 'exposed' and 'embedded' correction as Jefferson (1983) describes it.

Third, we argued that syntactically dependent elements which are added on can be distinguished in terms of whether they are grammatically fitted to the end of the host (*Glue-on*), or whether their grammatical constituency 'requires' non-final position in the host (*Insertable*). In the latter case, added-on elements, when they occur in final position, are marked and may be seen as doing something which they could not have done had they appeared in canonical or unmarked position.

Finally, we have shown that the category of *Free constituent* is relevant cross-linguistically. Thus, this category of added-on elements which are at once independent and dependent with respect to the prior unit clouds the initially clear boundary between turn continuation via a new TCU as opposed to extension of a prior TCU — not only in English, but in German and Japanese as well.

Cross-linguistically our survey has afforded us a number of insights. First, with respect to *Glue-ons* vs. *Insertables*: This distinction hinges on the question of what is acceptable in utterance-final position in a language. Normative 'standard' grammar, by invoking notions such as verb- or predicate-finality in German and Japanese or position of adverbs in English, has treated this question as one that could be answered for each language across the board, in a context-free fashion. Yet a serious consideration of naturally occurring spoken interaction in these languages reveals a much more complex picture, with certain 'non-final' elements appearing in final position on certain occasions in apparent contradiction of normative grammar. We have preferred to take a moderate position with respect to this phenomenon, assuming that unmarked variants of word order can be established for spoken interaction which are empirically based on frequency patterns and/or participant orientations. Departures from these normative word-order expectations, it is assumed, are marked. However, much of the empirical work needed to determine exactly what might count as unmarked vs. marked word order in the spoken form of these languages remains to be done.<sup>50</sup>

Assuming it is meaningful to make a distinction between *Glue-ons* and *Insertables*, languages appear to have preferences for one or the other which reflect their

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<sup>50</sup> Presumably the notion of "positionally sensitive grammar" (Schegloff 1996:76) will be relevant in such empirically grounded work.

tendency towards syntactic left- vs. right headedness. Thus, grammar and interaction are closely interlocked. On the one hand, grammar impacts upon the practice of TCU continuation by providing for (or constraining preference for) the different types of continuation. On the other hand, the practice of TCU continuation impacts upon the grammatical resources of a language by requiring that it be possible to talk beyond a point of possible (syntactic) completion. In fact, it may be the demands of real time production and comprehension which are responsible for the tendency of right-headed languages to develop post-positional elements.

Last but not least, our study has argued for a classification of 'increment' types which goes beyond English-based Glue-ons. It attributes a central role to prosodic delivery (prosodic separation vs. integration between 'host' and 'increment') and to a usage-based distinction between marked and unmarked word order. Yet in applying this typology, potential problems have emerged. For one, the study has revealed that in languages which do not require core elements of clauses to be expressed, the distinction between Insertables and Replacements is fuzzy indeed. This can only serve as a caveat for the postulation of a universally valid typology of continuation. Until all language types have been considered, there is no way to be sure that *all* the distinctions, and indeed the *relevant* distinctions, have been made in classifying turn and TCU continuation. We thus end with a rallying call to all linguists to explore the nature of continuing talk past possible completion in the spoken interaction of languages they are familiar with. In this way we can (incrementally) arrive at an understanding of turn and TCU continuation which accords with linguistic and interactional reality. And we can progressively illuminate the eminently pragmatic question of how language form impacts upon language use and, vice versa, how language use shapes language form.

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