

Increments in Mandarin Chinese

Emergent Units in Action

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3 Resources for indexing continuations in Chinese

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3 Resources for indexing continuations in Chinese

In laying out a typology of increments, Couper-Kuhlen and Ono (2007) highlight the fact that besides syntax, other linguistic parameters can be enlisted to signal continuation. Specifically, their study “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”.¹ Our collection of Chinese increments endorses this view, as all the classificatory categories in such a typology are clearly attested in Chinese conversation. Cross-linguistic comparison has already found that grammatically ill-fitted increments are prototypical in other languages (Vorreiter, 2003; Auer, 2007). My own findings also support a series of exploratory studies by Luke (2000, 2004, 2005, 2012) and Luke and Zhang (2007), which highlight how Chinese speakers do in fact prolifically break syntactic norms by extending a turn with various grammatically ill-fitted constituents, indexing continuation instead with “subordinate intonation”. However, what such subordinate intonation entails is not clearly explicated. Additionally, we have also found an abundance of syntactically continuous increments in Chinese conversations as well. A detailed examination of these instances shows that, despite being a “right-headed language”, a variety of grammatical structures in Chinese have provided a rich environment where grammatically fitted increments can similarly be produced.

It is therefore instructive to closely examine how exactly Chinese speakers can appropriate various grammatic and prosodic structures, as well as other paralinguistics means, at the moment of talk to add an apropos unit that indexes itself as an increment after possible completion. For one, this would allow a better appreciation of the various resources a Chinese speaker has at hand to pursue interactional objectives without inhibitions from grammatical constraints. A key insight derived from investigating the syntactic and prosodic resources of Chinese increments pertains to how particularities of Chinese grammar and various prosodic manipulation have afforded wide-ranging possibilities for both syntactically continuous and discontinuous types of increments to be instantiated. Following this argument, I argue that the grammatical (in)coherence of increments is simply an epiphenomenon (i.e. a by-product) of its situated structuration process, and not an obligatory consideration for doing continuation for some interactional purpose.

3.1 Syntactic resources for incrementing in Chinese

Despite being a right-headed language, there exist a sizable number of specific Chinese grammatical structures which *provide for* certain constituents or phrases produced after possible completion to be construed as syntactically continuous increments. It has to be highlighted that the Chinese grammatical structures or constructions detailed in this section are simply the environment which has provided or allowed for certain constituents or phrases produced after possible completion to be construed as grammatically fitted. *It does not mean that these grammatical structures or constructions are necessarily instantiations of increments.* Indeed, most instances of such structures or constructions in Chinese discourse are prototypically formulated from the outset to be complete without having to do incrementing. The key point here, however, is that it is *through* these distinctive grammatical structures or constructions in Chinese that various forms of further talk after possible completion can be construed as being “grammatically fitted” in a normative syntax. Hence, Chinese speakers do have at their disposal the necessary environment to utilize “syntax” as a resource for indexing some appended unit as syntactically coherent with the prior (and hence contributing to their status as increments).

An interesting phenomenon is that a majority of syntactically continuous Chinese increments from our collection occurred in contexts where the addition of further talk was prompted by the recipient’s lack of uptake (displayed through occurrences of gaps of silence) or intervening talk by others, thereby resulting in a clear prosodic disjunct between the host-TCU and its increment. Though prosodically disjunctive, these increments, besides being syntactically coherent, also have other sorts of prosodic, semantic, and/or pragmatic features that mark them as continuing from the prior and not as new TCUs in of themselves. However, as the focus in this section is on the relevant grammatical structures in the Chinese language, the detail of their phonetic production is abbreviated in the following examples. We will first illustrate four common syntactic environments that are specific to the Chinese language, and then two other grammatical structures that have commonalities with other languages, where Chinese increments have been found to be produced in a grammatically fitted manner.

3.1.1 *Serial verb structure*

One syntactic environment of Chinese where increments can frequently be produced in a syntactically continuous manner is the serial verb structure, where clausal phrases (VPs) may be structurally strung together without the need for conjunctions.² Additionally, Chinese is also commonly known as a “pro-drop” language, where the subject noun phrase (NP_s) of a clausal sentence may be “dropped” or omitted provided that it can be found, traced, and understood from the preceding context. Schematically the structure is seen as:

$$\{ \text{NP}_{s1} + \text{VP}_1 + ((\text{NP}_{s2}).\text{VP}_2) + ((\text{NP}_{s3}).\text{VP}_3) \dots + ((\text{NP}_{sn}).\text{VP}_n) \}$$

Given that follow-up clauses in Chinese (that have a clear referent in the earlier discourse) need not begin overtly with a subject NP, pronoun, or dummy subject, adjacently placed clauses are structurally more amenable to be seen as syntactically continuous from the preceding TCU via the serial verb structural framework. Ex. (20) shows such an instance.

Ex. (20) ES-M-01 [10:39–10:43]

- 01 Chen: 他 喜欢 上学 哦.=
ta xihuan shangxue o.=
 2SG like attend.school SFP
 ‘He likes to go to school, huh?’
- 02 Lian: =喜欢.
 =xihuan.
 like
 ‘He really likes it.’
- 03 (.)
- 04 → Chen: 学校 肯定 有 很 多 小 朋友.
xuexiao kending you hen duo xiao pengyou.
 school sure have very many small friend
 ‘There must be a lot of children in the school.’
- 05 (0.3)
- 06 → Chen: 跟 [他 玩儿].
gen [ta wanr.]
follow 3SG play
 ‘to play with him.’
- 07 Lian: [好 玩儿].
 [*hao wanr.*]
 good play
 ‘It’s fun (for him).’

In Ex. (20), two graduate students in a university, Chen and Lian, were chatting about their respective children. At one point, Lian started a story on how her son had been unwell and absent from school for the past few days but had felt much better that morning and proactively requested to go to school. One interactional issue here is that Lian had begun her telling without clearly prefacing the point of her story, leaving her recipient, Chen, to make her own inferences. At line 01 of the extract, Chen then picks up on the child’s proclivity for attending school and requests verification from Lian by saying “*ta xihuan shang xue o* (he likes to

go to school, huh?)". This was met with agreement almost immediately and most emphatically by Lian in line 02 but received no further elaboration on possible reasons for the child's enthusiasm in going to school. In line 04, Chen adds that "*xuexiao kending you hen duo xiao pengyou* (there must be a lot of children in the school)", which can sequentially be seen as proposing a candidate reason. This was however, in contrast to line 01, met with a 0.3-second gap of silence in line 05. Possibly to clarify what she meant by "lot of children in school" as a reason, Chen then further appends a verbal clause "*gen ta wanr* (to play with him)" in focal line 06, as an increment from line 04. With the gap of silence in line 05, this is an instance of a post-gap increment, where the production of further talk is done in a prosodically disjunctive manner. By producing the prepositional phrase "*gen ta* (with him)" followed by the verb "*wanr* (play)", Chen has added another verbal clause that can be seen to be a resultant predicate that stems from the first verbal clause (i.e. there must be a lot of children in the school), thereby instantiating the structure of a Chinese serial verb construction and syntactic contiguity between the host-TCU (*xuexiao kending you hen duo xiao pengyou*) and increment (*gen ta wanr*).

3.1.2 *Topic-comment structure*

Another common syntactic environment where increments can be produced as grammatically fitted constituents is immediately after nominal phrases that can act as topics for further comments. The topic-comment structure is argued to be the default sentence structure in Chinese; hence Chinese is deemed a *topic-prominent* language.³ A "topic" in this structure is independent of the syntactic category of subject or object. This means that any nominal constituent in the "topic" position (i.e. utterance-initial) can be followed by a "comment" (usually a clause or a full clause with its own subject) that treats the nominal constituent as its subject, object, or any other relevant nominal arguments. In other words, the topic-comment structure is a valid syntactic structure in Chinese where the semantic relations between the "topic" constituent and the "comment" constituent can be very loosely defined. A schematic representation of the topic-comment construction is given as follows:

{ **TOPIC_Nominal Phrase + (COMMENT_Clausal Phrase)** }

Given that Chinese is an isolating language, a topic is without morphosyntactic markings, and its topical status must be inferable from the discourse situation. This means that any TCU made up by a nominal phrase is amenable to being retroactively "made into" a topic with further talk that comments on the nominal phrase relevantly as a topic. Hence, a clausal continuation of this type can be seen as syntactically continuous under the topic-comment structure of Chinese. An instance of such an increment is illustrated in Ex. (21), whose context was earlier described in Ex. (19). To recap, the same interlocutors described earlier in Ex. (20), Chen and Lian, were having a discussion on the best month in the year to have a baby, such that it would be able to enrol into the primary school system of mainland China

at the youngest age possible. The dilemma here is: if the child does not reach the biological age of six by the final date for primary school admission (even if it is just by a day), he or she will not be allowed to enrol until the next academic year.

Ex. (21) ES-M-01 [13:13–13:25]

- 01 Chen: 那 这么 说 小孩 几 月 份 出生 比较 好 呢?
na zheme shuo xiaohai ji yue fen chusheng bijiao hao ne?
 DM this.way say children how.many month CL born compare good QP
 ‘If that’s the case, when will you say is a better month to give birth to a child?’
- 02 Lian: .hhhh
- 03 (.)
- 04 Lian: [uh: <几 月 份 出生 啊:]>.
 [uh: <ji yue fen chusheng a:]>.
 how.many month CL born SFP
 ‘Mmm. . . with regards to which month would be better. . .’
- 05 Chen: [如果 说 想- 小孩儿 就是 说 六 岁.]
 [ruguo shuo xiang- xiaohair jiushi shuo liu shui.]
 if say think children that.is say six age
 ‘If we wanted to. . . for children. . . I’mean, to be six years old?’
- 06 (0.4)
- 07 → Chen: 九月 份 以后?
jiuyue fen yihou?
 September CL after
 ‘(Maybe) after September?’
- 08 (0.5)
- 09 → Chen: 出生 好 一些.
chusheng hao yixie.
birth good a.bit
 ‘(as the) better (time) to give birth.’
- 10 (1.3)
- 11 Lian: ((contemplative tone)) <九月 [份>.]
 ((contemplative tone)) <jiuyue [fen>.]
 September CL
 ‘September. . .’

- 12 Chen: [或者 是]:: 就是 说:::
 [huozhe shi]:: jiushi shu:::o
 or COP that.is say
 ‘or maybe. . . I mean. . .’
- 13 (0.5)
- 14 Lian: 对. 九月 份.: <我 觉得 是 九月 份 左右
dui. jiu yue fen.: <wo jue de shi jiu yue fen zuoyou
 Yes September CL ISG think COP September CL left.right
 ‘Yes. September. I think it’s around September’
- 15 好像 比较:: 比较 好.
haoxiang bijia::o bijiao hao.
 seems compare compare good.
 ‘that seems to be better.’

Before the extract, the interlocutors have agreed that it is best for a child to enter the formal education system earlier than later. Hence the month in which a child is born becomes a relevant point of discussion, as this will directly affect his or her ability to enrol as one of the youngest six-year-olds in a cohort. Ex. (21) begins with Chen positing the question on the best month for a child to be born, given the school admission policy in China. After Chen initiates the question in line 01, it can be seen from line 02 to line 13 that the recipient (Lian) finds it difficult to provide an accurate assessment. Seeing Lian’s dilemma in coming up with an answer, Chen attempts to “trouble-shoot” and clarify her question, first at line 05 with the turn “*ruguo shuo xiang-xiaohai jiushi shuo liu shui* (If we wanted to. . . for children. . . I mean, to be six years old?)”, which unfortunately runs into overlap with Lian’s repeat at line 04. When this is further met with more gaps in line 06, Chen changes tack and moves into a new action by proposing “*jiu yue fen yihou?* (After September?)” as a candidate solution with try-marked prosody in focal line 07. With no forthcoming acknowledgement in line 08 occupied by a gap of half a second, she further pursues the missing verification with a post-gap increment “*chu-sheng hao yi-xie* (better to give birth)” in line 09, thereby retroactively transforming *jiu yue fen yihou* into a host-TCU. Again, though being prosodically disjunctive, the increment is marked as continuing from the prior in terms of its syntactic placement. With the earlier time period *jiu yue fen yihou* in line 07 as the nominal topic, *chu-sheng hao yi-xie* can then be seen as commenting upon it as a verbal clause, utilizing the topic-comment structure common in Chinese.

3.1.3 *Unexpressed nominal arguments*

Yet another environment where increments can appear to be syntactically continuous is in a clause where the nominal argument in the object position (NP_o) is “dropped” or missing. Two features of the Chinese language contribute to this possibility: the first are the pro-drop tendencies of Chinese, where either the nominal

subject or object may be left unexpressed when the referent can be deduced from prior discourse;⁴ the second is, of course, the subject-verb-object (SVO) typology of Chinese, where the object argument naturally comes at the end of an utterance, resulting in syntactic continuity when a nominal object is appended after possible completion of an object-less clause. This is represented in the following schema.

{ NP_s + VP + (NP_o) }

For instance, in Ex. (22), the host-TCU comes to a possible completion point at “*wo ye bu tai qingchu* (I’m also not too sure)”, where the grammatical object of what the speaker is unsure about is unexpressed, leaving the clause “object-less”. The speaker then continues to softly append a nominal object increment in the form of a compound pronoun *ta zhege*, literally “his + this”, after the completion point, possibly to clarify by emphasizing what he’s unsure of.

Ex. (22) ES-M-09 [10:42–10:56]

>因为< 我 也 不 太 清楚. °他 这个°.
 >yinwei< *wo ye bu tai qingchu.* °*ta zhege*°.
 because 1SG also NEG too clear 3SG this
 ‘Because I’m also not too sure. (about) his stuff.’

However, a more common form of nominal object type increment is usually seen after a possibly complete nominalizer-DE construction.⁵ The nominalizer-DE refers to the grammatical particle placed after some attributive or possessive elements, such that the entire construction constitutes a nominal used as grammatical subject, object, or other arguments. This, however, means that the formulation of nominalizer-DE construction may be seen as the omission of the head noun on the right in a right-headed syntax language (e.g. Chinese). Schematically speaking, this is seen as:

{ **Attributive/Possessive Modifier + DE + (Head Noun)** }_{Nominal Subject/Object/Other Arguments}

Therefore, when used as a nominal object argument placed after a verb in a SVO language, the end of a nominalizer-DE construction may be a possible completion point of the utterance and furthermore allows for the syntactically continuous appendage of the unexpressed head noun as an increment. Ex. (23) illustrates an example where the increment can be syntactically seen as part of a nominalizer-DE construction.

Before lines 10–14 in the extract, Deng has been attempting to convince a fellow female university schoolmate in Hong Kong to join her group of friends and herself when they go out for drinks at a night club. The female schoolmate appears resistant to this activity, questioning why their gathering had to be so late at night, if Deng’s group consists of only females, and if people joining in their last outing were all from Hong Kong. These questions ostensibly also reflect the types of concern this schoolmate has towards accepting Deng’s invitation. Orienting to the

profile of participants in an outing as the main concern, Deng then reveals that she did not attend the last outing, but there were about five participants then, before attempting to confirm that they were all from Hong Kong at the start of line 10.

Ex. (23) ES-M-07 [19:41–19:55]

- 10 Deng: 都 是:- 对.
dou shi:- dui.
 all COP right
 ‘they’re all. . . yeah.’
- 11 (.)
- 12 → Deng: 呃- 都 是 港大 的.
e- dou shi gangda de.
 AGR all COP NM GEN
 ‘Uh-hmm. . . they’re all from Hong Kong university.’
- 13 (0.4)
- 14 → Deng: °女[生°.]
 °*nu*[*sheng*°.]
female
 ‘(and all) female [students.]’

Here, Deng begins with “*dou shi* (they’re all)” before cutting herself off to produce an agreement “*dui* (yeah)”, in response to an exclamation that the group is large by the schoolmate. Deng then re-starts at line 12 again with our focal host-TCU “*e-dou shi gangda de* (Uh-hmm. . . they’re all from Hong Kong University)”, which comes to a possible completion point, as the unexpressed nominal argument after *de* need not be articulated in normative Chinese syntax. After a gap of silence at line 13, Deng follows up with a nominal phrase “*nu sheng* (female students)” which is semantically dependent on the prior TCU for adequate understanding. Note that this constituent is appended after a noticeable gap of silence is thus prosodically disjunctive. As the prior utterance in line 12 ended with a nominalizer-DE construction “*gangda de* (all Hong Kong University-DE)”, the addition of an appropriate nominal argument *nu sheng* in line 14 renders the constituent as a grammatically fitted increment, where “*gangda* (Hong Kong University)” before the *de* particle is retroactively turned into the attributive element of *nu sheng*.

An interesting observation pertaining to this “nominal argument after nominalizer-DE construction” type of increment is that *it is exactly the right-headed syntax of Chinese that has allowed a reading of syntactic continuity* when an unexpressed nominal argument is added retroactively, thereby enabling the increment to act as a head noun and taking the previous nominalizer-DE construction to be its modifier. In a sense, although right-headed syntax has *ab initio* led

to most adverbial increments in other languages to be syntactically discontinuous, given other structural norms in the Chinese language such as the “pro-drop” character of nominal arguments, right-headedness can also provide the grammatical environment for syntactically continuous increments to appear.

3.1.4 Verb-resultative complement structure

Another grammatical environment we want to highlight where increments can be appended in a syntactically continuous manner is as a complement that modifies the prior verb. While most verbal complements in Chinese appear to the left of the verbal phrase (e.g. adverbials denoting time, place, and manner), in a verb-resultative complement construction,⁶ the resultative complement is positioned to the right of the verbal constituent, denoting some sort of state that is the result of the action of the verb. The schematic structure of the verb-resultative construction is provided here.

{ NP_s + VP + (Resultative Complement) }

Hence, in certain situations where the TCU comes to possible completion after a verb, Chinese speakers will then have the option to produce increments as syntactically continuous post-verbal complements. This is illustrated in our final example, which also shows the resultative complement added as a “post-other-talk” type of prosodically disjunctive increment.

Ex. (24) is an extract from a video recording of three Ph.D. students (Jie, Wei, and Tao) having a snack and chatting around a table. Before the start of our example, Jie laments the difficulty in finding “*yangrou* (mutton)” in school, a red meat frequently eaten in North China. Wei then recommends an Indian food stall in the canteen that does sell mutton. This seems to pique Jie’s interest, as she continues to ask Wei about the pricing and portion given. However, as the conversation progresses, Jie does not appear to show enthusiasm in accepting Wei’s recommendation after it is revealed that the mutton is cooked in curry. The extract shown begins with line 12, where Tao joins in to collaboratively persuade Jie on the merits of the Indian food stall.

Ex. (24) NTU-2 [0:37–1:00]

- 12 Tao: [这边 它的:: 印度] (sss-) 菜 还 不 错 啦。 其实。
 [zhebian ta de:: yindu] (sss-) cai hai bu cuo la. qishi.
 this.side 3SG GEN Indian dish still NEG wrong SFP actually
 ‘The Indian food there is not bad. . . actually.’
- 13 Wei: 是 啊.=
 shi a.=
 COP SFP
 ‘Yeah.’

52 Resources for indexing continuations in Chinese

- 14 Tao: =canteen B 也 就 那个. hh 不过 我们 因为
 =canteen B ye jiu nage. hh buguo women yinwei
 NM also DM that but 1PL because
 ‘And that the only place in Canteen B with. . . It’s just that we’re’
- 15 很 少 吃 印[度 的 东西.]
 han shao chi yin[du de dongxi.]
 very little eat Indian GEN thing
 ‘not accustomed to having Indian food.’
- 16 Wei: [对 对] [对.]
 [dui dui] [dui.]
 right right right
 ‘yea yea yes’
- 17 Jie: [不是.]
 [bushi.]
 NEG.COP
 ‘It’s not that.’
- 18 → 那个 印度 的 那个 咖喱 我: <不 能 吃::>.
 nage yindu de nage kali wo: <bu neng chi::>.
 that Indian GEN that curry 1SG NEG can eat
 ‘It’s that curry, Indian curry exactly, that I’m unable to eat.’
- 19 Wei: 为什么 呢.
 weishenme ne.
 why SFP
 ‘why?’
- 20 (.)
- 21 Wei: [哈.]
 [ha.]
 QP
 ‘ huh? ’
- 22 → Jie: [多.] 就是 它 [味道 很] 重.
 [duo.] jiushi ta [weidao hen] zhong.
 much that.is 3SG smell very heavy
 ‘much. It’s just the flavour is too strong.’

Up to line 12 in the sequence, both Wei and Tao have, in a sense, collaboratively offered a recommendation to Jie with little indication of recipient’s acceptance, leading Tao to postulate unfamiliarity with Indian food in lines 14–15 as a possible

reason Jie is rejecting their recommendation. It is towards this postulation that Jie overtly rejects at line 17, before stating her specific misgivings. At line 18, Jie points out that it is specifically Indian curry that she has difficulties with in “*na ge yindu de na ge kali wo: <bu neng chi::>*” (It’s that curry, Indian curry exactly, that I’m unable to eat)”. The end of this TCU is clearly taken as a TRP, as Wei jumps in the next turn questioning at line 19 and pursues this again at line 21 with a shorter question particle which runs into overlap with line 22. After talk by others, the focal increment in this example then occurs in the third subsequent turn at the beginning of line 22, simply with “*duo* (much/many)”, an adverbial adjunct that qualifies “*chi* (eat)” in line 18. Notably, this increment was not produced immediately after possible completion (next beat) or after some noticeable silence (post-gap) but after speaker transition (post-other-talk). The occurrence of *duo* after *chi* is also arguably grammatically fitted in normative Chinese syntax, presenting itself as a syntactically continuous resultative complement to the prior verb, as in “*wo bu neng chi-duo* (I can’t eat much)”.

Interestingly, besides syntactically continuing with the resultative complement *duo*, Jie further provides an additional visuospatial cue, namely her shift in gaze, to mark this appended element as prompted by, or addressed to, talk by others.⁷ From the video recording, it can be seen that at possible turn completion by Jie at line 18 and throughout Wei’s turn at line 19, Jie’s gaze was firmly fixed towards Wei, reifying Wei as the main recipient of her talk (see Figure 3.1).

But immediately after Wei’s question at line 19 and in the midst of the micro-pause at line 20, Jie retracts her gaze from Wei and rolls her eyes to her left, characterizable as a “contemplative” look (see Figure 3.2) while producing the incremental *duo*.

Insofar as Wei’s “*weishenme ne* (why)” at line 19 is a targeted response to Jie’s rejection of Indian curry with “*wo bu neng chi* (I’m unable to eat)” at line 18, then the subsequent backing down with a syntactically continuous resultative

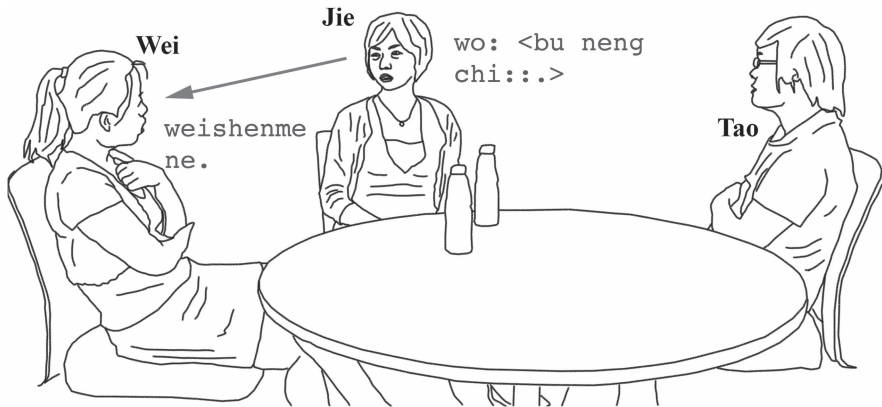


Figure 3.1 Jie’s gaze on Wei during production of host-TCU

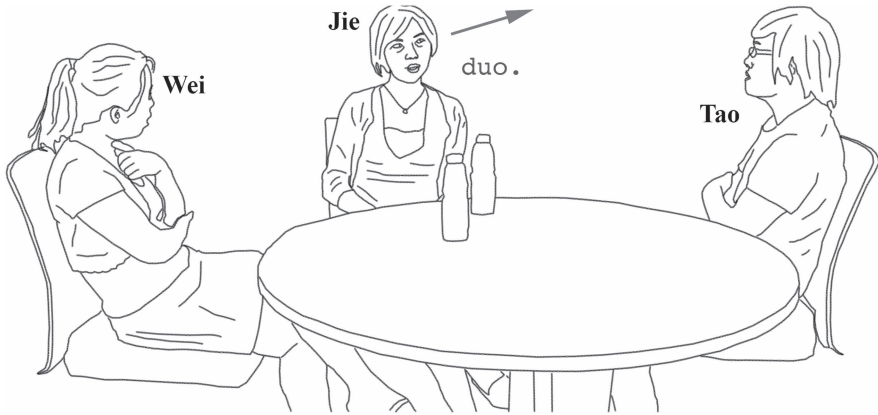


Figure 3.2 Jie's contemplative gaze while producing the increment "duo"

complement *duo*, concurrently executed with Jie's upward contemplative gaze into space, constitute a fully embodied enactment of the further talk (i.e. *duo*) as prompted by Wei's questioning. Ex. (24) hence demonstrates a process where the increment is visibly done as an appended element addressed to the interactional contingencies presented after talk-by-others.

These four syntactic environments illustrate how Chinese speakers have at their disposal various grammatical structures specific to the Chinese language (e.g. serial verb structure, topic-comment structure, verb-resultative complement structure, etc.) where appending certain constituents can be deemed syntactically continuous after a possible completion point. But more importantly, our investigations have also uncovered that Chinese speakers do indeed produce syntactically continuous increments that utilize these grammatical structures as a resource for indexing syntactic continuity.

There are two other grammatical structures where syntactically continuous Chinese increments have also been found; however, these structures do not pertain specifically to Chinese normative syntax and are incrementing practices that can be found in other languages (or at least also in English), namely the use of tag questions and conjunctive phrases after a possible completion point as increments.

3.1.5 Tag questions

As with English, tag questions (e.g. "., right?", "., isn't it?", etc.) may also be attached to a possibly complete predicative clause in Chinese, thereby constituting a natural environment for syntactically continuous Chinese increment to be instantiated. Schegloff (1996a) has described tag questions as an element that is "specifically designed for post-possible completion position"⁸ but may also appear as an integral part of the TCU⁹ (i.e. not an increment), depending on how it was produced prosodically. In any case, utterance-final position is the natural syntactic

slot for tag questions to occur and hence may also be produced after the possible completion point of a predicative clause to constitute a syntactically continuous increment. This is represented in the following schema.

{ Predicative Clause + (Tag Question) }

Besides how they are produced prosodically, a clear difference between tag questions done as part of the TCU or as an increment is that the latter are retroactive operations. One clear and common function of such tag questions as increments found in the data is to invite for corroboration on the prior statement, proposition, or claim that is possibly disaligned with that of the recipient. In doing so, the speaker may also be retroactively hedging the host-TCU and thereby lowering his or her epistemic stance. This is often done in response to the recipient's non-uptake (i.e. gaps of silence) following the speaker's statement, proposition, or claim in the host-TCU, which prefaces possible disagreement (Pomerantz, 1984a). Ex. (25a–c) shows the range of tag questions that can occur as Chinese increments and how they may be produced immediately after possible completion, after a gap, or after talk-by-others.

Ex. (25) Tag questions

25a. ES-M-01 [1:59–2:02]

- 03 Lian: Tom- 收- 嗯 你 收到 To:m 的 email 了. ↓是 吧.
Tom- sho- en ni shoudao To:m: de email le. ↓shi ba.
 NM receive- CFM 2SG receive.reach NM GEN email CRS **COP QP**
 'Tom. . . umm. . . you've received an email from Tom. Right?'

25b. ES-M-05 [3:15–3:23]

- 07 Liu: 那 你 现在 好 朋友 都 是:: 高中 的 啦..
na ni xianzai hao pengyou dou shi:: gaozhong de la..
 DM 2SG now good friend all COP high.middle GEN SFP
 'So your current good friends are all from high school.'

08 (0.5)

09 Li: Mm::,

10 (.)

- 11 → Liu: °是 吗°.
 °shi ma°.
COP QP
 'Right?'

25c. ES-M-05 [5:56–6:04]

05 Liu: 它 是 一个 国际 品牌.
ta shi yige guoji pinpai.
 3SG COP one.CL international brand
 ‘It’s an international brand. . .’

06 (1.2)

07 → Liu: °知道 吧°.=
 °zhidao ba°.=
 know QP
 ‘y’know, right?’

In Ex. (25a), which was previously shown in Ex. (16d), Lian first declares that her interlocutor has received an expected email from Suhua before appending the incrementing tag question “*shi-ba* (right?)”, in the next beat after a possible completion of the prior unit. The possible completion of the host-TCU in (25a) is not only marked prosodically and signalled through the use of the utterance-final particle *le*, indexing strong syntactic closure, but an overlap (indicated with the left bracket) also occurred after *le*, demonstrating that the recipient has indeed also taken this point to be a possible completion point. Note that the predicate clause before the tag question here is a matter that the recipient obviously has more direct access to than the speaker, and the tag question clearly works to retroactively position the speaker as deferential to the recipient’s higher epistemic authority. Ex. (25b) demonstrates a variation of the previous tag question with “*shi-ma* (right?)” as a syntactically continuous increment but this time produced after hearable gaps of silence and talk by others. In Ex. (25b), Liu articulates a presumptive claim that all of Li’s good friends were from her own high school at line 07. This received no uptake at line 08 (indicated by a 0.5 second gap), followed with a contemplative level intonation *mm*:: at line 09 by Li and another micro-pause at line 10. Possibly due to the multiple difficulties displayed by Li in aligning with such a claim, Liu adds the incrementing tag question *shi-ma* softly at line 11 as a form of back-down from her stronger statement at line 07, as well as to further mobilize corroboration from the recipient. Finally, the tag question “*zhidao ba* (y’know, right?)” in Ex. (25c) is also produced as an increment after a noticeable gap of silence. In comparison to earlier tag questions, *zhidao ba* does not so much signal the speaker’s own epistemic uncertainty but assumes a stance that some sort of common knowledge or understanding has been predicated in the host-TCU, and the increment is simply appended to request acknowledgement of such facts. Here, Liu states simply that a certain label is an international brand name in line 05. After a 1.2-second gap without any form of acknowledgement in line 06, Liu pursues uptake with the tag question *zhidao ba* in line 07. There is a strong sense in Ex. (25c) that the speaker is not so much interested in reaching a consensus with her recipient as to inform her interlocutor what she knows to be true. Regardless, all the incrementing tag questions shown here work to increase response relevancy (Stivers & Rossano, 2010) and garner the recipient’s uptake on a prior declarative statement. Therefore,

it is unsurprising that two out of the three examples show how the increments are possibly motivated by gaps of silence, prefacing problems with uptake of the prior proposition or claim.

3.1.6 Conjunctive phrases

As previously demonstrated, adjacently placed clauses without linking conjunctions can be syntactically continuous in Chinese under the serial verb structure given the right pragmatic context, as seen in Ex. (20). It goes without saying, then, that phrases linked by conjunctive elements are also grammatically fitted further talk. Therefore, another structural environment for syntactically continuous increments to occur in Chinese is when an appended phrasal unit is syntactically linked with a conjunct after the possible completion of a prior clause. This is represented schematically as follows.

{ **Clause + (Conjunct + Phrase) + (Conjunct + Phrase) +** }

The term *phrase* here is used to highlight that such conjunctive phrases can be predicative or adjectival in nature, instantiated by either verbal or nominal phrases. Two such examples are provided in Ex. (26a–b).

Ex. (26) Conjunctive clauses

26a. ES-M-06 [0:33–0:39]

- 01 Yuan: [就是-] .hh就 看 你 本科 的 GPA.
 [jiush-] .hhjiu kan ni benke de GPA.
 that.is DM see 2SG undergraduate GEN NM
 ‘That is. . . just looking at your undergraduate GPA.’
- 02 (0.4)
- 03 Jian: 喔:: 明 [白 了.]
 o:: ming[bai le.]
 INJ understand CRS
 ‘Oh. . . I see.’
- 04 → Yuan: [和 你- 和] 你 的 [本科 的] 成绩=
 [he ni- he] ni de [benke de] chengji.=
 and 2SG and 2SG GEN undergraduate GEN grades
 ‘and your. . . and your undergraduate grades.’
- 05 Jian: [嗯::]
 [e:n.]
 CFM
 ‘Uh-huh.’

06 → Yuan: =h [然后 你 的 推荐] 信.
 =h [*ranhou ni de tuijian*] *xin*.
after 2SG GEN recommend letter
 ‘and then your recommendation letter.’

07 Jian: [嗯: mm::]
 [*e:n* mm::]
 CFM.
 ‘Uhhh mm. . .’

26b. ES-M-01 [0:46–0:59]

11 Chen: =因为 中秋节 的 时候: (.)
 =*yinwei zhongqiujie de shiho:u* (.)
because mid-autumn-festival GEN period
 ‘Because during the Mid-Autumn Festival. . .’

12 它 这 肯定 也 不 能 带 家属 吧.
ta zhe kending ye bu neng dai jiaoshu ba.
3SG this sure also NEG can bring family.member QP
 ‘Surely (we) can’t bring family members (to this event).’

13 (0.8)

14 → Chen: [因为 Fred 来 了 嘛.
 [*yinwei Fred lai le ma*.
because NM come CRS SFP
 ‘Because Fred is already here.’

Before the start of Ex. (26a), Jian asks Yuan what the criteria assessed by his department for his doctoral program application to be approved were. At line 01, Yuan begins by saying that it was based on “just looking at your undergraduate GPA”. This received no uptake at line 02, resulting in a 0.4-second gap and possibly prefacing some trouble in the acceptance of such a singular criterion. Though Jian did provide some sort of acknowledgement in line 03, Yuan decides to provide more details on the criteria in line 04 with a conjunctive nominal increment. As Line 04 begins in overlap with line 03, Yuan re-starts the turn beginning with the conjunction “*he* (and)” as a clear link with his prior TCU before stating “*ni de benke de chengji* (your undergraduate grades)” as an additional factor. As this increment comes to another possible completion, Yuan adds a second conjunctive nominal increment in line 06, this time with the conjunction “*ranhou* (after)” to signal further continuation before the third criterion “*ni de tuijianxin* (your recommendation letter)”, which also comes into overlap with another acknowledgement in line 07. Both increments in this example were formulated by starting with a conjunct and then adding a nominal phrase to act as an *adjunctive* constituent. The

natural reading of lines 04 and 06 as increments is evidently assisted by their non-clausal (i.e. nominal phrases) and consequently adjunctive characteristics, which renders them semantically dependent on the prior unit for adequate understanding.

The other case of a possible conjunctive phrase increment is seen in Ex. (26b), but this time with clausal units. Before the start of Ex. (26b), Chen was asked by her interlocutor if she intended to participate in an upcoming school event, to which Chen responded by saying she was unable to attend. Beginning with line 11 in Ex. (26b), Chen then accounts for not participating by saying that since family members were not explicitly invited, she wants to spend time with her husband (Shaohua, who had just arrived) during the Mid-Autumn Festival, which clashes with the day of the event. At line 11, Chen begins her formulation of a new TCU with the causal conjunction “*yinwei* (because)” and the mention of the Mid-Autumn Festival but seems to abandon this by the end of the line. She then restarts at line 12 by stating that family members are surely not invited to the event, which comes to possible completion with the utterance-final question particle *ba*. After a 0.8-second gap with no uptake in line 13, Chen appends another causal verbal clause “*yinwei shaohua lai le ma* (Because Shaohua is already here)” as a possible increment, to strengthen her justification for non-participation. Similar for cases in serial verb structures, there is a distinct possibility for syntactically continuous clauses (with or without conjuncts) after possible completion to be produced as independent new TCUs or as increments. Couper-Kuhlen (2011b, 2012) specifically addresses this possibility in English conversation as well, and we also mentioned this in Section 2.4. when discussing Chinese glue-ons. Regardless, the use of conjunctive phrases after possible completion presents a clear grammatical structure for syntactically continuous increments to happen. It is also interesting that both examples of syntactically continuous (possible) increments in Ex. (26a–b) are produced after a noticeable gap of silence.

3.2 Prosodic resources for incrementing in Chinese

As discussed in Chapter 2, due to the right-headed syntax of Chinese, various adverbials as increments would necessarily be seen as syntactically discontinuous elements. Additionally, as a “pro-drop” language with null subject utterances as a regular feature, Chinese constituents such as noun phrases and pronominals appended after possible completion as a form of clarification, a reminder for an omitted referent, or to re-emphasize a topic at the beginning of the host-TCU would also be seen as syntactically discontinuous increments. Chinese verbal clauses may also be appended as a syntactically discontinuous increment to re-insert a priorly missing topic, an added modal auxiliary verb, or even a previously omitted main verb. Therefore, Chinese speakers do routinely append a wide range of grammatically ill-fitted constituents as increments.

While the normative syntax of Chinese makes it difficult for certain constituents to be syntactically marked as continuing after a possibly complete host-TCU, as previously discussed, one resource commonly utilized by Chinese speakers to index continuation is by imposing certain prosodic features on the appended

syntactically incoherent constituent (or sometimes even a syntactically coherent constituent), termed “subordinate intonation” by Luke and Zhang (2007). Hence, for Chinese, the prosodic delivery of an increment is not simply a classificatory criterion in its typology but is, in fact, the ubiquitous distinguishing feature of Chinese increments.

But what do we mean by subordinate intonation? Do Chinese increments demonstrate clearly defined prosodic parameters such as levels of pitch or intensity that mark them as produced with subordinate intonation? And are there other aspects of prosodic delivery besides intonation that contribute to indexing continuation after a possible completion point? As it turns out, prosodic manipulation is a nuanced undertaking that is often taken for granted. In the following section, the complexities of using prosody as a resource for recognition of increments shall be illustrated in detail.

3.2.1 *Indexing completion with prosody*

Before we (or more accurately, participants in a conversation) can discern increments, possible TCU completion (or TRP) must first be projected and recognized, for even in its broadest sense, an increment refers to continuation after a possibly complete TCU. Therefore, *how a TRP can be perceived by interlocutors is the first step towards recognizing its subsequent talk as possible increments*. Ford and Thompson (1996) demonstrated that how possible completion of a TCU may be recognized or projected (by recipients and analyst alike) is not a straightforward matter and that such an indication is strongest when all three parameters of syntax, prosody, and pragmatics are analysably complete at any given moment of talk. As with most other languages, Chinese TRPs are also projected via aspects of syntactic, prosodic, and pragmatic completion (Oreström, 1983; Wilson & Zimmerman, 1986; Local & Kelly, 1986; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987; Schegloff, 1996a; Fox, 2001a; Local & Walker, 2012).

Furthermore, as postulated in Sacks et al. (1974), the specific linguistic resources used to do projection of syntactic, prosodic, and pragmatic completion are also language dependent (Fox et al., 1996; Hayashi, 2003, 2004; Tanaka, 1999, 2000, 2001). We have seen how this is true syntactically when discussing the variety of specific grammatical configuration in Chinese, such as the *widespread use of sentence-final particles* in Chinese utterance to denote syntactic completion. With regards to prosodic resources, we note that prosody encompasses a wide range of acoustic features such as rhythm, loudness, stress, tempo, pitch, or in effect the overall intonation of speech. Though pitch-accent is recognized as having a significant role in the projection of TRP (Schegloff, 1996a), Local and Walker (2012) have shown that a variety of non-pitch-related acoustic features (such as durational lengthening, aspiration in word-final position, and audible out-breath)¹⁰ may also be at play in projecting possible turn transition. Intonation which signals finality is, of course, another widely observed feature that projects for prosodic completion, such as a marked fall or rise in pitch at the end of an utterance, denoted by the period and question mark in the Du Bois et al. (1993)

and Jefferson (2004) transcription systems. However, the tonal system of the Chinese language calls for further elaboration on how prosodic completion may be projected in Chinese.

In a nutshell, two key prosodic features appear to be pervasive in allowing for the projection of TRP in Chinese TCU. The first and perhaps most crucial factor for the projection of prosodic completion for Chinese interlocutors is probably the perception of an overall *declination unit* (DU), defined as “a general declination trend (slope) describing the gradual fall in F0 (fundamental frequency) over time during a period of speech”,¹¹ whose boundaries are found to coincide with an overwhelming majority of *intonation units*, or IUs (Schuetze-Coburn et al., 1991; Du Bois et al., 1993; Tao, 1996). Though the final intonation contour of a complete Chinese TCU may end with either a rising or falling intonation, the unit will nonetheless exhibit an overall declination trend. Typically, a new TCU will begin with the onset of a *pitch reset*,¹² usually manifested in the rising of pitch at the beginning of the TCU in contrast to the end of the preceding TCU.¹³ As the TCU is produced moment by moment, the rate of pitch declination is then partially regulated by the speaker according to the projected length of the TCU, such that an overall declination trend can be perceived, despite irregular pitch fluctuations along the body of the TCU caused by individual tonal contours of Chinese syllables or other intonational modifications denoting stances such as attitudes and/or emotions. It has been suggested that tracking of DU constitutes the key factor for identification of final intonation at the boundaries of Chinese TCU¹⁴ and thus can be used by interlocutors to project for TCU completion.

The second key prosodic feature for projection of TCU completion pertains to how the end of a TCU is usually marked by a lengthened syllable, relative to the rest of the TCU. In some Chinese utterances where a known sentence-final particle is present, this particle is usually prosodically short but nonetheless strongly signals syntactic closure due to its grammatical status as an utterance-ending marker. In utterances where no final particle is produced (or even when the last syllable is the final particle), the last syllable (or the monosyllabic Chinese word) before TCU completion tends to be lengthened, as is typical of intonation units.¹⁵ In utterances where the last Chinese word is bi-syllabic, then the lengthening can occur either on the last (i.e. second character of the bi-syllabic word) or second last (i.e. first character of the bi-syllabic word) syllable, depending on the specific bi-syllabic word used, thus allowing for a timely projection of TCU completion.

To illustrate these features, we reproduce the focal lines 06 of Ex. (27), earlier seen as Ex. (3a), where the speaker, Faye, comments on the inconsequentiality of being a second author of a paper in her school.

Ex. (27) Graduate Dilemma [9:21–9:26]

- 05 Matt: 诶. 好歹 是 一下 啊.
ei. haodai shi yixia a.
 INJ good.bad COP a.bit SFP
 ‘Huh. . .? It’s still counts as a publication, isn’t it?’

06 → Faye: 没用。 我们 那儿 第: 第 二 作者 都 不 算。 <↓现在。
meiyong. women naer di: di er zuozhe dou bu suan. <↓xianzai.
 NEG.use IPL there rank rank two author all NEG count. **now**
 ‘It’s useless. Over here, not even second authors are counted. now.’

07 (.)

08 Matt: 是 吗。
shi ma.
 COP QP
 ‘Is that so?’

In the second TCU of line 06, Faye first produces a host-TCU “*women naer di: di er zuozhe dou bu suan* (Over here a second author is not even counted)”, which comes to a syntactic completion point. As it turns out, Faye continues to latch on with another constituent “*xianzai* (now)”, which is analysably an increment. Our focus here is to look at some measurable prosodic characteristics near the juncture of possible completion at the end of “*dou bu suan* (not even counted)”, which is captured in the following illustration using the speech analysis software Praat. The four-tiered figure shows the spectrogram, pitch trace (dotted line) indicative of the utterance’s intonational contour, intensity (solid line) denoting volume, speech pressure waveform for each lexical item, and a Pinyin transcription of the utterance. Later acoustic illustrations are shown in a similar fashion.

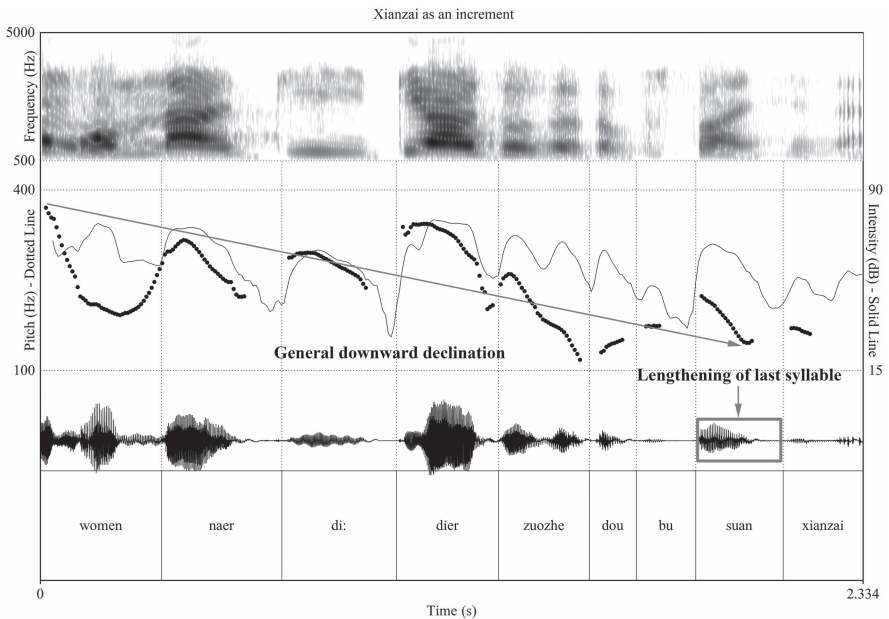


Figure 3.3 Acoustic analysis of Ex. (27) – projecting for possible TCU completion

From both a syntactic and pragmatic perspective, the focal host-TCU *women naer di: di er zuozhe dou bu suan* is possibly complete after the monosyllabic word “*suan* (count)”. Prosodically, it can also be seen in the top tier of the illustration that the last syllable *suan* is lengthened relative to other monosyllabic words such as “*dou* (all)” and “*bu* (NEG)”. Furthermore, a general downward intonation contour can also be observed from the beginning of “*women* (we)” to the end of *suan*, though along certain segments of the TCU, intonational rises can be seen due to rising syllabic tonal contours of individual words in the language. While a terminal falling intonation (for non-interrogative actions) can generally be taken to be projecting possible completion in English, in a tonal language like Chinese, each syllable¹⁶ possesses its own tonal contour which interplays with the larger global intonation contour of the utterance (Chao, 1968), resulting in either rising or falling intonation as distinct possibilities in a final intonation contour regardless of the utterance’s function.¹⁷

In sum, prosodic features, some specific to the language, are also available to Chinese speakers as resources for projection of TRP. But, as with any other language, it has to be reiterated that the identification of prosodic completion is clearly an auditory, perceptual matter (for the recipient as well as for the analyst) and that the projection of TCU completion does not depend on prosodic determination alone but upon the agreement of completion of all three factors (i.e. syntactic, prosodic, and pragmatic).

3.2.2 Indexing continuation with prosody

As mentioned, the prosodic character of a turn-in-talk is central to how Chinese speakers index and recognize *both* possible completion of a TCU (i.e. TRP) and its subsequent increment. We have argued that while possible completion may be strongly signalled through a multitude of utterance-final particles in Chinese, it is the monitoring of a prosodic declination unit that constitutes the key resource through which a TRP is determined. It is also the continuation of such a DU (i.e. lack of pitch reset) that inferably marks further talk after a TRP to possibly be an increment that is part of the prior. Additionally, Chinese increments are also ubiquitously marked with what has been termed *subordinate intonation* to index their subsidiary status as separate but “belonging” to the host-TCU.

To illustrate aspects of such prosodic manipulation in Chinese, we again examine the increment produced in line 06 of Ex. (27) from the previous section. After *women naer di: di er zuozhe dou bu suan* comes to a possible TCU completion, the speaker Faye latches on (denoted by the less than symbol [$<$]) to produce a single lexical word *xianzai* before the onset of any speaker transition. As a time adverbial, *xianzai* cannot be seen as grammatically fitted with the prior, yet several prosodic features of this appended item mark it as being a continuation rather than a new TCU in and of itself. It is first noted that the end of *xianzai* constitutes another hearable prosodic completion due to its terminal falling intonation, thereby signalling the formulation of *xianzai* as the next unit of talk after *women naer di: di er zuozhe dou bu suan*. Although a time word such as *xianzai* may suffice as an independent TCU in certain sequential environments, within this context, it cannot

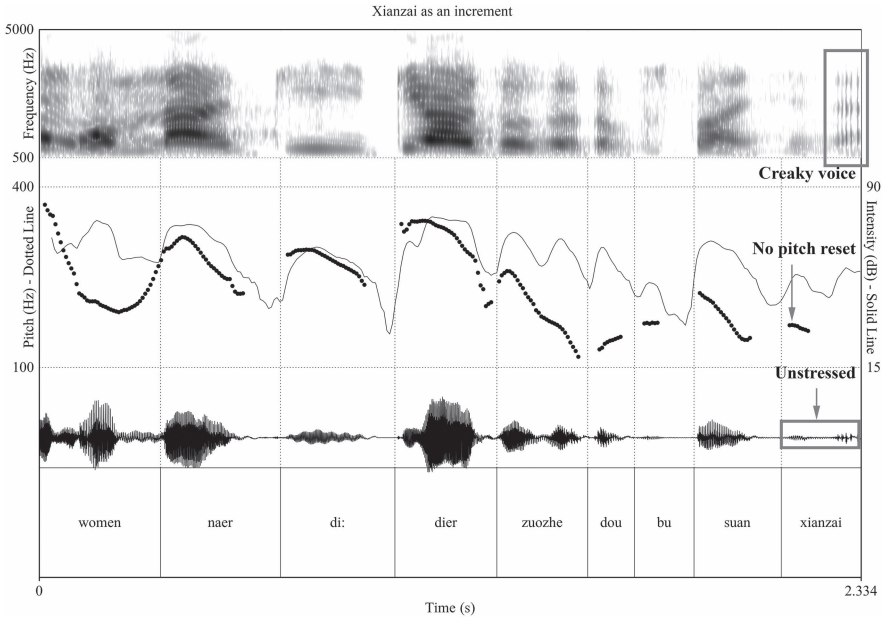


Figure 3.4 Acoustic analysis of Ex. (27) – subordinate intonation

be adequately understood without recourse to the just-prior TCU and is necessarily retrospectively oriented and dependent upon its host-TCU for semantic and pragmatic completeness, namely as a time adverbial restricting the scope of the clause “*a second author is not even counted*”.

Consequently, prosodic manipulation is imposed on *xianzai* to mark it as subordinated to the host-TCU. Figure 3.4 generated with the speech analysis software Praat is again produced with a focus on *xianzai* to illustrate how some of its prosodic qualities contribute to a reading of continuation.

As can be seen, the production of *xianzai* is marked by a cluster of prosodic features that mark it as a continuation. The first would be the *lack of pitch reset* at the start of articulating *xianzai*, otherwise typically seen on the onset of new TCUs.¹⁸ The initial syllable of new TCUs typically achieves a pitch peak that is contrastively higher than at the end of the last syllable in the preceding TCU. Although a possible turn completion point has been reached at *suan*, the pitch trace in Figure 3.4 shows that the pitch onset of *xianzai* (at a peak of 166 Hz) is actually lower than the preceding syllable *suan* (at a peak of 223 Hz). Compare this with how the same speaker, Faye, begin her TCU with *women*, produced at a peak of 370 Hz. Also, the elongated syllable *suan* declined to a minimum pitch of 147 Hz around its end, which is also not much lower than the pitch peak of 166 Hz at the beginning of *xianzai*.

Another auditory characteristic of *xianzai* is that it is perceived to be *unstressed*, probably achieved through multiple prosodic features. First, *xianzai* is strikingly

produced with a “creaky voice”, particularly on *zai*, as indicated in Figure 3.4 by noticeable gaps in the spectrogram and Praat’s failure to capture its pitch trace due to its extremely low pitch. But, more crucially as an unstressed constituent, *xianzai* is articulated at a *lower intensity* (i.e. loudness) than most other elements in its host-TCU. Peak intensity on both syllables *xian* and *zai* were produced at 54 dB and 56 dB, respectively. While this is comparable to the peak intensity of unstressed syllables in the host-TCU, such as *bu* (50 dB), they are still substantially lower than other syllables, such as *wo* (76 dB), *naer* (74 dB), *di* (67 dB), *er* (78 dB), *zuo* (71 dB), *zhe* (69 dB), *dou* (65 dB), and *suan* (68 dB), in the host-TCU. These two prosodic features (lack of pitch reset and unstressed) are part of what was figuratively termed subordinate intonation by Luke and Zhang (2007)¹⁹, suggested to be an amalgamation of prosodic features that recipients orient to in recognizing Chinese increments.

A final notable auditory feature of *xianzai* is that it is heard to be produced in quick succession after the closing of the prior syllable *suan*, termed *latching* where there is no hearable beat of silence between two parts of a turn by the same speaker (Zhang, 2012, p. 170). This is indicated in most of my examples in this monograph with a less than symbol (<), illustrated before *xianzai* in Ex. (27). By latching onto the last syllable of the just-completed preceding TCU, the next bit of talk (i.e. increment) thereby minimizes the gap between increment and host-TCU. One obvious result of a latched production is that the current speaker is more likely to be able to implement an increment without having to compete with the onset of talk by next speaker.

While the lack of pitch reset, together with unstressed and latched production, are common prosodic features of Chinese increments, this is not always the case. For instance, Walker (2018) has documented other phonetic features to achieve “producing a continuation in maximally close proximity to the point of possible turn-completion”²⁰ besides latched production, such as continued voicing or other means of articulatory anticipation. Indeed, our data show that there are other variants of prosodic production on appended units of talk that can similarly be heard as continuing from the prior.

One such method is to have the increment produced as prosodically non-distinct from the host-TCU, termed *through-produced*. This means that the increment and host-TCU are not only in maximally close temporal proximity to each other but also exhibit continuous voicing across the join of the two units (Local & Walker, 2004; Walker, 2018). The issue is, of course, could such through-produced syntactically discontinuous constituents be considered an increment, given that possible completion before the increment is prosodically unclear, or should they be seen as being part of the TCU from the outset? As argued in Section 2.3 on non-add-ons, both formulations are distinct possibilities, but the point here, in terms of prosodic resource for indexing continuation, is that doing a through-produced prosody is clearly a marker of continuation. This is illustrated in Ex. (28), earlier seen as Ex. (12e) as a non-add-on, which shows a short segment from a sequence where Faye was complaining to Matt about a friend’s difficult request. Earlier in the talk, Faye speaks about the friend’s request to locate an academic article in an unfamiliar field

and her lack of success in the attempt. As such, Faye has been feeling uneasy about returning the friend's call, and Matt begins to console her at line 19.

Ex. (28) Graduate Dilemma [19:31–19:37]

- 19 Matt: [那: 又- 又 不是 说 有- 有 什么 东西 可以 告诉
 [ne:i yo- you bushi shuo yo- you shenme dongxi keyi gaosu
 DM also also NEG.COP say have have what thing can tell
 'Then- it's not as if there's something you can tell']
- 20 他 呀. [反正 也 没 东西.
 ta ya. [fanzheng ye mei dongxi.
 3SG SFP anyway also NEG thing
 'him. There's nothing (to say) anyway.'
- 21 → Faye: [对 >因为< 查 不着 关键 是.
 [dui >yinwei< cha bu-zhao guanjian shi.
 yes because check NEG.CTP critical COP
 'Yeah. Because (I) couldn't find it, that's the critical point.']
- 22 <我 不 知道 [哪:] 查 下去.
 wo bu zhidao [na:] cha xiaqu.
 1SG NEG know where check down.go
 'I don't know where else to look (for it).'
- 23 Matt: [对 啊.]
 [dui a.]
 right SFP
 ' Yeah. '

The focus is at line 21, where Faye says “*cha bu-zhao guanjian shi* (The point is that I can't find it)”. The constituent of interest is a compound of two lexical items *guanjian shi*, literally “the critical point is . . .”, produced at the end of the utterance. First, *guanjian shi* is an adverbial disjunct, whose function is to frame some propositional content as being “the main point”, and hence is by itself semantically dependent. Second, in normative syntax, *guanjian shi* should occur before the propositional content it frames. While it is also positionally possible that *guanjian shi* may be produced to frame the upcoming talk instead of the preceding one (meaning *guanjian shi* could be produced to frame “*wo bu zhidao na: cha xia-qu* (I don't know where else to look for it)” in line 22), the speaker has made such a reading prosodically impossible for the recipient. Figure 3.5 provides an acoustic analysis of line 21 in Ex. (28).

Though syntactically and pragmatically complete, not only does *cha bu-zhao* avoid ending with a final intonation or downwards declination trend, but its intonation contour continues seamlessly into *guanjian shi*. Given that *zhao* ends with

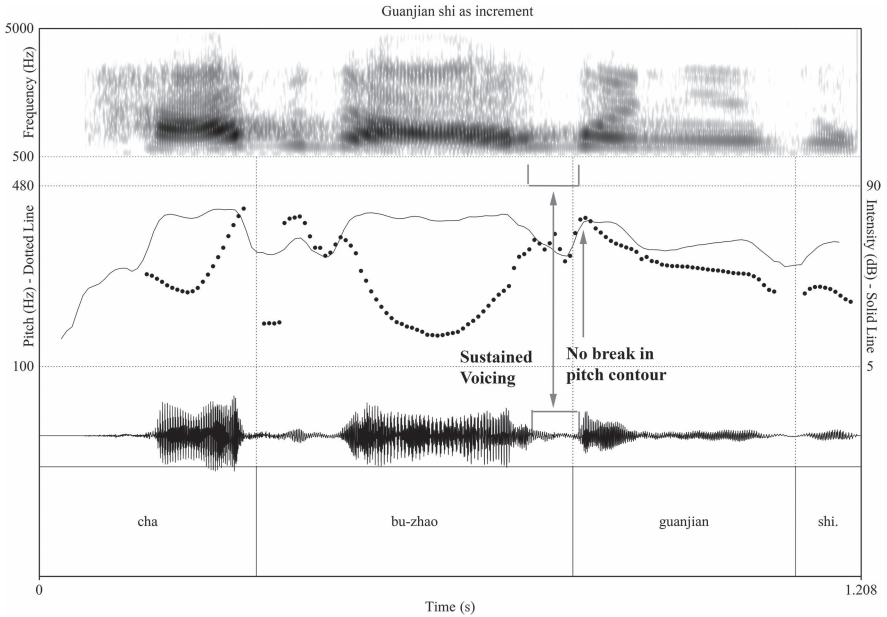


Figure 3.5 Acoustic analysis of incrementing in Ex. (28)

an upward pitch movement before moving into *guan*, the start of *guanjian shi* is heard to begin at a relatively high pitch level at around 413 Hz. However, there is a maintenance of voicing from the *zhao* right into the beginning of *guan*, as indicated by the bracketed areas on the spectrogram and speech waveform in Figure 3.5. In other words, *guanjian shi* is a constituent that is heard as being through-produced from the end of *cha bu-zhao* without any form of prosodic break. Therefore, the recipient, through parsing the moment-by-moment talk, will first interpret that *cha bu-zhao* has not actually come to possible completion and thereby anticipate further talk (i.e. *guanjian shi*) to be part of this TCU. In contrast, a point of possible TCU completion occurs after the next bit of talk in *guanjian shi*, indexed by its falling intonation and the temporally lengthened *shi*. This is further evidenced by Matt's slightly late turn transition at line 23 ("dui a (yeah)"), running into overlap with Faye's next TCU *wo bu zhidao na: cha xia-qu*. Hence, it is clear to the recipient that *guanjian shi* has been designed to be part of *cha bu-zhao* as a single TCU.

The prosodic profile of *guanjian shi* here is significantly different from *xianzai* in Ex. (27). First, as opposed to *xianzai*, whose intensity is lower than the rest of its host-TCU, the intensity on *guanjian shi*, peaking at 74 dB, is quite comparable to its prior unit where intensity peaked on *cha* and *zhao* at 79 and 77 dB, respectively. The start of *guanjian shi* also begins at a relatively high pitch level, unlike that of *xianzai*, which continues a downwards declination trend. Thus, *guanjian shi* does not exhibit the usual lack of pitch reset or unstressed characteristics usual in other Chinese increments. However, whereas there is a clear point of completion

at the end of *suan* before *xianzai* is latched onto it, the production of *guanjian shi* is through-produced without a discernible break in the talk, much akin to a “rush-through”.²¹ Although the prosodic profile of *guanjian shi* is quite different from *xianzai*, the point here is that it is still prosodically marked as a continuation by virtue of being through-produced with continuous voicing.

A third variant of prosodic production that marks continuation is shown in Ex. (29). A bit before the start of the example, Faye was enquiring about the status of Matt’s wife and whether she was pursuing a master’s or doctoral program. Line 17 in the transcript begins after Matt confirms his wife as a master’s student.

Ex. (29) Graduate Dilemma [00:17–00:24]

17 Faye: hhh 那 快 啦 哦?
hhh na kuai la o?
 hhh DM fast SFP QP
 ‘It should be soon then?’

18 Matt: 呃:: 但愿 如此 吧.
e:: danyuan ruci ba.
 AGR hopefully resemble.this SFP
 ‘Yeah. Hopefully that’s the case.’

19 (.)

20 → Faye: z- 是 几 年 呢. <大概. (.) 两 年.
z- shi ji nian ne. <dagai. (.) liang nian.
 COP how.many year SFP **approximately** two year.
 ‘How many years should it be. approximately. Two years?’

21 (0.4)

22 Matt: 应该 两 年 吧.
yinggai liang nian ba.
 should two year SFP
 ‘Should be about two years.’

At focal line 20, Faye started something but immediately abandoned that initial formulation, adopting instead a straightforward interrogative “*shi ji nian ne* (How many years should it be)”, sequentially understandable to mean how much time would it take to graduate from the master’s program (pursued by Matt’s wife). Audibly, the intonation of this TCU follows a general downwards declination cline but ends with a slightly higher pitched syllable in *ne* (see Figure 3.6). Furthermore, the TCU ends with a sentence final particle *ne*, indexing strong syntactic closure, and hence marks a possible completion. A single adverb “*dagai* (approximately)” then latches on to the end of the host-TCU, itself coming to a possible completion

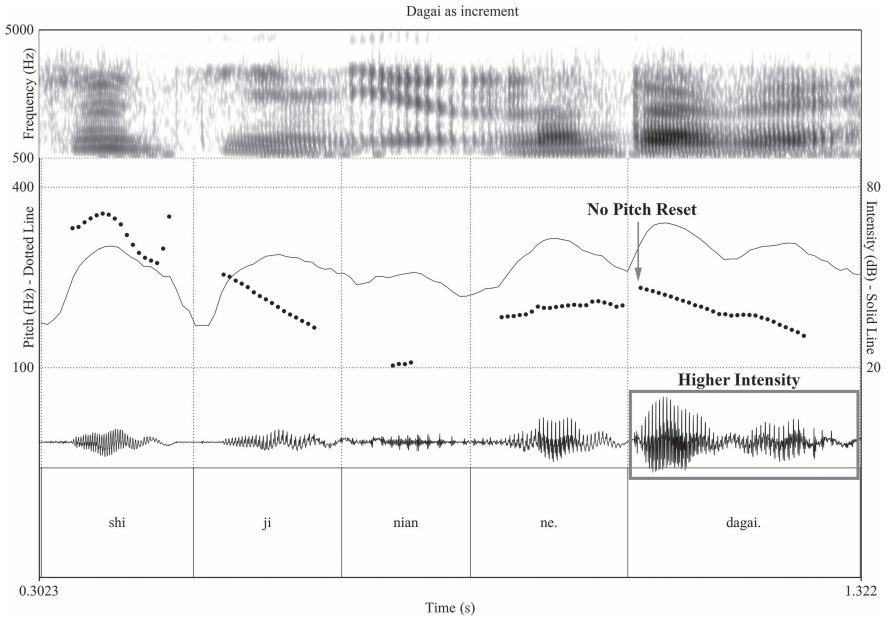


Figure 3.6 Acoustic analysis of incrementing in Ex. (29)

with a downward intonation contour. Similar to *guanjian shi* in Ex. (28), *dagai* is semantically dependent as an adverb to some form of verbal element. Also similar is that positionally, *dagai* can either modify the next bit of talk “*liang nian* (two years)” as a grammatically fitted constituent or retroactively modify the earlier *shi ji nian ne* as a syntactically discontinuous increment. But again, this is made unambiguous through prosodic cues, which only allow a reading of *dagai* as continuing from the prior unit.

Different from *guanjian shi*, however, is that *dagai* is not through-produced but is latched onto *ne* (again indicated by the less than symbol [*<*]) after the clear possible completion of a prior unit. The prosody with which *dagai* is produced is illustrated in the acoustic analysis of Figure 3.6.

As seen in Figure 3.6, the intensity with which *dagai* was produced (peaking at 68 dB on the first syllable *da*) was higher than *shi ji nian ne* (where each syllable peaked at 60, 58, 52, and 63 dB, respectively) and hence cannot be said to be unstressed. However, it did not start off with a significantly higher pitch level than the end of the preceding TCU. The peak pitch of *dagai* (at 231 Hz), though slightly higher than the peak pitch of *ne* (at 211 Hz), is still significantly lower than the beginning of the turn at *shi* (which peaked at 356 Hz). Therefore, there is a lack of pitch reset. Furthermore, other prosodic indicators were sufficiently present to mark *dagai* as a bona fide increment. First, the terminal intonation on *dagai* followed by a micro-pause before *liang nian* “two years” strongly signals that it has come to possible completion and is not part of what is to follow. Second, the

latching of *dagai* and its lack of pitch reset strengthen the reading of a retrospectively oriented increment that continues from the prior.

From Ex. (27) to (29), it can be seen that the use of prosody to index some element as continuing in Chinese increments is not strictly confined to any specific prosodic parameters and can be moulded by the speaker to fit the situated context of talk. What the previous three extracts exemplify, however, is that prosody manipulation that clearly subjugates the appended constituent to its prior is quite a ubiquitous feature in Chinese increments. While most Chinese increments do have certain phonetics features in common (such as the lack of pitch reset, unstressed prosody, or latching on at TRP or having the increment and host-TCU produced to be maximally close to each other), speakers do not orient to strictly marking all increments with such features as if it is a fundamental or defining criterion for doing continuation in Chinese. There are in fact cases where the appended constituents do not have any form of prosodic continuation at all but are nonetheless analysable as increments due to other semiotic resources, such as sequential or grammatical context.

3.3 Interplay of grammatic and prosodic resources for incrementing

From the cursory survey in Chapter 2, it was revealed that Chinese increments span the entire range of categories in the typology set out by Couper-Kuhlen and Ono (2007) and can be instantiated by almost any constituents. Though adverbials of all types constitute the most common form of Chinese increments seen, nominal phrases, pronominals, verbal phrases, and complex combinations of constituents were all viably formulated as increments. This is particularly intriguing given that one purpose of such a typology is ostensibly to cross-linguistically determine how languages in the world vary in their pattern of incrementing. While there is indeed a pattern of predominance for Chinese increments to be instantiated by grammatically ill-fitted units of further talk, most prevalently by insertables, there are also substantial instances of grammatically coherent increments in Chinese. Furthermore, when looking at syntactically discontinuous types of Chinese increments, they do not simply congregate onto insertables but can also be found as replacements, non-add-ons, and free constituents. Hence, to better understand this phenomenon of diverse distribution of types of Chinese increments, there is a need to closely examine *how* incrementing with syntactically continuous or discontinuous constituents is achieved by Chinese speakers.

One factor postulated by Couper-Kuhlen and Ono (2007) as contributing to a language's propensity for grammatically fitted or ill-fitted increments lies in "their tendency towards left- versus right-headedness".²² And it is indeed the case that the right-headed syntax of Chinese has *ab initio* led to retroactive addition of various forms of adverbials to be syntactically discontinuous, as evidenced by the large number of adverbials as insertables and non-add-ons. Another structural aspect of the Chinese language is how utterances are routinely produced with null subjects, which often leads to the appending of noun phrases or pronominals that retroactively clarify the omitted key constituents as syntactically discontinuous

increments. Again, this is attested in nominal phrases, pronominals, and demonstratives frequently found as insertables or replacements. In a sense, right-headedness and null subject status as normative structures of Chinese have indeed led to grammatically ill-fitted increments.

Yet, as we have shown, despite its right-headed language status, the grammatical structures of the Chinese language have also provided the necessary environment for a whole host of constituents to be grammatically fitted increments as well, most evidently clausal phrases (see Sections 3.1.1. and 3.1.2.), noun phrases (see Section 3.1.3.), and adverbials (see Section 3.1.4.) as well. Although we did not quantify their occurrences, the overview of the many favourable structural environments available given in this chapter indicates the ease with which such syntactically continuous increments may also be formulated in the Chinese language. Taken together with the structural opportunities for syntactically discontinuous Chinese increments as well, there is evidence to suggest that there is some correlation between aspects of normative structures (i.e. grammar) and the types of increments that emerge in a language.

However, this differs from arguing for a distributional relationship between syntactically continuous and discontinuous increments in a language based on certain prescribed grammatical structures, as suggested in Couper-Kuhlen and Ono (2007).²³ In their article, the differing frequencies of syntactically continuous and discontinuous increments within a language was taken as “conversational evidence for the grammatical distinction of right vs. left syntactic headedness”²⁴ and that languages with left-headed syntax (e.g. English) will be able to add optional elements (i.e. adjuncts and complements) *ad libitum* as “the construction emerges ‘with’ time”, while languages with right-headed syntax (e.g. Chinese) will naturally have optional elements “out of place”, as their placement “takes place ‘against’ time”.²⁵ While we are in general agreement with the previous analysis *as a matter of grammatical inference*, the range of Chinese structural environments described in this chapter illustrates the point that syntactically continuous increments can also be provided for by structural means other than a “left-headed syntax”. Language-specific *practices* such as serial verb structure, verb-resultative complement structure, topic-comment structure, and unexpressed nominal argument structure are all rich environments for grammatically fitted continuations to take place. Indeed, “right-headed syntax” and null argument structures may paradoxically also turn out to be a resource for syntactically continuous increments as well, as illustrated in the pro-dropping of right-headed arguments in nominalizer-DE constructions. In other words, I have fundamental reservations about taking “grammatical distinction(s)” as the determinant for forms of increment, as this seems to relegate speakers to non-agents in the process of incrementing and disregard how grammar is but one resource for indexing continuation.

This point is further supported when we examine *when* syntactically continuous increments are produced after possible completion of a TCU. An interesting observation is, despite being a statistical minority, it was still noticeable how most syntactically continuous Chinese increments are formulated after a noticeable gap of silence (post-gap increment) or after talk by others (post-other-talk increment).

For example, 7 out of the 9 examples of these grammatically fitted continuations provided in Section 3.1 were instances of either post-gap or post-other-talk increments. This is strikingly different from how the majority of syntactically discontinuous Chinese increments (i.e. insertables, replacements, and free constituents) are done as “latched-ons” and to a lesser extent “in the next beat” after possible completion. It was alluded to that the propensity for speakers to expeditiously latch on increments has to do with the omni-relevance of speakership transition after possible completion, as latching on is clearly a prosodic feature of talk that specifically works to “speak first after a TRP” in the turn-taking organization (Sacks et al., 1974), thereby impeding or preventing the possibility of next speaker transition. In cases where there is already a lack of uptake by recipients (thereby resulting in gaps of silence) or when there is already intervening talk by others, then the use of grammatically fitted constituents as post-gap or post-other-talk increment can work to re-pursue uptake or re-complete the TCU by disguising the prior completion point as not actually complete or to “sequentially delete”²⁶ the import of other’s talk through syntactically continuing the talk. This suggests that there may be some form of correlation between the use of syntactically continuous increments and continuing utterances after clear breakages in the flow of talk, where syntactic contiguity can be applied *as a compensatory structural mechanism* (perhaps even more so for languages such as Chinese, where syntactically discontinuous increments are commonplace) to index an additional sense of continuation when progressivity has already been lost through prosodic disfluencies. If this is true, then normative syntactic structures of Chinese are not working as pre-determiners of incremental types but are in fact adaptive resources to be utilized by Chinese speakers to accomplish the objective of indexing continuations. Additionally, the act of applying syntactic contiguity in lieu of prosodic fluency through incrementing in a grammatically fitted manner points towards some form of interplay between grammatic and prosodic resources for the purpose of incrementing.

In fact, this same argument was implied when we argued that due to the necessity of appending syntactically incoherent constituents (e.g. adverbials) as increments in a right-headed language, Chinese speakers impose subordinate intonation on the grammatically ill-fitted constituent to index continuation. In other words, here Chinese speakers are applying prosodic minimization in lieu of syntactic contiguity. And when we turn to the examination of prosody as a resource for indexing continuations, we again find it difficult to circumscribe the set of prosodic characteristics that defines Chinese increments. As it turns out, while there is an amalgam of prosodic features (e.g. lack of pitch reset, unstressed production such as lowered intensity, latching-on, etc.) that can constitute what subordinate intonation is, instantiated cases of Chinese increment do not actually exhibit each and every constitutive feature of subordinate intonation. What this means is, just as aspects of grammatic structures cannot pre-determine how increments in a language are formed, the list of prosodic features constituting subordinate intonation are also not static criteria for determining how incrementing is done. For Chinese speakers, prosody is also an adaptive resource for doing the act of incrementing and not meant to be seen as a set of features to define increments.

What this interplay between grammatic and prosodic resources and adaptable prosodic manipulation in service of indexing continuation in Chinese increments suggests is that speakers doing everyday interaction are unconcerned with and unconstrained by linguistic structures and analytic categories. Their main concern when producing increments is simply to retroactively add meaningful bits of talk within the demands and confines of moment-by-moment situated talk, with whatever linguistic (or para-linguistic) resources that may signal it as further talk that continues from what has just preceded. Thus, although semantic and pragmatic dependence, syntactic discontinuity, and subordinate intonation are all prototypical characteristics of Chinese increments, how a speaker may index continuation (or how a recipient subsequently perceives a continuation) cannot be restricted, quantified, or prioritized within a fixed set of criteria.

3.4 Increments as an epiphenomenon of interactional practices

An evident insight gleaned from our analysis of how Chinese increments are formulated is that continuations can be accomplished in highly flexible manners even within a single language. When speakers feel the need to “continue” the TCU after coming to possible completion, they do not concern themselves with established grammatical structures or choices in typological types of increments as much as doing the continuation with the most appropriate material, in the most appropriate manner possible, to accomplish the interactional objective and/or deal with some interactional contingencies at that moment in unfolding talk.

One manifestation of this is how the same constituent can be used to instantiate a variety of typological types. For example, while adverbials do indeed regularly appear as insertables, they are also commonly found as non-add-ons and glue-ons as well. Nominal phrases are not only frequent free constituents; they are also the constituents used to construct insertables, replacements, and glue-ons. Demonstratives are also found as insertables, replacements, non-add-ons, and free constituents.

Furthermore, when discussing non-add-ons as a manner of incrementing, it was highlighted how the lack of prosodic disfluencies before non-add-ons creates analytic difficulty in recognizing them as added talk after a possible completion point, as opposed to being formulated from the outset as part of the TCU. But at the same time, it is also possible that the non-add-on constituent was formulated *after* the outset of the TCU yet early enough to instantiate it in a prosodically fluent manner. Therefore, even within a single typological type, there is a level of *intra-category* ambiguity in terms of whether non-add-ons are really appended talk or part of a singular unit of construction.

And when we look across typological categories, this problem of ambiguity also exists on an *inter-category* level, where the boundary between typological types becomes fuzzy when instances of increments are examined. In fact, empirical investigation of increments in other languages has consistently pointed towards various ambiguities when trying to categorize actual instances of “further talk”. In Vorreiter’s (2003) comparison of English, German, and Japanese data, she notes

that there are “instances where features from more than one category are inter-mixed and potentially constitute a new type of increment” and that it may be more helpful to think of increments as being different points on a continuum.²⁷ On examining the Finnish use of *että*-clauses, Seppänen and Laury (2007) argue that *että* can function both as a turn-initial particle as well as a conjunction. Therefore, many *että*-clauses are “intermediate or ambiguous and could be analyzed as either glue-ons or free constituents”.²⁸ Furthermore, on comparing the sequential treatment of lexico-syntactically marked and unmarked forms of causal clause combinations in English, Couper-Kuhlen (2012) also doubts that a clear distinction can even be made for increments and new TCUs and questions if “the analytic distinction between TCU-continuation and new TCU is worth maintaining in universal terms”, especially for “pro-drop” languages (such as Chinese).²⁹

Turning to Chinese increments, we present one such instance of inter-category ambiguity where the distinction between replacement and free constituent is difficult to determine. Ex. (30) continues from Ex. (21), in which Chen and Lian has just mutually agreed that September is the best month to have a baby, such that it would be able to enrol into the primary school system of mainland China at the youngest age possible. The following extract then begins with Chen commenting on her nephew’s good fortune of being born on September 6th.

Ex. (30) Ambiguous type of increment (replacement or free constituent): ES-M-01 [15:41–15:46]

(* * marks portion that the increment may be replacing)

01 Chen: 还好 我们 那 小 外甥 是 九月 六号.
haihao women na xiao waisheng shi jiu yue liuhao.
 still.good 1PL that small nephew COP September sixth
 ‘Luckily, our little nephew is (born on) September 6th.’

02 (0.3)

03 Lian: 哦::[:
 o:: [:
 CFM
 ‘Oh.’

04 → Chen: [*九月 六号* 刚好. <差不多 开学 的 时候.
 [*jiu yue liuhao* gang hao. <chabuduo kaixue de shihou.
 September sixth just.good about open.school GEN period
 ‘September 6th is just right. About the period when school starts.’

At line 04, Chen first states that her nephew’s date of birth on September 6th (*jiu yue liuhao*) is “just right (*gang hao*)”, as it is just before the start of an academic year, thus allowing the child to enrol as soon as the age requirement is met. She then attaches a nominal phase “*cha-bu-duo kai xue de shihou* (the period when school

is about to start)”, which clearly elaborates on the significance of September 6th in its association with the schools’ academic calendar. It is recalled that nominal phrases are common constituents in both replacements and free constituents. Given that *jiuyue liuhao* was previously and explicitly mentioned at line 01, the more probable understanding of line 04 is that Chen repeats the exact date as a way of linking the assessment of “just right” with the birth date of her nephew at line 01, before appending *cha-bu-duo kai xue de shihou* as an added explanation for her claim that September 6th is a most opportune date. Such an understanding would mean *cha-bu-duo kai xue de shihou* can be seen as a syntactically non-dependent (though semantically or pragmatically dependent on the prior) nominal phrase that acts as a free constituent. However, the nominal phrase could also be understood as replacing the specific date to form “**cha-bu-duo kai xue de shihou** gang hao (The period when school is about to start is just right)”. Such an interpretation sees the speaker as doing a “double-take” on stating the birth date being “just right” and decides instead to be less specific on the date and use a descriptive time period (which has more explanatory power). This interpretation is then congruent with replacement as the increment type for the appended nominal phrase. It is difficult to determine which of the two objectives Chen might have when incrementing with *cha-bu-duo kai xue de shihou*, but pragmatically speaking, the distinction between doing an “added explanation” or “replacing with a descriptive time period” does not matter interactionally. Both construes of incrementing with free constituent or replacement equally do the work of providing Lian with the added rationale of why September 6th is an opportune birth date. What this highlights, again, is how it is perhaps inconsequential to analytically discern typological categories of increments, as the point of incrementing is simply to use some apropos talk after possible completion to achieve a certain interactional goal.

What these intra- and intercategory ambiguities demonstrate is that the permeable boundaries within or across categories is an inherent property of incrementing. It is illuminating to reflect upon how classificatory systems, such as a typology of increments, are in essence a created epistemic paradigm which shapes our understanding of a phenomenon. The typological paradigm in Couper-Kuhlen and Ono (2007) is one that takes the parameter of syntactic dependency to be a key feature of whether some unit is continuing from the prior. This is tellingly underscored by the pre-defined categorial terms, especially insertables, replacements, glue-ons, and free constituents. Such a predisposition may perhaps have to do with Schegloff (2016)’s initial claim that continuation is done “most robustly by making it grammatically fitted to, or symbiotic with, that prior TCU, and, in particular, to its end”. Consequently, *crosslinguistic comparison and correlation based on such a classificatory system will inevitably shape our perceptions of how normative grammatical structure of different languages play a pivotal role in the use of increments*. While the lens of such a syntax-based typology seems to suggest a close relationship between normative grammatical structures of a language and their role in delineating increments into “types”, it is instructive to remember how such an understanding is the direct result of viewing the conversational phenomenon of incrementing through a typological paradigm that prioritized the parameter of syntactic dependency in the first place.

To show this, let us carefully consider a central claim made by the previous typological study, that is: Forms of increment are closely interconnected with the grammatical structures of a language, because left-headedness or right-headedness of a language (i.e. English and Chinese, respectively) is the rationale for increments being predominantly syntactically continuous or discontinuous. In the study, this is evinced most prominently with the case of adverbial increments positioned after a clause being grammatically fitted or not. To be clear, “forms of increments”, or at least the definition of forms upon which the previous claim is made, refers to the typological categories of insertables, replacements, glue-ons, and free constituents, which are themselves pre-defined “forms” based on syntactic dependency. After this, the study takes *syntactic left- or right-headedness* to be representative of grammatical structures upon which the *syntactically based* definition of forms is argued to be correlated with. Additionally, the core evidence for the claim lies upon the use of adverbials, which of course is another *grammatically defined constituent* (in terms of their connection with “clause”) and hence typifies the idea of right- or left-headedness.

It is now easier to observe how the created premise of syntax-based categories of incremental forms, framing units of further talk as “adverbials”, and then correlating them to a syntax-based grammatical structure (i.e. right- or left-headedness) are all, in fact, derived from the same theoretical construct of “grammar” and refer to the same grammatical phenomenon. As such, the analytic basis for the claim of incremental forms being correlated to grammatical structure is constructed upon a pre-defined lens that fundamentally sees incremental forms (i.e. categories of increments) and units of talk (i.e. adverbials and other constituents) as grammatical constructs as well. The point is, there is a certain degree of circularity in the analytic reasoning behind such a claim.

What the empirical finding of intra- and intercategory ambiguities is reflective of, however, is how typological categories as interpretive analytic framework do not have any ascendant status on how speakers from a particular speech community may or may not do incrementing when the interactional context calls for such an action. Hence it may be more productive to view increments and incrementing practices broadly as a range of language-dependent units and strategies whose goal is simply to append constituents after possible completion in an adequate manner to be recognizable as belonging to the prior unit. Through such practices, the eventual shape or “grammatical relation” of the increment with its host-TCU may or may not fully conform to the definitions of typological types, though most instantiations of increments would probably fit into certain categories. The crucial point from the previous discussion is that the emergence of some increment as a “type” *is essentially a derivative of, and not integral for, its accomplishment*. In other words, the structuration of increments is a by-product, or *epiphenomenon*, of the interactional goal to implement some sort of retroactive action. One important consequence of this understanding is that established construes of normative language structures (historically based on analysis of idealized sentences or written texts) do not *a priori* regulate how interactional practices (such as incrementing) are accomplished in moment-by-moment talk. It is the objective of incrementing within a

particular interactional context that is of primary importance, and not grammar per se, when it comes to when and how increments are constructed. Correspondingly, the subsequent emergence of any perceived grammatical structures between the increment and its host-TCU is but a subsidiary display of interactional practices and seen through a pre-defined “grammatical frame” of language.

Notes

- 1 Couper-Kuhlen and Ono (2007, p. 549)
- 2 Li and Thompson (1981, pp. 594–622)
- 3 Li and Thompson (1976, 1981, pp. 85–102)
- 4 Li and Thompson (1981, pp. 657–676)
- 5 Li and Thompson (1981, pp. 575–593)
- 6 Thompson (1973)
- 7 Ford et al. (2012) demonstrate how bodily-visual practices can by themselves act as turn-continuations. Here, I am drawing attention to how Jie’s sequential bodily-visual behaviour works to corroborate an analysis that the increment is addressing interactional contingencies due to talk by others.
- 8 Schegloff (1996a, p. 91)
- 9 In endnote (36) of Schegloff (1996a, p. 121), he notes that “some so-called ‘tag questions’ in American English are not designed as post-completion elements, but are indigenous parts of the construction of the clause to which they are appended, as in “You’re not leaving, are you?” The familiar term “tag question” may thus refer to usages whose structural character and positioning are diverse.”
- 10 Local and Walker (2012) term these “turn-projecting features”.
- 11 Tao (1996, p. 48)
- 12 Du Bois et al. (1993, p. 47)
- 13 “Pitch”, as used in this proposal, refers to the known perceptual and subjective property of acoustic speech, which is otherwise measurable as fundamental frequency (F_0).
- 14 cf. Tao (1996, pp. 47–51)
- 15 Du Bois et al. (1993, p. 47). And further verified in Local and Walker (2012).
- 16 Orthographically, a single character in the Chinese script denotes a single syllable.
- 17 Tao (1996, pp. 45–47)
- 18 Du Bois et al. (1993, p. 47)
- 19 Luke and Zhang (2007, pp. 610–611)
- 20 Walker (2018, p. 231)
- 21 Different from the typical description of a *rush-through*, though, the just prior syllable before completion here (i.e. *zhao*) is not compressed but in fact temporally extended. For a concise discussion on the difference between *latching* and *rush-through*, see Zhang (2012, pp. 169–172) and Walker (2010).
- 22 Couper-Kuhlen and Ono (2007, p. 549)
- 23 Couper-Kuhlen and Ono (2007, pp. 545–547)
- 24 Couper-Kuhlen and Ono (2007, p. 546)
- 25 Couper-Kuhlen and Ono (2007, p. 547)
- 26 This term is taken from Schegloff (2016).
- 27 Vorreiter (2003, pp. 21–22)
- 28 Seppänen and Laury (2007, pp. 548–549)
- 29 Couper-Kuhlen (2012, p. 298)