
Book Section:
Walker, G. (2004) On Some Interactional and Phonetic Properties of Increments to Turns in Talk-in-Interaction. In: Couper-Kuhlen, E. and Ford, C.E., (eds.) Sound patterns in interaction : cross-linguistic studies from conversation. Typological studies in language (62). John Benjamins Publishing Company , Amsterdam ; Philadelphia , 147 - 170. ISBN 9027229732

https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.62.10wal

On some interactional and phonetic properties of increments to turns in talk-in-interaction

Gareth Walker

Department of Language and Linguistic Science
University of York
Heslington
York
YO10 5DD

gw115@york.ac.uk

Running head: Increments to turns in talk-in-interaction

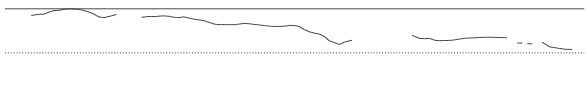
Abstract

This report is based on phonetic and interactional analysis of a collection of increments drawn from audio recordings of British and North American talk-in-interaction. An increment is a grammatically fitted continuation of a turn at talk following the reaching of a point of possible syntactic, pragmatic, and prosodic completion. Parametric phonetic analysis reveals that a range of phonetic parameters (including pitch, loudness, rate of articulation, and articulatory characteristics) mark out an increment as a continuation of its host. Interactional analysis reveals that increments deal with a range of interactional exigencies including, but not limited to, possible problems of understanding and alignment arising from the host turn.

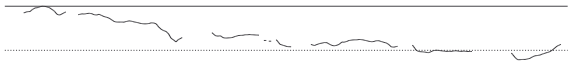
1 Increments: an overview and exemplification[1]

There are occasions in talk-in-interaction where a speaker reaches a point of possible syntactic, pragmatic, and prosodic completion, and at some point soon after that completion elects to continue talking, doing so in such a way that the continuation is grammatically parasitic on the prior talk. Six exemplars of this practice are shown in the arrowed turns of Fragments 1 to 6 (see Appendix for transcription conventions).

(1) smc.dollars.I29 (face-to-face; dyadic)



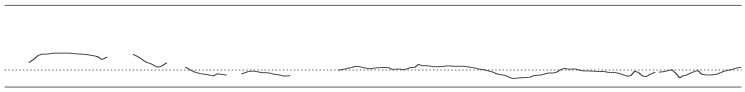
1 G: mmm .hhhh do you know what people have to pa:y



2 at Legends if they're not a student
3 (0.4)

4 → G: to get in

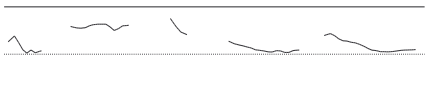
(2) smc.generally.I23 (face-to-face; dyadic)



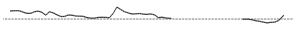
1 H: English people don't go to Germany on holida:y
2 (0.3)

3 → H: gener[ally:
4 G: [(mm hm)

(3) gw.university.I32 (face-to-face; dyadic)

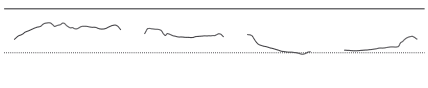


1 D: he plays football as we:ll
2 S: oh does h[e

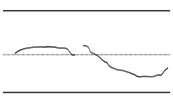


3 → D: [for the university

(4) Holt.1.5.I62 (phone)



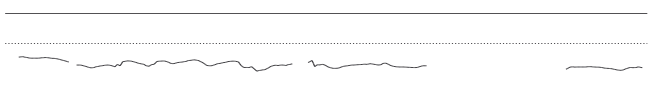
```
1      Les:  I'm wo:rking on Thu:rsda:y
2            (0.5)
3      Nan:  oh ye:s=
```



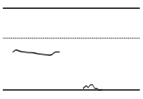
```
4   →  Les:  =a:ll da:y
```

(5) Heritage I Call 11.I18 (phone)

```
1      Ile:  ye:ah .hh well in a wa:y I'm not uh .hh I'm not
2            sorry because u:m uh (Nonny)'s arriving my
```



```
3            granddaughter's arriving from: uh hh uh:
```

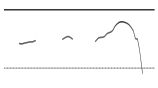


```
4            Caraca:s
```

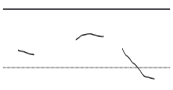
```
5   →        toda:y
```

(6) Frankel.TC.Reel1.Call1.I08 (phone)

```
1      Ger:  =that's why we were going [(we)
```



```
2      Shi:                           [I forgo:t
```



```
3   →        completely
```

In Fragment 1 G produces the possibly (syntactically, prosodically, and pragmatically) complete "do you know what people have to pa:y at Legends if they're not a student", and following a gap of almost half a second, adds

the grammatically fitted continuation "to get in". In Fragment 2 H makes the possibly complete assertion that "English people don't go to Germany on holida:y", adding (after a 0.3 second pause) the grammatically fitted continuation "generally:". In Fragment 3 D brings a unit of talk concerning a mutual acquaintance known to both speakers to possible completion ("he plays football as we:ll") adding, after a response from her co-participant, "for the university" - again, a grammatically fitted continuation, this time by virtue of its formatting as a prepositional phrase. Fragment 4 sees Leslie bringing a turn to possible completion: "I'm wo:rking on Thu:rsda:y". Following a half-second pause and Nan's "oh ye:s" Leslie adds the grammatically fitted "a:ll da:y" to her prior possibly complete talk. In Fragment 5 Ilene brings her talk to possible completion - "my granddaughter's arriving from: uh hh uh: Caraca:s" - and, immediately on reaching this point of possible completion and transition relevance, adds the grammatically fitted "toda:y". In Fragment 6 Shirley, initially in overlap with talk from Gerri, produces the possibly complete "I forgo:t" and immediately on reaching this point of possible completion, adds the grammatically fitted adverb "completely".

Grammatically fitted continuations to possibly complete turns at talk, as exemplified by Fragments 1 to 6, have been referred to as *increments*, and the turns to which they are fitted *hosts* (Schegloff 1996, 2000; Ford, Fox, and Thompson 2002). As Fragments 1 to 6 show, increments can occur in three positions relative to the host turn: after a gap (Fragments 1 and 2), after a brief interpolation from a co-participant (Fragments 3 and 4), and immediately on bringing talk to possible completion (Fragment 5 and 6). Following Schegloff (2000), increments in these positions will be referred to as *post-gap increments*, *post-other-speaker-talk increments*, and *next-beat increments* respectively.[2]

Such increments to turns are the target phenomenon of this report, the aim of the report being to offer a response to the question "what do increments to turns do, and how do they do it?" The primary conversation analytic motivation for studying increments is set out in Schegloff (2000: 2), and relates to the turn-taking model proposed in Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974). In the course of producing a turn, a speaker has a range of resources available in order to select next speaker (for example, by using a participant's name in an interrogative). A selected next speaker then has primary rights to begin speaking at the next transition relevance place. However, if a transition relevance place is reached and no next speaker has been selected, some other participant may self-select or the speaker who has just brought talk to a transition relevance place may continue (see Sacks et al. 1974:714)". If the speaker who has just brought talk to a transition relevance place is to continue, one of two resources may be employed. Either a new, complete, turn constructional unit is produced, or talk is produced which is grammatically parasitic on the prior, as in Fragments 1 to 6.

Research into increments will thus provide an insight into a key resource available to a continuing speaker, and will offer a deeper understanding of a relatively little explored aspect of the Sacks et al. (1974) turn-taking model. From a phonetic point of view, one key motivation for the study of increments is the possibility of examining whether, and if so how, speakers give a phonetic coherence to a host-increment stretch, in order to mark the increment as a continuation of the host.

This report is structured as follows: section 2 sets out the data and methodology used in the investigation reported on here; section 3 reports the

outcomes of a phonetic analysis of increments; section 4 sketches some of the interactional functions which increments perform recurrently, and which are exemplified by Fragments 1 to 6; section 5 draws together some of the key findings presented here and some of their implications.

2 Data and methodology

The increments which comprise the current collection are drawn from many hours of audio recordings of talk-in-interaction, and principally ordinary conversation, conducted between native English speakers. A range of speakers is represented, in terms of age, sex, and accent type, covering a variety of British and North American accents. The instances are drawn from audio recordings of face-to-face and telephone interactions, all of which involve two participants. There appears to be no discernible effect on either the interactional function nor the phonetic form of increments as a result of the differing interactional circumstances in which they occurred. The collection as it stands consists of 62 instances. With regard to frequency of occurrence, post-gap, post-other-speaker talk, and next beat increments in the current collection are not evenly distributed: 50% (31 instances) are post-other-speaker-talk increments, 37% (23 instances) are post-gap increments, and 13% (8 instances) are next beat increments.

There are two interwoven strands to the methodology employed in this investigation. One strand is the phonetic analysis: this is based on parametric impressionistic observation with no *a priori* assumptions as to which phonetic parameters to attribute salience (see e.g. Abercrombie 1965;

Kelly and Local 1989a). The making of these observations is supported by the inspection of speech pressure waveforms, wide band spectrograms, F0 traces and other appropriate acoustic records; some of these acoustic details are presented in section 3. All acoustic analysis was conducted with the PRAAT speech analysis program. The other investigative strand is the qualitative, empirical, sequential-interactional analysis of fragments of talk, employing techniques developed within Conversation Analysis.

3 Phonetic Analysis

The main aim of the phonetic investigation reported on here was to see whether speakers use phonetic resources to mark some bit of talk (i.e. the increment) as a continuation of, and fitted to, the prior talk. Accordingly, the description set out in this section represents an attempt to capture some of the phonetic patterns of the increments in the current data set, and particularly the relationships between the phonetic details of increments and their hosts which emerged from that investigation. While the descriptions focus on the `core corpus' presented in Fragments 1 to 6 above, they are intended to capture characteristics which hold across the collection as a whole: the instances in 1 to 6 are not peripheral cases of the target phenomenon. Rather, the features outlined here can be taken to be typical of, and routinely present in, a larger number of instances than can be presented here.

Following a discussion of completedness of host turns, this section sets out certain features of pitch, loudness, rate of articulation, and articulatory

characteristics which hold across the data set.

3.1 Hosts and completion

Talk which subsequently becomes a host by virtue of the addition of an increment shows phonetic features of finality observable in other designed-to-be- and treated-as-complete turns. However, because possible completion and transition relevance of the host is a criterial feature of an increment, it is important to engage in an attempt to raise this point above the level of assertion and show it to be the case. There are various features which all host turns have in common: they form complete intonational phrases with final pitch movements comparable with other treated-as-complete turns by the same speaker; there is a slowing down toward the end of the host (Local, Kelly, and Wells 1986); and there is an absence of `held articulations' which typically adumbrate more talk (see e.g. Local and Kelly 1986; Kelly and Local 1989b).

So, for instance, the host turn in Fragment 1, "do you know what people have to pa:y at Legends if they're not a student", shows a final slowing down over "not a student". There is an overall pattern of pitch declination to below mid in the female speaker's range across the utterance's extent with a final rise in pitch of 4.4 semitones (ST) on "student". There is simultaneous glottal and alveolar closure with a lowered velum at the end of "student" followed by audible release of the glottal closure, and voiceless nasal airflow. All of these features contribute to the status of the G's talk as possibly complete and transition relevant. The host turn in Fragment 2, "English people don't go to Germany on holida:y" shows a final slowing

down on "holida:y", a pitch declination over the whole utterance with a final 3.0 ST rise on the final (stressed) syllable ("da:y"), and an absence of any final closures. In Fragment 3 the host turn, "he plays football as we:ll", shows a 3.4 ST fall in pitch to the baseline (lowest) pitch for that utterance on the final stressed "we:ll" accompanied by a slowing down, and with final voiceless turbulent airflow.

The host turn in Fragment 4, "I'm wo:rking on Thu:rsda:y", shows a final slowing down over "Thu:rsda:y". The initial part of the turn, "I'm wo:rking on", is produced high in the speaker's range; there is then a final falling-rising pitch pattern on "Thu:rsda:y" (a fall of 7.1 ST and a rise of 5.3 semitones). There is a final period of voicelessness over the final vowel of the utterance. The host in Fragment 5, "...my granddaughter's arriving from: uh hh uh: Caraca:s", exhibits a slowing down over the final two syllables of "Caraca:s", accompanied by a fall-to-low in pitch. The host turn in Fragment 6, "I forgo:t", shows a slowing down on the final syllable. Also, the final syllable exhibits a final rising-falling pitch pattern (a rise of 5.0 ST and a fall of 11.8 ST). The final consonantal articulation of the host turn is produced with contact between the tongue tip and the alveolar ridge: it does not exhibit the kinds of anticipatory assimilation with the following velar articulation that might be expected if "I forgo:t completely" had been produced without possible completion and transition relevance at the end of "forgot".

Having gone some way to describing those features that make the first turns in Fragments 1 to 6 possibly complete and transition relevant (a criterial feature of hosts, and thus a feature which allows subsequent grammatically parasitic talk to be classed as an increment), the remainder of this section provides an account of some of the phonetic properties of increments. The

sections deal in turn with features of pitch (section 3.2), loudness (section 3.3), rate of articulation (section 3.4), and articulatory characteristics (section 3.5).

3.2 Pitch

Increments show striking regularities with regard to their pitch and the relationship which their pitch enters into with the pitch of the host. These features can be separated into pitch contour (section 3.2.1) and pitch range (section 3.2.2), and baseline pitch (section 3.2.3).

3.2.1 Pitch contour

Both hosts and increments show appropriate pitch features of finality for that speaker, though the pitch movements at the end of the host and increment need not be identical, as exemplified by the F0 traces shown in Fragments 1 to 6 above. Rather, increments come in two types with reference to the host-final pitch movements: they may be *redoings* of the pitch movement of (minimally) the final foot of the host (i.e. the contour of the final foot of the host, and of the final foot of the increment, are the same) or they may be *reshapings* of the pitch movement of the final foot of the host (i.e. the contour of the final foot of the host, and of the final foot of the increment, are different). Approximately two-thirds of instances in the collection show a redoing of the pitch contour of the final foot of the host by the final foot of the increment; the remaining one-third show a reshaping of the host-final foot's pitch contour by the increment. Furthermore, this 2:1 pattern is consistent across each of the three positions in which increments occur (i.e. post-gap, post-other-speaker-talk, and next-beat).

The increment in Fragment 1, "to get in", shows a rise in pitch of 3.0 ST on "in", the final stressed syllable of the increment. Thus, the final foot of the increment shows the same final-foot pitch contour as the host, i.e. it is a redoing. The increment in Fragment 2, "generally", also shows a redoing of the final pitch movement of the host. The host shows a final falling-rising pitch pattern over the last two feet (i.e. across "holida:y" which has a stressed-unstressed-stressed pattern), which is echoed by "generally" which also has a stressed-unstressed-stressed pattern and a falling-rising pitch pattern (there is a 2.3 ST fall and 3 ST rise on the former and a 3.9 ST fall and 3.5 ST rise on the latter).[3] Analogous to the host in Fragment 3 ("he plays football as we:ll") showing a fall in pitch over the final foot ("we:ll"), the increment similarly shows a (3 ST) fall in pitch over the increment's final foot ("versity"), marking the increment's final pitch movement as a redoing of the host's final-foot pitch movement. The increment in Fragment 6 also shows a redoing of the host-final pitch movement with both the host and the increment showing a final rise-fall in pitch on the final foot (the increment has a rise of 1.4 ST and a fall of 7.5 ST over "pletely").

Whereas the increments in Fragments 1, 2, 3 and 6 show increments redoing the final pitch movements of their hosts, the increments in Fragments 4 and 5 exemplify increments which reshape the host's final pitch movement. In Fragment 4 while the host turn shows a falling-rising pitch pattern over the final foot ("Thu:rsda:y"), the final foot of the increment ("da:y") shows a 11.3 ST fall into the lower portion of the female speakers' pitch range. Similarly, in Fragment 5, while the final foot of the host shows a fall-to-low in the speaker's range, the increment ("toda:y") shows falling-rising pitch pattern over "day" (a fall of 9 ST and a rise of 12.6 ST).

In summary, there are two points to be made concerning the pitch contours of increments. The first is that in many cases (approximately two thirds of cases in the current collection) the pitch contour of (minimally) the final foot of the increment matches that of the host. The second is that the pitch contours of the increments can be better understood in terms of their relationship with the host, as opposed to in terms of their relationship with each other; for example, there is no pitch contour uniquely associated with increments.

3.2.2 Pitch range

The pitch range of an increment is also typically similar to that of the last foot of the host, as can be seen by the F0 traces in Fragments 1 to 6 above. For instance, the pitch range of the final foot of the host in Fragment 2 ("da:y") measures 3.0 ST, while the increment exhibits a range of 3.6 ST. In Fragment 6 the pitch range of the final foot of the host ("go:t") measures 11.8 ST, while the pitch range of the increment is similarly large, measuring 12 ST. It is especially noteworthy that, as in these two cases, the pitch range of increments varies widely, suggesting that there is not a pitch range associated with increments *per se*. Rather, these pitch characteristics of increments are the result of, and can be understood as exponing, a syntagmatic relationship with their hosts.

3.2.3 Baseline pitch

The final pitch characteristic to be noted here is the similarity between the baseline (i.e. lowest) pitch of the increment and the baseline pitch of the host's last foot. For instance, the baseline pitch of the increment in Fragment 1 ("to get in") measures 161 Hz, while the last foot of the host has a baseline

pitch of 155 Hz. Similarly, in Fragment 2 the baseline pitch of the increment ("we:ll") measures 187 Hz and the baseline pitch of the last foot of the host ("ersity") measures 184 Hz.[4] So, typically the base pitch of an increment approximates that of the host, again emphasizing a relationship of fittedness between the host and the increment.

3.3 Loudness

Routinely, increments are neither significantly more or less loud than their hosts.[5] For instance, in Fragment 1 the stressed syllables in "pay at Legends if they're not a student" (which are markedly less loud than those in the preceding "do you know what people have to pay") have peak intensities of around 72 dB. The increment to this turn, "to get in" exhibits loudness characteristics which are strikingly similar to those of the host, with a peak intensity of 71.7 dB on "get in". Figure 1 shows an intensity trace and speech pressure waveform of this host-increment stretch.

[@ @ Insert Figure 1 here]

Similarly, the increment in Fragment 2 shows loudness characteristics similar to those exhibited by its host. The host ("English people don't go to Germany on holida:y") has broadly level loudness throughout. The penultimate stressed vowel in the host (in "ho" of "holida:y") has a mean intensity of 70.1 dB, while the final stressed vowel (in "day") has a mean intensity of 65.4 dB. Similarly, the penultimate stressed vowel of the increment (in "ge" of "generally") has a mean intensity of 71.2 dB, while the

final stressed vowel (in "lly") has a mean intensity of 66.2 dB. In Fragment 3 a pattern of loudness reduction across the extent of the host ("he plays football as we:ll") is apparent: for instance, the vowel in the stressed "play" has a mean intensity of 75.9 dB while the final stressed vowel in "we:ll" has a mean intensity of 67.2 dB. This pattern of loudness declination is also present in the increment "for the university", the stressed vowel in "for" having a mean intensity of 71.2 dB and the stressed vowel in "ver" of "university" having a mean intensity of 67.7 dB. Similar patterns of loudness fittedness are observable between the hosts and increments in Fragments 4 to 6.

As in the discussion of pitch characteristics in section 3.2, the loudness characteristics of increments can be understood as being deployed relative to those of the host, and as deployed in such a way to emphasize host-increment fittedness.

3.4 Rate of articulation

Along with the coherence of pitch and loudness between increments and their hosts, increments are fitted to their hosts with regard to their rate of articulation. The measures employed to support the impressionistically observable details are presented in feet per second (fps).[6] For instance, in Fragment 1 the host is relatively quickly produced, though it slows down toward its end. The host has a mean rate of articulation of 2.0 fps, so at this particular rate, all other things being equal, each foot will last approximately half a second. The increment is produced at a very similar rate, measuring 2.1 fps. In Fragment 2 the host is relatively evenly paced, with the final

"holida:y" exhibiting a rate of 3.5 fps - the same as that of the increment "generally:". In Fragment 3 the host is relatively evenly paced at a rate of 3.1 fps, while the increment which follows approximates this with a rate of 3.6 fps. The host in Fragment 4 ("I'm wo:rking on Thu:rsda:y") is slow and evenly paced, with a rate of articulation of 1.4 fps; this rate is matched by the increment, which is produced at a rate of 1.2 fps. In Fragment 5 the rate of articulation of the host and the increment are very similar; measurements yield a rate of 1.6 fps for the host-final "Caraca:s" and 2.1 fps for the increment ("toda:y"). In Fragment 6 the host is produced at a rate of 2.7 fps while the rate of articulation of the increment's final foot is also 2.7 fps.

As in the discussion of pitch and loudness characteristics in sections 3.2 and 3.3, the articulation rate characteristics of increments can be understood as being deployed relative to those of the host, and as being deployed in such a way to emphasize host-increment fittedness. This is especially noteworthy when comparing increments such as those in Fragments 2 and 4: the rate of articulation of the two increments is very different from each other, but in both cases the rate of the increment matches that of its host.

3.5 Articulatory characteristics

In addition to the host-increment coherence of pitch, loudness, and articulation rate characteristics outlined in sections 3.2 to 3.4, there are also certain articulatory characteristics which, while perhaps not marking fittedness in the same manner as other "prosodic" resources, still serve to mark similarities between the increment and its host. This particular characteristic is difficult to investigate due to the non-experimental nature of

the data, which does not ensure the occurrence of instances which are comparable in this respect. However, there are two cases among those discussed so far which will repay closer attention.

In Fragment 1 the host ends with "student" which ends with simultaneous glottal and alveolar closure with a lowered velum, followed by an audible release of the glottal closure, giving rise to voiceless turbulent nasal airflow. Similarly, the increment ("to get in") ends with the tongue tip in contact with the alveolar ridge, and a lowered velum. After an alveolar closure portion without phonation of approximately 130 ms, the alveolar closure is audibly released with following voiceless turbulent airflow. These features are shown by the spectrogram and speech pressure waveform in Figure 2.

[@ @ Insert Figure 2 here]

Likewise, articulatory similarities between the host and increment in Fragment 2 are apparent. The host ends with the vowel final "holiday". Following a period of creaky voice (lasting approximately 125 ms) there is then a breathy voiced offset to the vowel (approximately 100 ms). Similarly, in the increment ("generally") the final vowel is marked by a period of creaky voice (lasting approximately 80 ms), with a final breathy voiced offset to the vowel lasting approximately 90 ms. These features are shown by the spectrogram and speech pressure waveform in Figure 3.

[@ @ Insert Figure 3 here]

As with the "prosodic" characteristics outlined in sections 3.2 to 3.4, this section has shown that articulatory details may emphasize the fittedness of an increment to its host.

3.6 Summary

The preceding phonetic description has set out a range of phonetic parameters with which an increment marks coherence with its host. These parameters include pitch (contour and range), loudness, articulation rate, and particular articulatory characteristics. It should be noted that each of the phonetic properties of increments discussed is deployed in a particular and systematic way *relative to* the phonetic properties of their hosts. There is not a paradigmatic phonetics of increments whereby some piece of talk can be identified on phonetic grounds alone as an increment when taken away from its host. Rather, a number of phonetic properties of increments have been shown to be exponents of a syntagmatic relationship between the increment and its host.

4 Interactional analysis

Having provided an overview of the phonetic properties of the increments in Fragments 1 to 6, this section details some of their interactional functions. The description provided here is does not attempt to account for all of the

instances in the current collection: rather, it is intended to provide a flavor of some of the uses to which increments are put by interactants.

4.1 Post-gap increments

Post-gap increments are deployed by speakers orienting to a lack of uptake to an utterance which they have just brought to a point of transition relevance. Two treatments of this problem in securing uptake are revealed by the increments: one is a treatment of the problem as one of understanding; the other is a treatment of the problem as one of alignment. Fragment 7 shows an orientation to a lack of uptake following a turn brought to possible completion and transition relevance as adumbrating a possible problem of understanding. The talk which precedes this fragment has been about a local bar with which they are both familiar.

(7) smc.dollars.I29 (face-to-face; dyadic)

```
1     G:    (it's) like (0.2) the (.) only tha:t- gets
2           yea:h it's hu:ge
3           (0.6)
4     G:    people love i:t
5           (.)
6     G:    [I'm like
7     H:    [yea:h
8           (.)
9     G:    mmm .hhhh do you know what people have to pa:y
10          at Legends if they're not a student
11          (0.4)
12 →  G:    to get in
13          (1.1)
14    H:    ye:[a:h
15    G:       [s:ix:: pound[s::::.
16    H:                     [.hhhh you're joking to get
17          into Legends: oh my god
18          [you'd have to be desperate
19    G:    [to get into L:egends
```

Following the closing down of talk on one bar (lines 2 to 10), G effects a

touched-off topical development with her pre-announcement concerning "Legends", a local night club with which both speakers are familiar: "do you know what people have to pa:y at Legends if they're not a student" (lines 10 to 11). There follows a gap of almost half a second (line 12) in which H abstains from treating G's turn as either a pre-announcement (with a go-ahead or block) or as a request for information (Schegloff 1988). G subsequently adds the increment "to get in" (line 13) to her initial interrogatively formatted turn, pursuing the action of the host turn, and making transition relevant once more. Furthermore, the increment resolves a potential ambiguity in the host, and in doing so treats the lack of uptake from H as the result of a problem of understanding.

At the point of transition relevance which ends what subsequently becomes the host turn, there is an ambiguity as to whether G is referring to what people have to pay to get into the nightclub or, for example, what they have to pay for drinks (especially given the proliferation of student offers and discounts in nightclubs in British university towns and cities). The increment orients to this potential ambiguity: it is clear from her addition of "to get in" that G is referring to the price to gain entry to the club. In doing this, G has resolved an ambiguity in her host turn which has yet to achieve uptake from H by narrowing its scope and delimiting for H what would constitute a relevant response; accordingly, this increment and others like it may be labeled *relevance delimiting increments*.

As well as orienting to a problem of understanding engendering a lack of uptake following a point of transition relevance, increments may also show an orientation to a lack of uptake as arising from a problem of alignment. An example is provided in Fragment 8. Talk prior to this fragment has been about the relative merits of the German countryside.

(8) smc.generally.I23 (face-to-face; dyadic)

```
1      H:    there's loads of pretty stuff roun::d (0.6)
2            like that region though
3            (0.6)
4      G:    mmm [(.) (I hear-)
5      H:        [that part of Bavaria
6      (G:)  .hhh
7      H:    it's really [beautiful
8      G:                [Germany and stuff was my parents'
9            favorite country when they were [here
10     H:                                    [yeah .hh cos
11           people don't go to Germany or at least- English
12           people don't go to Germany on holida:y
13           (0.3)
14 →   H:    gener[ally:
15     G:         [(mm hm)
16           (0.2)
17     H:    they go to like they go to Fra:nce and they go
18           to Italy:
```

On H's assertion that "English people don't go to Germany on holida:y" being brought to possible completion and transition relevance (line 14), no response is forthcoming from G, resulting in a 0.3 second gap (line 15). Following this, H adds what can be referred to as a *stance modifying increment*: in this case, the adverb "generally" (line 16). In doing this, H is treating the lack of uptake from G at line 16 as one of alignment, shown by her increment which recasts her host turn as a generalization: as a generalization it may have exceptions. So, after a lack of uptake to the categorical turn at lines 13 to 14, H is now aiming for more of a middle ground which might give rise to the kinds of agreement from G which were not forthcoming after the host. For instance, agreement from G may be being withheld as G does in fact know some, or perhaps many, English people who have indeed been to Germany on holiday; however, the weakened stance taken by virtue of the increment abrogates some of the problems of alignment which might be engendered by G's knowing this.

4.2 Post-other-speaker-talk increments

While the post-gap increments in Fragments 7 and 8 were responsive to a gap following a point of possible completion and transition relevance, treating the problems which gave rise to these gaps as ones of understanding or alignment, post-other-speaker-talk increments recurrently provide information beyond that contained in the host turn. Examples are shown in Fragments 9 and 10.

Fragment 9 occurs following talk about a group of acquaintances of both speakers who been seen in a bar together the previous evening. In the course of that talk, S asserts that one of the people would have been out of place in the company of the others as they are all footballers, the implication being that he is not (data not shown).

(9) gw.university.I32 (face-to-face; dyadic)

```
1     S:    think he plays hockey
2           (0.6)
3     D:    he plays football as we:ll
4     S:    oh does h[e
5   → D:             [for the university
6           (0.7)
7     S:    'cause I've just seen him running around with
8           [hockey stuff
9     D:    [.hhh he plays hockey (0.5) hockey's his main
10          sport but he plays football .hhhhhh
```

S brings to completion the assertion that this particular individual, the candidate outsider, plays hockey (line 1). Following this (and after a gap of just over half a second) D brings a turn to possible completion and transition

relevance: "he plays football as we:ll" (line 3). This possibly complete turn makes available a single piece of information to S which undermines her claim that the person in question would have been an outsider in the group by virtue of him not playing football. In this case, S receipts the information and makes transition back to D relevant with her interrogative "oh does he" (line 4). D takes up the floor immediately with her increment "for the university" (line 5). In this D is further specifying the nature of the football played by the person in question, augmenting the information in a prior turn following a receipt of that first piece of information. Accordingly, this increment and others like it can be referred to as *post-response informational augments*.

A second exemplar of post-response informational augments is shown in Fragment 10. The fragment is taken from a telephone call between Leslie and her (aging) mother-in-law.

(10) Holt.1.5.I62 (phone)

```
1     Les:  ye[h- I:'m work-]
2     Nan:    [(an:d) don't ] come ou:t speci::ally
3     Les:  I'm [wor-
4     Nan:      [-
5           (.)
6     Les:  I[:'m w-
7     Nan:  [(     ),
8           (.)
9     Les:  I'm wo:rking on Thu:rsda:y
10          (0.5)
11    Nan:  oh ye:s=
12 →  Les:  =a:ll da:y
13    Nan:  yes
14    Les:  (yeah/yes)=
15    Nan:  =well
```

Following repeated attempts to make an announcement in the clear i.e. without overlap (at lines 1, 3 and 6) Leslie succeeds as line 9 with "I'm wo:rking on Thu:rsda:y", offering up a single piece of information for receipt or topicalization by a co-participant. Following a half-second gap

(line 10) Nan responds with "oh ye:s" (line 11). Just as speaker D did in Fragment 9, Leslie then adds an increment to her turn in very close proximity to the receipt from the co-participant. Leslie's increment, "a:ll da:y" (line 12), adds information over and above that contained in the host turn.

4.3 Next-beat increments

Next-beat increments are added to turns early in the transition space. One upshot of this placement of the increment early in the transition space is that the actions which the host turns make relevant have not (yet) failed to occur by the time that the increment gets added. So, from an interactional point of view, one role of next-beat increments seems to be one of pre-emption of the kinds of issues apparent in the immediate aftermath of a turn's possible completion in Fragments 7 to 10. For instance, and rather like the increment shown in Fragment 8, the increment in Fragment 11 shows a speaker using an increment to modify the stance conveyed by her host turn. In this fragment, Shirley is engaged in an elaborate offer to Gerri of a place to stay on a trip she is soon to make.

(11) Frankel.TC.Reel1.Call1.I08 (phone)

```
1     Shi:  Mike and I er thinking about going
2           (0.3)
3     Shi:  and if we do: (.) we're gonna stay at her
4           hou:se=
5     Ger:  =m[hm
6     Shi:    [.hhhh so: it's a four bedroom house
7           (0.2)
8     Ger:  m[hm,
9     Shi:   [.hhh so if you guys want a place to sta:y
10          (0.3)
11    Ger:  .t.hhh oh well thank you but you we ha- you
12          know Victor
13    Shi:  oh that's ri:ght=
```

```
14    Ger:  =that's why we were going [(we)
15    Shi:                           [I forgo:t
16 →        completely
17    Ger:  ye:ah because .hhh he called to invite u[s
18    Shi:                                          [y:eah=
19    Ger:  =.hhh a::nd uh:m (0.2) we haven't seen him in
20          so long [that I
21    Shi:          [.hhhhh
22          (.)
23    Shi:  [right
24    Ger:  [we really miss him so we'd like to see him
25          and=
26    Shi:  =r:i[ght.
```

Gerri orients to Shirley's turn at line 9 ("so if you guys want a place to sta:y") as an offer, though that offer isn't formulated explicitly. Gerri's [appreciation]+[rejection/account] at line 12 ("oh well thank you"+"but you we ha- yihknow Victor") is oriented to by Shirley as a block of the offer which was in the air with her turn at line 13, "oh that's ri:ght", making a claim that Gerri already having a place to stay was information known by Shirley, but forgotten. Following this claim by Shirley, Gerri follows with "that's why we were going (we)" (line 14) which not only offers an account for the rejection of the offer, but also makes a claim as to Gerri's recollections of Shirley's plans. Rather than unconditionally accepting that Shirley was familiar with all of the particulars of Gerri's trip and needed only a single reminder to trigger her memory, Gerri's talk carries with it the implicit claim that Shirley still can't recover all of the details of Gerri's trip. Shirley then moves to interdict Gerri's turn, renewing the claim that her preceding inapposite inquiry was the result of a memory lapse with "I forgo:t" (line 15). Immediately on bringing this unit of talk to possible completion, Shirley produces the next beat increment "completely" (line 16) which upgrades her claim of forgetfulness: she didn't forget - she *completely* forgot. Given that this increment occurs at the first moment following the bringing to possible completion of a unit of talk, it is possible to see it as pre-empting the occurrence of problems of alignment, adjusting the speaker's stance before such problems are brought to the surface of the

interaction.

The next-beat increment in Fragment 12 is perhaps more complex than that in Fragment 11 with regard to the interactional exigencies with which it deals: it appears to occupy the intersection of some of the interactional functions increments have been shown to perform in the previously presented fragments. Fragment 12 is taken from some way into a telephone call between two British women. Norma has called Ilene to tell her that she will not be taking a class that afternoon due to her state of ill health.

(12) Heritage I Call 11.I18 (phone)

```
1      Ile:  Ye:ah .hh well in a wa:y I'm not uh .hh I'm not
2            sorry because u:m uh (Nonny)'s arriving my
3            granddaughter's arriving from: uh hh uh:
4            Caraca:s
5   →        toda:y
6      Nor:  oh: [(I see)
7      Ile:      [a:nd uh (.) we pick her up at the station
8            she gets the bus now from the airport .hhh uh:
9            Jeremy's going to pick her up in fact but he's
10           gone off to Kingston: hh and Edgerton's gone to
11           Kingston for a meeting hh[h  [and I'm
12                                     [oh:[: ( )
13     Ile:  always a bit worried that they might not get
14           ba:ck=
```

In Ilene's first turn she makes an initial claim that she is "not sorry" that the class is not to take place, following it with an account of why she is not sorry: her granddaughter is arriving from Caracas. Ilene brings her talk to possible completion and transition relevance with "my granddaughter's arriving from: uh hh uh: Caraca:s" (lines 3 to 4). Immediately on reaching this point of possible completion, she adds the increment "toda:y". This increment performs some of those interactional functions which have been shown to be performed by increments in post-gap and post-other-speaker talk position.

First, the increment carries some of those properties of the informational augments in Fragments 9 and 10 in that the increment adds information over and above that carried in the host turn. The information added by the increment concerns *when* her granddaughter is arriving, not only *that* she is arriving, which is all that is explicitly formulated in the host turn. Second, the increment appears to have at least some of those characteristics exhibited by stance modifying increments, such as that presented in Fragment 8, in that it upgrades her account for why she is not sorry that the class has been canceled - that her granddaughter is arriving that day would have made attending the class more problematic, and thus her not being sorry, greater than if her granddaughter had been arriving the next day, for example. However, the imminence of her granddaughter's arrival (and thus the strength of reassurance to Norma that out of her egregious act of canceling the class comes something beneficial to Ilene) is not clear at the end of the host turn.

In summary, this section has given a flavor of some of the interactional exigencies with which increments deal. These include dealing with possible problems of understanding or alignment arising from the host, and the adding of information beyond the host following a response from a co-participant. The next section brings together some conclusions which can be drawn on the basis of the findings reported here.

5 Conclusions

The aim of this report has been to bring together some observations on the

phonetic organization and interactional uses of increments in British and American English talk-in-interaction. These observations can be summarized as follows:

1. Grammatical coherence and fittedness entails phonetic coherence and fittedness, both of which resources are used simultaneously by speakers to display some piece of talk not as something new, but as a continuation of their prior utterance.

2. The phonetic coherence between an increment and its host encompasses a range of phonetic parameters, including pitch features, loudness, rate of articulation, and articulatory characteristics.

3. There is not a paradigmatic phonetics of increments: some piece of grammatically incomplete talk cannot be recognized as an increment when examined out of context, away from its host, by virtue of its phonetic constitution. Rather, in the phonetic details of the increment there are the phonetic exponents of a syntagmatic relationship with its host.

It should be noted that the arrival at these findings was only possible due to the methodology employed. First, rather than making *a priori* decisions as to which phonetic parameters to investigate, the phonetic analysis was attentive to a range of parameters, a number of which turned out to play a part in marking the coherence of the host-increment stretch. Second, the analysis was conducted at three levels: phonetics, grammar, and interaction.

However, this study is not without its limitations, albeit ones which could be rectified with further analysis. First, participants' orientations to the phonetic characteristics of increments has not been dealt with explicitly. For instance, participants take up the action mobilized by the host-increment stretch as a whole in their own talk. However, it has not been shown that *without* the phonetics of coherence which operate between an increment and its host that a co-participant would treat an ostensible grammatical continuation any differently. Second, this report is not proposed as a complete solution to a problem which was glossed initially as "what do increments to turns do, and how do they do it?" In fact, that a solution is not provided here reflects the nature of the practice itself. It would seem that increments can be added to almost any possibly complete turn at talk, placing the practice alongside other generic conversational practices such as self- and other-initiated repair.

This report relates to other studies of talk-in-interaction in at least three ways. First, it has contributed to our understanding of continuation, and specifically how speakers deploy phonetic resources in ways which mark some bit of talk as a continuation (see e.g. Local 1992). Second, it has expanded our knowledge of the phonetic shape of increments, and has underscored the observation that increments handle a range of interactional exigencies (see e.g Schegloff 2000; Ford et al. 2002).

In conclusion, this report has shown that increments repay closer attention; furthermore, it has shown that to establish a more complete understanding of increments that attention must be directed, simultaneously, toward phonetic and interactional details.

Notes

1 The research leading to the writing of this article was supported by a Postgraduate Studentship in the Humanities awarded by the Arts and Humanities Research Board.

2 Schegloff (2000) refers to increments following an interpolation by a co-participant as "post-other-talk increments". I adopt the arguably more clumsy post-other-speaker-talk increments to capture the fact that the other talk is produced by a co-participant, and is not e.g. a parenthetical utterance produced by the same speaker.

3 There are perturbations in the F0 trace for "holida:y" due to changes in voice quality. However, auditory analysis makes it clear that "holida:y" has a falling-rising pitch.

4 While this pattern holds true for much of the data in the current collection, it should be noted that not all cases fit this pattern. For instance, the increment in Fragment 4 ("a:ll da:y") has a baseline pitch of 167 Hz while the final foot of the host ("Thu:rsda:y") has a baseline pitch of 258 Hz: some 7.5 ST higher.

5 The measurement of intensity is notoriously problematic and more so

where speech data are not produced under laboratory conditions, as in the current investigation; furthermore, the relationship between intensity and perceived loudness is not simple. Therefore the intensity measures which follow should be taken as representative of the impressionistically observable patterns of loudness in the data, and not as rigorous experimental evidence.

6 While pause duration may be an issue in the calculation of rate of articulation, it is not in this case as none of the stretches of talk measured included pauses.

References

Abercrombie, D. 1965. "Parameters and phonemes." In *Studies in Phonetics and Linguistics*, 120-124. London: Oxford University Press.

Baken, R. and Orlikoff, R. F. 2000. *Clinical Measurement of Speech and Voice.* San Diego: Singular.

Ford, C. E., Fox, B. A. and Thompson, S. A. 2002. "Constituency and the grammar of turn increments." In *The Language of Turn and Sequence*, C. E. Ford, B. A. Fox, and S. A. Thompson (eds), 14-38. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kelly, J. and Local, J. 1989a. *Doing Phonology.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Kelly, J. and Local, J. 1989b. "On the use of general phonetic techniques in handling conversational material." In *Conversation: An Interdisciplinary Perspective*, D. Roger and P. Bull (eds), 197-212. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Local, J. 1992. "Continuing and restarting." In *The Contextualization of Language*, P. Auer and A. di Luzio (eds), 273-296. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Local, J. and Kelly, J. 1986. "Projection and `silences': Notes on phonetic and conversational structure." *Human Studies* 9: 185-204.

Local, J., Kelly, J. and Wells, B. 1986. "Towards a phonology of conversation: Turn-taking in Tyneside English." *Journal of Linguistics* 22: 411-437.

Sacks, H., Schegloff, E. A., and Jefferson, G. 1974. "A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation." *Language* 50 (4): 696-735.

Schegloff, E. A. 1988. "Presequences and indirection: Applying speech act

theory to ordinary conversation." *Journal of Pragmatics* 12: 55-62.

Schegloff, E. A. 1996. "Turn organization: One intersection of grammar and interaction." In *Interaction and Grammar*, E. Ochs, E. A. Schegloff, and S. A. Thompson (eds.), 52-133. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schegloff, E. A. 2000. "On turns' possible completion more or less: Increments and trail-offs." Paper presented at the EuroConference on Interactional Linguistics, Spa, Belgium.

Appendix: Transcription conventions

Transcriptions of talk-in-interaction are presented in courier font, employing a modified orthography. The presentation transcriptions given here aim for enhanced readability wherever possible, while representing features which (i) are useful to the analysis presented here (ii) are part of the sequential organisation of talk (e.g. gaps, overlaps) and (iii) have been shown elsewhere to have interactional significances (e.g. audible breathing, abrupt cut-off of speech production with oral or glottal closure). It is important to note that these presentation transcriptions are not `the data', and should not be treated as a substitute for the original audio recordings. The following conventions are employed:

[	aligned square brackets mark onset of overlapping talk
(.)	`micropause' (pause of less than 0.1s)
=	`latching' talk (talk starts up in especially close temporal

	proximity to the end of the previous talk)
:	sustention of sound (the more colons the longer the sound)
(0.8)	pause (in seconds)
h	outbreath (each `h' representing 0.1s)
.h	inbreath (each `h' representing 0.1s)
(yes/is)	uncertain hearing
-	abrupt oral or glottal `cut off'
( )	unintelligible talk; the space between the parentheses indicates the duration of the unintelligible talk

In some cases an F0 trace is provided above the orthography. These are scaled logarithmically to reflect the non-linear perception of pitch whereby listeners perceive Hertz intervals of the same size as involving a greater change in pitch at lower frequencies than at higher ones. The bottom and top lines represent that speaker's baseline and topline F0 (i.e. the bottom and top of their pitch ranges), established on the basis of one minute of representative conversational speech. The dotted line represents the median F0 for that speaker, included to give a `mid' reference point (for details concerning the use of a median rather than a mean in representing pitch ranges, see Baken and Orlikoff 2000: 168-172). Two further points should be noted: (i) the traces are not precisely aligned with the orthography, though typically the matching is close (ii) F0 traces may emphasize or reduce features in ways which are not consonant with auditory percepts (e.g. in their representation of "microprosodic" effects, and in not taking into account other features which contribute to auditory percepts, such as intensity).

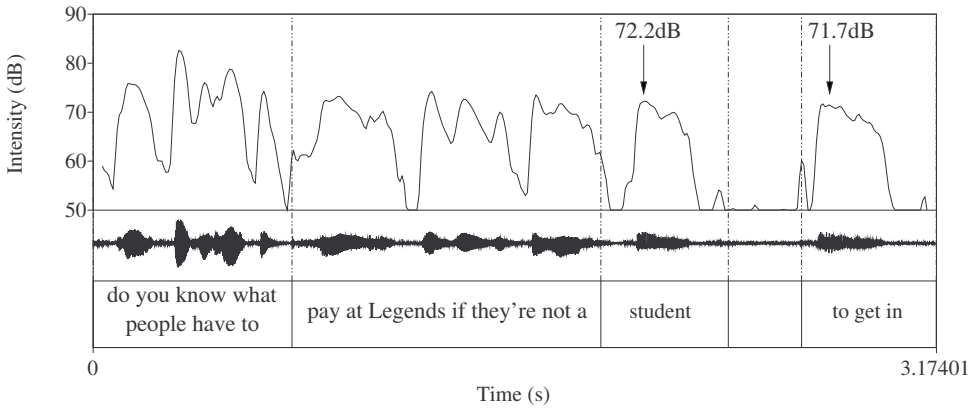


Figure 1: Intensity trace and speech pressure waveform of Fragment 1

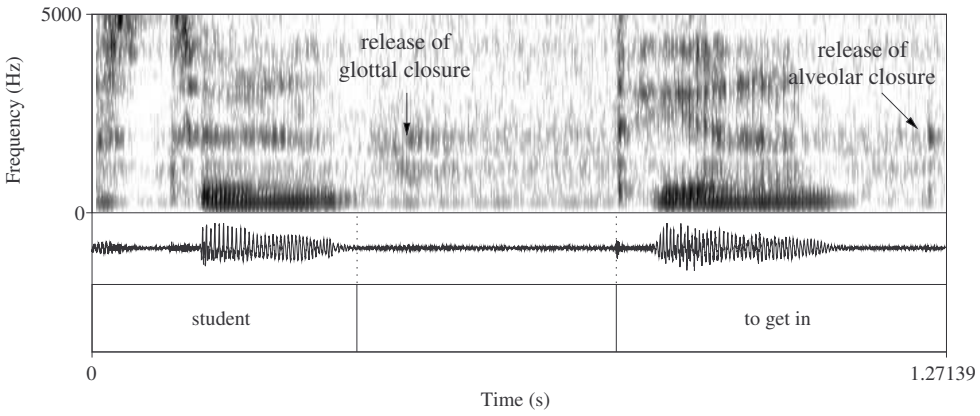


Figure 2: Spectrogram and speech pressure waveform of part of Fragment 1

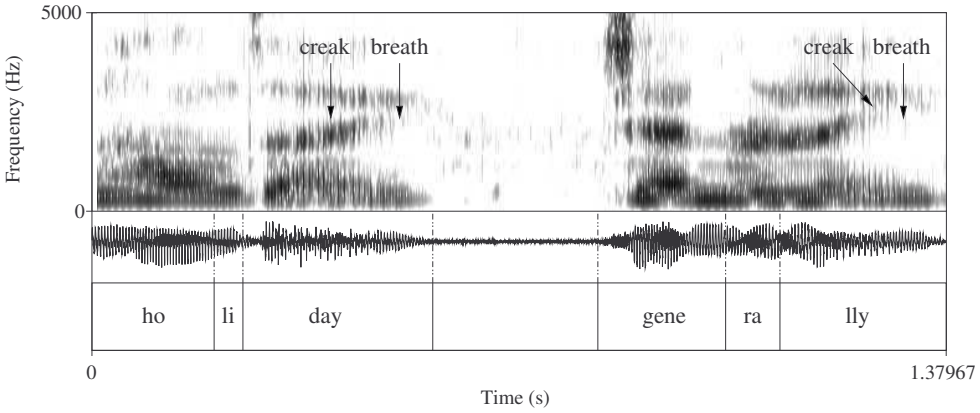


Figure 3: Spectrogram and speech pressure waveform of part of Fragment 2