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Rhythmic analyses as a proof-procedure? – An initial observation on rhythmicity and projection*

Uwe-A. Küttner

Abstract

This paper reports a problematic case of unequivocally evidencing participant orientation to the projective force of some turn-initial demonstrative *wh*-clefts (DCs) within the framework of Conversation Analysis (CA) and Interactional Linguistics (IL). Conducting rhythmic analyses appears helpful in this regard, in that they disclose rhythmic regularities which suggest a speaker's orientation towards a projected turn continuation. In this particular case, rhythmic analyses can therefore be shown to meaningfully complement sequential analyses and analyses of turn-design, so as to gather additional evidence for participant orientations. In conclusion, I will point to possibly more extensive relations between rhythmicity and projection and proffer a tentative outlook for the usability of rhythmic analyses as an analytic tool in CA and IL.

Interactional Linguistics – Speech Rhythm and Rhythmic Analysis – Method – Participant Orientation – Turn-Constructional Units – Projection – Demonstrative Clefts

Dieser primär interaktional-linguistisch ausgerichtete Beitrag berichtet von einem Problemfall im Nachweis von Teilnehmerorientierung an den Turn-Fortführung projizierenden Eigenschaften einiger turn-initialer "Demonstrative-Cleft-Konstruktionen" (DCs). Es wird gezeigt, dass rhythmische Analysen diesbezüglich hilfreich sein können, da sie im konkreten Fall rhythmische Regularitäten erkennen lassen, die eine sprecherseitige Orientierung an einer projizierten Turn-Fortführung nahelegen. Vorausgegangene sequenzielle Analysen und Analysen von Turn-Design werden somit bedeutsam durch rhythmische Analysen ergänzt, um zusätzliche Evidenzen für Teilnehmerorientierungen zu erfassen. Abschließend werde ich auf potenziell weitreichendere Zusammenhänge zwischen Rhythmizität und Projektion in der Interaktion hinweisen und einen provisorischen Ausblick hinsichtlich der möglichen Verwendung rhythmischer Analysen als Analysewerkzeug in der Konversationsanalyse und der Interaktionalen Linguistik geben.

Interaktionale Linguistik – Sprechrhythmus und Rhythmische Analyse – Methode – Teilnehmerorientierung – Turnkonstruktionseinheiten – Projektion – Demonstrative Clefts

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1. Introduction

One of the primary methodical concerns for analysts working in the fields of Conversation Analysis (CA) and Interactional Linguistics (IL) is to evidence participant orientation to the phenomenon under investigation (cf. *inter alia*, e.g. Sidnell 2010: 23-35, Sidnell 2013: 79-82, Barth-Weingarten 2008: 86-89). Grounding one's descriptions and interpretations of a particular phenomenon in the participants' conduct serves to ensure that these descriptions and interpretations are not merely analytic artifacts – "empirically observable" they may be from an analyst's perspective – but that they are 'real' and employable resources or practices for the interactants themselves. To do this for a particular target turn, conversation analysts and interactional linguists typically rely on the participants' subsequent conduct, for it is there that *their* understandings of what the target turn was meant to achieve is most commonly displayed. This is referred to as the "next-turn-proof-procedure" (cf. Sacks/ Schegloff/ Jefferson 1974: 728f., Levinson 1983: 321, Hutchby/ Wooffitt 1998: 15).

As useful as this procedure has proven for the empirical analysis of talk-in-interaction, it is not always unproblematic. One problem may arise if the phenomenon in question is not evidently oriented-to by participants on each and every single occasion of its occurrence. An analyst may then face problems in satisfying CA's/IL's methodic *desideratum* of evidencing participant orientation to the phenomenon. The present paper reports on one instance of this problem that arose during an engagement with turn-initial demonstrative *wh*-clefts (see section 2). While some of the turn-initial demonstrative *wh*-clefts in the corpus were intuitively characterizable as projector constructions (i.e. lexico-syntactic constructions which project turn continuation beyond themselves, cf. Günthner 2011), the available cases posed difficulties in unequivocally evidencing participants' orientation to turn continuation as having been *projected*, rather than contingently produced. In attempting to come to terms with these difficulties, a consideration of the rhythmic structure of the talk turned out to be helpful. Rhythmic analyses of the demonstrative *wh*-clefts and the subsequent turn-constructional units (TCUs) yielded striking regularities in terms of their rhythmic integration. It will be proposed that these regularities can be used analytically to complement preceding sequential analyses and analyses of turn-design in order to evidence participants' orientation to locally projected next TCUs.

The paper is structured as follows. After a brief outline of the data and method used (section 2), the analytic problem will be exposed (section 3). This will be done in two steps: First, by reviewing the notion of projection in talk-in-interaction more generally (section 3.1.), and second, by highlighting the specific analytic problem as it appeared in the context of my engagement with turn-initial demonstrative *wh*-clefts (section 3.2.). Subsequently, the approach to conversational speech rhythm used to deal with this problem will be summarized (section 4). This is followed by an illustration of how the results from the rhythmic analyses can be used to analytically complement sequential analyses and analyses of turn-design in evidencing participants' orientation to locally projected next TCUs (section 5). Finally, I will summarize and discuss the results and their possible implications for future research (section 6).

2. Data and method

This paper uses methods, models and assumptions from the fields of Conversation Analysis (cf. Sidnell 2010, Sidnell/ Stivers 2013) and Interactional Linguistics (cf. Couper-Kuhlen/ Selting 2001, Barth-Weingarten 2008). Within these approaches, social interactions are viewed as achieved orderly products of the participants' conduct. Accordingly, both, CA and IL, aim to empirically describe the resources and practices participants use to mutually organize their conduct from an emic (i.e. the participants') perspective. As has been pointed out in the introduction, the main methodic consequence of this endeavor is that an analyst has to provide evidence in the form of participant orientation(s) to the phenomenon or practice under investigation, which empirically underpin(s) the analyses and interpretations proposed. While CA's focus lies mainly with discovering the principles underlying the organization of action(s) in social interactions, IL focuses on the linguistic aspects of interactional resources and practices and is guided by the assumption that linguistic structures have evolved as habitualized solutions to recurrent interactional problems.

The specific focus of this paper, which is rather interactional linguistic in nature, lies on a lexico-syntactic construction that has been called demonstrative *wh*-cleft in the literature. To my knowledge, this term has first been used by Biber et al. (1999: 691) to encompass a recurrent cleft-like structure, which was found to be particularly frequent in conversation. A basic constructional schema for demonstrative *wh*-clefts can be seen in figure 1.

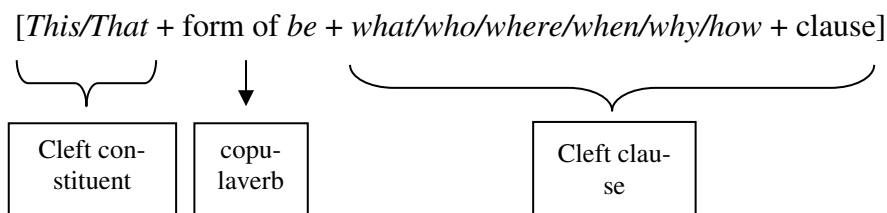


Figure 1. Basic constructional schema of demonstrative *wh*-clefts.

The data used for this study consist of roughly 14 hours of British and American English informal telephone conversations. From this corpus, all turn-initial¹ demonstrative *wh*-clefts featuring the demonstrative pronoun *that* as a cleft constituent have been collected. The data set yielded 50 instances of turn-initial demonstrative *wh*-clefts with the pronoun *that* (henceforth: DCs), a limited subset of which was potentially characterizable as projecting turn continuation.

¹ 'Turn-initial' is to be understood rather loosely in this context. The term, as it is used here, includes both, instances that constitute proper turn-beginnings (cf. Schegloff 1996) as well as cases in which the demonstrative *wh*-cleft is the first *clausal* TCU of a turn, irrespective of whether it is preceded by prosodically integrated prefaces (typically *oh* and *well*) or minimal, prosodically non-integrated token-responses to prior turns (typically *oh* and *yeah*). Space constraints preclude an account for this decision here, but can be found in Küttner (in prep.).

3. On projection and a concomitant analytic problem

3.1. Projection revisited

In its broadest sense, projection can be loosely understood as the foreshadowing of something that comes after the projecting item (cf. Streeck 1995: 87). Given that projection helps participants to anticipate the future development of mutually and ongoingly constructed courses of actions, and thereby to adjust and organize their conduct, it is a very common (almost ubiquitous) feature of talk-in-interaction. Thus, unsurprisingly perhaps, the notion of projection has figured prominently in many studies in CA and IL, and it has been shown to operate on many different levels in talk-in-interaction.

Among them are, for example, the system of preference organization, where the presence of certain elements (e.g. turn-initial prefaces like *well*) has been shown to foreshadow an upcoming dispreferred (Pomerantz 1984a) or non-straightforward response (Schegloff/ Lerner 2009), and the level of sequence organization ('action projection'), where certain utterances may be used to project a future course of action (see for instance Schegloff 2007 on *pre-sequences* and Schegloff 1980 on *pre-pres*).

More importantly for this paper, projection is also a substantial feature on the level of turn-construction. For instance, during their emergence, TCUs project their upcoming possible completion. In other words, their upcoming possible completion is projectable for participants (cf. Sacks/ Schegloff/ Jefferson 1974: 702). This is an important feature of turn-construction for the organization of turn-taking in conversation, because, upon the possible completion of a TCU, speaker transition becomes a relevant option for participants (cf. *ibid.*). Generally speaking, the design of a TCU (and therefore potentially of a turn) as possibly complete involves a complex interplay of syntactic, pragmatic, and prosodic resources (cf. Ford/ Thompson 1996, Selting 1998). Accordingly, speakers can mobilize syntactic (cf. for example Auer 1996, 2002), pragmatic (cf. *inter alia* Streeck 1995, Ford/ Thompson 1996), and prosodic (cf. Auer 1996, Selting 1998, Barth-Weingarten 2009) resources to project turn continuation rather than turn completion.

Moreover, some lexico-syntactic constructions, for example basic pseudoclefts/*wh*-clefts (cf. Hopper 2008, Hopper/ Thompson 2008) and *N be (that)* constructions (cf. Günthner 2011), have been shown to specifically function as projector constructions, i.e. as projecting turn continuation with another discourse unit (at least one, but potentially more subsequent TCUs). Interestingly, participants commonly 'use' syntactic 'blank' slots to achieve the projection of turn continuation with these constructions.² This is different with the DCs dealt with in

² The projected material is regularly found in the complement slot of the 'traditional' syntactic structure (e.g. *What happened was* + _{projected}[TCU(s)/discourse segment], *The thing is (that)* + _{projected}[TCU/discourse segment]). What warrants a treatment of the projected material *as* having been projected is the fact that the TCUs following the projector construction are regularly neither syntactically, nor prosodically integrated with the projector construction (see Hopper 2008, Hopper/ Thompson 2007, Günthner 2011 for more elaborate treatments). The projection of a continuation is thereby achieved by exploiting participants' shared knowledge of a language's syntactic structure (see also Auer 2002).

this paper, which regularly constitute possibly complete TCUs of their own. Their status as possibly complete TCUs, after which speaker transition may be a relevant option (cf. Sacks/ Schegloff/ Jefferson 1974) contributes crucially to the analytic problem of unequivocally warranting a treatment of them as projector constructions. This problem – along with the problem of finding evidence for participants' orientation to the DCs *as* projector constructions – will be laid out in greater detail in the following section.

3.2. The analytic problem

As has been mentioned in section 2, a delimited subset of the DCs in the corpus was, albeit rather intuitively, characterizable as projector constructions.³ Unlike other projector constructions however (see section 3.1.), these DCs are syntactically, and often also intonationally, possibly complete TCUs. Hence, if they really project a next unit, this may be seen to be attributable to their semantic-pragmatic properties. What is striking about most of these DCs is their local, contextual semantic-pragmatic underspecification, vagueness, or perhaps even better 'genericness'. Such 'genericness' is a prototypical design feature of projector constructions (cf. Streeck 1995: 89, Günthner 2011). Fragment (1) is a case in point.

(1) Driving test (Holt:SO88:1:5)⁴

(Susan has just reported that she failed in her driving test. Gordon had failed in his own driving test earlier.)



```

01 Gor: s:o you gonna reapPLY now;
02      (0.4)
03 Sus: hm::;=I'll have to tAke it in BRI:GHton;=
04      =an' gEt to know BRI:GHton;=you kn[Ow,]
05 Gor:      [.tc]h YEA::H;=
-> 06      ↻thAt's: what I:'M gonna dO:;

```

Here, Gordon inquires into Susan's plans for a future retake of her driving test in segment 01 (*s:o you gonna reapPLY now;*), which, after a brief pause, is met by Susan with a reporting of the strings attached (*I'll have to tAke it in BRI:GHton; an' gEt to know BRI:GHton;=you knOw*, segments 03-04). Following a minimal acknowledgment of Susan's response (*YEA::H;*, segment 05), Gordon moves to an announcement of his own plans for the future with a DC in segment 06 (*thAt's: what I:'M gonna dO:;*). This announcement claims that his plans are identical, or at least sufficiently comparable, with Susan's plans. Claiming this may be seen to do some empathic positioning on Gordon's side in response to Susan's reporting of

³ The projected next discourse unit is typically circumscribed due to the fact that the initial demonstrative pronoun referentially relates the upcoming predication of the DC back to the previous turn, which imposes discourse-unit-length as well as topical constraints as to what can legitimately be positioned or introduced with and after the DC (cf. Küttner, in prep.).

⁴ The transcription as well as later rhythmic notations follow the adapted GAT2 conventions for English (cf. Couper-Kuhlen/ Barth-Weingarten 2011).

a trouble, in that it invokes an identical experience (cf. Jefferson 1988, Kupetz 2014 and this volume, see also footnote 13).

In terms of its semantic-pragmatic 'genericness', Gordon's DC exhibits striking similarities with some of the basic pseudo clefts Hopper (2008, see also Hopper/Thompson 2007) has shown to function as projector constructions: Firstly, the precise reference of the demonstrative pronoun *that* remains opaque, even after the completion of the DC. Its reference is not unambiguously retrievable from the sequential context. Secondly, the subsequent predication in the cleft clause, which features a semantically empty predicate (*dO:*), does not contribute to the specification of the reference made with the initial demonstrative pronoun either. (What is it that Gordon is going to do? Is he simply going to retake his driving test too? Is he going to retake it in Brighton? Is he going to get to know Brighton [possibly in order to retake his driving test there]?). Therefore, the DC merely implements a (perhaps designedly) unspecific announcement of Gordon planning a future action which is claimed to be congruent with Susan's plans. Following Hopper (2008), the semantic-pragmatic vagueness in Gordon's turn-design may be seen to provide leverage for characterizing this DC as projecting turn continuation (the two arrows in the fragment are meant to indicate the possible projection of a continuation set up therewith). As can be seen from the continuation of this sequence in fragment (1a), Gordon then indeed resolves this contextual underspecification in the subsequent TCU(s).

(1a) Driving test (Holt:SO88:1:5 ctd.)



```

05   Gor:                                     [.tc]h YEA::H;=
06           =thAt's: what I:'M gonna dO:;
-> 07           <<flat pitch>i'm gonna tAke it in NEWcAstle,
-> 08           After i've had a cOuple of
->           <<hyperarticulated>L:E[:ssons.]>>
09   Sus:                                     <<p>[had le?]
10           yeah;>

```

As it turns out, Gordon's announcing claim has somewhat overstated the congruence of Susan's plans with his own plans (segments 07-08). Their plans resemble each other only on the rather 'abstract' basis of retaking a driving test at some other place.⁵

Finally, one could argue that there is a third feature which contributes to setting up the projection of a next TCU, namely the narrow focus accentuation (cf. Wells 2007: 117) on the subject of the cleft clause: *that's: what I:'M gonna dO:*. While

⁵ It could be argued that the contextual knowledge the participants share plays a crucial role here. For example, it could well be that Susan knows that Gordon is going to move up to the Newcastle area, or that she knows for sure that Gordon is not going to retake his test in Brighton, and that she *recognizes* his announcing claim as *being 'misfitted'* on these grounds. However, such contextual knowledge is not retrievable from the data, and it would render other aspects of Gordon's announcement problematic (e.g. in making it uninformative and therefore possibly coming off as 'bragging' or 'self-attentive', a problematic action in the context of troubles talk). Needless to say perhaps, future plans might change, which could in principle be a basis for Gordon to produce this claim in a very 'fitted way'.

not necessarily projective in itself, such an accentuation pattern may prefigure an upcoming contrast or a shift in perspective (Barth-Weingarten 2009: 2278ff.), which may be explicated in subsequent TCUs. In this case, the shift is from *Susan's* failed driving test and *her* plans to deal with this failure to *Gordon's* plans.

Even if the analysis of Gordon's DC as projecting a next TCU may have been convincing so far, it should be noted that all of the foregoing are but technical considerations from an analyst's point of view. And these considerations are far from incontestable. In an alternative analysis, the DC *could*, upon its completion, arguably stand for itself and open up a transition-relevance place: a space at which speaker transition becomes a legitimate possible next action (TRP, cf. Sacks/Schegloff/ Jefferson 1974, Ford/ Thompson 1996). Gordon's DC in segment 06 is possibly complete syntactically and (potentially) intonationally (with a final pitch movement falling-to-mid).⁶ Moreover, from an on-line perspective, and taking the real time emergence of turns-at-talk into account (cf. Auer 2007, 2009), it *could* also stand for itself semantically and pragmatically. If Gordon really were to retake his driving test in Brighton, too, a turn claiming such a congruent situation with *thAt's: what I:'M gonna dO:* would be a perfectly appropriate response.

In sum then, from a linguistic point of view, Gordon's DC shows properties that would, in principle, allow for a characterization of it as projecting turn continuation (its semantic-pragmatic underspecification). Yet, from an 'on-line' perspective, this DC might as well have been possibly complete for participants. That is to say that, so far, there is no unequivocal data-internal evidence for the characterization of the DC as really having *foreshadowed* the subsequent TCUs *for the participants*.

To show that an item *does* project 'more-to-come' *for participants* is typically done by taking recipient behavior into account. One prototypical piece of evidence is the absence of turn-taking attempts from a recipient in the immediate aftermath of a projector construction. This would apply to fragment (1a), because Susan does not attempt to take the floor after Gordon's DC. Yet, this type of evidence could also be a coincidence of a lack of immediate uptake from a co-participant, as in fragment (2), where a contingently constructed multi-unit turn emerges as a result.

(2) Rummy cube (CFEngn6899)⁷

(Ana and her mother are talking about a rummy cube game.)



01 Mom: you knOw;=↑I have One.
02 (0.7)

⁶ Admittedly, a final pitch movement falling-to-mid is not as strong an indication of designed possible turn completion as a final pitch movement falling-to-low. Thus, the final pitch movement falling-to-mid could potentially also be analyzed as indexing an upcoming continuation. However, conversationalists recurrently use final pitch contours falling-to-mid as designed turn-completions. See for instance Gordon's declarative question *s:o you gonna reapPLY now;* in segment 01 of fragment (1), which is also done with a final pitch movement falling-to-mid and is designed to be complete. Similarly, Sarah's response in segment 03 of fragment (6) is done with a final pitch movement falling-to-mid to implement a designedly complete response. See also Szczepek Reed (2004).

⁷ Call Friend data has been accessed via TalkBank (MacWhinney 2007).

03 Mom: WE have One.
 04 Ana: ^YEA:H.
 05 Mom: °hh but thAt was gIven to the ^THREE: of
 <<creaky>yOu:.>
 06 (2.6)
 -> 07 Mom: <<l>At some POINT.>
 08 (2.2)
 09 { Mom: †prO:bably One YEA:R,
 10 (0.7)
 11 { Mom: I bought it (.) f:or hE:r-
 -> 12 (0.8)
 13 { Mom: fo? <<l, p>you knOw Eric jA:mes and JOH:N;=
 14 =she bought it for YOU:;>=
 15 =sOmething like THA:[T-]
 16 Ana: [YE]A:H,=
 17 =i THINK so.

Even without a sequential analysis of the actions being performed here, Mom's turn component in segment 07 (<<l>At some POINT.>) is hardly analyzable as having been projected by the prior turn-component in segment 05 (°hh but thAt was gIven to the ^THREE: of <<creaky>yOu:.>), which is designed to be complete syntactically, intonationally – with a final pitch movement falling-to-low as well as a shift in voice quality to final creaky voice – and pragmatically. To the contrary, Mom's TCU in segment 07 is an instance of a turn-increment (cf. Couper-Kuhlen/ Ono 2007) in pursuit of a response (Pomerantz 1984b). So rather than having been provided for by Mom's TCU in segment 05, the incremental TCU in segment 07 is the *result* of an absent turn-taking attempt from Ana. To put it the other way around, the absence of a turn-taking attempt, in this case, has not been *achieved* through the local projection of a subsequent TCU. Instead, it *causes* the turn-extension.

The same holds true for Mom's incrementally added, anecdotal telling (segments 09-15). While the component TCUs of this elaborating anecdote are achieved by continuative practices (e.g. final pitch movements rising to mid or staying level in segments 09 and 11; latching in segments 13-14), the entire package from segments 09-15 has not been projected by the preceding talk. In sum then, the sheer absence of recipient attempts at taking the floor does not provide satisfactory evidence for the projective force of a TCU, because it does not necessarily discriminate projected multi-unit turns from contingently constructed multi-unit turns.

Accordingly, the data in fragment (1a) remains equivocal with regard to participants' orientation to a *projection* having been done by Gordon with his DC in segment 06. On the one hand, one may view Gordon's continuation as the delivery of the projected material, taking the absence of a turn-taking attempt by Susan as evidence for its 'projectedness' (the *post-hoc* view). On the other hand, one may challenge this analysis by reference to the fact that, generally, multi-unit turns can also be contingently constructed – even without pauses between the individual units as was the case in fragment (2) – and that the absence of a turn-

taking attempt by Susan does not necessarily speak for the continuation as having been *projected* by the DC, rather than having emerged serially. That is, Gordon's continuation might be 'just' a contingently produced next TCU in a series of TCUs (the *emergent* view).

In principle, it would have been possible to solve this analytic issue by looking for comparable cases with other, more unequivocal types of recipient behavior which may evidence participants' orientation towards the projective qualities of a DC. For example,

- recipients' production of continuers, which serve as a vocalized externalization of passing up the right to talk (cf. Schegloff 1982, Jefferson 1983b, c), immediately following a DC, or alternatively
- recipients' pursuit of a continuation, where such a continuation is absent after the speaker's use of a DC, which can thereby be seen to have projected a continuation, i.e. a deviant case analysis (cf. Schegloff 1972, Sidnell 2013).

However, for the limited subset of the DCs that were potentially analyzable as having projected turn continuation, no such cases could be found in the data.

In the following, a possible analytic solution for this problem will be offered: One aspect of the design of the DCs that immediately stood out as remarkable was the recurrent rhythmicity with which the DCs were produced. Considering the rhythmic structure of the DCs and the subsequent TCUs in greater detail turned out to be helpful in addressing the issue of whether the DCs in question projected turn continuation for participants or not. In a way then, the remainder of the paper will explore the possibility of using rhythmic analyses to complement (*not* substitute!) CA/IL methods for evidencing participant orientations to locally projected TCUs.

4. On speech rhythm in conversation

Before this procedure can be illustrated, a few words concerning the approach to speech rhythm used in this paper appear due. The approach adopted here takes a perceptual *gestalt*-based perspective on speech rhythm and has mainly been advocated in Couper-Kuhlen (1993, 2009a) and Auer/ Couper-Kuhlen/ Müller 1999). This particular approach has been chosen, because it is most compatible with the basic assumptions and methods used in CA and IL, especially with regards to participants' *in situ* perceptibility of speech rhythm (see section 2 and below).⁸

English is generally said to exhibit a tendency towards a 'stress-timed' speech rhythm (see, for instance, Laver 1994: 523f). This means that stressed syllables are perceived to occur at roughly equal intervals of time. Therefore, rhythmic feet in English (a foot = a stressed syllable perceived as a rhythmic beat + all subsequent unstressed syllables up until the next stressed syllable) are perceived as having approximately the same length (cf. also Szczepek Reed 2011: 139-141).

⁸ There are other useful approaches to speech rhythm, which usually make use of read aloud speech as their primary data. These approaches are commonly dealing with classifying languages into stress-timed or syllable-timed languages, respectively (see Szczepek Reed 2011: 140-146 for an introductory overview).

Interactional linguistic investigations of English speech rhythm in everyday talk have shown that conversationalists can and do manipulate the placement of prosodic prominences to form regular or irregular rhythmic *gestalts* (cf. *inter alia* Couper-Kuhlen 1993; Auer/ Couper-Kuhlen/ Müller 1999, Uhmann 1996). Within the studies conducted in this framework, speech rhythm is thus understood as "[...] a perceptual gestalt created by the quasi-regular recurrence of similar events, here accented syllables, coming at roughly equal intervals in time" (Couper-Kuhlen 2009a: 260). To establish a rhythmic *gestalt*,

"[...] at least three prosodic prominences are necessary: the first two to establish a temporal interval [...]"

X-----X

"[...] and the third to mark off an equivalent measure of time."

X-----X-----X

"A sequence of two prominences appropriately spaced may produce a gestalt-like group but is by definition not an isochronous structure."

(Auer/ Couper-Kuhlen/ Müller 1999: 39;
illustrations from Couper-Kuhlen 2009a: 260)

In keeping with these premises, this approach demands an 'auditory analysis first'-procedure, since this comes closest to how participants perceive speech rhythm *in situ*. Accordingly, the rhythmic analyses shown here are based on auditory analyses. Acoustic data (namely interval durations) have been gathered in a subsequent step and will only be provided for illustrative purposes.⁹

Using this analytic framework, the aforementioned studies contributed to a better understanding of the role of speech rhythm in everyday talk. For instance, it was found that rhythmic integration (timed responses) or non-integration (delayed responses) can function as contextualization cues within the organizations of turn-taking and preference.¹⁰ In general, the default case (unmarked timing) is for speakers to preserve a locally established metric at turn-transitions. This can be readily seen in the rhythmic notation of a conversational fragment, taken from Couper-Kuhlen (2009a:261).

⁹ With regard to acoustic data, it should be noted that Auer/ Couper-Kuhlen/ Müller (1999: 54) found no rhythmic patterns with interval durations of less than 0.23 seconds or more than 1.2 seconds. They also state that, in terms of variability in interval duration relative to the previous interval, "the border between [sic!] perceptual isochrony and perceptual anisochrony must lie somewhere between 31% and 47%" (ibid.: 54).

¹⁰ These findings are consistent with, yet at the same time exceed, the vernacular CA characterizations of preferred responses as coming forth 'immediately' and dispreferred responses as being 'delayed', because they allow for an understanding of what it means for a response to come forth 'immediately' or with "just a bit of space between the end of a prior utterance and the start of [one's] own" (Jefferson 1983a: 8). It is timed with respect to a locally established metric (if any), i.e. it preserves the said metric.

(3) Good time (quoted from Couper-Kuhlen 2009a: 261 – rhythmic notation)

(Jeff and Jill are currently in a long distance relationship.)



01 Jeff: /yOu guys have been /
 02 /hAving a good /
 03 /TIME, (0.1) /
 04 Jill: /UhHUMH::,

Here, Jeff's B-event statement (Labov/ Fanshel 1977), functioning as a candidate upshot, in lines 01-03 (*so yOu guys have been hAving a good TIME*), features three accented syllables on *yOu*, *hAv-* and *TIME*, which establish a local rhythmic metric. The accented syllables can therefore be said to form rhythmic beats in this rhythmic *gestalt*. Jill's confirming response in line 04 (*UhHUMH::*) is timed with respect to this local rhythmic metric. In other words, the first accented syllable of this confirmation token continues the rhythmic pattern Jeff has established by being timed as to form the next (expectable) beat of the established rhythmic *gestalt*.

Breaks in rhythmic timing (i.e. marked timing) on the other hand are typically found with dispreferred responses, at sequence boundaries or in displays of surprise (cf. Auer/ Couper-Kuhlen/ Müller 1999, esp. chapters 3 & 4; Couper-Kuhlen 1993, 2009a). With these basic considerations in mind, it is now possible to illustrate how rhythmic analyses turned out to be helpful in evidencing participant orientation toward the projective qualities of the DCs in question.


5. Rhythmic analyses as a proof-procedure?

Considering the noticeable rhythmic structure of the possibly projecting DCs in greater detail with the help of such rhythmic analyses yielded striking regularities as to the rhythmic integration of the DCs with their subsequent TCUs. The conducted analyses enabled observations which suggest that a DC speaker is geared to the production of a next TCU. By putting it this way, I mean to avoid the impression of claiming that the rhythmic structure of the DCs actively contributes *in situ* to *setting up* the projection. This claim would be hard to maintain given the aforementioned findings on rhythmic timing at turn transitions. As has been pointed out above, the projective force of a DC, if any, is possibly attributable to a contextual semantic-pragmatic underspecification (or perhaps a designed misfit). Considering the rhythmic structure of the talk has been used as an analytic step in gathering additional evidence for participant orientation towards projected next TCUs here. It is *not* to be understood as a resource or practice participants use to achieve this projection. Since rhythmic integration across different speakers' talk has been found to be the default case at turn-transitions, there seems no possibility for convincingly arguing that rhythmicity at turn- or TCU-endings, i.e. at possible TRPs, can be used by participants to project more-to-come. This confinement has to be borne in mind throughout the subsequent analyses.

Let me begin to illustrate the procedure and to develop the argument with a, by now, familiar case. Fragment (1b) is a blended version of fragments (1) and (1a).

(1b) Driving test (Holt:SO88:1:5)

(Susan has just reported that she failed in her driving test. Gordon had failed in his own driving test earlier.)




```

01 Gor: s:o you gonna reapPLY now;
02 (0.4)
03 Sus: hm::;=I'll have to tAke it in BRI:GHton;=
04 =an` gEt to know BRI:GHton;=you kn[Ow,
05 Gor: [ .tch YEA::H;=
-> 06 =thAt's: what I:'M gonna dO:;
-> 07 <<flat pitch>i'm gonna tAke it in NEWcAstle,
08 After i've had a cOuple of
<<hyperarticulated>L:E[:ssons.]>>
09 Sus: <<p>[had le?]
10 yeah;>

```

It may be recalled that Gordon's DC in segment 06 (*thAt's: what I:'M gonna dO:;*) was analyzable as possibly projecting the subsequent elaboration by virtue of its local, contextual 'genericness'. However, an alternative analysis – that upon its occurrence the DC could be heard as possibly complete syntactically, intonationally and pragmatically – was also considered. An analysis of the noticeable rhythmicity of the talk in segments 05-07 yields the following rhythmic structure.

(1c) Holt:SO88:1:5 rhythmic notation


	Interval duration ¹¹ (Rhythmic tempo)	Interval variability relative to previous interval
Gor: /'YEA::H /	0.48	
/, thAt's: what /	0.41	-15%
/'I:'M gonna /	0.37	-10%
/, dO:; i'm gonna/	0.42	+14%
/, tAke it in /	0.35	-17%
/'NEW(,)cAstle /	0.51	+46%

From the rhythmic notation, it can be seen that Gordon establishes a rhythmic *gestalt* with four beats through the regular accent placement on *YEA::H*, *thAt's*, *I:'M* and *dO:*, respectively. Given the aforementioned findings on unmarked rhythmic timing at turn transitions (see section 4), and the fact that the last element of the DC (the verb *dO:* in the cleft clause) is accented, one could expect a slight pause after the DC to enable Susan to place a possible response *on time*, if Gordon were to design this as a possible turn ending (such pauses usually remain

¹¹ In accordance with the approach to speech rhythm adopted here (see section 4), interval durations have been measured from the vowel onset of the current accented syllable to the vowel onset of the next accented syllable (cf. Couper-Kuhlen 1993, Auer/ Couper-Kuhlen/ Müller 1999).

untranscribed in ordinary transcripts). Instead, Gordon keeps talking through this possible transition space and places the next beat of the established rhythmic *gestalt* firmly within the next TCU, namely on its predicate (*tAke*). In conjunction with this observation, it is noteworthy that the beginning of Gordon's next TCU (*i'm gonna tAke it in NEWcAstle*) is 'omissible'. That is to say, it would have been possible for him to design these two TCUs in the following way.

(1d) invented variation on ex. Driving test

```
05 Gor: .tch YEA::H;=
-> 06      =thAt's: what I:'M gonna dO;;
-> 07      tAke it in NEWcAstle,
```

Ceteris paribus, this would have yielded the following rhythmic structure:

(1e) invented variation on ex. Driving test, rhythmic notation

```
Gor: /'YEA::H /
      /,thAt's: what /
      /'I:'M gonna /
-> /,dO;; (0.3) /
      /,tAke it in /
      /'NEW(,)cAstle /
```

This possible realization would have freed the transition space – note the 0.3 second pause – and would have provided Susan with the opportunity to produce a receipting response *on time*. Arguably, an 0.3 second pause after a syntactically, intonationally and pragmatically possibly complete TCU could even have served as a cue for Susan that a receipting response is now due from her.

In sum, the rhythmic analysis of the DC in segment 06 suggests that (at least) Gordon appears to be oriented towards continuation here. He may even be said to block a possible *timed* incoming from Susan early on by virtue of continuing to speak and thereby tightly integrating his DC and the subsequent TCU rhythmically. Moreover, no marked continuative practices are employed in this case, like a rush-through (cf. Schegloff 1988, Walker 2010) or a final pitch movement rising to mid or staying level, for example. The rhythmic analysis of the DC could be seen to provide data-*internal* evidence for a participant orientation (namely Gordon's) towards continuation. This would then complement the preceding sequential analysis and the analysis of the DC's turn-design features (the contextual semantic-pragmatic underspecification).

A similar point can be made for fragment (4), in which Deena and Mark are talking about the personal 'moral' value of money in light of having to pay for their children's respective marriages.

(4) Assets (Holt:May88:2:4)

```
01 Mar: <<h>WE::LL; ((glottal hold))
```



02 I don't knO:w;=
 03 i wE view> the f::::Act;=
 04 =that your KIDS are your ASsets;=rEally==
 05 =and we'd rAther spEnd our mOney on our KIDS;=
 06 =than wAste it on ourSELves;=
 07 =or Anything ELSE,
 -> 08 Dee: THAT is exACTly what WE said;=
 09 =i sAid to SCOTT;=
 10 =as LONG as we've gOt a bit of [mOn]ey to?
 11 Mar: [hh°]
 12 Dee: you [knO]w,=as ↑LONG as wE go? e?(.)nOugh
 13 Mar: [hh°]
 Dee: money--
 14 =that if we ↑WANT anythIn:g--
 15 =a? OUR time of lI:fe,
 16 (0.4)
 17 wE can ↓BUY it.

In segments 01-07, Mark states his and his wife's stance towards covering the expenses for their children's marriages, with which Deena claims to fully agree with a DC in segment 08 (*THAT is exACTly what WE said;*). As it turns out, however, Deena seems to have a slightly different position on the matter, though (or at least wishes to modify it):¹² Whereas Mark claims to be inclined to assign priority to spending their money on their children's benefit(s) rather than on themselves, it is still 'us first, and then them' for Deena and her husband (see segments 10, 12, 14-17).

Now the question is how Deena's DC in segment 08 can be seen to project the elaboration of her slightly different stance or addendum to Mark's stance. Pragmatically, as well as syntactically and intonationally, her DC could very well stand for itself as a congruent agreement. However, in terms of its turn design, it is formulated as an agreement based on a settled position through the use of a narrow focus accentuation on the subject of the cleft clause (*WE*), indexing a change in perspective, and the past tense marking on the predicate of the cleft clause (*said*). These features, while claiming a congruent position on the issue, mark this opinion as having been independently arrived at prior to the here and now – a claim to epistemic rights, which may remain to be explicated (cf. Heritage/ Raymond 2005).

It may even be possible that Deena uses the DC here, precisely because she has a slightly different position on the matter, the introduction and elaboration of which requires some 'interactional space'. Otherwise she could arguably have produced a simple "*Oh absolutely*" in order to claim that she fully agrees, but does so independently (cf. Heritage 2002).¹³

¹² One may note in passing that this DC turns out to have been 'misfitted' yet again, albeit only in retrospect. What Mark has just said is really *not* "exACTly" what Deena said to her husband.

¹³ A similar point may be raised for fragment (5), in which Gordon can be seen to move stepwise from talk about troubles to other matters by inquiring into ancillary matters first (*s:o you gonna reapPLY now;*) and, subsequent to Susan's response, stabilizing them topically with the DC (cf. Jefferson 1984).

Interestingly, when considering the rhythmic structure of this bit of talk, a similar pattern as in the previous example is observable.

(4a) Assets (Holt:May88:2:4, rhythmic notation)



		Interval Duration (Rhythmic tempo)	Interval variability relative to previous interval
Dee:	/'THAT is ex	/ 0.56	
	/'ACTly what	/ 0.54	- 4%
	/'WE said;	i / 0.55	+ 2%
	/,sAid to		

The accents on *THAT*, *-ACT-*, and *WE* can be heard to establish a rhythmic *gestalt*, thus forming rhythmic beats within it.¹⁴ This rhythmic *gestalt* is again preserved across syntactic and intonational (note the final pitch movement falling-to-mid) boundaries. Like in the previous example, the next accent falls on the predicate of the subsequent TCU (*sAid*), and the subject of this TCU (*i*) 'occupies' the potential transition space. Once more, a close rhythmic analysis of the TCUs in question, in combination with other, previously ambivalent design features of Deena's talk, suggests *her* orientation or perhaps 'geared-ness' towards continuation. In a way, Deena can be shown to anticipate that the 'interactional space' for the subsequent TCU will be hers.

It should be stressed that the 'anticipation of interactional space' does not necessarily coincide with lexico-syntactic pre-plannedness or preformulation. This is vividly exemplified by the following example, which is otherwise rather similar to fragment (1b) in terms of the DC being used.

(5) Hostess (SBL:2:2:3:R)

(Chloe is complaining to Claire about a recent development for the hostesses to serve too much food at their bridge parties, which takes away too much playing time for her. Apparently, Claire is going to be the host of one of the next bridge parties.)



```

01  Chl:  but ↑I: thInk==
02      =if we jUst (0.2) BRING our `sAn' which,=
03      =an` then a <<l>u:hm;>
04      some (.) hOstess serves COffee.
05      an` then you !S:IT! down an` eat your sAndwich.=
06      =<<l>if you WANT it;>=
07      =and then about THREE thIrty,
08      °hh the hostess !↑JUMPS! up and sE:rves
      some desSE:RT.

```

¹⁴ It is also noteworthy that Deena chooses to use the full form of the copular verb over the contracted form here (i.e. *THAT is* rather than *THAT'S*). This is the only time a speaker uses a full form of *be* in this construction in the entire corpus.

09 (1.2)
 10 Cla: [WE:LL-]
 11 Chl: [↑RIGHT] while you're PLAYing.
 -> 12 Cla: °h well THAT'S what ↑I'M going to dO;
 -> 13 i'm just gOing to: °hh
 14 (0.6)
 15 Chl: `MEMbe[r? a?]
 16 Cla: <<h, f>[i:'m] just gonna hAve either
 CHEE:SEcla:ke?
 17 u? CHEE:Seca:ke?>
 18 or a SUNdae:-

Here, too, Claire's DC in segment 12 could well stand for itself syntactically, pragmatically (if her hosting plans were to match up with what Chloe has just suggested), and intonationally. Alternatively, it could project an elaboration of what food Claire plans to serve by virtue of exploiting a semantic-pragmatic underspecification of the claimed congruence of her hosting plans with Chloe's suggestion. Again, note also the narrow focus accentuation on the subject of the cleft clause, which can index a shift in perspective or a contrast with the undesirable hosting practices Chloe has just been complaining about prior to this fragment.

A rhythmic analysis of Claire's TCUs in segments 12-13 reveals the following:

(5a) Hostess (SBL:2:2:3:R, rhythmic notation)



	Interval Duration (Rhythmic tempo)	Interval variability relative to previous interval
Cla: well /'THAT'S what /	0.41	
/↑I'M going to /	0.58	+41% ¹⁵
/,dO; i'm just /	0.59	+ 2%
/,gOing to: /	0.60	+ 2%
/, °hh		

Claire establishes a rhythmic *gestalt* with the DC through regularly placing accents on *THAT'S*, *↑I'M*, and *dO*, which therefore form beats in this local rhythmic metric. Once more, this metric is preserved across the syntactic boundary, and the next beat falls firmly within the next TCU (again on its predicate, *gOing*). Here, too, Claire 'occupies' the transition space with the beginning of this next TCU (*i'm just*). Again, the rhythmic structure integrates the DC and the following syntactic unit and creates a bind between these two TCUs which suggests Claire's orientation towards turn continuation.

¹⁵ This interval variability seems to border on the values identified for perceptual anisochrony by Auer/ Couper-Kuhlen/ Müller (1999) (see footnote 9). Perceptively, it belongs to the rhythmic *gestalt*, though.

What this example shows beyond the general argument is that a speaker's 'anticipation of turn space' for a subsequent continuation is evidently independent from lexico-syntactic planning of this continuation (see the hitches in segments 13-14). That is, a speaker may well be oriented to the local projection of a next TCU, without necessarily having (entirely) 'planned' what this TCU consists of lexico-syntactically (note though that even the inbreath as a hesitation phenomenon is timed with regard to the local rhythmic metric, see again Auer/Couper-Kuhlen/ Müller 1999).

What is more, a retrospective orientation towards having secured the right to talk is visible in Claire's subsequent behavior. When Chloe, after the 0.6 second hitch in Claire's elaborating TCU (segment 14), launches a return to her complaint (arguably by exemplifying the better times back in the day with '*MEMber?*', segment 15), Claire treats this as an illegitimate incoming by continuing her (projected) elaborating TCU in higher pitch and volume (cf. French/ Local 1983). This conduct further strengthens the claim that Claire treats the turn-space for the elaborating TCU following her DC as legitimately *hers*. Thus, there seems to be converging evidence for an analysis of Claire having set up a *projection* of a further discourse unit with her DC.

A final case will show that indeed the same kind of rhythmic integration of a DC with a subsequent TCU *can* actually co-occur with other continuative practices. In fragment (8), Debbie and Sarah are talking about a friend of Sarah's called Bryn, who has moved to Puerto Rico recently. Sarah has just returned from paying Bryn a visit in Puerto Rico.

(6) Happy (CFEngn6239)



01 Deb: is she HAppy thE:re?
 02 Sar: ↑YAH;
 03 she LOVES it;
 04 Deb: dOes she: hAs she made FRIENDS,
 -> 05 Sar: oh THAT'S why she ↓mOved there,
 06 'cause shE has a lO:t of frIends from MA:disO:n?
 07 Deb: m_hm,
 08 Sar: that're puerto Rlcan;

After Debbie's first general inquiry whether Bryn is happy in Puerto Rico in segment 01, which is answered positively by Sarah in segments 02-03 (↑*YAH*; *she LOVES it*), Debbie asks a follow-up question with a *yes/no*-interrogative in segment 04 (*dOes she: hAs she made FRIENDS*). Sarah's response treats Debbie's question as problematic in several ways. Firstly, by not beginning with either *yes* or *no*, Sarah's response is non-type-conforming (cf. Raymond 2003), and secondly, her response is *oh*-prefaced, which serves as an indexical marker of the respondent having a problem with the question or treating it as inapposite (cf. Heritage 1998). As it turns out from the DC and the following elaborating clauses, the question is inapposite in terms of the presupposition it makes: That Bryn knows nobody in Puerto Rico and has to form new friendships.

Sarah doubly challenges this presupposition in segments 05-06 and 08 by stating that Bryn already knew people in Puerto Rico, whom she befriended during her time in Madison, and that these friendships have even been part of her motivation to move there herself. However, it should be noted that the DC itself (*THAT'S why she ↓mOved there,*) would not suffice to challenge the presupposition in this way. The DC by itself essentially confirms the presupposition in Debbie's question (i.e. it would yield the reading 'Bryn moved to Puerto Rico to make new friends'). Sarah's DC is therefore, upon its completion, contextually 'misfitted' and could therefore possibly project a further sequential unpacking of Sarah's problem with Debbie's question, which had been indexed by the *oh*-preface (cf. Heritage 1998: 304). Again, there is the observation of rhythmic integration of the DC with the subsequent TCU.

(6a) Happy, rhythmic notation



	Interval Duration (Rhythmic tempo)	Interval variability relative to previous interval
Sar: oh / 'THAT'S why she /	0.45	
/ ,↓mOved there, cause /	0.57	+26%
/ 'shE has a /	0.32	
/ ,lO:t of /	0.32	
/ ,frIends from /	0.35	
/ 'MA:di /	0.37	
/ ,sO:n?		

double time	{	0%
	{	+9%
	{	+6%

Sarah establishes a *gestalt*-like group with accents on *THAT'S* and *↓mOved*. By placing the next accent firmly within the next TCU, namely on the subject of the following subordinate clause (*shE*), Sarah creates a regular rhythmic *gestalt* across clause boundaries. The three accented syllables form beats within this *gestalt*. Subsequently, Sarah increases the rhythmic tempo by moving to double time, which shall, however, not be of further concern here. Most remarkably, Sarah rhythmically integrates her DC tightly with the (arguably) projected next clause across syntactic boundaries.

In this instance, the rhythmic integration co-occurs with a final pitch movement rising to mid, which indexes turn continuation rather than turn completion.¹⁶ Thus, this example shows that rhythmic integration across clause boundaries *can* indeed co-occur with other continuative practices, providing converging evidence for participant orientation towards continuation. This fact might in turn be taken as indi-rect evidence for a possibly more systematic connection between 'projection' as a phenomenon on the one hand, and 'rhythmicity' as a co-occurring feature on the other (see the discussion below). However, as was shown with the exam-

¹⁶ According to Szczepek Reed (2004), however, a final pitch movement rising-to-mid could equally well signal turn completion, which in a way warrants the additional rhythmic analysis conducted here.

ples before, tight rhythmic integration across clause boundaries *need* not co-occur with other continuative practices and still suggests a speakers' orientation towards turn continuation.

6. Summary, discussion, implications, and a caveat

6.1. Summary, discussion, and implications

This paper presented an exploratory attempt at using rhythmic analyses of conversational speech to gather additional evidence for participant orientation to locally projected next TCUs. The procedure was exemplified by considering a small collection of turn-initial demonstrative clefts (DCs), which were intuitively characterizable as projecting more-to-come, but for which other evidence of participant orientations towards their projective force was equivocal. By taking the rhythmic structure of the DCs and the subsequent TCUs into account, it was observable that the DC-speakers 'blocked' what would otherwise have been the transition space. This is regularly achieved through filling the transition space as well as tight rhythmic integration of the DC and the next TCU across syntactic and intonational boundaries (note that the 'integrating beat' typically fell on the predicate of the subsequent TCU). Such a rhythmic integration suggests the DC-speaker's orientation (or perhaps 'geared-ness') towards turn continuation.

This is coherent with findings from Couper-Kuhlen (2009a: 267), who has shown that components of *projected* multi-unit turns are "[...] held together in part through the fact that they are timed regularly with respect to one another", whereas turns, which *become* multi-unit turns *contingently*, "[...] bear the mark of their contingent construction [...], precisely because they incorporate a break in timing". In her paper, she used negated TCUs, which typically project another, elaborating TCU as examples of projected multi-unit turns and showed that these TCUs were regularly timed with respect to one another (see also Couper-Kuhlen 2009b). The procedure in this paper reversed the analytic pathway by considering the timing of adjacent TCUs as additional evidence for their 'projectedness'.

The reasoning behind this partly relies on previous findings on speech rhythm. For one, it strongly rests on the general rhythmic regularities that have been found to hold at turn-transitions (cf. Auer/ Couper-Kuhlen/ Müller 1999, chapter 3). It is by reference to these regularities that one can meaningfully say that the DC-speaker 'occupies' the transition space with the unaccented material beginning the projected TCU (the *i'm gonna* in (1b), the *i* in (4), the *i'm just* in (5)), instead of leaving a (usually untranscribed) pause to enable a timed response from the recipient. By their very nature these features are opaque to the participants as well as the analyst and only become visible through close rhythmic analysis.

Of course, these findings raise the question whether there are more general and systematic relations between 'projection' on the one hand, and 'rhythmicity' on the other. *Prima facie*, this seems plausible, given that 'projection' is enabled by a sedimentation of recurrent sequences of events, actions, and the like (cf. Auer 2002: 1-3). Generally, recurrent sequences (of events, actions, or the like) are prone to becoming rhythmicized, precisely because of the 'patterned-ness' that

results from their recurrence (just think of the assembly line worker who repeats the same sequence of actions over and over again).¹⁷ Moreover, one of the primordial projective relations in talk-in-interaction, namely that between first-pair part (FPP) and second-pair part (SPP) in an adjacency pair, has been found to have an underlying rhythmic basis with respect to its timing (Auer/ Couper-Kuhlen/ Müller 1999, Couper-Kuhlen 2009a). Regarding unit-projection, it would thus be interesting to reconsider other constructions which have been found to function as projector phrases (e.g. pseudoclefts, *it*-extrapositions, *N be that* constructions) and see whether similar rhythmic regularities hold for them. If that turns out to be the case, one might begin to see a much grander theme: For instance, a 'rhythmicalization' of more or less formulaic (see Calude 2009 for DCs) constructions that parallels their grammaticalization as projector constructions (cf. Günthner 2011).

Furthermore, if, indeed, more systematic relations between rhythmicity and unit projection happen to be discovered in future studies, one may start considering rhythmic analyses as a valuable, additional tool at the analyst's disposal. The potential prospects to be gained from such studies are as yet uncertain, but, following Jefferson's (1996: 9) take on explorative work, they may well be worth being pursued:

Seems to me it makes sense to push the stuff, keep pushing at it, see how far it might go. You can always pull back to a more cautious, reasonable, sensible position. But when you're doing this explorative work, go ahead and push.

After all, this could contribute to what Sidnell (2013: 82) has called a "central project of CA" (and methodically related disciplines), namely to "[discover] new forms of appropriate (i.e. data-*internal*) evidence".

6.2. A caveat

Besides the caveat introduced at the beginning of section 5 – that I do *not* wish to claim that the rhythmic structure of the talk *contributes in situ* to the projection of a next unit – there is another one that should be mentioned. It is utterly important to stress that the procedure is *not* self-contained. That is to say that simply because a TCU is rhythmically integrated with a next one, this does not *ipso facto* or in itself mean that the second has been *projected* by the first. It was stressed several times that the rhythmic analyses merely served as a *post-hoc* complementary analytic step to gather additional evidence. Detailed analyses of the sequential environment of a TCU as well as its turn design remain the primary analytic concern.

¹⁷ In this regard, it is also interesting that metrical regularity has been found to facilitate speech planning and production (Tilsen 2011). In a similar vein, rhythmic regularity might as well co-occur with projectable patterns which reduce the exigencies of dealing with interactional contingencies.

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