*Prosody as an Interactional Resource: Turn-projection and Overlap**

BILL WELLS
University College London
SARAH MACFARLANE
Homerton Hospital NHS Trust

KEY WORDS
intonation
overlap
prosody
turn-taking
West Midlands dialect

ABSTRACT

One aim of current research into talk-in-interaction is to identify the resources that enable recipients to monitor the course of a turn in progress in order to project its upcoming completion. This issue is addressed through analysis of instances of overlapping talk, focusing on their design—that is, their particular prosodic and other linguistic characteristics; their placement—in other words, where precisely they occur in relation to the turn being overlapped; and the subsequent behavior of the coparticipants. Phonetic analysis is combined with interactional techniques developed within Conversation Analysis, to warrant the relevance of categories by reference to the behavior of the participants themselves. As French and Local (1983) found, for an incoming to be treated as turn-competitive, it has to be designed with relatively high pitch and loud volume. These turn-competitive incomings are positioned within the turn in progress, and before the final major accent. By contrast, overlapping incomings positioned after the major accent are not designed as or treated as turn-competitive. On the basis of this analysis, we can define transition relevance place (TRP) as the space between the TRP-projecting accent of the current turn and the onset of the next turn. TRP-projecting accents are identifiable on independent grounds, being phonetically distinct from non-TRP-projecting accents. They thus provide a robust resource for participants to monitor the upcoming completion of the turn.

INTRODUCTION

In general, conversational exchange proceeds smoothly: speakers do not, for the most part, speak in overlap with one another. This observation raises two empirical issues that are the subject of this paper. Firstly, what is it about the talk that enables a potential next speaker to recognize that the current speaker has completed (or will have completed) his

* Acknowledgements. The data collection and initial analysis was undertaken by Sarah Macfarlane (formerly Sarah Payne) as part of the MSc in Speech and Language Pathology and Therapy, University of London. Subsequent work was supported in part by a personal research fellowship from the Leverhulme Trust to Bill Wells. For comments on an earlier version of this analysis, we are grateful to members of the Conversation Analysis research group at the Department of Human Communication Science, UCL.

Address for correspondence: Dr. Bill Wells, Department of Human Communication Science, University College London, Chandler House, 2 Wakefield Street, London WC1N 1PG.
E-mail: <bill.wells@ucl.ac.uk>

or her turn at talk? Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974), who investigated how participants manage to minimize the amount of gaps and overlaps when alternating turns, concluded that turn-taking must be governed by a local management system, in which speakers are assigned turn-constructional units (TCUs) of indefinite length, which end in transition relevance places (TRPs). Each TRP must be predictable to the listener, to allow for smooth speaker transition. The result is that pause and overlap are minimized. Subsequent studies have attempted to characterize more precisely the linguistic features that serve to identify a TRP as such: For example, for American English, Ford and Thompson (1996); for German, Auer (1996) and Selting (1996). The ultimate aim of this paper is to contribute to that enterprise, and is addressed in the second of the two studies reported here.

The second empirical issue stems from the following questions: If precise mechanisms are in fact available to participants that enable them to project turn completion, why is it that overlap occurs at all? Does overlap arise as a byproduct of some design imperfections or latitude in the mechanisms available for projecting turn completion? Or is the possibility of overlapping the current speaker a resource that is available to a coparticipant to achieve particular interactional ends, for example, to gain the floor and thereby force the current speaker to relinquish his or her turn before it has been completed? The reality of this second possibility is well attested: "violative interruptions" (Levinson 1983) or "turn-competitive incomings" (French & Local, 1983) occur in talk; some of their properties have been identified and are summarized below. However, it is also well attested (e.g., by Jefferson 1983, 1987) that overlapping talk occurs which is *not* oriented to, either by the current speaker or by the incoming speaker, as turn competitive. This lends some support to the first suggestion—that there is some latitude in the mechanisms for projecting turn completion, which allows overlapping talk to occur without serious interactional implications. But how can both be true? How is it that some instances of overlap are hearable as, and oriented to by participants as, turn-competitive, while others are not? The most obvious place to look for an answer is in the properties of the incoming talk: we could hypothesize that (at least) two distinct types of overlap can be deployed by a next speaker, which are hearable respectively as turn-competitive and noncompetitive. In order to characterize these different types of overlap, we need to consider both their *design*—that is their particular phonetic and linguistic characteristics—and their *placement*—that is where precisely they occur in relation to the turn being overlapped. This is the subject of Study 1.

WHAT MAKES AN OVERLAP TURN-COMPETITIVE

According to Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974), pause and overlap are minimized because each TRP must be predictable to the listener, to allow for smooth speaker transition. If an overlap occurs, it will be at a predictable place, that is at the TRP. Theirs is thus a definition of overlap in terms of placement. Developing this line of inquiry, Jefferson (1983, 1987) considered a wide range of types and locations of overlapping talk, including overlap around the TRP. In her 1983 paper, she categorized onset of incoming into three main types, which she terms *transitional*, *recognitional*, and *progressional*. Transitional onset, according to Jefferson, describes the majority of onsets. These onsets all occur at the TRP, which is defined by Jefferson as a possible syntactic completion place in the current speaker's turn. In the remaining two categories, referred to collectively as "interjacent onset"

by Jefferson (1987) and Couper-Kuhlen (1993), the incoming occurs at a point *before* a TRP. Progressional onset is when the turn-occupant reaches a "hitch" (a break in fluency), and hesitates with "umm" or "er" and so forth, or repeats a word, for example, "I- I- I-", and a new speaker takes this opportunity to come in. In recognitional onset, the recipient comes in when s/he feels s/he has got enough of the gist of what the current speaker is saying, that is, when the current speaker's talk has reached a point of semantic adequacy.

Instances where the next speaker comes in at a place which is obviously not a TRP are characterized by Levinson as "violative interruption." In this type of overlap, either one of the speakers tends to drop out, or one of the speakers "upgrades" his/her speech by increasing its loudness, slowing its tempo, and lengthening its vowels, in order to "win the floor" (Levinson, 1983). In these ways, both speakers display orientation to the overlap as being turn competitive. Studies of "interruption" in conversation have tended to emphasize the thematic content of the incoming (notably disagreement) and, in a somewhat mechanistic way, its location (see Couper-Kuhlen, 1993, for review). Hopper (1992) shows how such approaches result in intractable analytic difficulties, as a result of which the category of "interruption" becomes very difficult to sustain. For the time being the definition given by Schegloff (1987) will suffice: "...'interruption' is then reserved (roughly) for starts by a second speaker while another is speaking and is not near possible completion."

French and Local (1983) examined interruptions using a conversation analytic approach, distinguishing interruptions that are turn-competitive from those that are not. They argued against the view that placement at a non-TRP, that is early in the turn, is what characterizes incoming speech as turn-competitive, using as evidence cases where a noncompetitive overlapping incoming is positioned at a non-TRP. Nor, according to French and Local, is an incoming turn-competitive by virtue of its semantic or pragmantic content, that is its thematic relation to the current turn as agreement or disagreement. As evidence, they provide an example of a noncompetitive overlapping incoming which is in disagreement with current turn; and an example of a turn-competitive overlapping incoming which is in agreement with current turn. Instead, French and Local claim that what makes the incoming turn hearable as turn-competitive is its phonetic design: specifically, the combination of prosodic features of higher pitch and increased loudness (referred to henceforth as <h+f>). They define <h+f> portions as follows:

1. ...the...portion is both higher and louder than that speaker's norm for beginning turns at points where another speaker has completed his turn;
2. ...it is both higher and louder than any portion of incomer's speech not so marked;
3. ...it is loud, but not necessarily high in absolute terms, relative to the speech contained in the current turn. (French & Local 1983, p.23)

They present four types of evidence that participants produce and orient to <h+f> as indicating a turn-competitive interruption (examples from our own corpus are presented in Study 1 below):

(a) The incoming speaker uses <h+f> only up to the point of the turn-occupant's termination, or to the point of completion of the already begun "foot."

(b) An <h+f> incoming causes the turn-occupant to alter his/her talk prosodically in one of two ways:

(i) by increasing loudness and decreasing pace. The turn reaches a TRP. This indicates a return of competition.

(ii) fade-out, that is, by decreasing loudness. The turn does not reach a TRP.

(c) An incoming which has decreased pitch and loudness (<l+p>) causes the turn-holder to suspend the turn almost immediately. This is followed by a fractionally delayed restart by the original turn-occupant after the interrupter has finished. Thus the original turn-occupant is treating the incoming as noncompetitive. The incoming is usually quite short in duration and is characterizable as an "aside" or "quip."

(d) The turn-occupant hesitates and another participant tries to take the floor. If the incoming is at a non-TRP, then the original turn-occupant immediately recommences speaking using <f> but not <h>, until the turn is regained. Thus the original turn-occupant is designedly *not* using <h+f>, which would be heard as competing for the turn; she is simply producing a continuation of a turn "which was legitimately [hers]" (French & Local, 1983, p. 33).

Thus French and Local argue that it is the phonetic design of the incoming turn, rather than its precise location, that constitutes it as turn-competitive. This claim has not passed unchallenged. Couper-Kuhlen (1993) expresses some reservations as to its generality, citing examples from her data of "incomings with <h+f> prosody but no sign on the part of floor-holders that these are taken as threats" (Couper-Kuhlen, 1993, p. 124). Moreover, the cases French and Local consider are subject to a positional constraint. They state that they are "...concerned with only one particular type of overlapping interruptive speech: that in which one speaker comes in *clearly prior to the completion of another's turn* and can be heard as directly competing with the other for possession of the turn." (French & Local, 1983, p. 18, our emphasis). They do not discuss instances of competitive or noncompetitive incomings at or around a TRP. Indeed, how could an incoming be turn-competitive if it occurs at TRP? This question touches on the issue of what exactly constitutes a TRP, and is addressed in Study 2. Study 1 addresses a question which, as we shall see, necessarily precedes the second, namely: how do turn-competitive incomings differ from noncompetitive overlapping incomings, in terms of placement and design?

STUDY 1

The research reviewed in the previous section led us to the hypothesis that for an incoming to be heard as competing for the floor, it has to be both (a) relatively high in pitch and loud in volume; and (b) located elsewhere than at a TRP. The prediction is that instances of interjacent onset will be hearable by participants as turn competitive, provided they are also <h+f>. Conversely, we predict that instances of transitional onset will not be oriented to as turn-competitive, whatever their prosodic character.

Method

The method we use is that of Conversation Analysis — an approach to the analysis of spoken interaction that was first developed in the 1960's by the sociologist Harvey Sacks and his collaborators. In the introduction to a recent collection of studies on prosody in conversation, the key features of this approach are summarized as follows:

> (i) the importance of investigating naturally occurring data; (ii) a view of social interaction as an ongoing, sequentially organized and collaboratively achieved process, and (iii) the necessity for justifying one's analyses by showing the relevance of the categories postulated to the participants themselves.
>
> (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 1996, p. 13)

Our data is from an audio recording of naturally occurring conversation that takes place between three adults, lasting approximately an hour. There are two principal participants, M and her daughter J. L, M's husband, rarely speaks. All three are from Halesowen, a town in the area known as the Black Country, in the West Midlands of England. The setting is informal, all participants being from one family, and the conversation taking place at M and L's home. M and J are involved in the activity of unwrapping Christmas presents.

The study is based on analysis of approximately 10 minutes of the recording, consisting of approximately 170 identifiably distinct turns at talk. Macfarlane prepared a detailed transcription of this section. Fragments particularly relevant to the theme of the study, including all the data extracts in this paper, were also transcribed independently by Wells; a consensus transcription was reached after joint listening. In order to verify judgements as to duration of silences, precise location of overlap onsets, and detail of pitch contours, instrumental analysis, using SoundScope 16, was employed where the quality of the recording permitted. The transcriptional conventions are based on those routinely used in Conversation Analysis, devised by Gail Jefferson (see Appendix). Pitch is notated between staves; notation of other prosodic features follows IPA conventions.

Analysis and Results

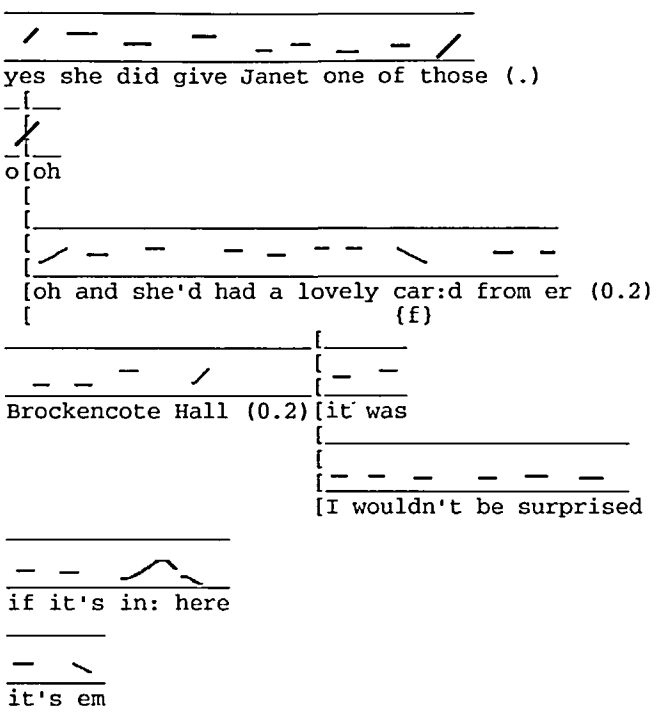
In this section, the various types of overlap identified by Jefferson and by French and Local are illustrated from our data. Drawing on an analysis of participants' differential orientation to these overlaps, we propose some refining and conflating of these categories. Initially, we examine instances of onset at the TRP, in order to test out our prediction that they will not be oriented to as turn-competitive. Following that, we consider instances of overlap onset that occur earlier in the turn in progress, in order to seek confirmation for our prediction that they will be treated by participants as turn competitive, provided they are also <h+f>.

Transitional onsets

According to Jefferson (1983), TRP refers not to a single point of completion, but rather to the place around that point, a "transition space." Thus, onset may begin just after, at, or just before the point of syntactic completion. Jefferson refers to these respectively as unmarked-next-position onset, latched onset, and terminal onset — three subtypes of transitional onset.

Unmarked-next-position onset. Unmarked-next-position is the place where turn transition routinely occurs: the speaker continues talking to a TRP, then stops. A recipient starts talking after the TRP, following a pause of one or two beats. In unmarked-next-position onset of overlap, the original speaker resumes talking at that point, that is, decides to take the next turn, giving rise to what Jefferson calls "byproduct overlap." This is illustrated in Extract 1:

Extract 1



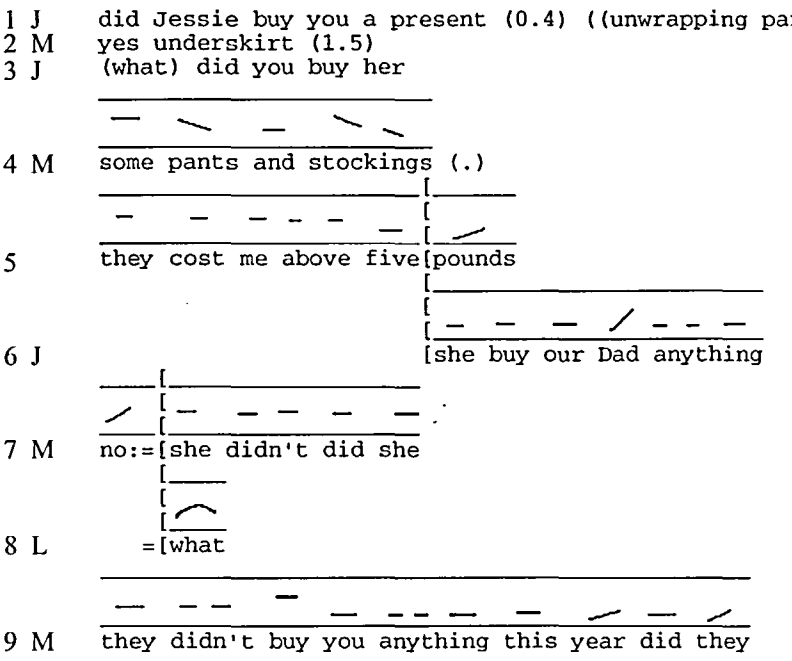
After the TCU ending at "Brockencote Hall" in M's turn (l.4), there is a brief silence (of ca. 0.2 seconds), then both M and J start up simultaneously, M dropping out almost immediately. Neither speaker displays any turn-competitive behavior, in the form of extra loudness or raised pitch.

Latched onset. Latched onset is where there is no pause, not even a silent beat, between the end of the current speaker's TCU and the onset of the next speaker's turn. If the original turn-occupant continues talking, overlap will occur, due to both parties beginning the next turn simultaneously. This is another example of Jefferson's "by-product overlap." While there are many examples of latched turn transition, there is only one example in our data of latched onset of overlap, as illustrated in Extract 2.

In (2), semantics, syntax and prosody project a TRP after M's "no" in l.7, which represents a minimal but sufficient response to J's question in l.6. However, while L takes up the opportunity for a turn (l.8), M adds further components to her own turn (l.7), creating overlap as a "byproduct" (Jefferson, 1983). For the purposes of this discussion, there is essentially no difference between this single example of latched onset and those in the previous category.

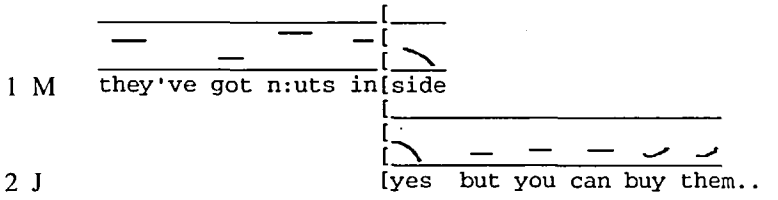
Terminal onset. Where a recipient/next speaker overlaps the final sound segments of the current speaker's talk, Jefferson calls it "terminal" onset of overlap. The incoming is typically not accompanied by <h+f>, nor does the original turn-occupant modify prosodic features in such a way as to either concede or compete for the turn. This suggests that these instances of

Extract 2



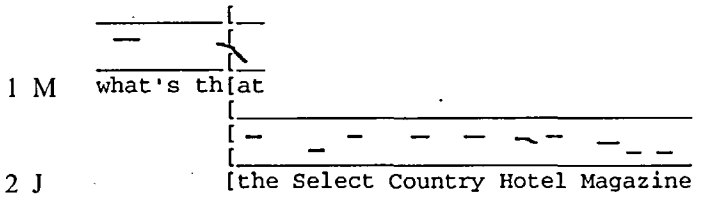
overlap are not being treated as turn-competitive. The recipient/next speaker, by coming in just before the last sound segments have been uttered, appears to anticipate the current speaker's TRP. This prediction could plausibly be made on semantic grounds. In (3), it is sufficient to know that the chocolates under discussion have got nuts "in": the "-side" adds little or nothing to the meaning of the turn.

Extract 3



Similarly, the deictic "that" in l.1 of (4) could readily be predicted from the situational context, in conjunction with the initial voiced dental fricative:

Extract 4



We can note that there is also a phonological predictability about such incomings: they start following the last major accented syllable—"nuts" in (3); or during that syllable—"that" in (4). From this phonological perspective, we can provisionally summarize the evidence so far as follows: Where an incoming from a potential next speaker, even when in overlap, occurs no earlier than the last accented syllable in the current speaker's turn, the incoming is not treated by participants as turn-competitive. This phonological description applies equally to the cases of latched onset and unmarked next position onset, since these onsets begin after the end of the original speaker's turn.

Interjacent onset

In cases of interjacent onset, the incoming occurs in the course of the current speaker's turn. Interjacent onset is thus similar to terminal onset. Jefferson identifies two main types, progressional onset and recognitional onset. In the latter case, instead of anticipating the TRP and coming in fractionally before it, the recipient/next speaker comes in when s/he has got enough of the gist of what the current speaker is saying, that is, when the current speaker's talk has reached a point of semantic adequacy. Jefferson identifies two types of recognitional onset: item-targeted onset, when a single item or word is overlapped; and thrust-projective onset, when the recipient/next speaker has gained the general thrust of the current speaker's utterance, in which case the incomer may overlap a whole phrase (or more) of the original speaker's turn.

Item-targeted recognitional onset. Item-targeted recognitional onset is exemplified in (5), (6) and (7):

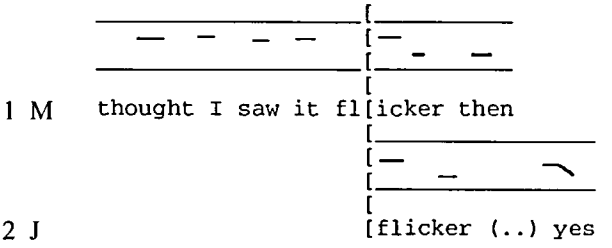
Extract 5

```
                                                [
                                                [
                                                [
1 M   'cos they were about round one pou:nd[ something
                                    { f } [
                                                [
                                                [
                                                [
2 J                                             [ one ninety-nine
```

In l.2 of (5), J comes in after "one pound" (l.1). From J's perspective, this seems to be semantically the most important item (or items) in M's turn since it is what J picks up in l.2. M's final word "something," which is what gets overlapped, adds nothing specific to the meaning of the utterance. Intonationally, J's overlap follows the point of maximal prosodic prominence in the turn, which is on "pound." This prominence, conveyed here mainly by features of pitch, loudness, and duration, will be referred to from now onwards as the major accent. J's incoming in l.2 does not have the prosodic characteristics of turn-competitive incomings, described by French and Local (1983) and summarized in the *Introduction*. This suggests that she has predicted that M is about to reach a TRP. In this respect, (5) resembles the cases of terminal onset discussed earlier.

In (6) it seems that the word containing the major accented syllable is predicted by J, who actually comes in with the same word (l.2). She was presumably helped in this prediction by the light having indeed just flickered (not shown in the transcription). The

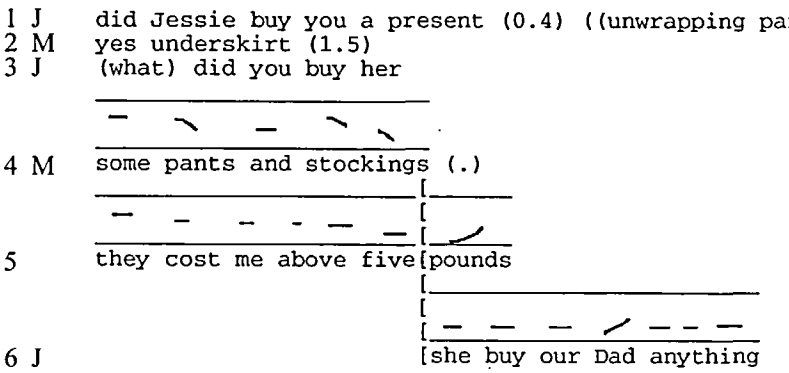
Extract 6



onset of J's incoming is located after the first phonetic segments of the accented syllable "flick-" have been uttered, but before it is complete.

In (7), the overlapped word in l.5 is predictable even without the initial sounds.

Extract 7



"Pounds" can be projected by J from the context of "cost" and "five," since the items they are talking about are pants and stockings: "five pence" or "five hundred pounds" are not feasible alternatives. The onset of the overlap in l.6 of (7) is even earlier than the incomings just described in (5) and (6): it coincides with the beginning of the syllable in l.5 that carries the major accent.

We have so far abided by Jefferson's distinction between "item-targeted recognitional onsets," as in (5), (6), and (7), as opposed to "terminal onsets" of the kind we examined in (3) and (4). However, the two categories are quite similar in terms of placement: the onset of overlap is at some point towards the end of the current speaker's turn. They are also similar in their interactional consequences: the onset of overlap is not treated by either participant as turn-competitive. The difference lies in how early the incoming is positioned in the current speaker's turn, and specifically how close it is to the last accented syllable. However, it is not apparent that this difference is significant for participants, since in neither case do participants orient to the incoming as turn-competitive. We therefore suggest that, at least for the purposes of describing overlap in relation to turn-competition, cases of so-called "item targeted recognitional onset" can be regarded as a further subtype of "transitional onset." A similar conclusion is reached by Couper-Kuhlen (1993), approaching the different types of turn-transition form the perspective of speech-rhythm. She shows that an incomer's overlap of unstressed (postaccentual) syllables, which represents rhythmic

coordination between the two speakers, is not different in its interactional consequence from unmarked turn-transition in the clear.

Consideration of the second type of recognitional onset, that is thrust projective recognitional onset, will be deferred until after consideration of the other type of interjacent onset, namely, progressional onset.

Progressional onset. In cases of progressional onset, the turn-occupant becomes momentarily dysfluent, and a next speaker takes advantage of this to come in. Jefferson (1983) notes two kinds of dysfluency. "Hesitations" are when the current speaker pauses midutterance (i.e., at a non-TRP), perhaps due to word-finding difficulties. "Stutters" are when current speaker repeats segments of sound or even whole words, again perhaps due to word-finding difficulties or to having to say something they would rather not, for example, due to embarrassment.

Incomings at hesitations were described by French and Local (1983), as mentioned earlier. If the incoming is at a non-TRP, then the original turn-occupant immediately recommences speaking using <f> but not <h>, until the turn is regained. Thus the original turn-occupant is designedly *not* using <h+f>, which would be heard as competing for the turn; she is "simply producing a continuation of a turn 'which was legitimately [hers]'" (French & Local, 1983, p. 33). This is exemplified in (8):

Extract 8

```
1 M   well it d'you think she has bought it

2 J   no (1.0)I should think it's a it was em (1.8)

3 M   she's pi[cked   it  up

4 J           [I mean it's  S ummer Autumn it's old
              [{f             f}              {f}

5     she she mu[st've em

6 M              [yes I think Janet's was (0.8)
                 [{f                  f}

7 J   she must've got it from somewhere like they'd
      {dim                                    dim}

8     give away in er (3.0) hotels or shops or something
      {p                                            p}
```

J hesitates in l.2, after "it was." M starts up in l.3, following a silence. J resumes almost immediately (l.4), using relatively loud volume which extends up to "Summer," the point at which M drops out. J's pitch is not noticeably high, however. Jefferson (1983) presents an array of data demonstrating that the position following a hesitation silence of this type is a legitimate place for turn-transition. In this example, the hesitating speaker (J in l.2) immediately resumes (l.4), loud in volume but not high in pitch, to reclaim a turn that is hers by rights: "I mean it's Summer Autumn." In Jefferson's terms, such overlaps occur as a byproduct, because the place following "Uncompleted Utterance + Silence /Silence filler" is a place where turn-transition routinely occurs (Jefferson, 1983, p. 24). Note that M's incoming in l.3 is not <h + f>, and so is not prosodically turn-competitive, thus according with French and Local's finding. The incoming is oriented to by the interrupted party in the way described by French and Local:

> In [these] fragments, turn-occupant hesitates at a noncompletion place in his or her turn at which point another participant comes in. In each case the original turn-occupant either immediately or almost immediately recommences speaking and does so in such a way that renders his or her speech more audible than that of the other speaker. Crucially this greater audibility is not achieved by the production of the speech with both increased pitch height and increased loudness but by an increase in loudness alone until the turn is regained (French & Local, 1983, p. 31).

Another example of progressional onset of overlap follows in the same extract (8). In l.5, J repeats "she she," but this time there is no silence. This is more like what Jefferson describes as a "stutter," rather than a "hesitation" as in the instance just described in l.2. M comes in at l.6 in overlap: "yes I think Janet's was." J restarts with an incoming in l.7, recycling her own curtailed TCU from l.5, with "she must've got it...," thereby regaining her turn. This accords with Jefferson's account of "stutters", where the "stutterer" proceeds to completion of her overlapped turn (Jefferson, 1983, p. 25). Here, however, J does not have to reclaim her "stuttered" turn, by using increased volume, since M (l.6) quickly reaches the end of her own turn, providing J with an uncontested opportunity to resume (l.7).

In both these cases of "progressional onset" in (8), the onset of the incoming — by M in l.3, and M again in l.6, — is positioned well before any major accent has occurred in the turn in progress. However, the incoming is not <h + f> — it is not designed as turn-competitive. From the observations of French and Local, supported by our data as exemplified in (8), we can conclude that the incomings that happen around dysfluencies (be they hesitations or stutters), are not necessarily designed as turn-competitive in the same way as for other instances of overlap that occur early in the turn in progress, that is "thrust projective" onsets, described next.

Thrust-projective recognitional onset. In thrust-projective overlap, even though the current speaker has clearly *not* projected a TRP, a recipient/next speaker comes in.

Extract 9 shows J in l.2 coming in with <h + f>. It is not just a case of J using extra loudness and higher pitch to emphasize something for its own sake: J demonstrably wishes to say it before M has finished her turn. In fact it is M's very utterance which has prompted J's incursion: J wishes to contradict M: "yes I know but ..." M (l.1) treats J's incoming as turn-competitive, decreasing her pace, and increasing loudness from around "we" (cf. French & Local, 1983, summarized above).

Extract 9

```
                                                [
                                                [
                                                [
1 M  well anyway your Dad's had one[and we can sha::re=
     {f                            [   <<<<        ff}
                                   [
                                   [
                                   [
2 J                                [yes  I know  but it=
                        [          [{f              f}
3 L  =huh huh huh[huh
                 [
                 [
                 [
4 J              [she actuall- I I saw her give them to
                 [{f       f}
```

In Extract 10, J and L are discussing a brand of chocolates:

Extract 10

```
1 J    you can buy them in England those Bacis you know
2 M    they're something like those Ferrochos aren't they
3 J    Ferrero Rocho
4 M    o:h [whatever they'm called
5 J        [Rocher                    Ferr(hh)och(hh)o  huh huh
6 M    Ferrochos huh huh
7 J    umm=
                  [
                  [
                  [
8 M    =oh well I mean[I (    •    *)
                      [
                      [
                      [
9 J                   [no they're not (.)
                      [{f          f}

10     they're no[?:]t really
                 {dim          dim}
```

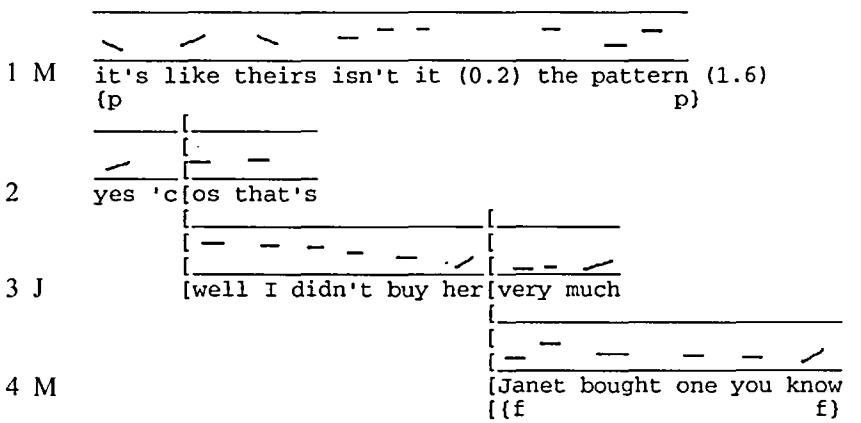
J comes in with <h + f> at l.9, "no they're not," and M fades out at l.8, thus conceding the turn to J. Having won the turn, J ceases using <h + f> once M has dropped out (l.10), and then recycles the overlapped portion of her incoming, "they're not really." Both of these incomings, in (9) and (10), are <h + f>, and neither occur at TRPs. Thus in both cases, though in different ways, the incoming is oriented to by the coparticipants as turn-competitive.

Blind spot onset

Finally, we consider an overlap that happens fractionally after the beginning of a speaker's turn. Jefferson's category of unmarked next position onset contains a subcategory which she terms "blind spot onset," in which the recipient/next speaker's incoming talk starts just fractionally after the start of further talk by the previous turn-occupant, following a TRP and a pause (Jefferson, 1987, pp. 165–7). Jefferson argues that this can sometimes be a

result of the incomer moving from "recipientship" into "speakership" mode at the TRP, (i.e., after the original turn-occupant's previous utterance), and consequently, when she starts her own turn, not attending to the original turn-occupant's resumption of talk. Extract 11 exemplifies this:

Extract 11



M's "pattern" in l.1 projects a TRP. This is followed by a pause, after which M resumes with "yes cos that's." J also starts up (l.3), after M's "yes" which represents one beat of M's new turn. J is thus in a "blind-spot" with regard to M's new turn. J does not use <h+f> in her incoming in l.3, which suggests that she is not orienting to this as a locus for turn-competitive behavior, and that she is indeed in a "blindspot." Thus it appears that in such cases the participants are not orienting to the potentially turn-competitive nature of overlap at this structural position, that is at the beginning of a new turn.

However, evidence to the contrary comes from Extract 12 where, at precisely the same structural position (i.e., original turn-occupant has just restarted her turn following a TRP when recipient/next speaker comes in in overlap), the incoming in overlap is <h+f>.

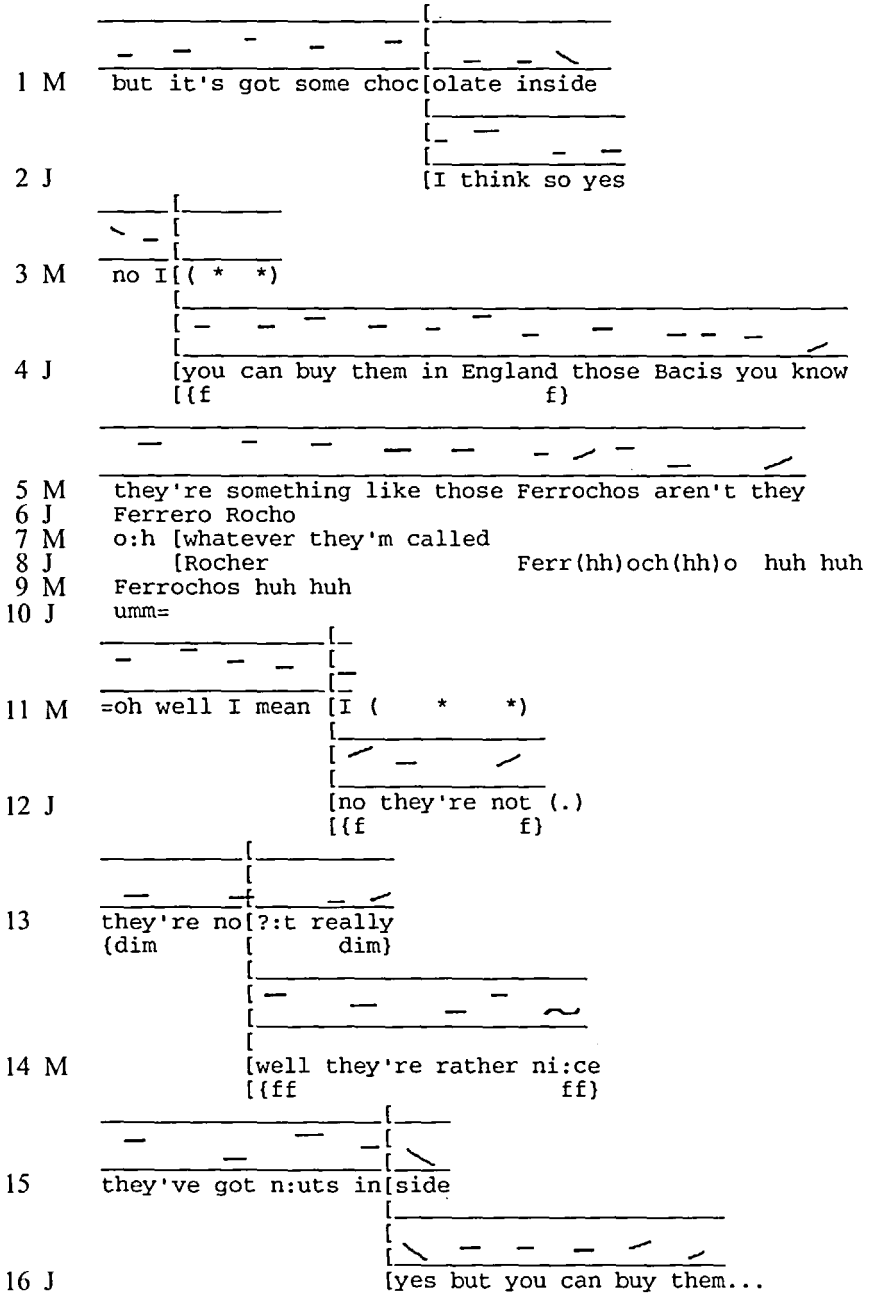
In three instances in this fragment, the participants produce and orient to <h+f> as indicating a turn-competitive incoming, according to the French and Local criteria. M, the incoming speaker in l.14, uses <h+f>, and this extends just beyond the point where the current speaker (J in l.13) drops out. When, in the face of <h+f> incomings from J in l.4 and l.12, M concedes the turn, she fades out, rather than dropping out immediately (l.3 and l.11).

At the same structural position, the current speaker can increase her volume to compete with the interruption, thus managing to complete her utterance. This is illustrated in Extract 13.

In l.3, M comes in turn competitively, with <h+f>. J continues her turn with loud volume over the last part, "a dust set" (l.2), ensuring that her turn is completed audibly.

Thus, as suggested by previous research (Jefferson & Schegloff, 1975; Levinson, 1983; Schegloff, 1987), the very beginning of a turn is a position at which, in cases of overlap, turn competition mechanisms may come into play, as in Extracts 12 and 13; although this is not invariably the case, as Extract 11 shows. Jefferson (1987) suggests that on some occasions the incoming speaker seems to be aware of the fragment of speech immediately prior to the overlap, but not on other occasions.

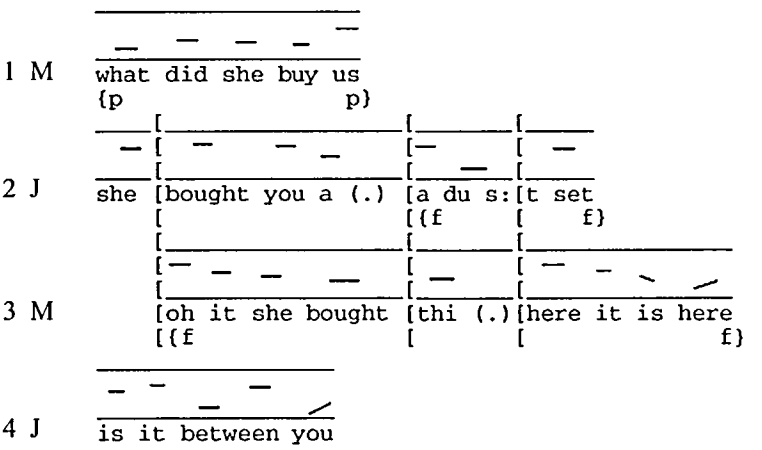
Extract 12



Discussion

Jefferson (1983) concluded that *any* point in an ongoing utterance is susceptible to overlap, although incomings of the recognitional and progressional onset type are more likely to

Extract 13



represent "turn-incursion" (p. 28). French and Local (1983), on the other hand, concluded that place of incoming has no direct bearing on whether it is turn-competitive or not. They argued that <h+f> is what determines whether incomings are heard as turn-competitive or not. However, they excluded from consideration those incomings which occur at TRPs.

In our data, French and Local's claim about <h+f> is borne out: For an incoming to be treated as turn-competitive, it has to be <h+f>. We found that in addition, the onset of an incoming that is oriented to as turn-competitive is routinely located before the last major accent of the turn in progress, that is before the potential point of maximal prosodic prominence. Incomings that occur on or after the syllable bearing the last major accent, are not treated as turn-competitive, either by the overlapped speaker or by the incoming speaker. The domain over which incomings are not designed as or treated as turn-competitive thus extends from the last major accented syllable of one turn, to the beginning of the next turn. Once that next turn has started, for a very short span (possibly just one or two beats) it is possible for an overlapping incoming not to be treated as turn-competitive. These are the cases where the onset of overlap is in the so-called "blind spot." Thereafter, issues of turn-competition arise once more, as is reflected in the design of incomings as <h+f>, and the way such incomings are treated.

This is not to say that all incomings that precede the last major accent will be designed as turn-competitive. In our examples of progressional onset, where a next speaker comes in, at, or around a hesitation or dysfluency by the current speaker, the incoming lacked the prosodic features of turn-competition. Whether or not the hestitating speaker treats the incoming as turn-competitive, by increasing his or her own volume, seems to depend on the length of the incoming turn. Furthermore, although we have no instances of them in our data, French and Local (1983) give examples of "asides" or "quips." These are incomings in overlap, positioned early in the turn (well before the final major accent) which are markedly quiet and have low pitch. Such incomings are thus designed to be maximally distinct from the <h+f> competitive incomings. Turn-occupants do not treat them as competitive for the floor.

Identifying TRP-projecting accents

The findings of Study 1, relating to the distribution and design of overlapping and nonoverlapping incomings, suggest that we can define the TRP in prosodic terms: It is the stretch of talk between the final major accented syllable of the current turn and a point one or two beats following the onset of the next utterance (whether or not the next utterance is spoken by the same speaker or a new speaker). As can be seen from the following quotation, our approach to the definition of the TRP is very much in the spirit of Schegloff (1996) addressing the question: "how far back into an 'expiring' turn can a next speaker go in getting an early start while still not, in effect, doing an interruption?":

> One usage that I have noted and examined a bit is a pitch peak in grammatical environments which remain to be characterized. But when the syntactic and pragmatic conditions have been met (e.g., some recognizable action has been projected) a pitch peak can adumbrate "designed possible completion at next grammatically possible completion." Just after such a pitch peak is the locus for various orderly phenomena: it is where early-starting next turns regularly come in; it is where speakers initiate a "rush-through" (Schegloff 1982) if they mean to extend their talk through the transition space into a new turn-constructional unit; it is where continuers and other forms of interpolation into otherwise projectably extended spates of talk are placed if they overlap with the otherwise ongoing talk.
>
> (Goodwin, 1986 in Schegloff, 1996, p. 84)

Highlighting as it does the role of prosody, Schegloff's approach can be distinguished from that of Jefferson, as outlined in her 1980's papers on overlapping talk. Jefferson (1987) concluded that prosody is not a reliable guide to TRPs. However, this was on the basis of an intuitive approach to what might constitute the prosodic exponency of completion, the phonetic detail of which is not specified. Rather than attempt to identify particular clusters of prosodic features that might characterize TRPs (cf. Local, Kelly, & Wells, 1986; Wells & Peppé, 1996, and below), Jefferson relied on an intuitively based notion of what constitutes prosodic completion versus noncompletion, and looked to see if it correlated with TRPs. Her statistical analysis led her to conclude that there was no close correlation between intonation and TRPs. However she conceded that a more fine-grained approach might shed a different light on the matter.

Ford and Thompson (1996) have followed up this line of inquiry, using a detailed analysis of around 20 minutes of American English multiparty conversation to investigate how TRPs are constructed and recognized by speakers and hearers. Attempting to identify the respective roles of syntax, prosody, and pragmatics, they found that the combination of prosodic completion and pragmatic completion is the most robust indicator of a TRP. A methodological problem with their approach is the difficulty of finding a reliable warrant for what counts as pragmatic completion. They recognize this:

"While our judgements for syntactic and intonational completion are easily operationalized and replicated, our judgements to pragmatic completion remain intuitive and provisional" (p. 149).

In fact they define pragmatic completion with reference to prosody as well as pragmatics:

"In our operationalization of the notion of pragmatic completion, an utterance was required to have a final intonation contour and had to be interpretable as a complete conver-

sational action within its specific sequential context" (p. 150).

The need to invoke prosody in this way to support a claim that an utterance is *pragmatically* complete suggests to us that there may be more mileage in pursuing prosody on its own, at least initially, in attempting to define the TRP, as we have done in this paper (cf. also Wells & Peppé, 1996). We have proposed here that the TRP is bounded at the beginning by the last major accented syllable of the turn in progress, and at the end by the onset of the next turn (or, where the current speaker continues, the next TCU). The evidence we have presented relating to overlap indicates that the last major accented syllable is the earliest point at which turn-exchange mechanisms can unproblematically come into play.

As we saw in Study 1, the onset of a next turn *may* take the form of a noncompetitive overlapping incoming located somewhere in the stretch between the last major accented syllable and the end of the current speaker's turn. However, most often a next speaker will wait until the current speaker has finished: overlap, though common enough, is still the exception rather than the rule. This indicates that there are other properties of the turn in progress that potential next speakers routinely orient to, in addition to the occurrence of the final major accented syllable. One such property is grammatical completion. In Schegloff's formulation, "... a pitch peak can adumbrate 'designed possible completion at next grammatical completion'" (1996, p. 84). There may also be other phonetic features that occur after the final major accent that indicate the approaching end of the turn. Different clusters of such features have been identified for several varieties of English, using conversation analytic techniques in conjunction with phonetic observation (see Wells & Peppé, 1996, for a summary), and can include not only prosody (pitch, loudness, and tempo, for example) but also segmental features, such as centralized vowel quality and aspirated release of plosive consonants (Local, Kelly, & Wells, 1986). Pitch features occurring at this structural position, that is following what we have called the final major accent, have been described in terms of "boundary tones" (Pierrehumbert, 1980; Ladd, 1996, Chapter 3), and durational features in terms of "final lengthening" (e.g., Kreiman, 1982).

While there may be identifiable postaccentual phonetic features that accompany turn endings, and while such turn-endings routinely (though not invariably) coincide with grammatical completion, the formulation of the TRP that we are proposing here nevertheless depends on being able to specify in addition precisely what constitutes the "final major accented syllable." A casual definition, for example, by theorists who do not accord the final major accent a particular status (as "tonic" or "nucleus"), is that it is the last accent of the intonational phrase (e.g., Pierrehumbert, 1980; see Ladd, 1996, p. 210): There is a phonetically definable accent, but this accent is differentiated from other accents only by virtue of its position, not by any special phonetic or linguistic characteristics. For an understanding of how prosody functions in conversational interaction, this is inadequate, since listeners have no way of knowing that an accent is the last accent until the current speaker has stopped. Recipients/potential next speakers would then be unable to use the accent to project an upcoming TRP and take it as a guide to a legitimate overlap before the end of the current speaker's turn, in the way we have described in Study 1. There need to be some criterial features that mark the final major accent as such. Schegloff (1996), pursuing a similar line of argument, refers, as we have seen, to the "pitch peak"—a phonetic definition that probably serves well for many accents of English, where the major accented syllable is often the highest pitch peak in the utterance. However, it is not well suited to the

variety of English spoken in our data, in which the accented syllables can be *lower* in pitch than what surrounds them. This difference between dialects of the same language serves to emphasize that what we are dealing with is a phonological construct (referred to here as the final major accent), which can take different phonetic forms in different dialects of English.

STUDY 2

In Study 2, using the same data set as in Study 1, we address the question: How can participants identify the TRP projecting accent? As in Study 1, the analysis draws on impressionistic phonetic observation supplemented by instrumental analysis; and on the techniques of Conversation Analysis, warranting claims for analytical categories on the basis of the observable orientation of the participants in the talk. This approach to the identification of phonetic exponents of turn-delimitation has been developed in studies of various accents of English (Local, Wells & Sebba, 1985; Local, Kelly, & Wells, 1986; Wells & Peppé, 1996).

We investigate the hypothesis that TRP-projecting accents can be distinguished from non-TRP projecting accents and from unaccented stretches of talk, on the basis of one or more of the following: (i) information focus; (ii) syntactic characteristics; (iii) phonetic characteristics.

Analysis and Results

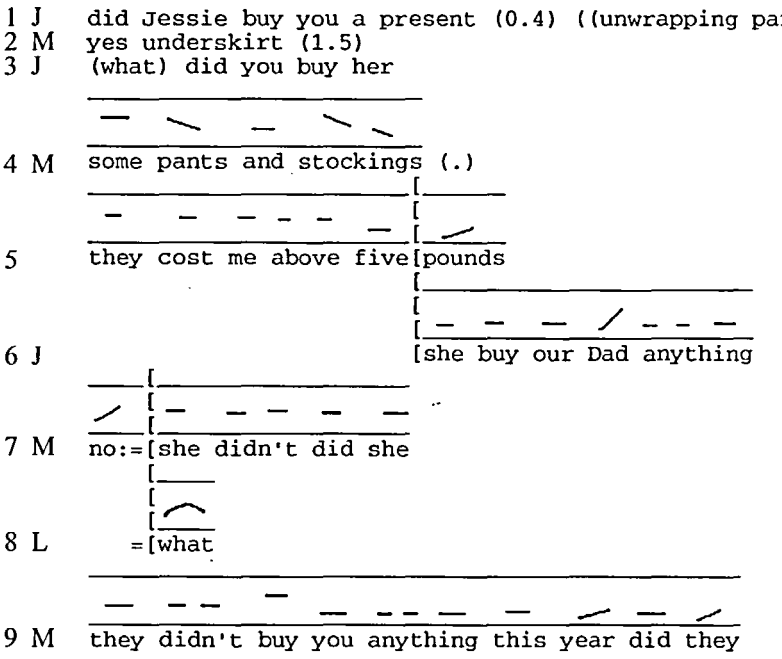
Information focus

A candidate criterial feature for the final major accent is the semantic/pragmatic one of information focus. If it were the case that the final accent regularly coincides with the item that is most focused, it might be possible to identify the final accent as such by recognizing where the main focus is, and then interpreting the word which has that main focus as having the major accent of the turn. This is in line with the "focus to accent" view of accentuation (Ladd, 1996). However, there appears to be no consistent and reliable independent syntactic, semantic, or pragmatic basis for identifying what is the "focused" part of the sentence in naturally occurring talk. As a result, it is not possible to identify accents on the basis of what is semantically focused. In fact, the opposite approach is generally taken: The point of maximal prosodic prominence is identified, and the semantic variable that it coincides with is identified as being what is focused. This leads to a circular argument, since there is no reliable independently motivated way of identifying an item as focused, other than the fact that it is phonetically prominent (Wells, 1988).

It is sometimes claimed that focused items represent "new" or "contrastive" information, while nonfocussed items represent old or given information. In Extract 2, the topic is the presents bought by Jessie for the various participants. In l.6 "Dad" as recipient is new, and indeed "Dad" is phonetically prominent.

Instances such as this attest to the fact that very often a relationship can be seen between "newness of mention" and phonetic prominence, but in naturally occurring talk the correlation between phonetic prominence and "new" information, and absence of prominence with "given" information, is weak when these terms are defined tightly enough

Extract 2

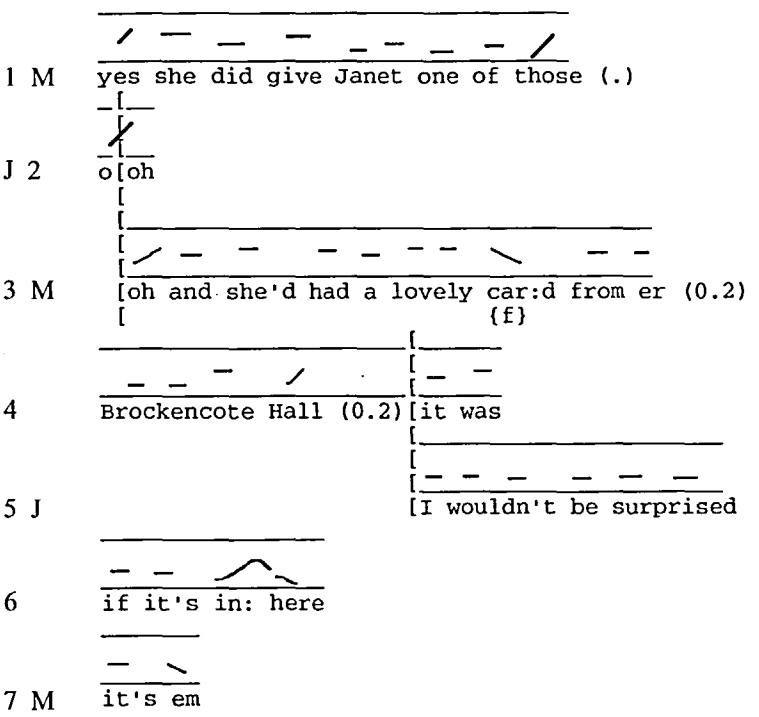


to be operationally applicable. Even under experimental conditions, listeners do not invariably associate accent with "new" material and absence of accent with "given" material (Kruyt, 1985; Terken, 1985).

Furthermore, there is the well attested phenomenon of "deaccenting" where the main prominence, or accent, is located on an item that is, by any definition, of minimal semantic import (Ladd, 1980, Wells & Local 1983, Ladd, 1996). An example from our data is in l.6 of Extract 1 overleaf.

J is looking at an illustrated catalog of hotels in the region, where she might expect to find a picture of Brockencote Hall. In l.6, there is no semantic reason for J to focus on the preposition "in," but there is good reason to not to focus on (and thus to deaccent) "here," as "here" refers to the magazine they are already talking about. A major accent on "here" would suggest that J is indicating some new source of hotel pictures. Deaccenting thus results in a final major accent being located on an item that is of little importance with regard to information focus. Phonetically, the major accent on "in" is marked by length, and a complex pitch movement—an on-syllable rise and slight fall. The fall continues through "here," which is not noticeably loud or long. That this accent serves to project a TRP is attested by the fact that M comes in immediately after the end of J's turn, in l.7. While the deaccenting of "here" is determined by considerations of focus, the default placement of the accent on the syllable next closest to the end of the turn, and the start-up by the new speaker that immediately follows, show that it can be misleading to identify major accentuation uniquely with the focusing function, and to ignore its equally important delimitative function in projecting the onset of the TRP.

Extract 1



Syntactic completion

If the final major accent cannot be identified reliably on the basis of information focus, then recipients/possible next speakers must be attending to some other characteristic. One hypothesis could be that the final accent is identifiable as such because it is uniquely associated with the end of a turn constructional unit, that is it occurs at or just before a syntactic completion point. It is true that final major accents routinely occur at syntactic completion points; most turns are both syntactically and prosodically complete. The problem is that there are often syntactic completion points earlier in the turn, yet these are not oriented to as projecting an upcoming TRP. Ford and Thompson (1996, p. 144) present several such cases in their American English corpus, as do Auer (1996) and Selting (1996) for German. They are evident throughout our data too. For example, in Extract 1 above, there is a potential syntactic completion point at "card" in l.3, but M continues her turn, and J does not attempt to come in. Syntactic completion is thus a poor guide for recipients who need to locate the final, TRP-projecting major accent.

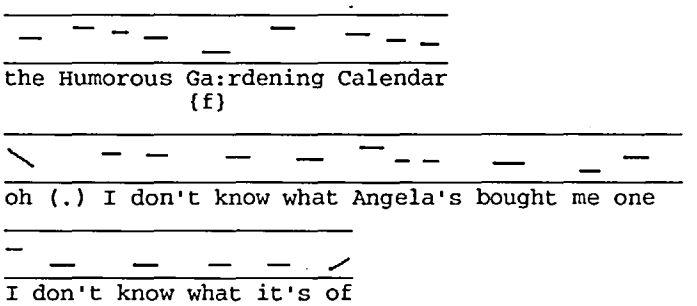
Prosodic exponency of accents

Having ruled out information focus and syntactic completion as reliable guides to locating the final major accent, we now consider whether there are criterial phonetic features that enable participants to identify final major accents in the variety of English spoken in our recording. On the basis of the argument developed so far, we hypothesize that in this variety of English:

(a) every actually or potentially complete turn at talk has a final major accent;
(b) this accented syllable is distinguishable from other unaccented syllables, and from accented syllables in non-TRP projecting accents;
(c) the accented syllable is in some way phonetically prominent, but
(d) there may be more than one phonetic way of making it prominent; that is there may be more than one type of final major accent.

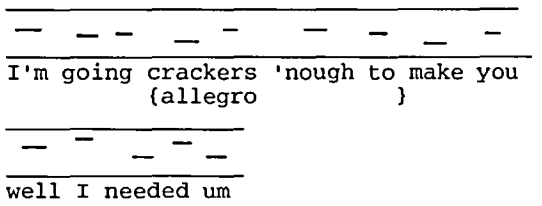
TRP-projecting accents. In order to identify the phonetic features associated with TRP-projecting accents, we begin by considering turns at talk that are not overlapped: they are followed by a smooth transition, thereby indicating that whatever the first speaker has done in her turn, it was sufficient to project the end of that turn unproblematically—as in Extract 14:

Extract 14



In l.1, the pitch is midhigh on the four preaccentual syllables, drops on "gar-" to midlow then jumps back immediately to midhigh for the postaccentual syllables; the last two of these drift down slightly in pitch. The vowel of "gar-" thus stands out as being distinctly lower than the surrounding syllables. It is also perceptibly louder and longer. This pattern is very similar to the one described by Wells (1989) for another part of the Black Country, Brownhills, and will be referred to as a Type 1 accent. Further evidence can be found in Extract 15:

Extract 15



The preaccentual syllables "'nough to" are midlevel, there is a step down to "make" and a step back up on "you." A further point of interest in (15) is the occurrence of the same features earlier in the turn, on "crack-." After "crackers" there is a syntactic completion point, and thus potentially a TRP. M appears to orient to the potential for a recipient/next speaker to come in here, by speeding up the tempo to secure the continuation of her turn.

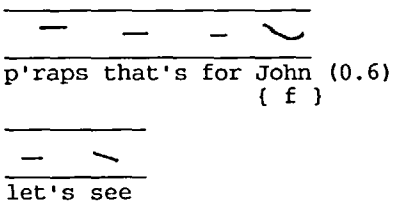
(For similar examples from German, see Selting 1996, p.380.) This illustrates the point made by Schegloff in relation to the "pitch peak" in the accent of American English he is describing, which is equivalent to what we have called the "major accent":

> "Just after such a pitch peak is the locus for various orderly phenomena:...it is where speakers initiate a 'rush through' (Schegloff, 1982) if they mean to extend their talk through the transition space into a new turn-constructional unit."
>
> (Schegloff 1996, p.84)

Thus the "rush through," following the Type 1 accent, can itself be taken as evidence that the Type 1 accent routinely projects potential turn-completion.

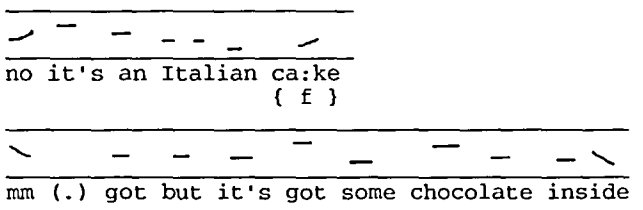
As has already been discussed, following the final major accent there is likely to be further prominence of some kind, associated with the (projected) margin of the turn at talk. The character of the final major accent itself is therefore most likely to be apparent where it occurs well before the end of the turn, as in (14) above, where we might regard the postaccentual step up and subsequent slight drift down of pitch as the phonetic realization of some kind of boundary "tone." When the final major accent itself is at the very end of the turn, there is on-syllable rising pitch which follows descending preaccentual syllables. The rising pitch can belong to a fall-rise, as in Extract 16:

Extract 16



We can also find a step up to a narrow rise, as in Extract 17:

Extract 17

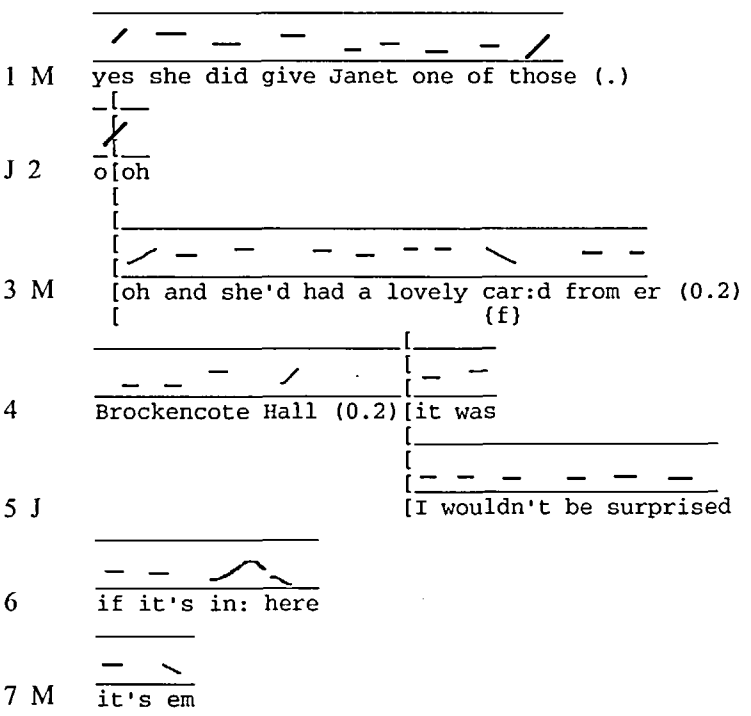


Alternatively, the narrow rise can be preceded by a slight step down, but in such cases the onset of the rise is still above the base of the speaker's normal range: see "Brockencote Hall" in Extract 1, l.4.

Irrespective of the precise form the rising terminal pitch takes, the final accented syllable is relatively loud, and/or lengthened. The terminal rise, length, and loudness prominence can thus be regarded as the compressed phonetic realization of, on the one hand, the final major accent and, on the other, a boundary tone.

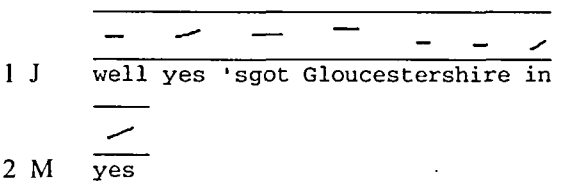
A second accentual pattern, which we can call Type 2, is also associated with the projecting of a TRP. When the Type 2 accent occurs before the end of the utterance, the

Extract 1



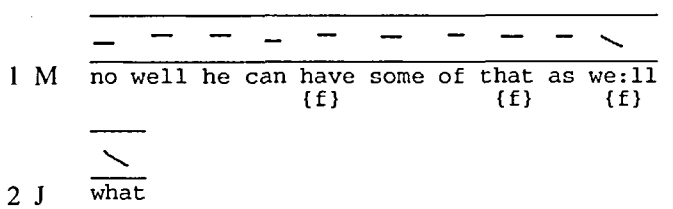
preaccentual stretch is in the middle of the range, the accented syllable is midhigh, and the postaccentual syllables are midlow. This pattern is illustrated in Extract 18, where the accent is on "Gloucestershire." Again, the pattern is followed by turn-transition in the clear:

Extract 18



In Type 2 accents, when the major accented syllable is the last syllable of the utterance, the preaccentual stretch is again midlevel, with a fall from mid to midlow on the final accented syllable—"well" in Extract 19:

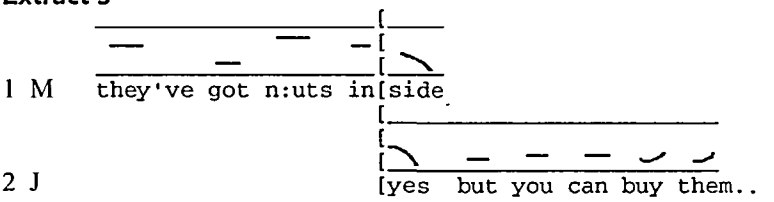
Extract 19



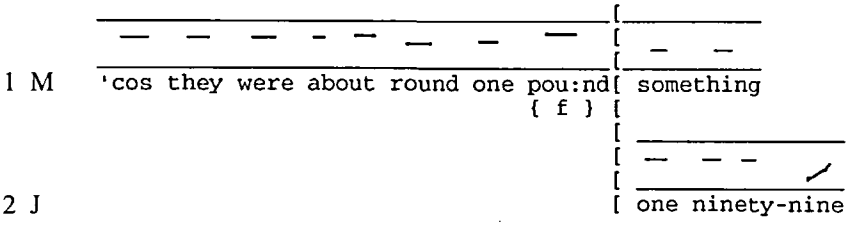
In the examples we have presented to illustrate the Type 1 and Type 2 accents, there is an "unmarked" turn-transition (i.e., in the clear) that follows the end of the utterance on which the pattern is used. The fact that these contours are routinely followed by such unmarked turn transitions can be taken as evidence that they do indeed project, or help to project, a TRP.

Two sets of data support our argument that it is the occurrence of the final major accent itself that projects an upcoming TRP, and not just the phonetic characteristics of the postaccentual syllables. First, there are occasions where the next speaker comes in in overlap with those postaccentual syllables, as in Extracts 3 and 5:

Extract 3



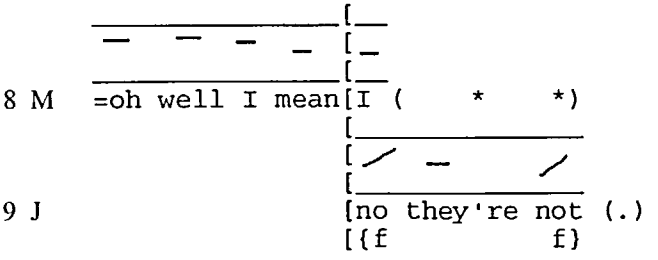
Extract 5



The overlapped turns in these two fragments illustrate the Type 2 TRP-projecting accent that we have just described. In both cases the overlap is not treated as turn competitive by the coparticipants. This suggests that the postaccentual syllables belong to the TRP, that is the TRP has already been projected.

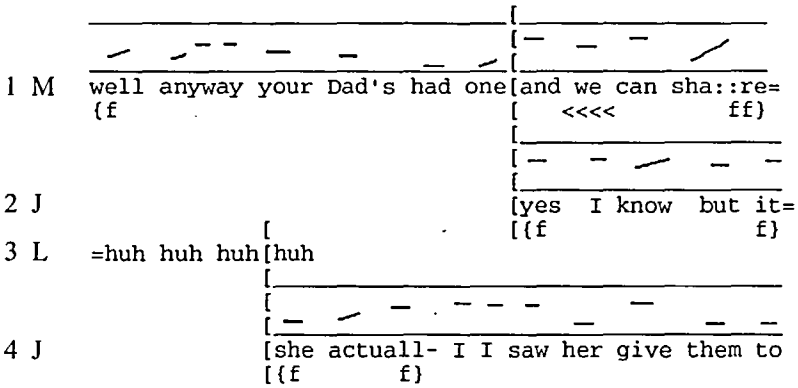
The second type of evidence that supports our claim is provided by examples of incomings that are treated by coparticipants as turn-competitive. Routinely, the turn-competitive overlap is positioned *before* the occurrence of an accent such as the two we have described so far. For example, in Extract 20, taken from Extract 10, there is nothing like an accent in M's turn in l.8, before J's incoming in l.9:

Extract 20



Accents that do not project a TRP. It is not the case that every accent projects a TRP, even if it is the last accent in the utterance. So far, we have argued that an incoming before the occurrence of a TRP-projecting accent will be treated as turn-competitive. In Extract 9, we find an instance of turn-competition in l.1, as discussed earlier; but this follows what sounds like some kind of accent on "had."

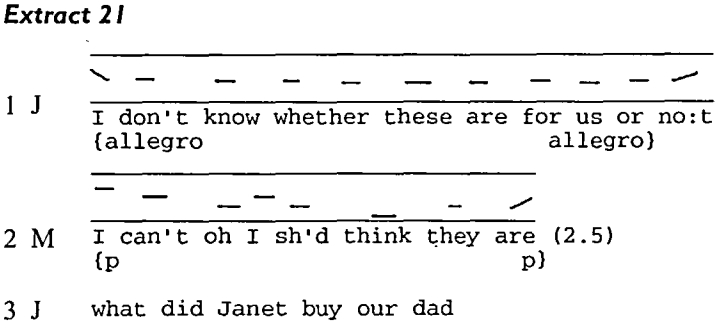
Extract 9



The pattern is a step down from a preaccentual midlevel ("your dad's"), to low level pitch on the accented syllable "had," followed by rising postaccentual pitch on "one." In some respects this resembles the Type 1 TRP-projecting accent. However, this new pattern is distinct both phonetically and interactionally.

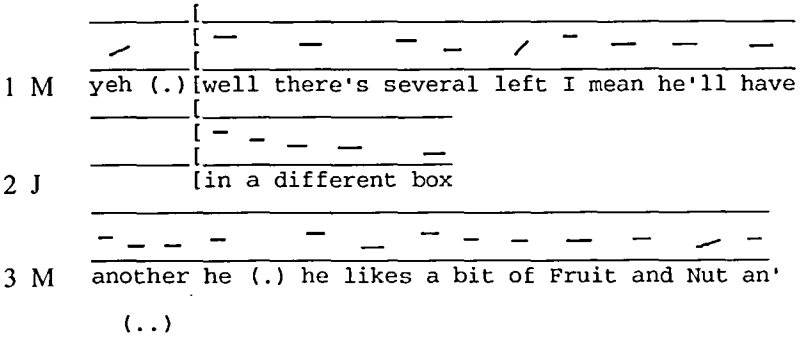
Phonetically, when the accented syllable is not the final syllable of the accent unit, there is a mid or midlow level preaccentual stretch, followed by a step down to low (impressionistically, the base of the speaker's normal range) on the accented syllable. The accented syllable is not noticeably louder or longer than surrounding syllables. It is followed by rising pitch on the postaccentual syllables. These features are further illustrated in l.2 of Extract 21, where there is a hearable accent on "think."

Extract 21



When the accented syllable is on the final syllable of the accent unit, there is a step down to low (the base of the speaker's normal range) on the accented syllable, which forms the starting point for a rise on that syllable, ending not higher than mid. This is exemplified in l.1 of Extract 22, where there is an accent on "left."

Extract 22



Three kinds of evidence suggest that this accent type projects potential further talk by the current speaker. First, there are numerous instances in the data where this accent type occurs in the course of a turn at talk and is followed neither by hesitation on the part of the current speaker, nor by an (unmarked) incoming from another participant; simply, the current speaker continues. One example is in l.1 of Extract 22, where there is a non-TRP projecting accent on "left"; the speaker does not pause, there is no rhythmic break, but a smooth continuation of the turn. Second, in l.2 of Extract 21, the accent is followed by turn-exchange, but the incoming of the next speaker is preceded by a substantial pause. We take this, and examples like it, as possible evidence that potential next speakers are not immediately sure that they have the right to a turn, and that this is because the current speaker has not projected a TRP. Finally, returning to Extract 9, the fact that an incoming following this accentual pattern (on "your Dad's *had* one" in l.1) is designed and treated as turn-competitive further supports the case that this accentual pattern projects not a TRP, but more talk by the current speaker.

Discussion

In Study 2, we found that TRP-projecting accents can be defined on independent phonetic grounds. We have identified two types of TRP-projecting accent in our data so far, but there may be others. As well as having different interactional consequences, TRP-projecting accents are phonetically distinct from non-TRP-projecting accents. We have identified one type of non-TRP-projecting accent in our data, but again, there may be others. While our conclusions remain tentative given the small data set, it appears that for conversational participants in this variety of English at least, prosodic resources are available that are both necessary and sufficient to project an upcoming TRP.

The issue of listeners having to "anticipate" the final (TRP-projecting) accent does not arise in our analysis. All that is necessary is for the listener to be aware that such an accent has not yet occurred (in which case, if they wish to take over the floor, their overlap will need to be turn-competitive). The listener then needs to be able to recognize the final TRP-projecting accent when it it does occur: after it, their incoming, if in overlap, will need to be designed as noncompetitive. Our claim, in Study 2, is that this recognition can be done on the basis of the phonetic properties of the accent itself; rather than by drawing on features earlier in the utterance. At the same time, we would not exclude the possibility that there may be features earlier in the utterance that might enable listeners to predict to

some extent the location of an upcoming final accent. Selting (1996) suggests that rhythm may help listeners to do this in German. However, we have not investigated such possibilities in our data, except in so far as some of the phonetic properties that we have associated with the different types of accent are located before the accented syllable, and as such could provide a basis for anticipating the accented syllable itself.

Our findings will not necessarily be generalizable to other speech activities or to other varieties of English, let alone other languages. For example, Cutler and Pearson (1986) report an experimental study using read data (rather than naturally occurring conversation) from Southern British English, from which they conclude that intonation is not sufficient to project turn endings. Using a methodology much closer to the one employed in this study, Selting concludes that in naturally occurring conversations in Standard German, it is not possible to identify specific intonations that project turn-ending, although there is a "pitch configuration that uniformly signals and locally projects nonending of a turn" (Selting, 1996, p. 379), that is an equivalent of our non-TRP projecting accent. Another parallel to our own findings is where Selting identifies in her German data the crucial role of the "possible last accent" for participants in negotiating turn-exchange. She suggests that participants may make use of rhythmic information, where it is available, in order to identify a final, TRP-projecting accent as such (p. 384).

CONCLUSIONS

The main findings of the two studies reported here are as follows:

(a) The phonetic character of turn-competitive incomings, as described by French and Local (1983), is generally confirmed for this somewhat different variety of British English. For an incoming to be treated as turn-competitive, it has to be designed with relatively high pitch and loud volume.

(b) These turn-competitive incomings are positioned within the turn in progress, that is, not at a transition relevance place. By contrast, overlapping incomings at a TRP are not designed as or treated as turn-competitive.

(c) Like French and Local, we also found incomings before a TRP, around hesitations; these did not display the features of high pitch and loud volume.

(d) A TRP can be defined as the space between the TRP-projecting accent of the current turn and the onset of the next turn.

(e) TRP-projecting accents can be defined on independent phonetic grounds. We have identified two types of TRP-projecting accent in our data so far, but there may be others.

(f) As well as having different interactional consequences, TRP-projecting accents are phonetically distinct from non-TRP-projecting accents. We have identified one type of non-TRP-projecting accent in our data, but again, there may be others.

These conclusions are necessarily provisional, since the data set is relatively small, from one source, and we do not yet have a complete description of the intonation patterns of this variety of English. With those caveats in mind, we have attempted to identify the prosodic resources that enable recipients to monitor the course of a turn in progress in

order to project its upcoming completion. The crucial role of prosodic features in enabling this to happen suggests why the different types of overlapping and nonoverlapping incoming that occur in naturally occurring conversations are distributed as they are. These incomings are oriented to differentially by participants according to the prosodic design of the incoming and its precise location, the location being itself determined in important ways by prosodic, and specifically accentual, factors.

Received: October 6, 1997; revised manuscript received: April 8, 1998; accepted: May 29, 1998

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APPENDIX

Transcription notation

Except as stated below, IPA symbols and extensions are used. Detailed phonetic transcription is confined to parts of the conversation referred to in the discussion.

Relative pitch height and on-syllable pitch movement are represented impressionistically, above the orthographic transcription, within staves designating the limits of the speaker's normal pitch-range.

Prosodic features are shown in labeled braces { }, which span the amount of speech to which the feature applies.

<<<	crescendo
(0.5)	pauses between or within turns are represented in tenths of a second
(.)	pause too short to measure
=	talk continues without a pause between one speaker and the next (i.e., is "latched")
:	indicates a sustention of the preceding sound
[	represents the point at which simultaneous speech begins
(word)	transcriber uncertainty about words
(*)	indecipherable syllable

J, M, L in margin, denotes identity of speaker
((unwrapping parcel)) nonverbal activity
