Projectability, contextuality, and complexity of trailoff:

A conversation analysis of *but* at turn-final placement

by

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Declaration of authorship

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I, **Kazuki Hata**, declare that this thesis and the work presented in it (except the data) are original and have been generated as the result of my own original research.

Some passages have been quoted verbatim from the following publications of mine dating from my candidature period:

Hata, K. (2016a). Contrast-terminal: The sequential placement of trailoff *but* in extensive courses of action. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 101, 138–154.

Hata, K. (2016b). On the importance of the multimodal approach to discourse markers. *International Review of Pragmatics*, 8(1), 36–54.

I confirm that:

1. this work was done mainly while in candidature for a doctoral degree (PhD) at Newcastle University (UK);
2. this work is entirely my own work;
3. where I have consulted or quoted the published work of others, the source is always given; and
4. I have acknowledged all main sources of help.

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Abstract

This study investigates the sequential placements of an English token *but* at the final placement of a turn construction unit or turn (i.e. final *but*). Utilising the framework of conversation analysis (CA), my thesis aims to identify the mechanism of the systematic orderliness of talk in association with the production of final *but*s. The central question is how participants shape and adapt final *but*s in a turn-by-turn exchange in light of trajectories of the subsequent talk: what final *but*s provide in a particular sequential context and how the tokens become provisions for different pathways of the sequence development or closure. Based on my collection of final *but*s from two corpora, *British National Corpus Audio Sampler* (BNC Audio) and the *Newcastle University Corpus of Academic Spoken English* (NUCASE), I observe that the sequential placements of final *but*s are seen in line with the specific orderliness of retroactive connection between the *but*-unit and a prior unit in the course of action. The contrast is non-literal and thus does not encode any content-level incompatibility. Rather, the *but*-speaker's action is pragmatically complete by recasting the initial action for certain progressivity of the ongoing course of action. Furthermore, this thesis also unpacks the contextual properties of final *but*s regarding provisions for what follows next. My findings particularly emphasise how transition relevance is associated with the production of final *but*s, and what options are provided for the sequence progression in a particular sequential context. I suggest that final *but*s are contextually situated and systematically provide different options for the subsequent structure of the talk.

This work provides a clue to understanding how conversational participants utilise and orient themselves to a final *but* to accomplish particular social actions. Although some of the findings presented in this thesis do not necessarily contrast the existing literature, these traits of final *but*s are a good addition to the body of knowledge regarding how final *but*s are shaped as a means of organising talk-in-interaction. As the findings are restricted to audible materials with no access to visible resources, further explorations take a multimodal perspective to provide a better understanding of the larger sequences of final *buts* in particular. I should also stress that my study was primarily concerned with final *but*s in English. Therefore, my findings leave any detailed implications regarding equivalents in other languages (e.g. German, Finnish and Japanese) for future studies in terms of whether my argumentation regarding the orderliness of interactional contrast can be applied.

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Abbreviations (frequent terms in this thesis)

CA	Conversation analysis
(C)DA	(Critical) Discourse analysis
TCU	Turn construction unit
TRP	Transition relevance place
FPP	First-pair part (adjacency pair)
SPP	Second-pair part (adjacency pair)
SCT	Sequence-closing third (adjacency pair)
BNC	British National Corpus
NUCASE	Newcastle University Corpus of Academic Spoken English

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. General overview

The field of conversation analysis (CA) considers that language in production is not merely a grammatical formation of performed materials (e.g. phrases or sentences), but rather a unit of utterance (i.e. a 'turn') that shows the speaker's design "to 'do' something" (Drew, 2013, p. 131). The production of a turn is designed as a reference to infer the speaker's action and then receives a certain response from the next speaker, which displays his/her understanding of the prior turn in a sequential order of actions (e.g. question-answer and offer-acceptance/decline). The 'orderliness' of social interaction is therefore not predetermined but emergent in the structure of talk, consisting of an underpinned action of the speaker and the orientation of others to that action on a turn-by-turn basis. This is the notion of 'talk-in-interaction', in contrast to the general term of 'conversation', underlining how participants accomplish the organisation of the orderliness (Drew & Heritage, 1992a, p. 4; Schegloff, 2007, p. xiii).

Examining the local organisation of talk-in-interaction may provide an alternative interpretation of interactional and linguistic phenomena. This potential of CA may become important particularly when the structure of talk in observation is incongruent with the traditional syntactic regulations that linguists have demonstrated so far. For example, conjunctions have traditionally been a grammatical category that indicates a certain linkage between other words, phrases, or clauses in the syntactic structure of 'X *conjunction* Y' (Fraser, 2009, p. 306). As opposed to that norm, there are occasions where conjunctions appear to operate as a turn-completer, being placed without any production of following units (Y) by the same speaker (e.g. Drake, 2015; Local & Kelly, 1986; Mulder & Thompson, 2008; Stokoe, 2010; Walker, 2012). When the achieved structure of a turn is left incomplete in a syntactic manner but receives a relevant response, the questions arise of whether the turn and the speaker's underlying action are complete, and why the turn is not brought to its syntactic completion point in its production.

Although CA does not always prioritise linguistic features of a language in a strict sense, research has often applied linguistically informed viewpoints to uncover conversational phenomena, and has provided ample evidence that participants orient themselves to linguistic structures to achieve their social actions. The syntactic composition of a turn will provide clues to understand possible completion of the current turn that ends in a transition space of

speakership (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974).[1] During the discursive observation of audio-recordings of English conversation, I noticed that a conjunctional token *but* is somehow left in the final position of a single utterance without any following talk from the same speaker. With regard to this point, the phenomenon of the final *but* has drawn attention in different research disciplines due to its unique operation in conversation. CA research in particular has acknowledged that turn-final conjunctional tokens, including the final *but*, sequentially display a possible turn completion point that results in speaker change even when a turn ending at a conjunctional token is syntactically ambiguous: 'trailoff' conjunctions (Local & Kelly, 1986; Walker, 2012; see also Chapter 2). Walker's (2012) definition of trailoff conjunctions was based on the cases where "no further action [from the speaker of a conjunctional] is projected" (p. 159). On this occasion, it is certainly accountable that a trailoff conjunction is treated by the hearer (or recipient) as a possible completion point and induces turn transition.

Nevertheless, there is still a research gap. As cautioned in the methodological debate on oversimplification of conversational phenomena (Schegloff, 1982, 1987a, 1993), functions and consequences of conjunctions will vary and not be easily characterised by an oversimplified term like trailoff conjunctions. Utilising the framework of CA, this thesis investigates particular uses of the English conjunction *but* at turn-final placement (i.e. final *but*). The choice of this theme emerged from my observation of naturally occurring data without any predetermined foci, which served as the impetus for this thesis. When the turn is closed at final *but*s in a syntactically ambiguous way, at post-*but* placement, the next speaker enacts either a 'less-abrupt' (Jefferson, 1984c; Sacks, 1992) stepwise move or a sharp shift of the sequence, rather than deploying a return to the prior interaction to clarify the reasons for the contrasting act. When the next turn is produced by the recipient, there must be something in the ongoing 'sequence': "the vehicle for getting some activity accomplished" (Schegloff, 2007, p. 2), which allows him/her to enact a social action for progression of the subsequent talk. Note that these features emerge in a sequential context, and evidence will thus not be easily attained by only assessing syntactic formations or form-function categorisations with regard to final *but*s. Instead, the key question is how transition relevance is associated with the production of the final *but* in a turn-by-turn exchange, closely examining how the production of the final *but* is in alignment with an ongoing sequential context. This research thus aims to offer a detailed

[1] Nevertheless, the syntactic information does not stand alone but intertwines with several aspects of interaction to display a possible turn completion: prosodic and pragmatic designs of a turn. This claim becomes salient in investigations of turn-final tokens often yielding a transition space that is followed by actual speaker change without achieving syntactic completion (see Chapter 3 and 4).

understanding of the sequential placement of final *but*s as a practice of organisation of the talk-in-interaction.

1.2. Methodological notes[2]

Talk is a central activity in many social situations where people interact with one another by using various communicative resources including the production of spoken language. Although language in actual production (or performance) was once claimed to be something abstract and arising at random because of mental and psychological factors on the occasion of the production (Chomsky, 1965), social interaction is in fact orderly and systematically organised. When we communicate, whatever the reason is and whoever participates, there are "generic orders of organization" (Schegloff, 2007, p. xiv) in that conversational participants utilise a series of systematic methods to accomplish their talk in an intersubjective and coherent manner.

When a participant initiates his/her talk, the other participants are hearers. Once the first speaker's utterance becomes understandable, the next speaker produces a response at a possible space for a turn transition, or a transition relevance place (TRP): where the recipients become relevant to participate and take the 'floor' to speak (Sacks, 1972; Schegloff, 1996, p. 55). When a problem of understanding emerges, the participant may indicate the existence of that problem and aim to resolve it. For instance, in a case of requesting information, one initiates a question in the production of a turn construction unit (TCU): a building constituent of a turn with its wide range of grammatical compositions including a single word, phrases, clauses, and sentences (Sacks et al., 1974, p. 701–702). This first action suggests, or contextualises, the trajectory of the following talk with an expectation of receiving a certain informative response. If the response does not come, the first speaker will notice this absence of the response and rework to pursue the response. If there are some difficulties in creating a response because the first question is ambiguous, the answerer will clarify the question to produce his/her concrete response. That is, the key to achieving a coherent structure of talk is mutual understanding between participants. This turn-by-turn move enables participants to accomplish an interactional activity; CA has traditionally been centred on this structure of sequencing actions (see Liddicoat, 2004).

As CA is best characterised as an empirical approach that always emerges from the data sample, there is no utilisation of any predetermined and specific motivations, such as

[2] As part of the introduction, this section provides background knowledge on CA. Chapter 3 provides some more details to contextualise CA as a research discipline, illustrating its historical development and fine-grained methodology with a comparison to more discursive yet closely related approaches for studies on language-in-use: linguistic and discourse analyses.

determining which word to analyse before initially examining the data. The ultimate aim of CA research is instead to reveal local organisational methods of participants with regard to how a conversation is structured through the courses of action. Since the late 1960s, CA research has explored how participants communicate to accomplish a particular social action and, more specifically, how their social action is meaningfully designed as a part of talk (Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 2007; Sidnell & Stivers, 2013). Describing participants' practice of sequencing the order of their actions, CA has called for systematic observation of the local organisation of talk in naturally occurring data without any consideration of the productions of language or interaction as the predetermined or prerequisite norms (Lee, 1991, p. 224; Seedhouse, 2004a, p. 12). CA is thus not an approach to understand how utterances reflect the system of linguistic knowledge of the speakers or syntactic categorisations. Instead, CA considers grammar as one of the fundamental features of talk, incorporated into the structure of talk-in-interaction, in which participants are seen to shape and adapt structural features of language to organise particular social actions (Ford & Thompson, 1996; Ochs, Gonzales & Jacoby, 1996; Schegloff, 1996; Selting, 1996). In other words, participants monitor the linguistic structures as a resource to produce and understand the designed action of the speakers. The findings of the relevance of syntactic features of language to the organisation of talk-in-interaction are a driving force behind explorations of how participants utilise grammar to accomplish various social actions.

The central premise of the CA methodology is that the structure of talk is orderly and systematic, which becomes evident on a turn-by-turn interactional basis. Participants manage and negotiate turn-taking practices under the 'one-speaker-at-a-time' rule (Sacks et al., 1974). To allow a smooth transition of speakership without conversational trouble, they carefully monitor the ongoing exchange to perceive the right space to accurately make their participation relevant. CA studies do not intend to suggest any predetermined regulations, but rather something continuously observed and towards which speakers normatively orient themselves (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998; ten Have, 2007). Thus, a claim is never made in a way that the speaker's production of language itself indicates his/her intention to implement a particular social action without any consultation of the treatment of such an action by (an)other participant(s). That is, the production of language in a single turn never provides a convincing picture of the speaker's action only, and stems from predetermined theories regarding the structure of language, lexical choices, and contexts in its production. CA is rather centred on the investigation of sequential features of interactions in that the understanding of each turn leads to the property of the next one.

Based on case-by-case analyses, CA studies have suggested that the course of social actions emerges from ongoing talk and is achieved through a turn-by-turn interaction. This is what CA considers the norm of 'discourse' (e.g. Schegloff, 1982, 1993, 1995). This is a different perspective from linguistic and other social studies that treat discourse as either an instance of language production and its grammatical structure and style (Richards, Platt & Weber, 1985) or as a social practice of organising meaning in relation to 'systems of power/knowledge' (Pennycook, 1994, p. 128). A central research focus of CA studies is on how participants systematically construct interaction and which organisational methods are employed to achieve social actions through talk. As such, CA operates from a specific analytical process called 'proof procedure' which investigates the orderly and structural relationship between turns to provide evidence for any claims (ten Have, 2007).

My analysis is based on audio-recordings of ordinary conversations in English, retrieved from the *British National Corpus (BNC) Spoken Audio Sampler* (BNC Audio) (Coleman, Baghai-Ravary, Pybus & Grau, 2012)[3] and *Newcastle University Corpus of Academic Spoken English* (NUCASE) (Walsh, 2012).[4] In this thesis, the excerpts cited represent naturally occurring interactions that were not induced by any artificial instructions or scripts for recording. In line with the central aim of CA research, which is to reveal the participants' organisational methods to achieve the orderly structure of talk, all excerpts were transcribed under the systematic Jeffersonian transcription conventions. Jeffersonian transcription allows detailed descriptions of temporal and sequential relationships between different units of talk and the aspects of speech delivery; these descriptions are made in non-standard orthography (Hepburn & Bolden, 2013). It should be noted that some additional symbols are applied from the *Gesprächsanalytische Transkriptionssystem* 2 (GAT2)[5] transcription system (Selting et al., 2009). This addition serves to describe as many prosodic features of turn completion as possible, making the excerpts more representative (see Appendix A for the list of symbols utilised in transcription). The available resources for analyses are limited to hearable materials, without access to any physical conduct (e.g. eye-gaze and hand gestures) that is not represented in the excerpts. Although it has been claimed that video data can offer more convincing descriptions of how participants organise talk-in-interaction, this does not mean that audio-based studies are totally valueless. This point is further discussed in Chapter 6.

[3] The copyright of the data samples belongs to the University of Oxford. A general description of the BNC Audio Sampler is available at: http://www.phon.ox.ac.uk/SpokenBNC [21/07/2018]. Access to the data requires a simple registration.

[4] The NUCASE project has been administered by the School of Education, Communication and Language Sciences (Newcastle University) and supported by Cambridge University Press.

[5] Generally speaking, this means 'conversation analytic transcription system' in English.

1.3. Research questions

Through a series of turns, conversational participants sensitively orient themselves to the 'context' of the talk, a particular and possibly appropriate position of the sequence structure, to tell something 'mentionable' (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). As described earlier, the fundamental thought of CA is that talk is organised on a turn-by-turn (thus, action-by-action) basis in a particular structural pattern, whereby participants show awareness of the context and formulate their productions of turns in line with it. That is, the organisation of talk is seen through a course of actions in which turns in talk are ordered in a coherent way, structured as a unit of talk, and fit into the sequence structure (Jefferson, 1984a; Schegloff, 1990; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). Such organisation is then observable in the way in which a speaker of the current turn displays his/her understanding of a prior action or actions, which makes the produced turn well situated and thus coherent in the ongoing activity. This is the issue of 'structure' of talk, or sequences, taking into account which resources have been provided so far, how they are constructed in an ongoing exchange of social actions, and how the talk is overall shaped (Maynard, 1980, p. 284).

An English token *but* has drawn some attention in prior research beyond its syntactic characteristics, revealing different properties of the token in the initial and final position of a turn. However, arguably very few attempts have been made to describe how final *but*s are shaped as a part of an action sequence in progress in light of what comes after those *but*s. As will be presented in Chapter 2, it is in a sense true that previous studies have provided ample evidence of final *but*s operating as a turn-completer. Research has particularly investigated cases where the *but*-ending unit or turn (i.e. *but*-unit/turn) is followed by a new social action implemented by the speaker him/herself or different speakers, showing whether the *but* is placed in the final position of a completable unit of a turn (Mulder & Thompson, 2008; Walker, 2012). This is an issue taking into account how the recipient can understand such a syntactically ambiguous turn as complete. However, sequential properties of final *but*s also include their action design in line with the ongoing sequential context, which requires a careful consideration not only of when the final *but* is placed in a turn or unit and whether the next speaker produces a smooth response, but also of how the *but*-unit is placed at a particular moment in the sequence structure.

This thesis addresses how the speakers shape and adapt the final *but* to accomplish particular actions, and how such action systematically occurs and stands as an interactional resource in the talk. In my observation process (see Chapter 3), I noticed two different pathways or trajectories after final *but*s, each of which appeared to illustrate different action designs in

the ongoing sequential context. For example, the following excerpts (1.1–2) represent two different pathways of post-*but* talk, which are investigated in the following chapters.

Excerpt (1.1): Tape_060503

```
  32  KCX:   second of m↑arch I go to hospital.
  33         (0.4)
  34  KAT:   do you?
  35         (0.7)
  36  KCX:   y:eah.
  37         (0.5)
  38  KAT:   chuffing hell.=
→ 39  KCX:   =I don't ↑really wanna go but.
  40         (3.5)
  41  KAT:   our arthur's ↑been clear clear clear.
  42         (0.4)
  43  KCX:   is he al↑right.
  44         (.)
  45  KAT:   yeah=he's fine now_
```

Excerpt (1.2): NC_003(2)

```
  35   $3:   =oh I know ↑it's gonna be [massive.=
  36   $2:                             [honest↓ly
  37   $3:   =but then if we're doing a whole
  38         (0.5)
  39   $4:   yeah.=
  40   $3:   =the the we're getting more and more chapt↑ers?=
→ 41         =I ↑know it's gonna be big but_
  42         (0.7)
  43   $4:   yeah. no.=I THInk in terms of er:m (0.4) you're
  44         right.=we can't go too in depth.=
  45   $3:   =[yeah;
```

Instead of being a part of the syntactic 'X *but* Y' structure, *but* in each example works as the final token to display a certain contrastive action. Example (1.1) demonstrates that, instead of providing a relevant response regarding the current course of action, the *but*-speaker's turn appears to be placed at the final line of one course of action. The next speaker's turn (line 39) then suggests a different context: instead of sustaining the previous sequence by responding to the *but*-speaker, the next speaker renews the context by initiating a new line of talk at the post-conjunctional place. In (1.2), on the other hand, the *but* at line 41 leaves a contrasting implication hanging for inference that can be retrieved from the prior resource in the talk (Hata, 2016a; Mulder & Thompson, 2008). The *but*-recipient then produces a relevant action as a response to the current *but*-turn as an acknowledgement and agreement that makes a coherent structure of the ongoing activity (Broe, 2003), which implies that the final *but* can be sequentially treated as a possible completion point of a turn that makes the transition relevant.

I argue that any discursive interpretations regarding the structural design of the final *but* neglect its contextual features. In particular, although the discursive typology of *but* as a final conjunction or particle offers a structural description of how the token is formatted and implicitly makes a contrasting connection in a syntactically incongruent way, analytical accounts are missing regarding why the token is placed in that way at a particular sequential location and how participants orient themselves to the token. To advance our current understanding of final *but*s, the central questions are set as follows.

Q1: Trajectory type 1:
How do final *but*s display possible action completion and reasonably provide for possible sequence progression to the next course of action?

Q2: Trajectory type 2:
What accounts for final *but*s placed to sustain or expand the ongoing course of action?

To tackle these central questions, my analyses include two analytical scopes on final *but*s: what final *but*s provide in a sequential context and how the tokens become provisions for different sequence moves. Given that a turn construction unit ending at *but* is followed by a certain turn transition, the unit itself may "allow a projection of the unit-type under way, and what, roughly, it will take for an instance of that unit-type to be completed" (Sacks et al., 1974, p. 702). This norm of 'projectability' and the recognisability of possible completion of the speaker's action illustrate that the *but*-unit does not display a single action standing alone, but is retroactively related to the prior unit/turn in the ongoing sequence structure, forming a larger action unit (e.g. Haselow, 2015; Hata, 2016a; Koivisto, 2015; Mulder & Thompson, 2008). Nevertheless, final *but*s demonstrate more complex natures of the unfolding of talk, meaning that the *but*-speaker's action appears to be more contextual, and will operate as a vehicle to achieve a particular interactional agenda. Thus, my thesis aims to expand the current understanding of final *but*s by highlighting their contextual features, taking into account not only when the *but*-unit is completable but also how the unit is placed in the sequence and indexes the next line of talk.

1.4. Thesis outline

This thesis comprises seven chapters organised in the following structure. In this introductory chapter, I have provided general statements regarding the thesis aims, methodology, and

analytical scope of the research questions. Based on the preliminarily illustrations of two examples, this chapter has set out the rationale of the research, explaining the gap in the research on final *but*s. Next, Chapter 2 reviews previous works on grammatical and interactional purposes that *but* may serve. The chapter thoroughly examines what has been done and found regarding the production of the token from syntactic and pragmatic perspectives. As a methodological review, Chapter 3 aims to describe why CA is specifically utilised in this thesis. Firstly, the chapter illustrates CA as a research discipline that is distinct from other discursive approaches on language-in-use: it explains what CA is, how this analytical discipline arose, and how CA research is conducted. In particular, the chapter outlines how talk is managed in an orderly way in conversation in accordance with an interplay between syntactic, prosodic, and pragmatic features of interaction. The chapter also provides a summary of key concepts utilised in CA research. Then, it explains how this thesis project is designed and what work has been conducted. My explanation includes information on the utilised data, general discussions of transcriptions for discourse- and conversation-analytic research, and research procedures employed in this project.

The thesis then moves onto two data chapters providing analytical views on final *but*s. Chapter 4 investigates the first type of final *but*s outlined with a certain shift in focus on the ongoing talk. In light of turn design and sequential placement of these *but*s, the chapter illustrates that the (possible) sequence closure has once been made relevant before the *but*-unit and opens the subsequent talk for the next course of action or a return from the subsidiary sequence to the base one. Here, I argue that the *but*-unit does not appear to project the new social action but retroactively recasts the prior unit. On these occasions, final *but*s are not seen to produce a literal contrast between two (or more) materials at the content level. As Ford (2000) put it, a contrast is made interactional as a means of organising the ongoing talk without invoking any attention of the recipient to the contrast itself. Following the notion of interactional contrast, I claim that the production of final *but*s is a practice of displaying the sequential prioritisation for progression of the current course of action. Such interactional contrast is possibly complete, as sufficient resources for sequence closure have been achieved in the ongoing sequence. The chapter also provides insight into the finality of *but*s in line with the norm of global pragmatic completion (Ford & Thompson, 1996); it does this by pointing out distinguishable features between final *but*s and other *but*s with the further production of the same speaker to give a clear account of the contrast.

There is also a different trajectory of post-*but* talk, which is tackled in Chapter 5. Despite the similar sequential design of final *but*s as a retroactive recast (not project), the next-speaker action for progression of the ongoing sequence is strictly provided by a recipient, not the

speaker him/herself. Analogous to the findings in Chapter 4, final *but*s with a sequence-expansional type of trajectory of subsequent talk are also not seen as a traditional sense of contrast between different content. Instead of indicating the availability of sequence closure or shift, however, the *but*-speaker's action is more of the reworking when the initial action of the speaker has been left unaccomplished; therefore, this type of *but* is associated with the relevance of sequence expansion. On such occasions, a different pattern of interactional practices of final *but*s can be outlined in that the *but*-unit displays the speaker's affiliative action to show general acknowledgement or partial acceptance of the co-participant(s).

Following the data analysis chapters, Chapter 6 offers relevant discussions of final *but*s. Firstly, the main findings of the two analyses are outlined by revisiting the research questions. Then, I compare the prior research on final *but*s with my findings, and highlight alternative interpretations of the systematicity in the utilisation of the token and implications of the patterns found in my collection. I then note several limitations of this study in light of the lack of visually accessible insights. Finally, Chapter 7 provides a closing commentary with prospects for future research.

Chapter 2. Prior research on *but*s

2.1. Introduction

The English *but* is one of the most frequently used words in the language (Greenbaum & Quirk, 1990; Leech & Svartvik, 1994). The token operates with an inherent semantic meaning of contrast, indicating a contrasting linkage between two propositions at the syntactic and pragmatic levels. From a syntactic perspective, *but* is labelled as a coordinating conjunction connecting two contrastive constituents in a typical 'X *but* Y' structure. Apart from the syntactic status of (coordinating) conjunctions, it is also said that *but* is not merely a grammatical constituent, but also works as a functional or pragmatic device to qualify the *but*-speaker's action. Labelled as a group of so-called 'discourse markers' (e.g. Schiffrin, 1987), the production of conjunctions provides a clue regarding what the speaker means and how the message is designed to be interpreted. As such, the production of conjunctions is more than just a linguistic or structural symbol to deliver propositional meaning.

A conjunctional token may also appear in turn-final placement, indicating its 'finality'. Such a token's operation is certainly different from that of those in turn-initial uses. As previously stated in Chapter 1, this thesis deals with the uses of a token *but* at turn-final placement. As a literature review, this chapter summarises relevant studies on English *but* and some of equivalents in other languages. First, Section 2.2 provides a brief introduction to the notion of conjunctions and their functional label: discourse markers. In Section 2.3, I outline current knowledge of syntactic and pragmatic features of *but* with a description of why and in what way the phenomenon of final *but* is remarkably different from the token in its turn-initial use (i.e. initial *but*). A review of previous studies shows that the placement of final *but*s appears to be 'emergent' from the local organisation of talk. Section 2.4 then introduces the notion of trailoff conjunction, which indicates a possible completion of a turn in an incongruent way from a traditional norm of grammar yet shows a potential place for transition relevance. Finally, in Section 2.5, I introduce several non-English studies of final conjunctions/particles equivalent to the English *but*, highlighting some implications of cross-linguistic perspectives to final *but*s.

2.2. Conjunctions and discourse markers

Conjunctions exhibit a certain link between two components of utterance, operationalised in the basic syntactic structure of 'X *conjunction* Y' (Ariel, 1994, p. 3251; Fraser, 2009, p. 306; Mulder & Thompson, 2008, p. 195; Müller, 2005, p. 63; Walker, 2012, p. 142). In English, there are three central conjunctions: *and*, *or*, and *but* (Greenbaum & Quirk, 1990, p. 263; Leech

& Svartvik, 1994, p. 264). These conjunctional tokens are normally used to combine two (or more) clause constituents, highlighting the relationship between linked items. For example, *and* indicates the forthcoming/second (Y) component is an addition made to the former (X) item. *Or* shows that the Y component is an alternative choice or option. In cases of *but*, the relationship between the X and Y components is contrastive.

From a strict syntactic view, these tokens fall into the 'coordinating' conjunction category, which functions to link two grammatically equivalent constituents (Biber et al., 1999; Chomsky, 2002, p. 36; Gleitman, 1965; Greenbaum & Quirk, 1990, p. 264; Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik, 1985). The basic traits of coordinating conjunctions can be demonstrated using the following examples of *but* (2.1–2).

(2.1) I don't want to speak too soon, *but* I think I have been fairly consistent this season.

(Biber et al., 1999, p. 79)

(2.2) John played football, *and* Mary played tennis, *but* Alice stayed at home.

(Quirk et al., 1985, p. 926)

In each case, two clauses are connected with the production of *but* placed in the initial position of the Y component to provide a connection in relation to the X unit. Each *but* also represents the nature of coordination in that the linked clauses are syntactically equivalent units (i.e. declarative phrases).[6] Hence, coordinating conjunctions can also be differentiated from other grammatical connectors such as prepositions (e.g. *from*, *in,* and *on*) and subordinators (e.g. *after*, *because,* and *then*), both of which index the following structures (i.e. phrases or dependent clauses) to be subordinated (see Biber et al. 1999, p. 74–77, 85–87).

Conjunctional tokens have received considerable attention in terms of their structural regulation. Because of the core feature of conjunctions making a structural linkage, again, it has been thought that they operate under a strict restriction in their placement, appearing in the initial position of the Y component of utterance and coordinating between one component and the other in the same syntactic structure to form a single sentence, as seen in the previous examples (2.1–2). On the other hand, many studies have cautioned that conjunctional tokens (e.g. *and*, *but*, *so,* and *or*) have a wide variety of uses. Unlike the cases demonstrated in prior studies, for instance, the production of central conjunctions is also known to connect two (or

[6] It has further been claimed that *but* semantically links a maximum of two constituents at the same level (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 920). Other studies (Biber et al., 1999, p. 79; Gleitman, 1965, p. 262) have echoed this limited distribution of *but* compared to other central coordinators (i.e. *and* and *or*).

more) different grammatical items (Carston, 2002; Greenbaum & Quirk, 1990, p. 265; Leech & Svartvik, 1994, p. 264). The following two examples (2.3–4) are considered here.

(2.3) I know that this bus goes to town, *but* does it go to Picadilly Gardens?

(Blakemore, 2000, p. 472; emphasis added)

(2.4) I don't like that. *And*, is he accepting it?

(Schiffrin, 1987, p. 38; emphasis added)

These conjunctions (*but* and *and*) may operate outside of the syntactic restriction on coordinating conjunctions reported in previous studies. In (2.3–4), each conjunction connects two grammatically inequivalent units (i.e. a declarative with an interrogative). Indeed, there are numerous cases where the use of conjunctional tokens, or coordinators, can be more flexible than was initially documented. Hence, attention has shifted to their functions to discover what connection is made between the X and Y components. As such, researchers have suggested that certain linguistic tokens, including coordinating conjunctions, may operate as a pragmatic device to regulate ongoing talk with little proposition making. According to Schiffrin (1987) these conjunctions as in (2.3–4) are considered to be a functional device labelled under the norm of discourse marker[7], connecting two (or more) constituents by signalling an interpretable relationship between them. That is, these tokens are not placed to make a strict coordination between two units of talk but regulate the ongoing talk in several ways (Fraser, 1999, p. 939; Schiffrin, 1987, p. 37–38; van Dijk, 1979, p. 453–454).

Although little agreement has been achieved regarding the exact definition of discourse markers, researchers have been consistent in stating that these devices have very little to no effect on the original referential meaning of a sentence (see Brinton, 1996; Fraser, 1999, 2009; Schiffrin, 1987, 2001). Instead, they signal either a phrase-level or topic-level relation between units of talk (Buysse, 2012; Fung & Carter, 2007; Lenk, 1998; Müller, 2005), while they do not create new meaning in a strict sense and thus never render the original propositions or truth conditions (e.g. Schourup, 1999). In other words, discourse markers indicate the speaker's

[7] Discourse-marking items have been classified under a number of different labels to define them, such as 'cue phrases' (Knott & Dale, 1994), 'discourse connectives' (Blakemore, 1987, 1992), 'discourse signalling device' (Polanyi & Scha, 1983), 'discourse operators' (Redeker, 1991), 'discourse particles' (Schourup, 1985), 'phatic connectives' (Bazanella, 1990), 'pragmatic connectives' (Stubbs, 1983; van Dijk, 1979), 'pragmatic expressions' (Erman, 1992), 'pragmatic formatives' (Fraser, 1987), 'pragmatic markers' (Fraser, 1996; Norrick, 2009b), 'pragmatic operators' (Ariel, 1994), 'pragmatic particles' (Östman, 1995), 'semantic conjuncts' (Quirk et al., 1985), and 'sentence connectives' (Halliday & Hasan, 1976).

intention regarding the segmental relationship between two constituents of talk, operating as a significant resource for participants to successfully interpret the intended message (Andersen, 1998, 2001; Blass, 1990; Blakemore, 1987, 1989, 1992, 2000, 2002; Rouchota, 1996; Unger, 1996; van Dijk, 1979, p. 450).

Discourse markers cannot be considered under a traditional syntactic labelling, due to a wide variety of forms and functions that they may serve; ranging from adverbs (e.g. *anyway*, *furthermore* and *however*), coordinating conjunctions (e.g. *and*, *but* and *or*) and even phrases (e.g. *I mean* and *on the other hand*) (see Fraser, 2009; Östman, 1982; Romero Trillo, 1997). Furthermore, discourse markers will often demonstrate the flexibility regarding their syntactic position either in the initial or final position of the Y unit of utterance (see Lenk, 1998; Watts, 1989; see also the following section). Hence, it has been suggested that discourse markers are not bound by a string syntactic restriction yet operates as a means of regulating the ongoing talk or 'discourse', involving the meaning-making and interactional processes incorporated in the sequential orders of words and the relationship between a text and specific spoken or written contexts as a form of signposts for the co-participants (McCarthy, 2001, p. 48–49).[8]

2.3. English *but*s: initiality and finality

Among conjunctional tokens, the English *but* is one of the most well-studied forms (e.g. Blakemore 1989, 2000; Fraser 2009; Norrick, 2009a). The functional operations of *but* as a pragmatic device, or discourse marker, can generally be characterised by its inherent meaning of contrast that provides an interpretable linkage between two constituents of talk. Such a discourse-marking function stems from its 'grammaticalisation' development (Traugott, 1982), in that the form appears to undergo a shift from the propositional to the functional component (Romaine & Lange, 1991, p. 272). For example, *but* as a discourse marker has little to no effect on the original propositions produced in units of talk to be linked, since deleting the form would not make the message unintelligible (Andersen, 2001, p. 21; Brinton, 1996, p. 33–35; Hellermann & Vergun, 2007, p. 158). Instead, *but* operates as a pragmatically significant device to guide participants to interpret a contrasting relationship between two propositions at the message-based level (Schiffrin, 1987; Fraser, 2009), or between conjoined propositions that demonstrate a cognitive-level contrast (Blakemore, 2002). Consider the following examples:

[8] Note that this sense of 'discourse' is not identical to the term from a CA perspective (see Chapter 3).

(2.5) Sue left very late. *But* she arrived on time.

(Fraser, 1999, p. 931)

(2.6) [t]here's a pizza in the fridge, *but* leave some for tomorrow.

(Blakemore, 2000, p. 472; emphasis added)

In line with recent claims from both syntactic and pragmatic views on conjunctions, *but*, along with other conjunctional devices (e.g. *and*, *or*, and *so*), is said to appear in the initial position of the prefaced constituent. That is, the token works as an introduction of the Y unit in relation to the preceding X unit, indicating a certain linkage between their propositions (Schiffrin, 2001, p. 57; Schourup, 1999, p. 233). On the one hand, the placement of *but* in (2.5) clearly signals an ideational relationship of contrast between two constituents. On the other hand, a contrastive relationship is sometimes relatively vague at the semantic level, as in (2.6), when compared to (2.5). Given these variations in contrastive implications, Fraser (2009) argued that *but* not only illustrates the semantic contrast in its linguistic context, but also identifies a potential implication or emerging interpretation regarding its contrastive relationship between two propositions (p. 310).

Apart from a message-level function, initial *but*s could serve to display the speaker's current action in the talk in progress. Here, it is notable that to fulfil their function as a structural connector or turn initiator, they are claimed to typically appear in the initial position of a turn component and index an interpretable relationship with the prior resource in talk (e.g. Fraser, 1990; Schiffrin, 1987, 2001; Schourup, 1999; Stenström, 1994; Tao, 2003; van Dijk, 1979). Studies from an interactional perspective have focused on how conjunctional tokens are actually utilised in spontaneous talk, which has provided a more precise description of them in use. For example, the production of turn-initial conjunctions is claimed to operate as an apposition beginning device (Sacks et al., 1974), displaying the speaker's attempt to take the floor to produce a turn. In this sense, a conjunctional token is produced to be a turn management device, which should not be simply characterised from a grammatical perspective. The excerpts in (2.7–8) demonstrate initial *but*s that display both the message-level and the action-level function.

Excerpt (2.7): [Adapted from Hata (2016a, p.139)]

```
   1  $1:  I'm really sorry for being rea:lly crap.
   2       (.)
→  3  $1:  but what are we su↑pposed to be doing?=
   4       =I'm so hh sorry hheh heh [heh.
   5  $4:                            [oh.=
   6       =[how you are producing a Gantt ↑chart?
```

```
   7  $3:   [producing a gantt chart.
```

Excerpt (2.8): Tape_062701

```
   4   KEN:   and then it's gonna cost a thousand pound↑
   5          to repair it=
   6          =[so I] mean bloody hell if I er
   7   JOH     [yeah]
   8          (2.5)
→  9   JOH:   but how d'ya feel about it.=once it's repaired.
  10   KEN:   well=it's al↓right,=
  11          =I mean if it was the chassis that had,
```

The *but* in (2.7) introduces a continuation by the same speaker without going through a long silence and without competition with the other speakers. At line 3, $1 displays a continuation action to produce more turn constituents in the ongoing turn after a silence (line 2), which contributes to the construction of a whole 'multi-unit' turn (see Chapter 3). On this occasion, *but* certainly works to not only signal a contradictory linkage between two propositions (lines 1 and 3), but also to indicate that further comments with a contrasting implication will follow shortly (Fraser, 1990, p. 390; Schiffrin, 1987, p. 128; Stenström, 1994, p. 77; van Dijk, 1979, p. 450). On the other hand, (2.8) illustrates an interactional operation of *but* as a floor-taking device produced at a possible completion point of the previous turn by KEN (line 6). Although KEN's turn has not been brought to a syntactic completion point, the current-speaker action may be pragmatically completed, and thus a possible space for turn transition (more technically, transition relevance place, or TRP; see Chapter 3) is available for the next speaker JOH. At line 9, *but* is sequentially placed to be a turn-initial token, which can be a turn-initiator (e.g. Tao, 2003), and introduces JOH's turn and simultaneously signals a contrastive linkage made relevant to the prior talk. As seen in the previous cases in (2.5–8), a non-syntactic, pragmatic perspective on *but* can show that this conjunctional token often demonstrates its 'initiality' to operate as a functional device introducing the prefaced unit of talk with a contrastive implication for the propositional relationship between two constituents to be linked.

One fundamental function of initial *but*s is a display of a structural and interpretable linkage between components of an utterance or turn with literal or non-literal contrasts. Regarding this point, Ford (2000) provided thorough descriptions of how contrasts are differently produced in social interaction. She claimed that contrast making is contextually situated, meaning that the meaning of contrasting actions is indexed in line with how the talk is progressed.[9] Furthermore, she argued that several cases of initial *but*s (no cases of final *but*s) in

[9] The norm of context in this sense was touched in Chapter 1 but further explained in Chapter 3.

her data functioned as an introduction of the speaker's contrasting move that was then followed by another action either explaining a reason for the contrasting act (or accounts; Levinson, 1983, p. 334) or seeking a resolution. Here, there is orderliness of contrast making in that the speaker first produces his/her contrasting action with an explanation or solution in association with the contrast (p. 288–299). In addition, Ford's findings have implications for various cases where the production of contrasts is designed to achieve several actions of the speaker through no follow-up productions of elaboration or resolution. As she put it, the speaker of such contrasts "can index the authority from which s/he is speaking by strategically producing an unelaborated contrast, or she may display an interpretation of a problem statement as a complaint by offering a show of sympathy rather than a move toward remediation" (p. 305–306). That is, these contrasts are more interactional, and the production of contrast itself will not be placed to claim any content-level incompatibility or to invoke any need to be the focus of talk.

When *but* is considered to be a functional token as a means of regulating the ongoing talk, some might speculate that the sequential placement of the token can be key to serving its conversational functions. Having been illustrated in this section, the nature of 'initiality' of conjunctional tokens explains a basic pragmatic function of making the Y component related to the X component in line with various implications between those constituents. Whereas conjunctional tokens, including *but*, are expected to introduce materials of talk to come, however, there are special instances where any constituents are linguistically left absent after those tokens in a single turn, as follows.

Excerpt (2.9): [Adapted from Mulder & Thompson (2008, p. 189)][10]

1	RICKIE:	I don't think he would do anythi=ng,
2		… when people are around.
3	REBECCA:	[Right].
4	RICKIE:	[You know],
5		down at the other seat [s or < X in] back X >,
6	REBECCA:	[Right].
7	RICKIE: →	I could scream **but**,
8		… (H)
9	REBECCA:	Yeah.

Indeed, *but* is an example of those which can operate outside of a strong syntactic restriction and are not always placed at the initial slot of a turn constituent, showing flexibility in their turn

[10] This fragment of talk stemmed from The *Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English*. The data were transcribed according to the discourse transcription conventions of Du Bois et al. (1993). See Section 3.4.2.

positions in a similar way as other discourse marker tokens (Lenk, 1998, p. 45–46; Watts, 1989, p. 210–211). In (2.9), the token at line 7 does not preface any linguistic units to follow, which results in syntactic incompletion of the turn and would draw misinterpretation or partial conclusion from the syntactically unfinished message.

Although little theoretical attention has been paid to the final *but* compared to its initial use (Norrick, 2009a, p. 327), prior research has considered the syntactic/grammatical status of final *but* from an interactional-linguistic perspective. In this regard, one influential study is Mulder and Thompson's (2008) work on structural operations of *but* as a final token. Based on conversational data in American and Australian English, they argued that the final *but* may undergo a grammaticalisation development: a shift in the grammatical spectrum of the token from its syntactic status as a coordinating conjunction to a functional status as a particle (see Section 3.2.4). They described that *but* at turn-final placement either operates as a final conjunction in the 'X *but* (Y to be inferred)' structure, or is developed into a final particle as in the 'X, Y *but*' structure. Izutsu and Izutsu (2014) called the first type 'truncation' and the second type 'backshift'.

In the truncation type, where *but* is a final conjunction, the token indicates a contrastive implication left hanging at a possible turn completion point. On such an occasion, certain contrasting resources are given in the prior talk and made relevant to the current *but*-turn; these become salient in understanding the current speaker's action as complete. Regarding this point, the combination of the preceding component and the production of a final conjunctional token can be intertwined with the prompting function of final *but* used to design implications left open to inference. As such, the placement of *but* at turn-final placement provides an invitation to the recipients to "[infer] what it is and continue the interaction appropriately given that implication" (Mulder & Thompson, 2008, p. 186). Example (2.10) demonstrates the truncation type of *but*.

Excerpt (2.10): Tape_026610

```
  14   CLA:   you didn't put a definite no on economy seven.=
  15          =[did you?
  16   NIN:    [well they were terrace:s.
  17          (0.2)
  18   CLA:   oh well fair enough.=
  19          =no I'm talking about economy seven.=
  20          =[in case you heave ] any more not (pres:) basic
  21   NIN:    [well I think ↓that]
  22          (0.2)
  23   NIN:   yes she did.=[she wan]ts gas cooking,
  24   CLA:                [mm;    ]
  25          (0.3)
  26   CLA:   she prefers about er:: far prefers gas cooking.=
→ 27          =I know but_
```

```
28          (0.5)
29   NIN:   you I THInk you'll find she won't
30          (0.6)
31   NIN:   even contemplate cooking by electricity;
32          (0.4)
33   CLA:   mm[m;
34   NIN:     [I doubt [that very mu[ch
35   CLA:              [mm;         [mm;
```

At line 27, the *but* seems to exhibit a certain implication left hanging. That is, contrastive information made relevant to the *but*-turn can be retrieved from the prior talk, which may not strictly need to be explicitly projected in the linguistic outputs. In this fragment of talk, CLA's initial question at lines 14–15 has not been properly answered, which results in the expansion of the ongoing course of action with CLA's next action to rework the first question several times (lines 18–20 and 26–27). Significantly, no request for clarification is invoked after this exchange regarding what the *but*-speaker implies at and after the post-conjunctional silence (line 28). Hence, the information may be pragmatically complete and not require syntactic completion of the turn. Instead, the *but*-unit is 'truncated' (Izutsu & Izutsu, 2014), implicitly displaying a certain connection between the non-adjacent resources provided in the talk. In other words, a contrastive implication, which is syntactically expected to follow the conjunctional token yet is missing in a turn, can be recovered by linking the current turn back to the prior exchange (Local, 2004, p. 377–378; Sacks, 1992: II, p. 349).

Regarding this truncation-type use of *but*, several studies from a pragmatic perspective have provided insightful discussions on the final *but* placed in a syntactically incomplete turn. An early suggestion for the 'final *but*' question, 'why is *but* left incomplete?', was seen in Altenberg's (1986) term 'dangling *but*', suggesting that the following turn constituent is not required to be projected yet can be inferred from what precedes it in line with the inherent contrastive meaning of *but* (p. 23). Similarly, Fraser (2009) argued that the content to be prefaced is "replaced by an assumption derived from the linguistic and/or situational context" (p. 300).[11] In other words, the current speaker's action is not syntactically but pragmatically understood to be completed, so as to allow contrastive inference without an explicit restatement or reformulation of the conversational resources. With respect of its interpersonal function,

[11] However, Fraser's argument is vulnerable to alternative interpretation. Consider this example adapted from Fraser (2009, p. 300):

Speaker A: I'll have another piece of cake
Speaker B: *But*?

The *but* above may not exclusively be a turn-final resource in a strict sense, as it can operate to be both an initial and a final token (see also the following section).

Norrick (2009a) claimed that final *but* typically allows the speaker to indicate his/her hedging attempt for mitigating the potential conflict by reflecting previously encoded information shared among the interlocutors without reproducing a direct contrast again, which also implies that information is pragmatically complete for its prompting function. This truncation feature is made salient when comparing final *but*s and other final linguistic resources (e.g. *you know*, *then*, and *though*). For example, *then* can be treated as a discourse marker that often appears in the final position, as in the phrase 'we were doing fine *then*' where the final *then* signals the speaker's concluding remark (Biber et al., 1999; Haselow, 2011; Lenker, 2010). However, a major difference between an adverbial token and a conjunctional *but* can be seen: the former is associated with the hosted constituent made relevant for prior talk, creating a clear linkage between two or more propositions, while this is lacking in the latter case.

Alternatively, the 'backshift' type of *but* can be recognised if the contrastive content to the prior proposition might be relatively explicit and provided in the *but*-turn rather than in the prior turn in the 'X, Y *but*' structure. When both the X and Y components are apparently produced in a turn or separate turns, there is little implication left hanging at the point of turn completion. Instead, the *but*-turn supplies two contrastive propositions made semantically relevant to each other in a single turn, and the production of *but* in such case is not a conjunction but a final particle (Izutsu & Izutsu, 2014; Mulder & Thompson, 2008, p. 191), as in the following case (2.11).

Excerpt (2.11): Tape_026602(1)

```
 120   NIN:   [did you see, you ↑know ↓this ↑last gardener's;
 121          (1.2)
 122   CLA:   gardener's ↑wor[ld.
 123   NIN:                  [gar:dener's world.
 124          (0.6)
 125   CLA:   I ↑haven't >really looked at it,<=
→126          =no I ↑glanced (.) very briefly↓ at it;=but_
 127          (1.2)
 128   NIN:   where it had er↓ a broom ↑garden.
```

The *but* in (2.11) can be considered as a final particle in the turn at lines 125–126 that supplies two possible contrastive resources. Instead of formulating the syntactic 'X *but* Y' structure, the *but* here is placed as a final particle in the 'X, Y *but*' structure (Mulder & Thompson, 2008, p. 195). That is, the first turn constituent operates as the X constituent, and the following constituent can be the Y constituent, as in:

```
X      :   I haven't really looked at it
Y      :   no I glanced (.) very briefly at it but
```

The *but*-turn in (2.11) comprises two contradictory materials in a single turn, one of which is missing in the truncation case as in (2.10). Thus, the structural operation of *but* as a final particle is relatively close to other turn-final adverbials like *though* and *then* (see above).

Although the final *but* is inspected with regard to its grammaticalisation process, it should be highlighted here that the descriptions of final *but*s are argued to be controversial compared to initial *but*s (Mulder & Thompson, 2008, p. 181). Some *but*s have been reported to have properties of both initial and final tokens. Mulder and Thompson (2008) commented on these 'Janus (faced) *but*s' that are at the several intermediate stages of a grammaticalisation process of *but* in Australian English from conjunction to final particle (p. 180). The sequential features of Janus *but*s are twofold. First, they are placed with the immediately preceding turn construction unit to formulate a single intonation unit (IU): a unit with no separation by a prosodic break or silence (Chafe, 1994; Du Bois et al., 1993). Second, the production of Janus *buts* is seen with no transition of speakership. In this regard, Janus *but*s are either followed by talk from the same speaker to elaborate the contrast (Janus 1 *but*), or by initiation of a new social action by the *but*-speaker (Janus 2 *but*). Their findings of the complexity in *but*s suggest the importance of considering the emergence of final tokens in talk instead of form-functional instant categorisations.

2.4. The norm of trailoff conjunctions

When participants recognise that sufficient information has already been given in an exchange, final conjunctions have been claimed to display a possible turn completion point without strong evidence of the achievement of syntactic completion of a turn, and speaker change can occur in a post-conjunctional space. Such tokens have been called 'trailoff conjunctions' (e.g. Local & Kelly, 1986; Walker, 2012). The research on trailoff conjunctions emerged from Jefferson's (1983) observation that conjunctional tokens are followed by a certain length of silences leading to speaker change. In particular, Jefferson argued that participants, both the speaker and recipient, shape the property of a post-conjunctional silence, and the recipient takes a turn and continues if he/she perceives that the silence does not belong to the speaker of the conjunction.

In line with Jefferson's observation, Local and Kelly (1986) explored basic structural and prosodic designs of trailoff conjunctions, showing how they prompt a smooth transition of the speakership, dividing 'hold' and 'trailoff' uses of conjunctions. They claimed that trailoff conjunctions tend to be followed by trailoff silences (p. 195), which can generally be

characterised by a) a projection of audible breathing out after an articulation of conjunctions, and b) a slowing in tempo and decrease in loudness in the current turn constituent. In another study, Walker (2012) focused on 28 cases of final conjunctions without syntactic completions being made in the post-conjunctional space. Walker's claim, illustrating the sequential, phonetic, and visual designs of trailoff conjunctions, significantly echoes Local and Kelly (1986) in that these conjunctions are often recognised at a turn completion point and typically yield speaker change.

In the trailoff environment, final conjunctions are sequentially packaged with the immediately preceding turn constituent to formulate a whole turn construction unit that displays a possible completion point at its ending. That is, there is no pause/silence break between a prior unit and final conjunctional token, and a possible space for turn/speakership transition emerges at a post-conjunctional silence. Following this basic sequential design of a pragmatically completed turn, Walker (2012) suggested the following general definition of trailoff conjunctions:

> 'Trail-off' [conjunctions] are sequentially distinct from other conjunctions after which speakers halt, typically being produced 'in the clear' (i.e., out of overlap) and where no further action from that speaker is projected. (p. 159)

In line with the pragmatic sense of turn completion, Ford and Thompson (1996) stated that pragmatic completion can be shaped in the sequence without "projecting anything beyond itself in the way of a longer story, account, or other agenda" (p. 151). In this sense, a conjunctional token left in the final slot of a turn reasonably indicates that a resource is sufficiently provided to display a transition space, and syntactic completion is not required to show the completion of the speaker action (see Schegloff, 1996; Walker, 2012). A trailoff conjunction is thus distinguished from the speaker action to terminate the current turn as a counter-measure against overlapping talk (Drake, 2015, p. 304; Mulder & Thompson, 2008, p. 188; Walker, 2012, p. 159).

Here, one may wonder a) firstly, what features of trailoff conjunctions display a possible completion point by indicating that the current action is completed; and b) secondly, how the recipient treats these (turn-)final resources as a completion point. As for the sequential placement of trailoff conjunctions and how they display (pragmatic) turn completion, a potential clue might be derived from considering their inherent (semantic or pragmatic) meanings. A sequential design of trailoff conjunctions can be intertwined with its pragmatic

prompting function of implications left open to inference, inviting the recipients to infer what is designed to be implied (Mulder & Thompson, 2008, p. 186).

In fact, studies have already demonstrated that the next-speaker action is arguably indexed by a turn-final conjunctional token based on its inherent meaning. For example, the (turn-)final *or* has been claimed to demonstrate its design feature for 'relaxing the preference for response confirmation' (Lindström, 1997; as cited in Drake, 2015, p. 303). Stokoe (2010) examined the final *or* used in speed-dating interactions, which is typically packaged with a projection of *yes*/*no* interrogatives in a question-answer adjacency pair sequence, obscuring any preferences for troublesome questions (e.g. relationship histories and children). Another detailed documentation of the final *or* was offered by Drake (2015), who suggested that the English *or* as a final resource does not stand alone, but belongs to a turn to project a question, which functions to downgrade the speaker's epistemic stance by indexing uncertainty about a proposition. Following Mulder and Thompson (2008), Drake (2015) remarked that the conversational achievement of the turn-final *or* may stem from its status as a coordinating conjunction to connect two syntactic items representing alternatives (p. 315). On the other hand, *but* at final placement implies a contrastive proposition that has already been provided in the prior talk, and therefore, the proposition does not need to be restated. Such a turn-closing design can also be evident in that, as Walker (2012) illustrated, the sequential organisation in trailoff conjunctions does not include a single case of collaborative completions (Lerner, 1991, 1996); namely, the recipient completes the speaker's syntactically unfinished turn (see Chapter 3).[12]

A conversation-analytic approach also focuses on a prosodic design of the turn as a carrier of significant information for pragmatic completion (Ford, 1993; Ford & Thompson, 1996; Sacks & Schegloff, 1979; Selting 1996, 1998, 2000). Pragmatic completion does not necessarily stem from prosodic completion (Ford & Thompson, 1996, p. 150; Selting, 1996, p. 372; Szczepek Reed, 2004, p. 107), but a single pitch contour does not stand alone and bring substantial evidence with respect to the holding-trailoff distinction (Local & Kelly, 1986, p. 195; Local, Kelly & Wells, 1986, p. 433; Local & Walker, 2004, p. 1389). Nonetheless, some basic prosodic design features of trailoff have been suggested. For example, Local and Kelly (1986) argued that the associated pitch with trailoff conjunctions is a) regularly level or falling, and b) lower than that of the preceding unit, or even the lowest of the *but*-speaker's pitch range (p. 196). Thereby, the next speaker turn may be high in pitch and loud (p. 199). Focusing on

[12] This claim is not applicable to all cases. For example, Hata (2016a), focusing on final (trailoff) *but* used in goal-oriented longer courses of action, illustrated that participants sometimes design collaborative completions at the next-speaker turn, showing a shift from pragmatic to syntactic completion. Such claim subsidises the contextuality of final *but*s in a particular context (see Chapter 5).

the conversational structure, they claimed that participants may orient themselves to "locations in the talk where claims to speakership might be variably weak (or strong)" (p. 198). The turn design for continuation may also be characterised by the current speaker's glottal-stop, holding the closure (p. 201–203). Walker (2012) included the phonetic (or visible) design into a general feature of trailoff conjunctions. That is, trailoff conjunctions display their phonetic features, ranging from pitch contour and loudness to sound durations, and indicate that the current speaker may not continue talk in the post-conjunctional space (p. 143). In this sense, he suggested that participants in the trailoff environment may not simply orient themselves to a trailoff conjunction as a sign of a post-conjunctional cessation, but may instead be sensitive to its completion structure: a formulation of the syntactically completed turn constituent with a trailoff conjunction (p. 159).

2.5. Notes on cross-linguistic equivalents to English (final) *but*s

Research on other languages than English has also provided evidence of distinctive features seen in the uses of final conjunctions and particles as turn-completers. Haselow (2015), for example, investigated the German *aber* (*but*) placed in the final position of the turn. At the semantic level, *aber* encodes an adversative meaning. When *aber* is placed in the final position of the turn, as in "he says she cannot read properly, he is right *aber* (*but*)" (p. 101), the *aber*-prefaced proposition is related to the immediately preceding turn unit in a retrospective connection (p. 89–91). Haselow argued that an *aber*-prefaced unit has a weaker communicative value than the preceding one. That is, the *aber*-unit is not placed to propose contrastive information for the next speaker to focus on, but signals a background to the prior unit. This mirrors Ford's (2000) concept of interactional contrast. This feature of interactional contrast has also been reported in cases of the Finnish *mutta* (*but*). Koivisto (2012, 2015) illustrated the specific orderliness in the uses of the final *mutta* as a variation of concessive repair (Couper-Kuhlen & Thompson, 2005).[13] Unlike the prototypical structure of concessive repair, [overstatement + concession + revised statement], she found that the unit ending with *mutta* is not followed by any productions of the *mutta*-speaker. She claimed that this is a specifically designed practice of the speaker as a means of organising the ongoing course of action. Analogous to truncation-type particles, the final *mutta* is utilised in the reduced formation of concessive repair in the two-part structure [claim + concession (*mutta*-unit)], which invokes a

[13] The structure of concessive repair is seen as a sequential connection between the initial statement and the following unit to back down on the original proposition, whose action then leads to the production of the revised statement (Couper-Kuhlen & Thompson, 2005, p. 260). This phenomenon becomes significantly relevant in part of my analysis, so I will revisit it in Chapter 5.

retrospective return to the prior unit of the *mutta*-speaker, as has also been claimed about English *but*s (Hata, 2016a).

Some interesting insights on final conjunctional tokens have also been seen in my first language: Japanese. Mori (1999a) argued that a Japanese contrastive marker *kedo* (*but*) operates as the resource to pursue agreement from the recipient by proffering an affiliative acknowledgement; for example, "I haven't seen any new comers … (recipient's response) … yeah I heard there are *kedo* (*but*)" (p. 155).[14] In its final uses, *kedo* appears to be at final placement of the disagreeing unit, which "mitigates the disaffiliative force while creating an inference of unstated partial agreement" (p. 202). Mori argued that the *kedo*-speaker orients him/herself to his/her own (prior) production and evaluates "whether it is inaccurate, overstated, or in some other way wrong" (Pomerantz, 1984b, p. 153). That is, the *kedo*-unit is retrospectively linked back to the initial statement of the same speaker, whose action stands as in pursuit of a recipient's affirmative response (Mori, 1999a, p. 157). Haugh (2008) proposed another interpretation. In his data of naturally occurring Japanese conversation, final *kedo* is seen to display not only a negative response but also the speaker's uncertainty, which is in line with Norrick's (2009a) observation of the English *but* (see the previous section). Moreover, regarding more of its sequential features, Haugh also suggested that final *kedo* operates as "offering interactional options to the addressee" (p. 439). He argued that the final *kedo* leaves options open for the recipient's response, and the subsequent talk is contextualised in terms of how he/she responds to the *kedo*-unit. All in all, both studies of the Japanese connective *kedo* as turn-completer have offered different insights than other Indo-European (e.g. Haselow, 2015; Hata, 2016a; Mulder & Thompson, 2008) or Finno-Ugric (Koivisto, 2012, 2015) equivalents.

2.6. Summary

This chapter has reviewed relevant studies on turn-final components, and the token *but* in particular, in English conversation, which work to project the current-speaker's action. As initially described in this chapter, *but* falls into the (coordination) conjunction category due to its fundamental function of making a connection between the X and Y components. As a type

[14] In Japanese, there are two other tokens that may be considered as equivalents to English *but*: *demo* and *noni*. Nevertheless, my review excludes these two as being equivalents to final *but* because of their ambiguous status. First, *demo*, as a contrastive conjunction, typically displays its strong initiality, indicating that the current turn has not reached its completion point (Iwasaki, 2011; Nishizaka, 2016). *Noni* is another equivalent token to *but* or *although*. The token is not just a connector but also an evaluative marker to display, for instance, the speaker's frustration, disappointment and regret (Haugh, 2008, p. 431; Mori, 1999a, p. 201). As such, Mori (1999b) considered *noni* as a close equivalent to *although*/*though* rather than *but*.

of structural connector, *but* and other central conjunctions are documented to appear in the initial position of the Y component. From a usage-based perspective, however, the final *but* is emergent from the local organisation of talk, although this usage of the token is not registered in the entry of coordinating conjunctions. Prior research on final *but*s has been consistent in terms of how *but* is placed as a turn-final resource and makes an implicit linkage between two turn components in either a single turn or different turns. This trait of the token contributes to indicating a possible transition space in a post-conjunctional space so that the next speaker can produce his/her turn without requesting clarification with regard to the *but*-speaker's contrasting action (i.e. *but* what?).

With respect to final (and trailoff) conjunctions, this review mainly considered some essential studies (Local & Kelly, 1986; Walker, 2012) in line with recent attempts to explore English *but* and some equivalents in other languages, to differentiate the syntactic and pragmatic perspective on the use of those conjunctions or particles. It should be noted here that my thesis is exclusively focused on the final *but* in English conversation due to the data type utilised in this research project. In addition, although initial *but*s were described in this chapter, this thesis does not aim to provide thorough qualitative inspections of the sequential properties of those *but*s. Instead, understanding of initial *but*s is later utilised to illustrate the 'finality' of *but*s by comparing final and initial *but*s (see Chapter 4).

Chapter 3. Methodology and research procedures

3.1. Introduction

In any research study, applying appropriate methods and strategies is key to informatively answer the research questions. As was explained in the previous chapters, this thesis aims to offer thorough descriptions of how conversational participants utilise final *but*s in talk-in-interaction. The final *but* is a complex phenomenon; it is not simply outlined by considering its grammatical status as either a conjunction or a discourse marker, but is also a resource for participants to manage various interactional aspects. As Schegloff, Ochs and Thompson (1996) argued, it is of the utmost importance to investigate the phenomenon more closely in light of "what the relationship is between activity, action and the orderly deployment of language" (p. 21). To fulfil the current research agenda, this thesis utilises CA, an ethnomethodological approach created from the empirical data of spoken interaction. CA puts a central analytical focus on how the participants accomplish the sequential, inferential, and temporal orders of talk-in-interaction on a turn-by-turn basis, where each turn projects the speaker's social action and is followed by the relevant next action (Heritage, 1984b). My investigation is thus not centred on generalising the findings in terms of the frequency of the phenomenon, but instead of the qualitative analysis of the organisation of interactions set aside from the content of those interactions (ten Have, 2007, p. 39).

This chapter aims to explain the methodological choice of CA for this thesis project and the research procedures used to attain relevant information for the research agenda. In Section 3.2, I start by providing a methodological review of CA for its fundamental principle and analytical disciplines. I then explain key concepts of CA in Section 3.3, which are relevant to my demonstrations in the later chapters. After these methodological review sections, I finally elaborate on the research procedures in Section 3.4: the collection of the data samples, and the transcription and data-handling stages.

3.2. Conversation analysis

CA was originally created by Harvey Sacks in the 1960s, and developed with his colleagues, Emmanuel A. Schegloff and Gail Jefferson, in their well-known work: *A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation* (Sacks et al., 1974). CA is characterised by its micro-analytical and ethnomethodological research objective to uncover 'the technology of conversation' (Sacks, 1984a, 1984b, p. 413, 1992: II, p. 339), the system of organisation and conversational order in talk: talk-in-interaction (Goodwin & Heritage, 1990, p. 288; Wooffitt,

2005, p. 13). In CA, a turn is considered to be "the talk of one party bounded by the talk of others" (Goodwin, 1981, p. 2), and a turn-by-turn movement formulates a course of actions, or in the technical term, 'sequence' (e.g. Schegloff, 1996, 2007).[15] CA works are required to construct a case-by-case interpretation to ensure an analytical account of conversational phenomena that are locally managed in line with the current course of actions (Schegloff, 1993, 2007; Wootton, 1989). Herein, the question is not what has been expressed, but "why that now" (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, p. 209), or more specifically, why that now "in that way on that occasion for those speakers" (Walker, 2012, p. 142; see also Brandt & Mortensen, 2015, p. 301).

The development of CA was informed mainly by two important works in the sociological fields conducted by Erving Goffman and Harold Garfinkel. In a shift away from the traditional sociological perspective, which prioritised the roles of society and/or social structures through a macro analysis (e.g. Parsons, 1937, on the '(structural-)functionalism'), Goffman (1983) suggested the concept of 'interaction order' to describe how people perform ritual activities in a particular context. This opened up a new research direction regarding how interactions are structured by participants to be their daily activities. Goffman's (1983) work offered classifications or typologies of interactional contexts (e.g. face-to-face conversation, telephone conversation, and small-group meeting), and suggested that participants in the same context typically formulate a highly similar structure of interactions. Goffman's concept of the interaction order pointed out the potential of a micro-level analysis to inform macro-level understanding. On the other hand, Garfinkel (1967) developed a specific approach, called 'ethnomethodology', to understand societal members' methods of 'sense-making procedures': how they make sense of their daily activities (see also Sacks, 1992: I, on general reviews on the notion of ethnomethodology). Garfinkel's work highlighted the role(s) of common sense with regard to interpreting a construction of social order – 'which speaker does what' – thereby becoming a foundation of CA research as a study of everyday language as action.

The ethnomethodological underpinning of CA is that "it is almost everybody's business to be occupationally ordinary" (Sacks, 1984b, p. 419). Regarding the importance of the orderliness of social interaction, CA has contributed to a great understanding of the way humans do things and the methods they use to accomplish interactional tasks. As an introduction for my methodological review on CA, I now cite Schegloff (1992a)'s commentary as follows:

> Taking up the methodological relevance of sampling, Sacks points out that it depends on the sort of order one takes it that the social world exhibits. An alternative to the

[15] Note that 'talk-in-interaction' is a neutral term and thus does not represent 'all' of the interactional features of talk as a conventional term (see Schegloff, 1999, p. 408).

> possibility that order manifests itself at an aggregate level and is statistical in character is what he terms the 'order at all points' view (lecture 33, p. 484 [Sacks, 1992: I]). This view, rather like the 'holographic' model of information distribution, understands order not to be present only at aggregate levels and therefore subject to an overall differential distribution, but to be present in detail on a case by case, environment by environment basis. A culture is not then to be found only by aggregating all of its venues; it is substantially present in each of its venues.
>
> (p. xlvi)

That is, the norm of 'order at all points' served as strong argumentation in social science areas in that any overgeneralised views from the aggregative or statistical patterns would provide inadequate pictures of what conversational participants are actually doing in a particular and orderly way (Drew, 2013). It is of the utmost importance for analysts to capture the normative features of human conduct that are emergent from our live organisation of social interaction by analysing "*actual* utterances in actual contexts" (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008, p. 18).

3.2.1. Conversation analysis: an approach to orderliness in talk

The most fundamental aspect of CA as a qualitative approach is that language is treated as an object of interest by itself which is observable in our daily communication. Regarding this point, it is important to remember that CA treats the production of language as a carrier of an underpinned action of the speaker: 'projection'. Thus, CA's perspective on language differs from traditional linguistic theories stemming from Chomsky's influential works on the two linguistic notions of 'competence' and 'performance'. In theory, linguistic competence generally refers to the essential syntactic rule of language, while linguistic performance is the actual use of language (or utterance). In his book *Aspects of the theory of syntax* (1965), Chomsky clarified that the ultimate goal for linguists is to uncover the competence side of language in line with an illustration of grammatical structures for language correctness, rather than erroneous performance. On the other hand, Sacks and other CA associates have strongly resisted Chomsky's suggestion based on a wide variety of collections of the systematically and socially managed orderliness of conversation/interaction, which is not convincingly seen to be organised by the speaker's innate competence and cannot be explained by a traditional syntactic correct-incorrect description. Wooffitt (2005, p. 19–20), for example, briefly touched on this point with reference to Schegloff's (1987b) research on the phenomenon called 'recycled turn beginnings', as in (3.1).

Excerpt (3.1): [Adapted from Schegloff (2000, p. 25)]

```
01    ANN:   Those were the days when I usetuh buy six pairs a'
02           shoe:s, (0.7) every six months.
03           (1.8)
04    DIC:   Come o:::n.
05    ANN:   Yeah!
06           (0.7)
07    ANN:   Bef[ore I ws married.]
08    DIC:      [S::::::::        ]ix pairs a'shoes.
09           °(evrysi[x )
10    DEB:           [Before
11           she [wz ] married.=That isn' (s') much]
12    ANN:       [S::]ix pairs a'shoe:             ]'s,
13           every, six [months.]
14    DIC:              [Yeah.  ]=
15           =I don' believe °(you.)
16    ANN:   You don't believe me? I have no way of proving it?
17    DIC:   Yer exaggera:ti:n:g. Nobody buys six pairs of- eh
18           [one pair a shoes e-]
19    ANN:   [You don't have cus ]tomers that buy six pairs
20           a' shoes?
21    DIC:   Every six every-(   )-every six months?!
22    ANN:   Every six months I wen' in fih shoes.
23           'n I had- must'v had about, (0.5) a hundred
24           pairs (a) shoes.
25           (2.0)
26    DEB:   Really mother=you spent-
27           (1.0)
28    DIC:   You know [wha:t,]
29    DEB:            [Boy we]re you::
30           w- [wasted        ]
31    DIC:      [(you know) sh-] exaggerated slightly.
32           (0.8)
33 → DIC:   Y'[know what- y'know-[(   )  ]
34    DEB:     [what a was        [ter you] were         ]
35    ANN:                        [DON'T S]AY that I'm ex]a-
36           just say I'm a liar.
37 → DIC:   Y'know what, yer [grandmother-]
38    DEB:                   [>'ts nota question<] of=
39           =[>ly:ing 't's a question of being- <]
40 → DIC:   =[yer GRANDMOTHER IS A CENTI         ]PE:DE,
41           that's why- sh[e esstuh hev a khundred pairs of
42           shoes.
43    DEB:                [(y'gi-)
44    DEB:   a' hhu:::mmm.
```

As a background, the participants in this conversation are talking about ANN's story of her younger years (i.e. buying six pairs of shoes every six months). This fragment shows that the speaker DIC undergoes an overlapped talk and tries to restart his/her turn at the point where the overlap is terminated. At line 33, DIC produces a turn which is overlapped by a different speaker DEB and drops out before making his current turn clearly complete (`Y'[know what-`

y'know–). DIC then starts again with the same linguistic structure (Y'know what, yer [grandmother–]) at line 37, yet his reattempt is overlapped by DEB and cut off once more. His turn is finally produced in its syntactically complete form at lines 40–42 by filling what comes after "yer GRANDMOTHER". Here, it is convincingly seen that DIC recycles, in his reworking, the structures of linguistic units that are initially produced in the previous lines yet left syntactically incomplete. However, this should not simply be treated as mistakes or erroneous performance, and true exhibits of spontaneous interaction are not clarified by such an intuitive interpretation nor depicted using the norm of competence (Wooffitt, 2005, p. 19). Instead, this is a sequential combination of dropping-out, and post-overlap repetition (in accordance with the speaker upgrading his volume) is described as a practice that underpins a particular action (of gaining a floor, in 3.1) in the unfolding of ongoing talk.

Stemming from a sociological background, CA has traditionally been utilised to uncover the systematic orderliness of talk-in-interaction. For its original research discipline, CA researchers, in a strict sense, found that turn organisation is systematically monitored and managed by conversational participants. This is the issue of 'intersubjectivity': "how interactional rules and practices are ceaselessly drawn upon by the participants in constructing shared and specific understandings of 'where they are' within a social interaction" (Heritage, 1998, p. 2). Hence, the coherent structure of talk is reflexively achieved for subsequent development of the ongoing interaction, wherein the next speaker's turn displays his/her understanding of the prior speaker's action and the situation they are in (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998). As Schegloff (1996) claimed, CA researchers need to examine "the relationship of the talk being launched to what has preceded … and a projection of aspects of what is being launched" (p. 81). That is, serious attention should be paid to the 'relevance' between different turns in light of how a coherent conversational structure is organised within a course of actions, not propositions: understanding how the next-speaker's action is warranted by the current one stemming from the prior talk (Goodwin, 1979; Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 1986).

A structure of talk-in-interaction is hence considered to arise as a product of exchanges between participants utilising their own (ethno-) strategies (methods) (see Potter & Wetherell, 1987, p. 30; Schegloff, 1982). In other words, social actions, which are enacted in an orderly way and oriented by the co-participants in the unfolding of turn-by-turn interaction, can be revealed by investigating the live organisations of the courses of action in talk and orientations to each action component. As such, CA theorises that orderly sequences of actions contextualise the ongoing talk, and the meaning of an action is greatly shaped by the context (Schegloff, 1972; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). When the next speaker shows an orientation to the prior action and addresses him/herself to it, the context is shaped for indexing availabilities for

possible trajectories of the subsequent part of talk. Thus, the context is associated with a normative aspect of action sequences in that the first action part displays a particular context (now shaped) and requires the next speaker to produce a particular reaction that fits well into the context, which then renews the ongoing context (Heritage, 1984b). When the prospective second action is absent, the absence itself is 'noticeable' and not aligned with the created context, and thus can be remedied (Schegloff, 1968).

The consideration of language as an action rather than a mere description arose in the early 1950s in the pragmatics or philosophical linguistics. For instance, in his book *How to do things with words* (1962), John L. Austin argued that utterances are not always descriptive with truth-conditional information. Indeed, he claimed the existence of so-called 'performatives' that show the speaker's performance for various actions (e.g. acceptance, declining, and order). The notion of performatives has developed under the term 'illocutionary act' in speech-act theory (see also Alston, 2000; Searle, 1969, 1979). Analogously, CA research prioritises the speaker's action rather than a proposition to understand the systematic orderliness in talk-in-interaction (Liddicoat, 2007, p. 105). In this (strict) sense, CA can be characterised as a study of the nature of coherence between understandings of prior talk and projections of subsequent actions in a certain course (see Goodwin & Heritage, 1990, p. 288; Schegloff, 1996, p. 97). Such "stretches of talk that [seem] to hang together" (Schegloff, 2007, p. xi) are generally termed 'sequences'; this is well traced in the following quote from Schegloff (2007):

> [w]hen we think of clumps of turns in 'action' terms, we are dealing with courses of action – with sequences of actions that have some shape or trajectory to them, that is, with what we will call 'sequence organization' or 'the organization of sequences.' (p. 2)

In this sense, Schegloff (2007) differentiated between the notion of 'sequence organisation' and the more general term 'sequential organisation'. For the term 'sequential', the general feature of orderliness in the talk concerns the positioning of the turn constituents or utterances in the current structure of conversation. More specifically, the term 'sequence' concerns the relevance of the next, current, and prior action within a course of actions. For instance, the structural organisation (e.g. turn-taking organisation) is considered to be a type of 'sequential' feature of conversation, and the relevance of the current- and next-speaker's action (e.g. the speaker's greeting with the recipient's greeting) formulates a sequence in a systematic move or shift, thus displaying the coherence between 'turns-at-talk' (Schegloff, 2007, p. 2).

So far, I have reviewed some basic works of CA that have provided solid evidence of systematic (sequential and sequence) organisation that is observable in talk-in-interaction. Again, much attention has been paid to the projections of social actions, rather than propositions: what is said and what is semantically meant. Through explorations of systematic sequential/sequence organisations in talk-in-interaction, CA studies have revisited several linguistic notions that have been proposed from other linguistic-related approaches. A well-known example of this can be seen in Schegloff's (1982, 1993) refusal of the concept of 'back-channelling' (Duncan & Fiske, 1977; Goffman, 1974; Knight, 2011; Yngve, 1970). Back-channelling behaviour was once generally classified to be 'active listenership' or with a display of attention to the current speaker without claiming speakership by using several minimally produced tokens (e.g. *yeah*, *mm*, and *uh huh*). [16] However, as Jefferson (1984a, 1993) argued, those responses claim different levels of the speaker's interactional stances, in which the utilisation of the general term, 'back-channelling', is insufficient to undertake the functional and operational diversity of conversational phenomena. Instead, a question arises as in "[w]hy does someone produce one of *these* tokens?" (Schegloff, 1993, p. 105). In his work, Schegloff (1982) suggested the term 'continuer' instead, ensuring that the continuer-speaker does not just show his/her interest in ongoing talk but also recognises the incompletion of the current-speaker's action embedded in the current turn, and attempts to bring it into a possible completion point collaboratively: this is what Jefferson (1984a) terms the 'passive recipiency'. The notion of continuer makes a clear distinction from the other uses of minimal response tokens as a display of a shift from the recipient status to the speaker role: the 'speakership incipiency' (Drummond & Hopper, 1993; Jefferson, 1984a, 1993; Zimmerman, 1993).

Another example in which CA research has made reclaims of particular verbal resources is the interactional status of an interjectional token *oh*. Heritage (1984a) implicitly denied the simplified idea of *oh* being an indication of the extent to which the question or news is unexpected or surprising to the recipient, the *oh*-speaker (see Aijmer, 1987, p. 80; Bolinger, 1989, p. 266; Carlson, 1984, p. 69–75; Schiffrin, 1987, p. 74; Schourup, 1985, p. 21). Heritage rather claimed that "[general] treatments seriously underestimate the diversity and complexity of the tasks that these objects [including *oh*] are used to accomplish" (p. 335). This is a similar stance to Schegloff's commentary on back-channelling (see above). Heritage (2012a, 2012b) documented that *oh* as a 'change-of-state' token embedded in sequences exhibits that the *oh*-speaker undergoes a particular shift in his/her epistemic state of knowing.

[16] For an extensive review of research on back-channelling behaviours in English, see Knight (2011).

More technically, CA regards the status of 'knowledgeable' as an interactional operation in the 'epistemic territories' or 'domain of information' (Heritage, 2012a, 2012b; Pomerantz, 1980) between participants; again, talk is significantly intersubjective and thus co-constructed. For example, the unknowing (K-) status can be shifted to the knowing (K+) status from first-hand experiences (e.g. direct question–relevant answer sequence) or indirect experiences (e.g. report, hearsay, and/or inference). Pomerantz (1980) classified the former as the 'type 1' knowable and the latter as the 'type 2' knowable. Heritage (2012b) illustrated that the speaker displays his/her K- status by projecting a less-assertive question, indicating that the recipient attains more epistemic authority or the K+ status (type 1), or the report elicits a change of the recipient K-/K+ status (type 2). If two speakers demonstrate an opposite K+/K- status, there is an 'epistemic gap' (Heritage, 2012b, p. 35) towards which they may orient themselves through the ongoing course of actions if this becomes a conversational/interactional agenda. In the situation of 'informing', *oh* is sequentially placed at the point where the *oh*-speaker is in receipt of the information delivered by the prior speaker, operating as a 'backward-looking information receipt' (Heritage, 1984a, p. 339) which is regularly followed by other turn components. That is, in a shift away from the idea of the information being unexpected or surprising, *oh* can be claimed to display that the *oh*-speaker is 'now informed' in any way, which may result in eliciting further storytelling. Heritage's later study (2012a, 2012b) clearly elaborated the importance of paying attention to the epistemic state, embedded in the local organisation of talk-in-interaction, as "consideration of the (relative) epistemic statuses of the speaker and hearer are a fundamental and unavoidable element in the construction of social action" (2012a, p. 2; see also Stivers, Mondada & Steensig, 2011).

Furthermore, an advantage of utilising the CA approach can also be seen with the consistency in terminology for conversational phenomena. Nevile (2015) highlighted this point and claimed that "substantial terminological variation can indicate or even lead to confusion among scholars within the field (and beyond) and hinder shared understanding and establishment of identified embodied practices" (p. 130). He cautioned that the inconsistency in terminology may result in reducing the rigour of findings. This is arguably well observed in studies of discourse markers: one of the technical terms with many variations or equivalents (see the previous chapter). In her book: *Discourse markers* (1987), Deborah Schiffrin initially suggested the term as in the book title, yet a number of variations have been proposed.[17] Some linguists and discourse analysts (e.g. Fung & Carter, 2007) included a number of lexical and interjectional tokens (e.g. *yeah*, *oh* and *right*) as discourse marker devices which were

[17] See Schiffrin (2001) and Hata (2016b) on a wide variety of theories and potential labels related to discourse markers.

subsequently explicitly rejected or revised in a grammatical-pragmatic approach (e.g. Fraser, 1990, 1999, 2009) or relevance-theoretical view (Blakemore, 1987; Rouchota, 1996). Other studies paid more attention to the functional diversity of discourse markers (e.g. Buysse, 2012; Redeker, 1991, 2006; Schiffrin 2001), and some of them even tried to reclaim what discourse markers are by highlighting multimodal/gestural features of these functional tokens (e.g. Hata, 2016b). Nearly three decades after Schiffrin's core work was published, we have not been convincingly informed of the 'true' meaning of discourse markers yet, and this is just a single example of the terminological inconsistency. On the other hand, CA terms have indeed been mostly agreed upon by researchers at the basic level, and Nevile (2015) argued that this is a strong point of CA. Of course, there are some variations of conversational phenomena and of specific terms (cf. other-initiated and self-initiated repair), yet the basic meaning of the term (in this case, repair) is consistently used.

3.2.2. Conversation analysis and discourse analysis

CA is considered to be a branch of the more discursive methodological framework, discourse analysis (DA), which aims to understand how people utilise language in a particular social or cognitive context (Brown & Yule, 1983, p. ix; Potter & Wetherell, 1987, p. 6). As Potter and Wetherell (1987) put it, DA is a broad theoretical framework with a wide range of approaches depending on how discourse is conceptualised. Considering discourse as an 'achievement' (e.g. Schegloff, 1982, 1993; see also the following subsections), a CA approach can be distinguishable from the related fields of study on social interactions. Historically, the debate has concerned the difference between CA and especially its sociological or sociolinguistic counterpart (see Billig, 1999a, 1999b; Hammersley, 2003; Wooffitt, 2005). In this subsection, I first summarise basic conceptualisation attempts to characterise discourse in DA studies to distinguish CA from DA, in line with their different attitudes towards the term.

The central idea of DA was well documented by Jonathan Potter and Margaret Wetherell in their book, *Discourse and social psychology* (1987). In a shift away from the Chomskian cognitive competence-performance conceptualisations, DA can be generally outlined as "the nature of discourse and its role in social life, along with a set of suggestions about how discourse can best be studied and how others can be convinced findings are genuine" (Potter & Wetherell, 1987, p. 175) based on spontaneous conversational data. Whereas CA focuses on actions of the participants rather than mere propositions of utterances, the central assumption of DA is that "phenomena could always be constructed differently; and that how they are constructed has consequences, or fulfils certain social functions" (Hammersley, 2003, p. 765). As the term

discourse has been widely applied in several fields, e.g., pragmatics, sociolinguistics, and social phycology (see Schiffrin, 1994; Schiffrin, Tannen & Hamilton, 2001; Stubbs, 1983), DA is associated with the variety of different approaches, depending on the meaning of discourse which researchers have adopted.

On the one hand, the term discourse is linguistically defined as language-in-use beyond the sentence or clause level (Fasold, 1990; Stubbs, 1983), simple utterances (Hurford & Heasley, 1983), or more broadly, any products of the communicative act as text or talk (van Dijk, 1998, p. 194). Therein, the conception of discourse truly reflects a linguistic status of the utterance and considers how discourse segments are made and in what way they are related to attain textual cohesion (Brinton, 1996, p. 38, 2008, p. 24; Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014).[18] In this sense, it might to some extent be assumed that discourse emerges in relation to spoken or written contexts, and the term has therefore often been treated as an identical notion to 'text of language'. In this regard, McCarthy (2001) argued that discourse involves the meaning-making and interactional processes whereby utterance is made and established with the sequential orders of words and the relationship between a text and specific spoken or written contexts (p. 48–49). DA researchers in this conceptual strand have typically focused on the context-situated feature of discourse (or text): how discourse is structured and managed in line with an overall interactional purpose (Allen, 1983; Grosz, 1981; Grosz & Sidner, 1986; Schiffrin, 2001; Sidner, 1985). Grosz and Sidner (1986), for example, documented that discourse is motivated by intention-oriented purposes underlying it, wherein participants can interpret the intended message from a connection between utterances and specific spoken contexts. In other words, certain pragmatic conditions should be grounded for interpretation beyond referential and propositional meaning. Schiffrin (1987) and Jucker (1992) highlighted this point by claiming that different spoken contexts generate different messages that emerge from the same structure of language. For instance, the utterance "do you think this here is a parking space?" (Jucker, 1992, p. 78) is syntactically an interrogative that requests general information when uttered by a driver, but the message could also be interpreted as a warning sign if it is uttered by a police officer or someone who owns the place. The example shown here indicates that the meaning-making process considers not only the structure of linguistic units (e.g. declarative vs. interrogative), but also the nature of specific spoken context regarding the occasion in which the production is made: 'discourse' in the linguistic sense.

[18] The linguistic concept of textual discourse has traditionally been utilised in linguistic-based DA and pragmatics under the term 'discourse markers' or other related labels (refer back to Chapter 2). A functional label of 'discourse markers' has also been applied in a few CA studies (e.g. Bolden, 2006, 2009, 2015).

As such, the fundamental consideration of linguistic DA is the intersubjective understandings between participants in light of how linguistic units are put together to achieve coherence in a particular context and formulate action sequences. In this regard, John Sinclair and Malcom Coulthard (1975, 1992) published an influential study providing the DA model called the Birmingham School approach. This model served to analyse spoken language in light of the structural description of discourse in (first) language classrooms. In particular, their model emphasised that action patterns of participants are not randomly managed but highly structured in sequences and managed by one dominant stakeholder. The contribution of their model as an addition to the theories of linguistic discourse (see above) is its systematic coding scheme, which provides a structural framework for analysing patterns of interaction with a functional categorisation and rigorous definition of speakers' actions (McCarthy, 1991, p. 22; Willis, 1992, p. 112). That is, the linguistic units of talk that appear to be isolated from each other can be well merged and connected in a structure of action sequence. Their DA approach theorises a rank scale model (five ranks) with a hierarchical relationship between the largest unit of 'lesson' and other subdivisions of 'acts'.

Based on this DA approach, it is key that the speaker makes a single move on one level at a time (Seedhouse, 2004b, p. 57). Therein, there is a three-part move of the interaction between teachers and students: initiation–response–feedback (IRF). The first move is provided by a teacher who offers background information and elicits the response, which is followed by a student's response. Finally, the student's response receives a follow-up by the teacher with commentaries, evaluation, and further explanations (feedback/follow-up). In each stage, several linguistic units are formulated in accordance with an action to be projected. For the first initiation slot, the teacher frames the discourse context by specifying the topic to be discussed or questioned using a wide variety of linguistic expressions that cannot be generalised only from their grammatical formations. The teacher's first act prompts the learner's verbal and/or non-verbal responses. The teacher then normatively regains the floor and gives further instructions or guidance. These structural labels are available to the analyst, and are not limited to only classroom discourses but are also applicable to less-structured discourse patterns such as telephone calls and casual conversations (see Coulthard & Brazil, 1992; Tsui, 1992).[19]

Although there are overlaps between the Birmingham School approach of DA and CA in that both analyse intersubjective courses of action, Sinclair and Coulthard's DA model has been said to be fundamentally different in that analyses are textually made in discursive form-function-based considerations (Levinson, 1983). That is, each action (or turn) of the speaker is

[19] Although there are more to introduce with regard to the application and evaluation of Sinclair and Coulthard's DA model, my review is kept minimal as the present thesis is not situated in that DA.

labelled under an oversimplified coding scheme: a teacher's question is the 'initiation', a student's immediate action is the 'response', and the final line of the sequence is coded as 'feedback/follow-up'. Regarding this point, Seedhouse (2004b) commented that this type of DA approach "is inherently acontextual and is unable to portray the different contexts and the different focuses of the interaction" (p. 64). Although he noted that the findings from this DA perspective are not easily disproven, it was also stressed that the IRF cycles encompass many contextual features of talk. From a more micro perspective, the production of each turn is contextually situated. For instance, the teacher's first production (of a single sequence) is labelled as initiation. However, the initiation turn can be a prompt for the next speaker (a student) to complete a target sentence being taught, or it can be the entry for more fluid interactional purposes that are for instance content-focused rather than form-focused; nevertheless, both can be coded under the single label of initiation. Thus, this DA paradigm is outlined as a variation of 'form-function mapping' (Seedhouse, 2004b, p. 66). The CA approach also considers form-function relationships in interaction, but also explores further, asking "why that, in that way, right now?" (Heritage, 1984b, p. 151).

On the other hand, some define the term discourse from a more critical stance on language use, considering discourse as a form of social practice instead of just a text (Fairclough, 1989, p. 22). This stance on discourse has been a foundation of the research area called critical discourse analysis (CDA). Particularly in CDA, researchers have been interested in social cognitions, exploring "the role of discourse in the (re)production and challenge of dominance" (van Dijk, 1993, p. 249). In this strand of DA, relationships between language and social factors have been examined in different contexts, including language and politics (Fairclough, 2000), newspaper discourses (Vessey, 2015), and the discourses regarding a highly specific topic such as refugees (Baker & McEnery, 2005). Utilising the large samples stored in corpora, these recent corpus-assisted studies have convincingly shown how connotations, or implied meanings behind usages of lexical words that are commonly understood within a speech community (Stubbs, 2001), appear and establish a relationship between the individual and the social within a specific context (see van Dijk, 1993; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Unlike linguistic DA, CDA is a multidisciplinary and less descriptive approach, and the generated findings are hardly applied to other cases (Fairclough, 1995; van Dijk, 1993), whereas linguistically approached DA studies are often motivated to raise implications from their findings for other disciplines (e.g. language teaching or learning; see Carter & McCarthy, 2006; Fung & Carter, 2007).

These two main strands of DA have consistently shown that discourse demonstrates conceptual differences between discourse-level and sentence-level use of language, instead of sentence constructions based on syntactic rules (cf. Chomsky, 1965). As previously stated, CA

also departed from a traditional psycholinguistic or cognitive view on competence-performance, yet treats the concept of discourse in a different way than major DA frameworks. For instance, CA does not impose a strong conception of discourse, instead considering discourse as an overall achievement (Schegloff, 1982) and not "a product of personal intentions" (ten Have, 2007, p. 9). With regard to the meaning of achievement, Schegloff (1982) claimed that

> interactional accomplishment is at least in part shaped by the sociosequential organization of participation in conversation, for example by its turn-taking organization, which is not organized to be indifferent to the size of the turns parties take, but whose underlying (though supercessable) organization is designed to minimize turn size. It is this feature which requires us to see 'discourse' and 'discourse units' which have overcome this bias as achievements and accomplishments. (p. 73)

In line with this claim, CA needs to consider the systematic organisation of talk-in-interaction, as Schegloff (1986) also emphasised:

> A different question of scope concerns the variety of types of activity which appear to be accomplished through the operation of [conversational] 'routines.' For each of these, it remains to work through the range of contingencies open at various points in the development of the activity, the better to understand both what sort of achievement an 'uneventful' joint production of the episode is, and how a sense of its routine character is fostered. (p. 148)

Thus, in contrast to DA, CA outlines discourse as an achievement or final (not initial or simultaneous) product from a central form of the speech-exchange system (Sacks et al., 1974). In other words, what CA examines is a locally organised feature of language, asking the well-known question of 'why that now' but not "what is being said" (Brandt & Mortensen, 2015, p. 301). This makes CA a research discipline to understand the systematics in our conversations. In this sense, the following questions should arise: which context, which conversation, and which members? With respect to different forms of our interactional system, Schegloff (1999a) suggested that CA does not exclusively focus on a basic form of the sequence or sequential organisation as a single system, but also considers different systems of social interaction.

3.2.3. Speech-exchange systems: ordinary or institutional talk

Alongside the exploration of the systematic sequential-/sequence-organisational methods used by participants in talk-in-interactions, an ultimate aim in CA research is to seek the meaning of 'conversation'. As ten Have (2007) noted,

> '[c]onversation' can mean that people are talking with each other, just for the purpose of talking, as a form of 'sociability', or it can be used to indicate any activity of interactive talk, independent of its purpose. (p. 4)

Sacks et al. (1974) documented that 'conversation' is a basic form of speech-exchange system that can be observed with its sequential organisation in talk-in-interactions, wherein an interaction is shaped in a turn-by-turn transition based on the 'one-turn-at-a-time' allocation (p. 700). On the other hand, there must be certain variations of how talk-in-interactions are organised in different interactional settings: speech-exchange systems (p. 729–731). With regard to this claim, Schegloff (1999a) suggested that '*different speech-exchange systems* are the products of different *practice*, and accordingly have different *features*' (p. 409). In this sense, sequential/sequence organisation is differently shaped in specific circumstances (e.g. classroom and courtrooms) when compared to ordinary conversation. Nonetheless, he also found that some organisational features, such as turn organisation, sequence organisation, and repair organisation (see Section 3.3), or what he termed 'generic organisation' (p. 426), are universally applied across different speech settings, replicating the existence of a basic form of speech-exchange system that is applied to other systems.

Apart from a traditional CA investigation on audio-recordings of telephone exchanges, generally treated to be a type of conversation (see Sacks et al., 1974), numerous CA studies have focused on interactional organisation in the specific institutional settings, yet without suggesting strong evidence for ordinary-institutional distinctions (ten Have, 2007, p. 177). An initial attempt to outline an institution talk was offered by Paul Drew and John Heritage in their edited book *Talk at work: Interaction in institutional settings* (1992b). In the introduction to the collection of related works, Drew and Heritage (1992a) claimed the following three features of institution talk:

a) Institutional interaction involves an orientation by at least one of the participants to some core goal, task or identity (or set of them) conventionally associated with the institution in question. In short, institutional talk is normally informed by *goal orientations* of a relatively restricted conventional form.

b) Institutional interaction may often involve *special and particular constraints* on what one or both of the participants will treat as allowable contributions to the business at hand.
c) Institutional talk may be associated with *inferential frameworks* and procedures that are particular to specific institutional contexts.

(p. 22)

As can be seen above, institutional talk is distinguishable from ordinary conversation in the way that participants orient themselves to the specific 'predetermined' features of interaction, which does not originally and strictly stem from participants' organisational practices in the ongoing talk-in-interaction itself. One example of predetermined features in institutional talk is pre-allocation or inequality in turn-taking activities: that is, turn-taking is organised in a restrictive way regarding who can talk and to what extent participants can contribute (see Psathas, 1995, p. 36). A certain goal-oriented feature in institutional talk can also be seen in its distinctive sequential/sequence design. Drew and Heritage (1992a), for instance, touched on a classroom interaction and illustrated a unique (yet potential) form of sequential organisation tailored to instructional goal-oriented purposes (p. 40–41). Another example can be seen in Heritage's (1985) finding that the courtroom exchange can be characterised by the absence of 'news' from the relevant second action as a form of answer; this is different from a typical and ordinary storytelling sequence (see Heritage, 1984a; Jefferson, 1981), since the contents to which participants orient themselves are predetermined and not new. Furthermore, Heritage's study also offered a less distributional use of *oh* as a change-of-state token in various institutionalised settings.[20] Therefore, although a basic form of the speech-exchange system can be generally proposed, CA research needs to carefully consult the contextual features of talk-in-interaction, which draws important organisational designs stemming not only from participants' activities but also from predetermined settings themselves.

[20] However, some resources have shown the frequent use of *oh* in classroom settings and other pedagogical contexts (see Evison, 2012, 2013; Fung & Carter, 2007).

3.2.4. How CA informs us about grammar

From the above methodological review, it is clear that CA aims to understand how we communicate and shape language to accomplish various social actions. Although CA is not centred on classifying linguistic features, it is also true that language formation and its structure are considered as core features of interaction. In fact, many studies with CA methodology inform us about how grammar functions in talk in accordance with considerations on action projection and emergence in spoken language. Again, a turn is not merely a combination of linguistic units but the sequential unfolding of the speaker's action: projection (Auer, 2005, 2009). In Jefferson's (1983) study, for example, the central focus was on the sequential combination between conjunctional tokens at turn-final placement and the subsequent silence. She claimed that the placement of turn-final conjunctional tokens is associated with transition relevance, in which participants collaboratively shape the trait of post-conjunctional silence. As such, there is ample evidence of interactional phenomena in which participants orient themselves to the production of linguistic resources to achieve particular conversational goals in a particular context of talk.

CA insights have contributed to several linguistic strands from a methodological combination that aims to understand how structures of language are shaped to accomplish a particular social action (e.g. Doehler, 2011; Ford & Thompson, 1996; Ochs, Schegloff & Thompson, 1996; Selting, 2001). Such an interdisciplinary approach is elsewhere called 'interactional linguistics' (IL). IL is an empirical study area that investigates "the role of linguistic resources in (cueing or steering) participants' situated construction and interpretation of practices and actions in social interaction" (Kern & Selting, 2013, p. 1012). Therefore, any linguistic categories (e.g., nouns and verbs) emerge from their uses in the situated interactional context and should not be given *a priori* (Hopper & Thompson, 1984 p. 747). This idea coincides with CA in the way that language in spoken interaction is considered as a context-dependent resource that is emergent in the ongoing sequence of talk yet is interested in a functional description of linguistic forms and functions. Thus, the central focus of IL is also projection, exploring how a particular linguistic formation and structure are constructed on a specific occasion (or within a specific context), and which regulation exists behind its use. An example relevant to this thesis is Local and Kelly's (1986) investigation of the phonetic trait of trailoff conjunctional tokens. Based on the collection of empirical spoken data, they claimed that patterns of turn-ending phonetic contours collaborate with the placement of these conjunctions, indicating a possible place for transition relevance.

The conceptualisation of locally managed features of grammar led to the idea of 'emergent grammar'. Emergent grammar focuses on grammar as an interactional practice that is made emergent with a specific formulation of the utterance, but no forms of predetermined rules from the speaker's intuition. The idea was initially formulated by Paul Hopper (1987, 1998), and has been refined in other studies (e.g. Bybee & Hopper, 2001; Lantolf & Thorne, 2006; Tomasello, 2003; Williams & van Compernolle, 2007). In the original statement, Hopper (1987) claimed:

> The notion of Emergent Grammar is meant to suggest that structure, or regularity, comes out of discourse and is shaped by discourse as much as it shapes discourse in an on-going process. Grammar is hence not to be understood as a prerequisite for discourse, a prior possession attributable in identical form to both speaker and hearer. Its forms are not fixed templates but are negotiable in face-to-face interaction in ways that reflect the individual speakers' past experience of these forms, and their assessment of the present context, including especially their interlocutors, whose experiences and assessments may be quite different. (p. 142)

That is, grammar is not formulated or fixed by 'prerequisite' (Hopper, 2004, p. 153) regulations to construct the utterance. As talk is fundamentally collaborative and thus contingent on meeting different interactional agendas, linguistic constructions are flexibly shaped as a means of achieving social actions in a particular circumstance in everyday life and located in given and continuous activities of interaction (e.g. Ford & Thompson, 1996; Selting, 2000). Thus, grammar is an outcome of interactions that arises as "sedimented patterns for accomplishing communicative functions/actions" (Doehler, 2011, p. 47).

It has been claimed that participants rely on their perception to identify a possible space for turn completion where turn transition is possibly made relevant (see Section 3.3). Therefore, linguistic construction is a central factor to determine projectability of transition relevance but not something pre-decisive by only a linguistic composition or structural formulation. In this regard, turn completion is indicated at the syntactic level from the placement of turn-final particles. Although English may not be a particle-heavy language (Drake, 2015, p. 315), one example of lexical tokens is adverbials (e.g. *though* and *then*). The operation of final particles can be characterised by their grammaticalisation development (Hopper & Traugott, 2003; Traugott, 1982), suggesting that each token undergoes a shift from the propositional component to the functional component (Romaine & Lange, 1991, p. 272). For example, *then* can appear in the turn-final position and signal a semantic-level relationship between units of talk made

relevant for the speaker's reasoning process (Biber et al., 1999), as in "we are fine *then*". This final *then* also operates as a conversational resource to display a possible turn completion point at the syntactic level, which can induce a transition of the talk (see Haselow, 2011). A similar feature of the grammaticalisation process is also seen in *though* (Barth-Weingarten & Couper-Kuhlen, 2002; Lenker, 2010) and *but* in Australian English (Mulder & Thompson, 2008), both of which are used to complete a turn. Another major turn-final resource stems not from a single word but from a complementary phrase, indicating a structural design of a turn and displaying its possible turn completion point. For example, the speaker produces a question by adding an interrogative element at the end of a declarative sentence in the so-called 'tag question' structure, as in "you are not in the office today, *are you?*", which is a design of the current turn to promote relevant responses (see Lakoff, 1973). This type of syntactic structure indicates a possible completion point and may index a type of the next turn from a combination of syntactic and prosodic designs of a turn (Cameron, McAlinden & O'Leary, 1988, p. 81; Holmes, 1984).

In its historical development, IL has clearly supported, in strong disagreement with the Chomskyan's view on language (refer back to Section 3.2.1), that language use is fundamentally contextual and can never be grasped without considering when it is used. Analogous to CA views, this contextual nature of language is well tracked in IL studies showing how the position of an utterance matters, which stems from continuous observations on a particular structure of language working differently depending on when and how the production is made (see, for example, Clift, Drew & Local, 2013, p. 217–219 for the placements of an interrogative-type structure: "what are you doing?"). As such, IL considers projection in relation to grammatical properties of language and its deployment that indicates a possible (but not absolutely predetermined) trajectory of the subsequent talk (Doehler, 2011, p. 46–47).

Although IL puts a main focus on several aspects of 'grammar', it does not necessarily mean that IL (and CA) studies have disciplinary primacy regarding traditional grammatical concepts (e.g. phrase, clause, and sentence) (Kern & Selting, 2013). Rather, grammar in spoken interaction emerges from reciprocal actions between speakers as the temporal unfolding of language (Hopper, 1992, p. 236). That is, linguistic units and structural regulation (simply put, grammar) are seen as the outcome of an actual process of what participants are doing in talk-in-interaction (Auer, 1996). Grammar is therefore contextual, and its exploration consists of several approaches without any attempts to create syntactic regulations "which *must* be obeyed if one wants to speak and write the language correctly" (Jespersen, 2006, p. 4, emphasis added). This thesis also utilises the CA approach to explore the unfolding of mutual conducts, in particular in the production of a particular conjunctional token *but* at final placement. Following CA (and IL), my thesis does not mean to propose predetermined regulations on how *but* must

be utilised as a grammatical rule. The focus is instead on understanding how *but* becomes a constituent as a single turn when a final *but* is placed in the ongoing sequence structure of talk, and which action is projectable and bears on the trajectory of the following talk, by examining the empirical data (see Section 3.4).

3.2.5. Critiques and responses

CA as a research discipline inherently imposes its own conversational assumptions by taking an ethnomethodological stance on talk: for example, the famous 'one-speaker-at-a-time' and 'one-turn-at-a-time' rules (Sacks et al., 1974). Again, CA research does not rely on theorised premises from other research methodologies. It utilises its 'micro-level' procedure – the 'next-turn proof procedure' (refer back to Section 3.2.1) – to unveil the sequential/sequence organisation in talk-in-interaction, rather than just talk (see Schegloff, 1999a). This micro feature of CA methodology has been criticised by researchers using other discursive approaches. In this subsection, I introduce two major criticisms on CA seen in the debates between Margaret Wetherell, Michael Billig, and Emmanuel A. Schegloff to highlight a true objective of CA.

In the previous section, I showed that CA does not prioritise propositions or ideologies behind the talk but the systematic organisation, or local practices, utilised by participants (see Schegloff, 1997b). With regard to this point, Wetherell (1998) argued that CA cannot stand alone to "offer an adequate answer to its own classic question about some piece of discourse – why this utterance here?" (p. 388), and should therefore be strengthened by consulting the social theory to understand the ideological features of interactions. It is to some extent true that CA does not provide strong evidence to answer the aforementioned question due to its micro-analytic procedure that does not use any hypnotised background behind findings. As has been demonstrated in DA fields, the utilisation of theoretical approaches to examine interactional data samples may provide significant clues for understanding the placement of a particular utterance.

Nevertheless, as ten Have (2007, p. 58) noted, Wetherell's question is not identical to what Sacks and Schegloff originally posited in their 'why that now?' question. Schegloff (1998b) claimed that CA focuses on "the members' world, the world of the particular members in a particular occasion, a world that is embodied and displayed in their conduct with one another" (p. 416). That is, the original 'why that now?' question concerns local practices between participants of the interaction "by the *parties* on *that* occasion, on which it *was* manifested" (Schegloff, 1993, p. 101). Thus, the CA question is not designed to deal with more discursive or generalisable aspects of interactions. In this regard, Schegloff (1993) noted that

the CA-like question is originally meant to concern 'the positioning matters' (p. 104), and to answer it, "we need analysis, and very likely analysis of single episodes of talk in interaction (even if in many such single episodes) … to establish from the way in which interaction is conducted" (p. 104–105). In his sense, the original question can be turned into a question about the relevance of actions rather than their intention-based discourse-contextual placement.

Another major criticism on CA came from Billig (1999a, 1999b) through a CDA perspective. As a direct reply to Schegloff's (1997b) justification of a CA approach, he pointed out that the weakness of CA can be seen especially in its lack of consideration of context-sensitive matters – for instance, 'equality' of the speakers, members, and/or participants in different interactional settings. Although he acknowledged Schegloff's point regarding the importance of utilising a micro approach (e.g. CA) as a starting point to analyse discourse (p. 544), he outlined his argument from a critical view of language, especially with a basic form of the speech-exchange system (see Sacks, et al., 1974), as follows:

> Inequality is to be found in the exceptions – in institutional talk, interviews etc. Thus, traditional CA, far from being free of social presuppositions, carries them in the regular deployment of its foundational rhetoric. The warnings against being theoretical, and against using conventional sociological analyses, together with the prescription to keep to the data, can serve to protect these assumptions from analysis. (1999b, p. 552)

Departing from the above issue of 'inequalities', Billig (1999a) touched on the difference between CA and CDA with the argument that "CDA … explicitly wishes to incorporate insights from social theory and other social sciences, including macro social science [including CA], into the analysis of particulars" (p. 576), while this cannot be applied in the opposite direction from CDA to CA, as CA is a discipline that does not utilise insights from other disciplines in the initial observation of the interactional data. On the other hand, again, CA has not been designed to generate generalisable presuppositions that can be brought into other disciplines, simply because CA undertakes a single-case analysis or the collection of similar cases (see Schegloff, 1993). Instead, CA should be outlined by its unmotivated case-by-case procedure to understand local organisations of social actions implemented inside talk-in-interactions: ethnomethodological knowledge. With respect to this claim, Schegloff (1999b) replied to Billig as follows:

> A great deal of the most important work in CA has had its onset in what conversation analysts call 'unmotivated observation' … Anyone who has participated in CA 'data sessions' … will recognize … the reality of such unmotivated observations and how they can set off a line of inquiry which has no precedent in the experience or past work of the participants … This is so and real, the orthodoxies about the inevitability of task- or presupposition-driven inquiry to the contrary notwithstanding. (p. 577–578)

Furthermore, Billig's point about 'inapplicability' of CA hugely ignored recent attempts of so-called 'applied CA'.[21] As ten Have (2007) summarised, applied CA takes into account the context-sensitivity of interactions and utilises CA as an 'approach', rather than a strict 'discipline', to "elucidate the *local logic*, the *emic rationality*, of situated practices" (p. 210). In fact, a wide range of applied CA studies have been conducted (e.g. Bolden, 2014, for intercultural interaction; Heath & Luff, 1996, for the particular workplace setting; Land & Kitzinger, 2005, for the gender-related interaction; Mcllvenny, 1995, for the impaired interaction). With regard to the difference between traditional and applied CA, the latter has implications for 'practitioners' in the context-sensitive settings based on the empirical CA-like findings, and thus bridges local practices and global structures of interaction (Antaki, 2011; Brandt & Mortensen, 2015, p. 301; ten Have, 2007, p. 199). In this sense, applied CA studies, sharing the same unmotivated approach (at the initial-observation stage; see Psathas, 1995) as traditional CA, have demonstrated the potential of CA as an approach to handle a wide variety of context-sensitive questions; thus, applied CA should not be meant to be a 'secondary' CA (ten Have, 2007, p. 210). These debates between different research disciplines (e.g. CA and CDA) have informed us about the distinctive features of the CA approach from other more discursive approaches with some social theories.

Nevertheless, as has been previously cautioned (Schegloff, 1993, p. 100), we should avoid any better-worse discussions on the 'qualities' of particular methodologies. This is simply because different approaches do not limit nor invade analytical interests of each other. For example, in Section 3.2.2, I highlighted the differences between DA and CA, which should not be read in the way that the CA (or DA) is the better approach. Instead, DA has wider and more flexible research foci in light of functional properties of discourse. That is, utilising the DA does not simply mean that the analysts do never consider specific and contextual conversational activities (see Wooffitt, 2005, p. 44). As has been illustrated so far, CA is a well-grounded approach to identify particular conversational phenomena in the ongoing talk-in-interaction.

[21] This might be because Billig's criticism was made to Schegloff (1997) in that applied CA was, in a strict sense, not brought into the main focus of the debate.

The endeavour however does not stop at such discovery but can be explored further by adding more analytical insights including, for instance, different speech settings and languages (ten Have, 2007, p. 11).

3.3. Key concepts in conversation analysis

3.3.1. Turn-taking system: turn construction and transition relevance

Unlike discursive ideas of sentences or utterances, conversation-analytic and interactional studies have suggested that conversation is not randomly structured. Instead, some evidence has shown that 'turns-at-talk' are systematically designed to accomplish social actions of conversational participants. In this respect, turn organisation is arguably one of the most well-studied sequential features. CA research has traditionally taken into account the formulation of turns utilising the notion of a turn construction unit (TCU). A single TCU is a minimal building block of a turn with the projected action of the speaker, and when the next speaker recognises possible completion of the current turn, there is a transition relevance place (TRP), where the recipients become relevant to participate and take the 'floor' to speak (Sacks, 1972; Schegloff, 1996, p. 55).[22] In line with the conception of TCU and TRP, participants in conversation should be informed of when the current speaker's turn is completed to recognise the right place to start a new turn, as can be seen in the following excerpts (3.2).

Excerpt (3.2): Tape_060902

```
→ 14   KAT:   there were an accident at top road today.
  15          (1.3)
→ 16   STE:   anybody hurt,
  17          (0.4)
```

This fragment of talk generally demonstrates how syntactic completion of a TCU yields a TRP. Each TCU, indicated by an arrow (→), is constituted to be a whole turn and displays a syntactically achieved completion point that can result in a TRP where another speaker gains his/her own 'right' to talk (Schegloff, 1982, p. 81; 1996, p. 82). At line 14, for example, KAT's utterance is formulated as a TCU that projects her action of informing "`an accident`". After the first action becomes complete, the next speaker STE initiates a turn with the production of a TCU that projects his action of a question in the same line of talk (line 16).

[22] The term 'relevant' implies that a transition might occur but is not necessarily accomplished (Schegloff, 1996, p. 55).

In this regard, a grammatical or syntactic perspective on language in interaction can provide a cue to specify a strategic organisation for turn completion. Schegloff (1996), for example, claimed the importance of applying the notion of TCU and its accomplishment of social actions to investigate the sequential orderliness of talk-in-interaction. He stated:

> From the point of view of the organization of talk-in-interaction, one of the main jobs grammar or syntax does is to provide potential construction- and recognition-guides for the realization of the possible completion points of TCUs, and potentially of turns. (p. 56–57)

This definition of TCU highlights a significant shift away from a grammatical notion of 'sentence'. As Sacks et al. (1974) theorised, a syntactic composition of a turn offers a significant clue and enables the recipients to anticipate the right space to initiate a new turn. A final token of a turn (i.e. turn-final device) is a linguistic resource that syntactically displays 'finality' of a turn and bears on the projection of TRP: when the current turn is treated as complete. As described in the previous sections, the spontaneous conversation is seen to be structured on a turn-by-turn basis, where participants regularly conduct activities to implement a turn/speaker transition. For example, KAT completes a turn (turn A), which leads to the production of the next turn by STE (see Figure 3.1).

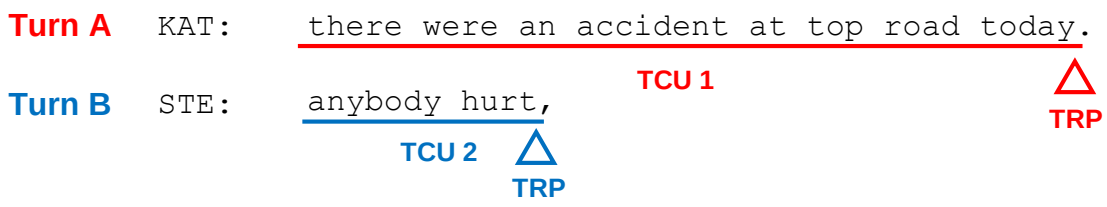

Figure 3.1: A prototypical description of a turn construction unit

In Figure 3.1 above, two turns can be identified. Turn A is syntactically constructed as a completed turn in that the last word indicates a possible turn completion point; it should be noted here that a turn completion point is where the current turn is possibly complete, but there is no guarantee of further continuations being initiated. Therefore, the conception of turn is not equivalent to some grammatical senses such as words, phrases, or sentences, because a single turn can demonstrate a wide variety of compositions (Selting, 2000).

Fundamental insight provided by CA is that turn-taking organisation is an intersubjective practice. When one speaker talks, the others are not just hearers but also analysts

who orient themselves to the unfolding structure of the ongoing talk by making inferences about what is to follow (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1990; Jefferson, 1973; Sacks, 1985). Recent evidence has demonstrated that the next speaker can predict a possible completion of the current turn 'before' it reaches the syntactic completion point, resulting in a minimum gap between two turns (Jefferson, 1988; Schegloff, 1996). For instance, the following fragment of talk represents what Jefferson (1986) called 'absolute adjacency' (p. 154):

Excerpt (3.3): Tape_026505(1)

```
46   CLA:   you can't really relax with him.=can you;=
47   NIN:   =no.
```

As can be seen in (3.3) above, the gap between the two speakers' turns is kept at a minimum, illustrating a smooth or clear transition of speakership (Jefferson, 1983; Local & Kelly, 1986). This is an intersubjective practice of recognising a potential unit or turn completion point (i.e. possible completion point) that can end in yielding a smooth transition with little gap between the current and next turn (Sacks et al., 1974, p. 721; Schegloff, 1982, p. 74–75, 1996, p. 82). A potential turn completion point which can be accomplished at and informed by TCU closing, intertwines with TRP, where a transition of speakership becomes relevant (Sacks et al., 1974).

Although the syntactic status of a turn is a locus of a (possible) turn completion point, a TRP is not necessarily displayed at an exact point of syntactic completion. Instead, a transition space reasonably appears to be a "span that begins with the imminence of possible completion" (Schegloff, 2007, p. 4). On this occasion, the next speaker may initiate a turn before the current turn is completed, and a turn transition occurring at a pre-possible completion point thus results in 'terminal' or 'transition' overlap (Jefferson 1973, 1984b; Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 2000) between two speakers, as in the following case.

Excerpt (3.4): Tape_023403

```
31   JOH:   tell them to clean up after them,=
32   MAR:   =yeah.
33          (0.9)
34   JOH:   don't leave it for [you all the time;
35   MAR:                    [yeah.=lynn doesn't cook any meals↓
36          for any of them,=
37   JOH:   =no.
```

In Excerpt (3.4), MAR finds that JOH is about to close the current turn, and initiates the next-speaker turn (line 35) before the syntactic completion point of the current turn (line 34) is displayed. When more than two speakers talk at the same time, participants may recognise the

ongoing overlap as a problem and can deploy 'overlap-resolution' strategies (Schegloff, 2000).[23] On the other hand, a terminal overlap occurring around a pre-possible completion, as in (3.4), may not create a problematic transition. In this regard, Jefferson (1973) claimed that the minimum overlap at the pre-possible completion point may not stem simply from the fact that the speaker wrongly perceives a TRP at a time, but may instead be because participants try to display the acknowledgement "at a precise point of 'no sooner and no later' within the talk of an ongoing speaker" (p. 65). Her later work (1984b) also suggested that the recipient, or the next speaker, displays understandings of the current turn and a departure point for further exchanges before the syntactic completion point is achieved. Although terminal overlap certainly violates the 'one-speaker-at-a-time' rule, the orderliness of conversation is still managed (see Schegloff, 2007).[24]

Although a single TCU can be recognised as a whole turn and projects its possible completion point for speaker change, this is not the only case in talk-in-interaction. Instead, a turn can be extensively constructed with two or more TCUs, which can result in the projection of a multi-unit turn. According to Schegloff (1982), the construction of a multi-unit turn can be indicated at several points of a turn in talk that "begins with a display of that projection" (p. 76). One example is a 'list-initiating marker' (e.g. *first of all*), an indication of the projection of the following unit within a turn to produce a list (p. 75).[25] A multi-unit turn is typically introduced in a story preface sequence (Jefferson, 1978; Sacks, 1974, p. 340, 1992: II, p. 226), or a 'preliminary-to-preliminary' (i.e. pre-pre; Schegloff, 1980), as seen in the projection of "can I ask you a question?" that displaces the main component of the question to be asked yet indicates more to come for an inquiry (Schegloff, 1996, p.61). Analogously, multi-turn units can also be indexed at a possible completion point by obscuring transition spaces. One of the organisational technique for doing so is what Schegloff (1982) called 'rush-through', where the current speaker arrives at a syntactic completion point and tries to secure the place to produce forthcoming units by speeding up the talk and withholding resources for finality (e.g. final pitch

[23] Overlapped talk demonstrates several types of activities between participants. In addition to the terminal-type overlap, Schegloff (2000) illustrates that overlap includes non-competitive types, ranging from (a) collaborative actions between participants which can result in overlapped talk, and (b) another speaker's continuation attempt in minimal responding tokens (e.g. *mm*, *mhm*, *uh-huh* and *yeah*; see Jefferson, 1984a); which is elsewhere called back-channel (Yngve ,1970; Duncan & Fiske, 1977).

[24] One major debate concerns the 'one-speaker-at-a-time' rule in multi-party conversations, wherein several speakers engage with different parties at the same time (i.e. schisming; see Edelsky, 1981; Egbert, 1997; Sacks et al., 1974, p. 713–714). Schegloff (2000) commented on this issue, suggesting that the rule of orderliness mentioned by Sacks et al. (1974) should be understood as "one-speaker-at-a-time IN A SINGLE CONVERSATION" (p. 47).

[25] The list refers to the structurally managed sequence across TCUs. For conversational productions in conjunctional lists in a turn at talk, see Jefferson (1990).

and in-breath sounds; see also the following sections), and is able to bridge the gap between two TCUs without yielding a clear TRP (p. 76; see also Schegloff, 1987b, p. 78, 1996, p. 93, 1998a, p. 241); although the projections of multi-unit turns are not guaranteed to be accomplished (Liddicoat, 2007, p. 76).

An extensive turn or unit construction can also be seen when a single TCU is collaboratively completed by different speakers across more than one turn. In the construction of such a multi-turn TCU, as Schegloff (1996) claimed, the subsequent turn made relevant to the previous one does not provide a new point of departure, but instead an opportunity for continuation of the prior talk. Sacks (1992: I) showed that three speakers collaboratively complete a single sentence by adding an increment to the immediately preceding turn. For example, the first speaker's "[w]e were in an automobile discussion" is compounded by the next speaker's "discussing the psychological motives for", and finally, the last speaker completes the sentence by adding "drag racing on the streets" made relevant for the prior turns (p. 144–145). Lerner (1991, 1996) considered such collaborative completions under the term 'compound TCU', where

> a preliminary component … projects roughly what it will take to bring that component to possible completion and projects a possible form for the final component of the TCU as well, and thereby a shape for the TCU as a whole. (1996, p. 240)

That is, if the first turn component forms a *when*- or *if*-clause, a TRP will be withheld until the second component, made relevant for the first, reaches a possible completion point; this is also the point of potential TCU closing. Lerner (1996) identified the collaborative practice of constructing a compound TCU, as in one speaker's "So if one person said he couldn't invest" composed by the next speaker's "then I'd have to wait till" (p. 241). Analogous to multi-turn TCUs produced by the same speaker within a turn, the first syntactic completion point may provide the recognisable and projectable completion space, operating as a possible invitation, for the recipient's action for anticipatory completion; this completion space makes a TCU collaboratively completed in two turns (Learner, 1991, p. 453; see also Liddicoat, 2004). Such a collaborative TCU completion can also be seen in the cases where the speaker brings a TCU to its completion point yet has difficulty remembering a word, which is then filled in by the next speaker: word-search activities (e.g. Goodwin, 1983; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986; Hayashi, 2005; Streeck, 1993).

In addition, there have been studies offered a huge contribution in defining TRP. For instance, Goodwin and Goodwin (1987) demonstrated a systematic relationship between the

projection of a possible completion point and the following next-speaker (or recipient) action, and convincingly showed that the relevant action can be made even at the point where a strict syntactic completion of the previous turn has not yet been achieved. For example, the recipient projects an assessment as a relevant response to the speaker assessment that is still ongoing and has not been syntactically completed (p. 33). Other studies have considered more conversational signals that are possibly responsible for turn-taking activities, expanding their research focus to several embodied (or multimodal) actions performed by participants.[26] Duncan and Fiske (1977) convincingly showed that a smooth transition of speakership derives from not just syntactic and prosodic completion but also bodily conducts of participants (e.g. eye-gaze and hand gestures), which echoes Goodwin's (1979, 1981) illustrations of a conversational arrangement between eye-gaze and syntactic turn-designs for participation organisations. Similarly, Ford and Thompson (1996) revealed the complexity of TRP, seen in their term 'complex transition-relevance place' (CTRP), in which intonation and pragmatic completions are typically accompanied by syntactic completions, but not in an opposite way; that is, syntactic completion is not necessarily seen with the other completion types. Significantly, the they reported that TRPs in their collection did not arise in nearly half of the cases of syntactic completion points, which persuasively demonstrated the complex nature of turn-taking organisation.

To recognise the projectability at the right place and the right time, it has been argued that participants typically rely on not only syntactic but also prosodic features of turn components, including pitch/intonation contours, as the most obvious resource for possible turn completion (Ford, 2013, p. 3; Levinson, 1983, p. 297; Oreström, 1983, p. 68). In prior research, prosodic properties of a language have been treated as a central focus of discussion across different research disciplines (e.g. syntax, pragmatic, and discourse analysis), and have uncovered how prosodic features provide significant information for segmenting certain units of utterances. At the structural-level relationship between grammar and prosody, for example, Quirk, Svartvik, Duckworth, Rusiecki, and Colin (1968) suggested that the length of tone units (i.e. generally, a unit larger than a one-syllable word and consisting of one or typically more syllables) is significantly correlated to grammatical compositions of turns (p. 129), meaning that there are certain structural boundaries between tone units. Although there have been

[26] With the term 'multimodal', I do not consider 'non-gestural' resources available to participants (e.g. papers on the table and posters in the venue), which are investigated in some research on multimodal interaction (e.g. multimodal discourse analysis; see O'Halloran, 2004). As Nevile (2015) noted, many terms are frequently used to refer to non-vocal/non-verbal actions, including (but not limited to) 'embodied', 'multimodal', and 'gestural'. However, no consistency has convincingly been achieved regarding the difference between these terms.

variations in terminologies and their conceptualisations of tone units (e.g. intonation units and tone groups), the prosodic-structural correlations with regard to the segmentation of turn or utterance constituents have constantly been suggested from a typological view of prosodic operations (see Altenberg, 1987; Chafe, 1993; Crystal, 1975; Du Bois et al., 1993; Halliday & Hasan, 1976). Regarding this point, Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) argued that a phonological/prosodic unit of utterances "functions grammatically as realization of a quantum of information … as a sequence of information units, typically one following another in unbroken succession" (p. 115). The segmentation of those prosodic units also contributes to highlighting a) a given-new information distinction (e.g. Chafe, 1987; Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014; Romero Trillo, 1994, 2001, 2015), and b) discourse-regulation items (e.g. discourse markers; see Fraser, 1999; Redeker, 1990; Schiffrin, 2001) differentiated from syntactically essential units of a turn (see also Chafe, 1993, p. 37).

Besides indicating a potential unit segmentation, a prosodic design of turn constituents also operates, along with the syntactic features, as significant information to indicate a possible completion point of a turn (Auer, 1996, p. 85; Hepburn & Bolden, 2013, p. 67; Schegloff, 1996, p. 84–86; Selting, 2000). The CA transcription system initially introduced by Gail Jefferson has drawn serious attention to finality (i.e. 'final' versus 'non-final'; see Ford & Thompson, 1996, p. 146) using three symbols to describe endings in a contour: a full-stop (.) is used for falling intonation; a comma (,) indicates slightly rising intonation; and a question mark (?) indicates rising intonation or inflection (see Section 3.4.2).[27] The more fine-grained practice of describing intonation finals is seen in the GAT2 transcription system (Selting et al., 2009), which also arguably applies the Jeffersonian convention style; one example is seen in level-intonation, indicated by an underscore (_), where there is no evidence for either a fall or rise in pitch (Szczepek Reed, 2004). In light of the importance of prosodic features, Selting (1998), for example, highlighted that final pitch contours provide clues about TCU boundaries. She prioritised the pitch information over syntactic information with regard to how participants can understand a final or non-final design of a turn, where a range of final contours (e.g. fall, level, or rise) will inform a recognisable possible completion point for a smooth transition of the speakership.[28]

[27] Note that some earlier works (e.g. Chafe, 1987; Du Bois, 1991; Sacks et al., 1974) used only two symbols to describe turn-final pitch contours: falling (.) and rising (?).

[28] Apart from the discussion of turn completion, prosodic features are fundamentally investigated with respect to sequence organisations; see Schegloff (1986) for a linguistic-prosodic mismatch in a particular response. Another prosodic feature is also seen in the floor management, which is not in a strict sense designed to display turn completion. For example, the speaker can deploy an overlap resolution by stretching the sound to prolong the overlapped TCU, which contributes to continuing to produce the ongoing turn and letting the competitor(s) drop out of the competition (see Schegloff, 1996, p. 86).

However, these previous findings should not be read as meaning that prosodic designs of turns operate to be a freestanding resource for turn completion. In fact, a final pitch contour often ambiguously displays a distinction between turn-holding or turn-yielding for speaker change (Local & Kelly, 1986, p. 195; Local, Kelly & Wells, 1986, p. 433; Local & Walker, 2004, p. 1389). Instead, turn completion stems from an interplay between syntactic, prosodic, and pragmatic resources provided within the co-constructed context (Ford & Thompson, 1996; Liddicoat, 2007, p. 59; Selting, 1998, p. 37). This complexity of the sequential organisation of talk can be seen in a well-known prosodic cue: what Schegloff (1987a, 1996) termed a 'pitch-peak' that can stand as a possible indicator of a turn-closing design for the forthcoming syntactic completion point. Such high pitch contour in a turn reasonably instructs participants to perceive a subsequent turn-yielding place before a possible syntactic completion point actually comes (see also Auer, 1996, p. 85, for the similar concept of 'filter model'). This is also the point where the speaker may initiate a 'rush-through' as a means of obscuring TRPs to expand the current turn (Schegloff, 1982, 1987a, 1987b, 1996, 1998a). Local and Walker (2004) illustrated that prosodic designs of rush-through, under the term 'abrupt-joins', complexly signal a juncture between multiple actions of the current speaker between projecting a completion of the current action and the beginning of the new one: a formulation of multi-unit turns. Whereas a prosodic perspective does not provide a clear distinction between holding or turn-yielding distinction, this can be informed from a sequential- and sequence-organisational viewpoint, where the current speaker projects another trajectory of the talk by "pre-empt[ing] the action made relevant by the talk leading up to the abrupt-join" (p. 1388).

As such, the focus is not merely on syntax and prosodies of the produced conversation resources, but on the unfolding of actions and connections between actions at separated locations: pragmatic completion. The term 'pragmatic(s)' can generally be defined as "the relation of signs to their interpreters" (Morris, 1971, p. 43). More precisely, Thomas (2014) suggested that pragmatics is a study of 'meaning in interaction', stating:

> meaning is not something which is inherent in the words alone, nor is it produced by the speaker alone, nor by the hearer alone [but] is a dynamic process, involving the negotiation of meaning between speaker and hearer, the context of utterance (physical, social and linguistic) and the meaning potential of an utterance. (p. 22)

Although descriptive linguistics traditionally dealt with explicit representations with referential meanings and/or grammatical structures, studies in pragmatics have considered functions of conversational devices in which linguistic tokens are incorporated (see Fraser, 1999; Kopytko,

2003; Romero Trillo, 2001). A dramatic shift from a traditional syntactic view on the local organisation in talk has been promoted alongside discussions on conversational actions (e.g. C. Goodwin, 1979, 1981; C. Goodwin & M. Goodwin, 1987, 1992a, 1992b; M. Goodwin, 1980; Heath, 1992; Schegloff, 1996; Streeck & Hartge, 1992).

Unlike the traditional and discursive sense of 'completion' (e.g. completed sentence), the concept of TCU is not a linguistic unit but can instead be characterised to be a sequential-organisational resource. Thus, a possible completion point of a TCU needs to be "judged incrementally within its previous context" (Ford & Thompson, 1996, p. 144), rather than relying on structural compositions of turns. As Koshik (2002) explicitly illustrated, the speaker's turn can be 'designedly' incomplete, in terms of its syntactic structure, for the recipient who then finds a possible completion point to enact a relevant action (e.g. reworking to resolve his/her previously made errors in the classroom). In other words, the decision to segment TCUs is highly situational and requires an interpretation of turn constituents within its course of action, simply because a single TCU can constitute the whole turn but may not be able to do so if "its 'activity' or pragmatic constraints are not met" (Schegloff, 1996, p. 87). Hence, a definition of TCU should be achieved through an emic perspective rather than considering the mere syntactic status of the utterances (Schegloff, 1996, p. 115).

3.3.2. Sequence: conditional relevance, preference, and repair

In CA, our attention is drawn to how participants achieve mutual understanding and display it in the unfolding of the talk. Again, our conversation is intersubjectively managed and contextually ordered. The previous section showed sequential features of talk-in-interaction in light of when turns are initiated at the right place, yet the contextual indexicality emerges from the relevance between different (typically, immediate) turns. CA's central discipline is that the meaning of each action is profoundly shaped in a co-constructed context between participants through turn-by-turn exchange (Schegloff, 1984; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). To accomplish social actions, participants thus sensitively orient themselves to what comes now and what will follow in which way. When the first speaker produces his/her turn, the turn is designed in a manageable way to project a particular action for the recipient of that action. Here, the projection of the first action becomes "powerful constraints of action (what the recipient should do) and of interpretation (how what the recipient does should be understood) on the moments just following it" (Schegloff, 2007, p. 21). Therefore, the production of the first action sets 'conditional relevance' (Schegloff, 1968) for the next action so that the appropriate next action is expected. Then, the next speaker (a recipient) produces his/her turn, which echoes

understanding of the first action. For example, the first action of invitation makes a sequential context in which the next action of acceptance or rejection is made relevant in that context. If the next action is absent and this is treated as noticeable, the speaker of the first action seeks reasons for that absence (Schegloff, 1968). Such a sequence-organisational chain is referred to as a sequence, a co-constructed product of "mutual understandings created through a sequential architecture of intersubjectivity" (Heritage, 2005, p. 105).

A typical sequence can be seen in the action-chain between a personal-state inquiry, "how are you?" and a relevant-declarative response, "good thanks and you?" (see Button & Casey, 1985; Sacks, 1975). These two relevant turns are packaged as an 'adjacency pair' that forms a minimal sequence with two adjacent utterances (or turns) produced by different speakers. Therein, the first-pair part (FPP) requires the conditionally relevant second-pair part (SPP) to be produced in line with the ongoing course of actions (Heritage 1984b, p. 246; Schegloff, 1972; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). This is illustrated in (3.5) and (3.6) below.

Excerpt (3.5): Tape_026505

```
14   NIN:   he never forgets a thing,=does he.=
15   CLA:   =no steve doesn't;
16          (0.2)
17   CLA:   mm.
```

Excerpt (3.6): NC_091

```
59   $1:    erm (.) is it is ↑it possible↓ that the wind would
60          be blowing from one direction and the
61          tidal↓ (0.4) would act in another direction;
62   $2:    =[yeah.
63   $1:    =[eh.
64   $2:    completely possible. (0.3) wind rotates three sixty.
```

In (3.5), the first line illustrates the speaker turn that is designed to request a response with the tag question structure "`he never forgets a thing,=does he=`" (line 14), which is shaped as an FPP here and initiates an adjacency pair sequence. Then, the next speaker, or the recipient, designs her turn to produce a response made relevant for the first-pair turn; this is thus an SPP at line 15. Such an FPP-SPP structure is considered to be a minimal adjacency pair sequence, yet can be expanded in the projection of turns in the third-pair part slot as in CLA's turn at line 17, where a minimal token "`mm.`" operates as a whole turn to project the speaker action of acknowledgement (see Jefferson, 2002; Schegloff, 1996). Schegloff (1990, 1995) labelled this type of post-expansion 'minimal post-expansion', or more technically 'sequence-closing third (SCT)'. On the other hand, the post-expansion is achieved by a 'non-minimal' turn

on some occasions, as in (3.6). At line 62 and 64, the non-minimal turn "`yeah...completely possible.`" is set in the post-expansion slot and leads a closure of the ongoing question-answer sequence.

Furthermore, a single sequence can be expanded with another sub-sequence inserted into the main course of actions. That is, an adjacency pair sequence, as well as other sequences, is not always required to be minimally constructed. Jefferson (1972) used the term 'side sequence' to refer to the inserted and subsidiary course of actions made relevant to the larger sequence structure. Regarding the adjacency pair sequence, Schegloff (1990) documented different types of 'inserted sequence'. For instance, when the FPP speaker asking a question is in receipt of the next-speaker response, "what do you mean" can result in a '*post*-first insertion' to reach the SPP point. Sometimes, the SPP speaker, the FPP recipient, requests confirmation or clarification relevant for the FPP to project the SPP action; this is called a '*pre*-second insertion'. Schegloff (1990) also touched on the 'post-expansion' cases, including the SCT and non-minimal expansions. In the SCT slot, some minimal tokens have been reported to index the trajectory of the subsequent talk and end in the expansion of the ongoing sequence – for instance, *oh* and *okay* for the acceptance of the immediate SPP (Beach, 1993).[29] As seen in these cases, sequence organisation is an intersubjective practice of the reasonable placement of turns where the relevance between them acquires participants' serious attention and is exhibited in the course of actions.

We now move back to the notion of conditional relevance: the FPP displays a strong tendency of the speaker for the SPP. For instance, if the FPP is a question, the relevant SPP is an informative answer. Similarly, if the FPP displays a summons to a specific participant, the relevant SPP is a response from that person. Nevertheless, our conversation is somewhat contingent (Heritage, 1988; Sacks, 1974), and the FPP-SPP relevance is therefore conditional and does not always guarantee the accomplishment of strong relevance. Indeed, there are alternatives in the second slot in the sequence (e.g. acceptance or rejection of the initial invitation). In such cases, it is seen that those alternatives are not identical in their production, where the producer of the SPP orients him/herself to a structural preference in relation to the FPP and thus organises the way of producing his/her next action, which appears as a promotion of the avoidance of conflict that can maximise the maintenance of social bonds or solidarity (Heritage, 1984b, p. 265). As Schegloff (2007) noted, the preference is structurally organised and displayed in the sequence, wherein the responses to the FPP "embody different alignments

[29] Two tokens can be packaged to be a single chunk in the SCT slot, as in *oh okay* (Liddicoat, 2007, p. 157). In this case, *oh okay* may show the 'change of state' in knowing through which the *oh*-speaker has gone (Heritage, 1984a) by projecting an acknowledgement of the relevant SPP.

toward the project undertaken in the first pair part" (p. 59). Regarding this point, a particular SPP is preferable/dispreferable not in light not of the participants' psychological motivations, but of "observable regularities in their talk" (Sidnell, 2010, p. 77).

For 'preference organisation', CA considers two categories: action preference and format preference. Schegloff's (1988) work offered two distinctive features of preference, which are considered here. On the one hand, the norm of preference refers to the degree of contribution to favour the progression of the sequence: whether the SPP accomplishes the current activity (preferred) or blocks it (dispreferred). In other words, the SPP, providing a resource to satisfy the FPP, is structurally preferred and promotes the success of the activity. This is a consideration of preference at the action level. To illustrate the preference in talk-in-interaction, I introduce some cases from previous studies below.

Excerpt (3.7): [Adapted from Atkinson and Drew (1979, p. 58)]

```
01   A:   Why don't you come and see me some[times
02 > B:                                     [I would like to
```

Excerpt (3.8): [Adapted from Potter & Wetherell (1987, p. 16)]

```
01   M:   We were wondering if you wanted to come over Saturday, f'r
02        dinner
03 >       (1.8)
04 > J:   Well (.) .hh it'd be great but we promised Carol already.
```

In the examples above, it is noteworthy that the productions of preferred and dispreferred SPP are asymmetrical. In the case of (3.7), the FPP displays the speaker (A)'s action of invitation, which makes the SPP conditionally relevant. The recipient of the invitation (B) then produces his/her turn in the second slot to project an acceptance-type answer, which leads to a smooth completion of the ongoing sequence with the accomplishment of the first action of invitation; thus, the SPP is a preferred-type action. In (3.8), on the other hand, the SPP displays the action recipient (J)'s rejection of the initial invitation in a structurally distinguishable way in that J's answer is a) relatively delayed when compared to (3.7), and b) is weakly produced with the preface of "`Well`" (Pomerantz, 1984a).

Here, the SPP also appears to be designed at the format level, and in the case of dispreferred actions, it may be shaped in an indirect format. In this sense, there is the importance of a construction type of dispreferred answers: format preference. For instance, a polar (or yes/no) question in English has two alternative responses: the answerer either accepts or rejects the proposition in the FPP. As Raymond (2003) noted, however, possible responses to yes/no

interrogatives are formulated as not merely action-based but also format-related: either 'type-conforming' or 'nonconforming'. While the format preference considers a syntactic tie between the first and second turn, Raymond (2003) argued that

> in type-conforming responses, a speaker's stance toward the course of action initiated by a FPP is stated simply and straightforwardly (e.g., through a 'yes' or 'no,' which may be subsequently elaborated), while nonconforming responses specifically depart from the constraints embodied in the grammatical form of the FPP to produce an action not contemplated by it. (p. 949)

Therefore, the format selection between type-conforming and nonconforming is a resource for the SPP speaker to display his/her sensitive stance. In this sense, the nonconforming response is projected in an indirect way and thus causes a delay of the completion of the FPP–SPP sequence.

The above has reviewed the intersubjective and structural aspects of sequence organisation. The first action (FPP) sets a certain course of action, and the immediate response to the FPP in a preferable way, as in (3.7), ratifies such indexicality and accomplishes the sequence. The relevance between turns at talk is not just structural but normative, meaning that the deviation from the participants' expectation is noticeable and oriented by them (Sidnell, 2010, p. 10). For instance, if the SPP does not ratify the suggested course of action, the completion of the sequence is delayed or left unaccomplished. That is, participants sensitively monitor what is going on and what is expected to follow to fulfil the conversational agenda in line with the sequential context. The following cases demonstrate this point.

Excerpt (3.9): [Adapted from Levinson (1983, p. 320)]

```
01    C:   So I was wondering would you be in your office
02         on Monday (.) by any chance?
03 >       (2.0)
04 > C:    Probably not.
```

Excerpt (3.10): [Adapted from Frankel (1984, p. 153)]

```
01    Pt:  This- chemotherapy (0.2) it won't have any lasting effects
02         on having kids will it?
03 >       (2.2)
04 > Pt:   It will?
05    Dr:  I'm afraid so.
```

Both examples highlight several features of sequence organisation that have been described so far. In each case, the FPP speaker anticipates what is to come as a response to the FPP. Such inference makes the speaker produce a follow-up production to prevent the actual production of dispreferred SPP or to resolve the noticed absence. In (3.9), the FPP is formed as a type of requesting action, and the prospective SPP is now made relevant for an affirmative response. Nevertheless, no response is made at line 3, which makes the indexicality of the FPP unaccepted. This absence is noticeable (Schegloff, 1968) as the FPP-recipient is not in alignment with the ongoing sequential context from the production of FPP, which is evident in that the FPP speaker then orients him/herself to the absence of SPP at line 4. Here, the FPP speaker appears to predict that the absence of an immediate response is a signal of a possible dispreferred SPP, and therefore, he/she retracts the initial action by saying "`Probably not.`" (Levinson, 1983, p. 320–321). Similarly, the absence is noticeable in (3.10) as the speaker orients him/herself to that absence, but his/her follow-up talk is set not to strictly prevent the dispreferred SPP but to display reworking of the speaker and provide another opportunity for the recipient's SPP production.

As such, the coherent sequence structure is managed by the serious orientation of participants to what resources are provided and will follow. CA studies have also given us a thorough understanding of preference in responding actions. Given the above explanation, the preferred response stands to progress the initial action to "affiliative actions which are supportive of social solidarity" (Heritage, 1984b, p. 268). Similarly, the initial action of an assessment prefers the agreement to that assessment as a means of sustaining solidarity (Pomerantz, 1984a); thus, agreement is affiliative and disagreement is disaffiliative.

Nevertheless, the response is not always produced in an affiliative/disaffiliative way. Stivers (2008) claimed that two types of responses are found in storytelling sequences: affiliation and alignment. The former is produced to display the recipient's understanding "at the level of action and affective stance" (Stivers, Mondada & Steensig, 2011, p. 21). On the other hand, the norm of alignment is applied to responses as a display of the recipient's acceptance at the structural level. An example of alignment-type responses is a minimal token (e.g. *mm*) that is placed not to take a floor but to secure the floor for the speaker to continue (Schegloff, 1982, 2000). The alignment is thus not just the recipient's action to show that he/she is now listening, but a display of the acceptance for the suggested indexicality of the ongoing talk. For example, in a case of storytelling, the speaker initiates his/her telling, and when the recipient shows his/her aligned position, the indexicality is set in that the speaker is sequentially

assigned as a teller for the progression of the sequence, meaning that the production of an alignment device is a preferred action in that particular sequence (Jefferson, 1981, p. 62–66).[30]

Again, the next speaker's turn displays his/her understanding of the prior turn, meaning that it is key for the FPP to be informative enough to receive a relevant response to ensure the progressivity of the talk. On the other hand, it is possible that the next speaker may find problems of "hearing, speaking, and understanding" (Schegloff et al., 1977, p. 361). In light of the progression of the sequence structure, when participants orient themselves to a trouble source, the progressivity is halted and typically not restarted until the current problem is fixed (Drew, 1997; Schegloff et al., 1977). This is a sequential organisation of 'repair' that refers to an action to resolve an interactional problem arising through a talk-in-interaction at "each of the positions at which repair DOES get initiated is a position at which repair CAN get initiated" (Schegloff et al., 1977, p. 374), which is not treated as the speaker displaying his/her speech incompetency nor just simple repetition or reformulation of what has been produced.

Schegloff, et al. (1977) identified four categories of repair organisation: self-initiated/self-completed, self-initiated/other-completed, other-initiated/self-complete, and rarely, other-initiated/other-completed. The distinction is made on the following two points. Firstly, the repair sequence is initiated once the speaker him/herself or the co-participant identifies the trouble source, and the action to address the problem is displayed in talk-in-interaction. The speaker may initiate repair of the trouble source in his/her own production: self-initiated. Alternatively, the co-participants (not the speaker of a trouble source) may initiate repair by identifying a problem in the production of the speaker: other-initiated. At this stage, the repair is only initiated and thus considered separately from the completion of that repair action. Secondly, who then completes the repair is also considered. On the one hand, the speaker of a trouble source may complete the repair by resolving the problem in a different production: self-completed. On the other hand, the co-participant may also orient him/herself to resolving the identified trouble source by directly producing an alternate resource or producing possible alternatives (see Lerner, 1996): other-completed repair. Now, we consider the example in (3.11).

Excerpt (3.11): [Adapted from Schegloff et al. (1977, p. 364)]

```
01    B:  He had dis uh Mistuh W- whatever k- I can't think of his
02        first name, Watts on, the one thet wrote [that piece
03 >  A:                                           [Dan Watts
```

[30] Jefferson (1981) labelled this type of aligning response in the informing-type activities as 'newsmark'.

At line 1, speaker B terminates his/her production of the current TCU once and restarts with a different action to ask the first name of the personal "Watts". That is, speaker B initiates a repair sequence by indicating the trouble source in a single TCU. Then, this self-initiated repair sequence reaches its possible closure point (Schegloff, 2007; see also Section 3.3.3), when the next turn for a correction is provided by the other speaker A; thus, this is a formation of the self-initiated other-completed repair case.

To avoid inadequate understanding of the prior action, which becomes a significant blockage for the progression of the sequence, a repair is an interactional tool for the participants to achieve the progressivity of the ongoing sequence. As Schegloff (1992b) noted, the organisation of repair reflects the nature of intersubjectivity in talk-in-interaction. That is, repair action itself stands as a management of mutual understanding between participants for them to make a coherent structure of the ongoing sequence. As has been observed so far, the sequence organisation is flexible but systematically managed to accomplish a particular social action in a particular sequential context. Once the FPP is produced, the SPP is made relevant. If the production of the SPP to follow is requested but absent, the FPP speaker deals with this absence by taking follow-up actions. Furthermore, if the SPP is produced but does not help accomplish the FPP action, the speaker typically produces another turn to pursue more of a (structurally) preferred SPP. Hence, the sequence organisation is an interplay between different vehicles for management of the ongoing talk.

3.3.3. Relevancy of sequence closure and expansion

As Heritage and Atkinson (1984) commented, "utterances are *in the first instance* contextually understood by reference to their placement and participation within sequences of actions" (p. 5). When considering the sequence structure of talk, it is important to understand how participants (co-)construct the context on a turn-by-turn basis and index their productions of conversational resources. As has been illustrated so far, the construction of sequence structure reflects which resource is and has been given and understood in the ongoing talk. When the speaker produces a turn for an inquiry, and the recipient understands this first action unit, that action as questioning (FPP) is structurally bound, or conditionally relevant (Schegloff, 1968; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973), to an answering response in the second slot (SPP). These units of talk form an FPP-SPP adjacency pair as constituents of a base sequence, indicating the initiation and possible closing point of the sequence. Of course, it is not necessarily the case that the sequence consists of only those core units; the flow of sequence can be expanded for the sake of interactional achievement. In this regard, a typical case of expanded sequence is the one

marked with the delayed SPP after the completion of a repair sequence inserted after the FPP. Since the SPP production requires an understanding of the production of the FPP, participants (including the speaker and recipient) may orient themselves to either the incomprehensible FPP to be repaired or the absence of an SPP in the second slot of the sequence. As such, after the initial action (i.e. base FPP) is produced, the sequence moves as participants in the talk show their orientation to that action by enacting certain social actions depending on the ongoing activity.

Although the norm of adjacency pairs explains a base constituent of a basic sequence, it is not always true that the sequence infrastructure is constructed only with these base units (i.e. FPP and SPP). Instead, adjacency pair units are base pairs (Schegloff, 2007, p. 27) and may be expanded in line with participants' orientation to the ongoing structure of talk. That is, the speakers may construct a smooth pathway to accomplish an ongoing interactional activity (e.g. request, inquiry, suggestion, or storytelling) by expanding the base units. When the conversational agenda for the speaker is to be informed of something, the first base action will be designed as a question preferring an informative response, but the inquirer should be sure of the recipient's epistemic access – knowing or unknowing (Heritage, 2012b) – regarding the material to be questioned. On such occasions, the speaker typically initiates a 'pre-expansion' sequence in which the first action of question asks the recipient for his/her availability to give information, to which the recipient orients him/herself by displaying a preference with regard to that availability: go-ahead, blocking, or hedging (Schegloff, 2007, p. 30–32). Another case of expansion is seen when the first base action needs certain elaboration for the recipient to generate a relevant second-pair action. Such inserted expansional cases are characterised by the recipient's post-first or pre-second action to clarify the first base unit or construct a background for the prospective second unit (Schegloff, 2007, p. 100–102).

Sequence expansions are the participants' method to collaboratively construct a coherent structure of talk through a turn-by-turn exchange, or context, indexing what the previous action means, how it is understood for the current action, and which action is preferably prospective for the subsequent part of talk. Compared to pre-sequence and inserted expansional cases, as seen in Schegloff (2007, p. 115–168), a sequence expansion implemented after a possible completion point of the SPP is contextually flexible and thus complex, as there is no strong structural restriction for the productions after the SPP. Indeed, the complexity of such 'post-expansion' emerges from the conditional relevance rule as the SPP is made relevant to the base FPP, and if the SPP is preferred (or agreeing) and satisfies the base FPP, then the SPP itself thereby indicates a possible closure of the ongoing sequence: a (possible) closure relevant point (p. 117).

Even when the base SPP is relevant for sequence closure, the speaker of the FPP may leave a commentary that is minimally designed with one word (e.g. *oh* and *okay*) or composite units (e.g. *oh* + assessment) as an acknowledgement of the SPP. This production of a so-called 'sequence-closing third' (SCT) is "less sensitive than others to the earlier-mentioned linkage of sequence closure and expansion to preferred and dispreferred responses" (p. 118). That is, the placement of SCT is not designed to be in pursuit of further talk in the same line or sequence, but is a clearer indication of the sequence 'completedness' (p. 142). Here, one complexity is that the SCT is not necessarily the terminal point of the sequence but rather an indication of a 'possible' sequence closure, similar to something observed in a possible turn completion point (refer back to the previous sections). Therefore, the speaker, especially the SCT-recipient, may launch some actions after the SCT which do not expand the sequence nor provoke further talks. These post-SCT productions, or what Schegloff (2007) called 'post-completion musing', rather show a reflection on the previously completable sequence and are typically followed by a silence break, leading to the initiation of a new sequence in accordance with a conversational business that is separate from the prior sequence (p. 143–144).

The other method of post-expansion for participants is known as 'non-minimal post-expansion'. This type of post-expansion is launched with a post-SPP action that is designed to make itself the FPP in a smaller sequence structure belonging to the larger one with the base FPP and SPP (p. 149). That is, the initiation of non-minimal expansion is well associated with the producer's orientation to the need to expand the base sequence to accomplish the ongoing interactional activity, such as (other-initiated) repair made to the SPP. Again, the sequence construction and its achievement requires the mutual understanding of each action unit that is situated in a particular context and reflexive between participants (e.g. Heritage & Atkinson, 1984; Mondada, 2011; Schegloff, 1982). Thus, the SPP can also be subjected to repair in the post-SPP space for a prospective sequence closure. In addition to such post-expansional repair, the post-SPP space is also utilised for topicalisation. For instance, the FPP is in receipt of the informative SPP that carries new information or something tellable for the participants, and then the next speaker in the post-SPP space produces a resource to pursue further talk to elaborate the SPP (Jefferson, 1981). Moreover, post-expansion is an address to not only the immediately previous SPP, but also the FPP when the FPP speaker intends to elaborate or moderate his/her previously completed first action after the production of SPP. This is especially the case when the self-repair is implemented at the third position/turn, which retrospectively revises the FPP unit.[31]

[31] Note that the third-*position* repair is distinctive from the third-*turn* repair in that the former emerges from the SPP speaker's production in the second position of the sequence as an initiator (although the

Again, as described in Section 3.3.1, possible and pre-possible completion are the points where the next speaker takes the floor before further action is projected by the current speaker. This does not mean that there is no projectability of turn constituents after a possible turn-closing point. Rather, several turn constituents may be produced at a post-possible completion point to extend the previous TCU or turn with another completion point for recipients at its ending (Schegloff, 1996, p. 90). Analogous to the cases of pre-possible completion, a post-possible closing can also be informed by the sequential organisation of a turn. On the one hand, post-possible completion components can be a simple 'add-on' (p. 90) which complements a preceding yet completed TCU (or turn) after the speaker change occurs. Jefferson (1973) treated turn components produced at post-possible completion as 'tag-positioned', reflecting the speaker's organisational methods to "scrutinize the elapsed time between question and answer for a recipient's willingness or reluctance" (p. 73). For example, when the current speaker makes an offer to the recipient and the first invitation is responded to with a non-smooth, delayed transition of the speakership, a certain trouble (Pomerantz, 1984a) or rejection (Davidson, 1984, p. 104) can be implicitly displayed. On this occasion, as illustrated by Davidson (1984), the speaker typically projects further turn components beyond a possible completion point, which "may be providing the inviter or offerer with a *monitor space* in which he or she can examine what happens or what does not happen there for its acceptance/rejection implicativeness" (p. 117). That is, a further projection of turn constituents at a post-possible completion point can neutralise the time gap between an invitation and an answer, which also gives the recipient another chance to display his or her response.

On the other hand, a 'non-add-on' type of action will also be present at a post-possible completion point. An example can be the repair initiation, in what Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977) called 'transition-space repair'. Again, a transition space of the speakership has been demonstrated to occur at the possible completion of a TCU (or turn), and the speaker can initiate a self-repair beyond the projected possible completion point (p. 366). This type of repair can be initiated especially when speaker change does not occur at a possible completion point of the current turn, which in its sequential organisation illustrates a chance for the repair initiation provided at a post-possible completion point (p. 374). As seen in the pre-possible and possible completion cases, the post-possible completion phenomenon can be characterised by the sequential placement of turn components in the ongoing course of action (i.e. sequence), a

speaker displays an uptake and does not orient him/herself to any troubles) to revise the FPP. On the other hand, the latter is a rework of the first action whose action is not associated with the SPP unit (Schegloff, 1997).

distinctive locus of organisational resource for displaying possible turn completion (Schegloff, 1996, p. 90–91).[32]

These phenomena of several types of sequence expansion show us that the sequence structure is not predetermined or always constructed in the same way. Instead, participants co-construct a particular context on a turn-by-turn basis, whereby each action is produced, understood, and oriented by other speakers. Once the previous action is completed, the orientation to that action significantly indexes the context of an ongoing activity and thus the trajectory of talk. In Chapters 4 and 5, this contextual feature of talk-in-interaction provides an account of different pathways for progression of the ongoing sequence structure, being associated with the production of final *but*s.

3.4. Research procedures

Having explained key concepts and methodological notes regarding CA, this final section of the methodology explains how the collected data were handled for this investigation. Firstly, I illustrate where the data were retrieved to build a collection to be analysed in my thesis (Section 3.4.1). Then, I discuss transcriptions: how portions of the acquired data in question were transcribed for demonstration utilising the Jeffersonian transcription system (Section 3.4.2). I also explain how my research proceeded through the following four stages: initial search for candidate phenomenon, collection construction, transcribing, and data analysis (Section 3.4.3). Finally, I leave mentions of some practical concerns that are relevant to my data-handling processes (Section 3.4.4).

3.4.1. Data

This research utilises two corpora of mundane interactions in English: BNC Audio and NUCASE. BNC Audio is a collection of approximately 46 hours of audio-recordings of ordinary conversation in British English registered in the BNC (Coleman et al., 2012). The data were recorded in 1991–2 in multiple geographic locations across Britain and in diverse settings, forming one of the largest first-speaker corpora of British English. The volunteers carried a Sony Walkman tape recorder around with them and recorded their wide-ranging everyday conversations. The recorded data were transcribed by professional typists in the form of orthographic type transcription which has been publicly available under a Creative Commons

[32] In addition to 'add-on' components and 'transition-space repair', Schegloff (1996) introduced other post-possible completion elements, including tag questions (see below), which he called 'post-completion stance marker' (p. 92).

Attribution License (see Coleman et al., 2011). An Audio Sampler sector of the BNC publishes a selection of audio-recordings deposited at the British Library Sound Archive, originally designed for the phonetic research project at the University of Oxford. The second dataset, NUCASE, derives from approximately 53 hours of recordings of academic discussion sessions among university students (Walsh, 2012). The NUCASE data utilised in this thesis particularly represent small-group discussion meetings, where participants are engaged in highly reciprocal and extended courses of action. There are also few pedagogical orientations drawn by the stakeholders (i.e. teachers and university staff) compared to typical classroom-style settings (Macbeth, 2000; Markee & Kasper, 2004). To accomplish their goal-oriented activities, participants co-construct their own context using several organisational methods to produce their thoughts and suggestions, or simply ideas (Tracy & Muller, 1994, p. 319).

The reasons for utilising these corpora in this thesis are twofold. Firstly, the data are associated with audio samples that are necessary to conduct a CA approach. Once the conversational data are recorded, they become "repeatably inspectable" (Schegloff, 2003, p. 39) and allow reinvestigation from the same and other researchers (Sacks, 1992: I, p. 622). As CA focuses on naturally occurring talk, it was also ensured that all excerpts genuinely represent daily activities that were not induced by any artificial instructions or recording scripts (Garfinkel, 1996, p. 11; Schegloff, 1987a, p. 102; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, p. 291; ten Have, 2007, p. 73). The two corpora used in this thesis meet these analytical requirements, as the data with the audio samples represent naturally occurring interactions taking place in various settings. Secondly, a utilisation of published or collaboratively constructed corpora makes it possible to handle a larger amount of data than a self-collection of the data (see Kennedy, 1998; Reppen & Simpson-Vlach, 2002; Walsh, Morton & O'Keeffe, 2011).

Herein, some would argue that BNC Audio and NUCASE cannot be simply compared due to the different natures of their data samples: ordinary conversation and institution talk.[33] Having been described in the previous sections in this chapter, CA studies have made notes on differentiating these two spoken contexts, or setting-specific speech-exchange systems (ten Have, 2007, p. 178), which emerge from the intersubjective organisation of the participants. The definition of 'context' used here is ascribed to CA researchers, and is not simply applicable to other research fields. Studies in pragmatics, for example, have proposed that context means (conversational) setting-dependent aspects of meaning (Bach, 2005, p. 21), or more broadly, everything (Wharton, 2010, p. 75). On the other hand, CA researchers consider context as "inherently locally produced, incrementally developed and, by extension, as transformable at

[33] Note that the BNC also includes conversational data representing talk in institutional settings (e.g. a conversation between office staff members and customers).

any moment" (Drew & Heritage, 1992a, p. 21). Regarding this point, Sacks et al. (1974) made one of the most influential references to the turn-taking system as 'a basic form' of organisation for conversation:

> in that it would be invariant to parties, such that whatever variations the parties brought to bear in the conversation would be accommodated without change in the system, and such that it could be selectively and locally affected by social aspects of context. (p. 700)

Regarding this point, there is indeed a major difference between mundane and institutional talk: the latter may represent orientations of participants to achieve specific and predetermined goals (Drew & Heritage, 1992b; Fisher, 1996; Heyman, 1986). However, it is not the right practice to differentiate 'ordinary' and 'institutional' aspects of talk-in-interaction before the actual investigation is made (see Schegloff, 1999). Unlike BNC Audio, the NUCASE data illustrate exchanges in discussion groups including first language (L1) speakers of British English and second language (L2) speakers of English. Overall, these discussion meetings can be characterised as institutional exchanges where participants are driven by the specific institutional agenda. In the NUCASE data of small-group meetings, this agenda is finalising their own course projects, although there is a variation in specific tasks among different groups (Stokoe, 2000). Nevertheless, my analysis is not meant to suggest different structures of talk between ordinary and institutional settings before looking at the data. Instead, the NUCASE data are utilised to strengthen the 'systematicity' regarding the placement of final *but*. In other words, the description of the token in use becomes more convincing when particular patterns found in the cases of one data source are also found in different data sources.

3.4.2. Notes on transcriptions

Arguably, transcription has been one of the central methodological issues in linguistic-related research. The process of transcription is motivated to 'represent' what has been observed, often with graphic symbols, in text form. However, transcribing the data is not a straightforward process since transcription is a somewhat rendered production (see Du Bois, 1991; Duranti, 2006; Goodwin, 1994; Lapadat & Lindsay, 1999; Ochs, 1979; ten Have, 2007). A typical criticism of transcribing talk is that the process does not exactly represent 'how' participants produce language (e.g. Bezemer & Mavers, 2011, p. 196; Schiffrin, 1994, p. 25). I now consider the following transcription retrieved from BNC Audio.

Chris (PS1BL) [1348] come on
Steven (PS1BP) [1349] Yours comes natural you see
Chris (PS1BL) [1350] Oh just try it then we don't care, we won't laugh, much
Steven (PS1BP) [1351] You will laugh
Chris (PS1BL) [laugh]
Steven (PS1BP) [1352] I know you'll laugh, but

This basic type of transcription is called 'orthographic transcription' and describes talk in word-by-word writing; the number [1348–1352] is the code of the turn/utterance in the corpus. A great advantage of utilising this type of transcription is the readability, as orthographic descriptions are typically made by ignoring any metalinguistic information to which participants may orient themselves in the talk (see Erickson, 2011, p. 184). However, this transcription describes what participants said, yet is insufficient to represent what happened on that occasion. Did the two speakers (Chris and Steven) seriously and strictly follow the one-speaker-at-a-time rule? Were there no gaps between turns? How did the recipient recognise a point of transition relevance, or did syntactic completion anytime work to indicate a transition space? Ultimately, what exactly happened? These questions are never answered by the orthographic transcription due to its simplified description of the actual interaction.

Given the inherent limitation of the orthographic type of transcription, some have tried to add symbols to increase representativeness of talk. However, the degree of inclusion of conversational/interactional features significantly varies between transcription systems, which are significantly based on their research agenda (Du Bois, 1991, p. 72; Tilley, 2003, p. 752). Here, several could be reviewed, but I will consider three transcription conventions used in *Cambridge and Nottingham Corpus of Discourse in English* (CANCODE) (Adolphs, 2008), *Hong Kong Corpus of Spoken English* (HKCSE) (Cheng, Greaves & Warren, 2008), and the discourse-transcription system (Du Bois et al., 1993).[34] Firstly, the CANCODE conventions aim to keep a certain degree of representativeness and readability for non-specialists. The transcription includes several symbols to describe conversational features: for example, <$E>…<$/E> for extra-linguistic information; a plus symbol (+) for interrupted speech; and <$OL>…<$/OL> for overlapped parts of the talk.[35] As Adolphs (2008) demonstrated, CANCODE conventionalised transcription can describe what has been articulated and briefly

[34] On the detailed descriptions in respect of wide variations in transcription styles between researchers, see O'Connell and Kowal (1994).
[35] The CANCODE conventions were also used for *Nottingham Multi-Modal Corpus* (NMMC; Knight, 2011) and the NUCASE. See Adolphs (2008, p. 137–138) for a detailed list of conventionalised symbols.

show how speakers produce their turns. In contrast, the HKCSE utilises transcription conventions more tailored to prosodic features of language, based on David Brazil's influential works on 'the system of discourse intonation' (1994, 1997). As Brazil (1994) argued, language is not merely a collection of separated words of talk but rather conveyed "in the way we are accustomed to thinking of the separate sounds of single words as being run together" (p. 7). For inspection of how different tone choices of the speaker are locally organised, the HKSCE database contains roughly 900,000 words that have been prosodically transcribed. Under the norm of 'tone units', which are prosodic divisions of spoken language (Brazil, 1995), additional information is added to the orthographic transcription, such as prominent syllables, falling/rising tone,[36] high/low key and termination, and simultaneous talk (see Cheng et al., 2008, p, 36, for details of the notation systems). Finally, the other finer-grained convention introduced here is the discourse-transcription system (Du Bois et al., 1993), which utilises a wider ranges of symbols to represent similar conversational features including prosodic designs: for example, a dot (.) for pause information; @ symbol for a syllable of laughter; and a slash (/) for rising pitch (see also Du Bois, 1991).

In CA research, the Jeffersonian system (Jefferson, 2004), revised from Atkinson & Heritage, 1984, p. ix–xvi), has been widely applied as a standard form of transcription. This convention, which imposes a highly specific rule for symbols used to describe different conversational features (see Appendix A), was arguably motivated by a general CA as a form of ethnomethodology for local organisation of talk-in-interaction. This level of fine-grained transcription allows readers access to what has been observed (Seedhouse, 2005), simply because CA stems from initial unmotivated investigations and thus its transcription never 'selects' what will or will not be described "because it's there" (Jefferson, 2004, p. 15). Furthermore, as Wooffitt (2005, p. 164–165) emphasised, CA research has arguably avoided using general etic-like terms, and this trend is well kept in its transcription system. For instance, the general term 'interruption' may be used when a transition of speakership occurs before the prior speaker completes a turn (e.g. Adolphs, 2008; Murray, 1985); in the CANCODE system, a plus (+) symbol indicates an interruption. However, an interruption-like environment with overlap may not simply be an interruption in talk-in-interaction, since "on close inspection, much overlapping talk which appears interruptive is in fact closely coordinated with the occurrence of transition relevance places" (Wooffitt, 2005, p. 164). As described in the previous sections, a transition space for the next speaker's participation is interplayed with numerous factors, e.g., possible completion point of the current action, prosodic designs, and pragmatic

[36] The HKCSE also distinguishes the fall-rise (r+) and rise-fall (p+) tones from the fall/rise tone.

information. In this regard, Levelt (1993) argued that "how a listener combines these sources of information to compute transition-relevance places in actual discourse is largely untouched in the extensive literature on discourse analysis" (p. 36). When transcription has symbols for conversational features such as the overlap onset/offset – when overlap starts and ends, its final pitch contour, and associated silences – the speaker action can be well represented compared to other, simplified systems. Some attempts have also been made to apply multimodal/gestural descriptions to the Jeffersonian system (e.g. Goodwin, 1994; Heath, Hindmarsh & Luff, 2010; Oloff, 2013).

However, the Jeffersonian system is also never free of limitations. Firstly, CA transcriptions regularly require the readers to be familiar with the system for interpretation. Secondly, the CA transcription system is a 'nightmare' (Jefferson, 2004, p. 14) for the transcribers and the readers; for example, a minute-long audio-recording will likely require an hour's work to be transcribed under the CA system. This point is touched again in the next section with regard to my transcription practice. Thirdly, the representation is arguably subjective, especially when it comes to prosodic features (see Steensig, 2001); I address this limitation (albeit not perfectly) utilising a computational software 'Praat' (Boersma & Weenink, 2016). Finally, the CA convention has to some extent generated minor variations in terms of which symbols are used. For instance, Jefferson (2004) suggested the use of 'upper-case' for loud sounds (p. 27), yet some studies have included fragments in which the first letter of a turn-final item or proper nouns were capitalised (e.g. Bolden, 2009; Schegloff, 2007); in such cases, the readers may be confused about whether the capitalised letter was loudly produced or was simply capitalised because it is an initial letter. In my transcription, for example, the capital *I* and freestanding *i* are distinguished; the former indicates a first-person pronoun, while the latter is an /i/ sound. In this regard, it should be cautioned that although such a decision is a matter of personal preference and typically shows minimal differences compared to others' transcriptions, it may affect readability and thus requires careful consideration (Jenks, 2011, p. 96–97). In Jenks's note, he commented on the cases where every proper name and/or pronoun, and every letter at the beginning of a new utterance is capitalised. In my transcription, the pronoun *I* is only capitalised for readability, and the other proper (pro)nouns are written in lowercase letters to balance readability and representativeness.

3.4.3. Research procedures

As stated in Section 1, my research seeks sequential designs of final *but*s in light of how the token is formed and placed in a particular position (see Schegloff, 1991, p. 53). To achieve a thorough observation of final *but*s, my research went through several investigational stages, as follows:

Stage 1: Initial search for candidate phenomenon
Stage 2: Collection construction
Stage 3: Transcription for analysis
Stage 4: Data analysis

My research started with an initial phase of looking through the data to identify the focus for the study, or the 'candidate phenomenon' (Seedhouse, 2004b, p. 39). In this phase, the study firstly undertook an initial observation of the data. Again, a CA approach is strictly data-driven and initially undergoes a non-discursive research process that is characterised by the unmotivated observation of the data (Psathas, 1995, p. 45; Schegloff, 1999b, p. 577). Although the observation of the audio/video data itself does not make CA distinctive from other linguistic fields, unmotivated looking is a disciplinary principle in that the first observation of the data is not associated with any predetermined assumptions regarding target conversational phenomena for analysis (Clift, 2016, p. 42). Following these ideas, my investigation was initiated with no *a priori* assumptions regarding the data; that is, I did not know which aspects of talk should be analysed in this thesis project before looking through the data samples and identifying the candidate phenomenon.

As outlined before, CA studies utilise Jeffersonian transcription conventions to investigate publicly observable material and transparency of the interactional data. Nevertheless, in my study, the transcription phase was only partially in line with the 'all-the-data-transcribed' scheme. For the pilot attempt, I randomly chose parts of the dataset in BNC Audio and tried to transcribe all the data in those portions. Throughout this process, I found several cases of final *but*s utilised by the participants whose actions appeared to be differently shaped by a) the placement of each *but*-unit and b) a different trajectory of talk in the post-*but* space. At that time, my observation through CA transcribing partially indicated that final *but*s were worth exploring further, and they thus became the candidate for further analysis.

Once the candidate phenomenon was identified, I entered the collection construction phase based on the orthographic transcription offered by the corpus. This process built a core

collection of 36 identified cases of the conjunctional token: 25 cases in BNC Audio, and 11 additional cases in NUCASE that were later added after the investigation of the data in BNC Audio were complete. Although the data I looked through are not video data, they span more than 99 hours. As suggested by ten Have (2007), my collection was built 'in rounds' (p. 111). For constructing the collection, I first went through the data listening to the audio recordings in line with the provided orthographic transcription. Instead of using a searching function to identify the target tokens, I made observational notes on each occasion utilising a digital annotation tool: 'ELAN' (Lausberg & Sloetjes, 2009). In this process, I came across several cases of final *but*s and some *but*s showing a similar feature (i.e. local *but*s; see Chapter 4). Of these, some tokens appeared to be placed in a possible action completion point with no following talk by the same speaker; these were distinctive from other cases of the token seen as a device to hold the floor and to be followed by the speaker's continuation. Then, after collecting 25 candidates (core collection) retrieved from BNC Audio, each case was converted using Jeffersonian transcription conventions to add more details for the next phase of data analysis, as long as it informatively captured the sequential features of the target phenomenon and these regularities oriented by the participants as a means of organising the talk (Heritage, 1988, p. 131).

In the collection-construction stage, it is of the utmost importance to provide easy access to not only the transcription but also the audio data of the candidate cases. This is because, although detailed transcriptions offer representational information about the data, it is practically challenging for a written form to become a substitute for the recorded data itself (Heritage & Atkinson, 1984; Psathas & Anderson, 1990). That is, analysts need to be in a procedural cycle between the investigation of the transcription and the actual data. In this sense, any annotation tools for mapping the target incidents are useful, as they offer instant access to the target section of extended transcribed data (Hazel, Mortensen, & Haberland, 2012). In my research, the ELAN software was selected because of its multi-layered annotation function, among other annotation tools (e.g. CLAN).

Figure 3.2: Multi-layered annotation system in the ELAN software

As seen in Figure 3.2, ELAN allows different annotations on a specific point of the data with clear visibility. Here, S1–S5 are the layers in which the utterances of each speaker are transcribed. The layer 'TRAILOFF' (in Figure 3.2.) was added to make it possible to track the target instances.[37] In the last layer, 'Notes', notes on remarkable details were made when necessary. ELAN also shows a simple waveform of the audio recordings that contributes to deciding the length of utterance and silence, and when a more specific analysis is required for intonation and phonetic features, the selected part of the data can be easily imported into other software.

Based on the annotations made in ELAN, all target instances were transcribed under the CA transcription convention in line with Jefferson (2004). As my analysis utilised audio data, non-verbal/vocal gestures were not included in the excerpts. The name of each speaker in BNC Audio is shortened to the first three letters as a speaker code (e.g. CLA for 'Clarence') for transcription purposes, and those called 'unknown speaker' were assigned different codes. In NUCASE, the original autographic transcription codes the speaker using the $ symbol (e.g. $1 for Speaker 1), and there are many cases in which the original name of the speaker is not clarified in the interaction. Therefore, the original speaker code ($) was retained in my transcription of the NUCASE data. It should be noted here that some symbols were amended from the original Jeffersonian system. Firstly, the final *but* is highlighted in boldface and grey shading (i.e. **but**) for clarity. Secondary, following the necessity of the serious consideration of final pitch/intonation contour in turn-final conjunctions (e.g. Drake, 2015; Local & Kelly, 1986; Walker, 2012), I applied GAT2 (Selting et al., 2009) for the final contour. The original

[37] When making the coding layer, I already had some understandings of the notion of trailoff conjunctions, which is why the layer was given this name.

Jeffersonian system uses three symbols for final contours: a full-stop (.) for falling; a comma (,) for slightly rising; and a question mark (?) for rising pitch. Following Drake (2015), my excerpts use these three original symbols and two additional contour symbols at turn-final position: a hyphen (_) for a level, and a semicolon (;) for a slightly falling pitch.[38] Furthermore, in this study the computational system 'Praat' was utilised to identify prosodic information since the manual measurement is claimed to be inherently subjective (Steensig, 2001, p. 272). Appendix A provides a full list of conventionalised symbols used in my excerpts.

Note that the copyright of the data samples in BNC Audio and NUCASE belongs to different institutions: The University of Oxford and Cambridge University Press, respectively. For copyright protection, any excerpts are kept only as long as necessary to offer analytical views on the target cases. Especially in the NUCASE data, however, the sequence is extensively stretched (as in Chapters 4 and 5). I argue that for clarity, it is not good practice to cite the entire sequence structure within the main body of the text. Appendix B is thus provided for the extended versions of CA transcriptions for the target occasions in my collection. Here, it should be noted that some parts of transcription were inaudible/unintelligible due to the occurrence of overlap talk and/or the audio quality, which was also not provided on the orthographic transcription.[39]

In the final analytical process, CA takes an 'emic' procedure that is "not merely the participants' perspective, but their perspective from within the sequential environment in which the social actions were performed" (Seedhouse, 2007, p. 528). Although CA research is driven by its assumptions of talk-in-interaction, CA does not rely on any *a priori* hypothesised conceptions coming from other approaches or research disciplines to yield 'evidence' of any claims (ten Have, 2007, p. 13). Instead, CA uses a specific approach to explore "the participants' understanding of what is happening that is important, not what the analysts think is happening" (Wooffitt, 2005, p. 164). Evidence is therefore sought 'inside' the interaction established in a series of turn-by-turn movements. To make any analytical claims, an understanding of the relationship between the next, current, and prior turn, rather than any subjective sources (e.g. field notes), is essential (Sacks et al., 1974, Schegloff, 1996; see also Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p. 15; ten Have, 2007, p. 39).

My analysis was conducted to move from the discursive collection of the candidate cases to more analytical descriptions of them. Regarding this point, the following analytical questions were set, as proposed by Hutchby and Wooffitt (2008):

[38] A level pitch can be defined as "an unchanging frequency throughout the last accented syllable and any further non-accented syllables" (Szczepek Reed, 2004, p. 105).
[39] Although I consulted the data with my English-speaking colleagues, some were still left blank.

a) What interactional business is being mediated or accomplished through the use of a sequential pattern?

b) How do participants demonstrate their active orientation to this business?

(p. 93)

Therefore, my analytical phase considered the following features of talk-in-interaction in relation to the uses of final *but* in my collection. Firstly, I observed what action is being accomplished in a particular sequence to understand "[w]hat is this participant doing in this turn" (ten Have, 2007, p. 123). Starting with the general location of the sequence structure including *but*, I first explored how turns in talk ending in *but* are placed and related to each other, and how the current sequence is initiated and when the sequence appears to be closed. In this stage, I understood (but discursively) that there are two types of final *but*s that show their possible action completion differently, in line with the relevance between the current *but*-turn and the prior conversational resources. Thus, I identified different actions of these *but*s as either elaboration or concession made to the previous materials; nevertheless, any consideration of each action was made in a similar way to a type of form-function matching (Seedhouse, 2004b, p. 40) and still in the provisional way. I later returned to each consideration in the next phase. Secondly, each projected action was considered in light of how the turn is located in the ongoing sequence and what action is immediately followed in the subsequent talk, including the question of how the unit or turn ending at *but* is designed for the recipient. This phase of data analysis became salient in my project, highlighting different designs of *but* in terms of the relevancy of either closure or expansion of the sequence. This stage made me return to and revise the descriptions of action by inspecting the post-*but* talk. Here, I noticed that *but*s are not merely the speaker's action design for elaborating or conceding, but more of an organisational practice for a certain progressivity of the sequence. This also made me focus on the different patterns of *buts* following a sequence closure/expansion or self-continuation to provide an account of the contrasting act.

It should also be noted that any quantitative insights on final *but* were not prioritised. As has been cautioned in prior CA research (e.g. Drummond & Hopper, 1993; Schegloff, 1993), the conversational phenomena, including turn-final conjunctions as Walker (2012) argued, cannot be satisfactorily tracked by setting up the basis for statistical perspectives, but can be informed from a single case-by-case analysis and some collections of the similar features in the conduct of talk-in-interaction. In this regard, Schegloff (1993) noted that "*one* is also a number,

the single case is also a quantity, and *statistical* significance is but one form of significance" (p. 101) and "the fact that we *can* do quantitative analysis…does not entail that we *should* do it" (p. 116). A further discussion of the quantification of the target phenomenon is provided in Chapter 6.

3.4.4. Practical concerns

One limitation, which will also be mentioned in the overall discussion, is that the available resources for analysis were arguably limited to hearable materials without any visual information. It has been claimed across research disciplines that video data are powerful resources to enable a more fine-grained analysis of how people interact with each other in their daily practices (e.g. Ford, Thompson & Drake, 2012; Goodwin, 1979; Hayashi, 2003; Streeck & Hartge, 1992). If we need to utilise authentic or spontaneous samples of talk, excluding many multimodal features of interactions could be fatal, as the attempt obscures the real nature of human interactions (see Abercrombie 1963, p. 55; Adolphs & Carter, 2007, p. 135; Birdwhistell, 1970; Cassell, McNeill & McCullough, 1999; Kendon, 1995, 1997; Knight & Adolphs, 2007, p. 177–178; McNeill, 1985, 1992; Richmond & McCroskey, 1999; Wilcox, 2004). Therefore, utilising only audio data can theoretically result in excluding many aspects of non-linguistic communicative signals other than linguistic elements, generating a limited view of the human interactions that occurred (Knight, 2011, p. 32–33; Schiffrin, 1994, p. 25).

Nevertheless, this does not mean that audio-only data are unemployable or valueless. When recalling the first generation of CA studies (e.g. Atkinson & Heritage, 1984; Lerner, 2004), many of them yielded significant insights into the local organisation of talk-in-interaction based on audio-recorded data. Of course, research from a multimodal perspective enables us to suggest or revisit several conducts of conversational phenomena (e.g. Goodwin & Goodwin, 1992b, for embodied participation framework; Hayashi, 2003, for collaborative bodily actions in a Japanese-speaking word-search environment; Oloff, 2013, for embodied withdrawal after overlap resolution). On the other hand, audio-recordings can also provide insightful ideas regarding the 'basic' structure of local organisation of talk-in-interaction.

The other practical limitation stems from the fact that my study employed the existing recordings. Indeed, it should be noted that any recordings may not be recourses that 'perfectly' capture the daily activities of participants. As human interaction is fundamentally fluid and flexible, the invasive factors affect the degree of naturalness of recorded data. A possible limitation of audio-recordings, as well as video-recordings, emerges from the nature of recordings, as the placement of devices affects the participant's reactivity in several ways

(Albrecht, 1985, p. 335; Banks, 1998, p. 11–15; Prosser, 1998, p. 93). In this respect, any forms of recording face their inherent limitation known as the 'observer's paradox' (Labov, 1972, 1997), whereby the involvement of recording devices as an alternative eye will alter the participant's behaviours to be recorded (see Gross, 1991; Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007). Although the observer's paradox is admittedly regarded as a significant shortcoming which affects participants' performance and thus needs to be acknowledged, it is considerably difficult to overcome the limitation due to ethical considerations (Albrecht, 1985, p. 338; Knight, 2011, p. 51).

To minimise the participant's reactivity, there have been several solutions suggested. First, the recording phase can involve longitudinal attempts to record the same circumstance (e.g. involving the same participants, same recording devices, and the same recording settings). Such a prolonged engagement in a consistent recording setting helps acclimatise participants to the speaking circumstances and thus contributes to reducing the possible effect stemming from their reactivity towards the unnatural environment with recording devices (see Knight, 2011, p. 30; Onwuegbuzie and Leech, 2007, p. 239; Rosenstein, 2002, p. 25; Vacher et al., 2014). The degree of participants' reactivity will alternatively be decreased by reducing their exposure to the recording devices by using small or concealed cameras (see Gross, 1991) or by ensuring the distance between participants and cameras (see Haidet et al., 2009). For the researcher to ensure the validity of recorded data, these methods could be taken as a form of post-recording questionnaires, asking participants whether or to what extent they think their behaviours were affected by the presence of recording devices (Albrecht, 1985, p. 335).

As the data utilised in this research has already been collected, it is practically no longer possible for me to cope with the possible intrusion of the recording devices by conducting a long-term recording or applying less invasive devices. However, the presence of recording devices is not necessarily intrusive and something rendering the participants' behaviours for "the benefit of the tape" (Hazel, 2015, p. 463; see also Heath & Luff, 1993). That is, whatever the participants do, and even when they orient themselves to the presence of the recording devices, these actions are those they actually perform on such occasions. Although the data were recorded in an experimental fashion created by the researcher, analysts can investigate the data as natural talk wherein the participants interact in an ordinary way (ten Have, 2007, p. 69). In this sense, I considered the naturalness of the data handled in this thesis simply because they were unscripted.

3.5. Summary

This chapter has provided an extensive summary of key concepts of CA, which I used in my analyses of final *but*s, as a research discipline that can be distinctive from other approaches in the social sciences. Based on naturally occurring data, CA investigations consider organisational and procedural features of talk-in-interaction. At the heart of CA, analysts need to examine how the talk is intersubjectively organised and sequentially ordered based on mutual understanding between participants. With regard to what they are doing and in which way they display each action, not merely why they are doing (ten Have, 2007, p. 9), the central feature of talk is that the transition between different turns is organised in line with the next speaker's understanding of the prior action. Many insights have been provided regarding how turn-taking activities are managed in a (dis)orderly way, and how a particular sequential context is emergent in line with the projection of the action and its accomplishment. Therefore, to understand the relevance between turns in talk, it is of the utmost importance to inspect a series of individual actions.

This chapter has demonstrated why I specifically used CA to address my research questions regarding the sequential features of final *but*s. As outlined in Chapter 1 and 2, final *but*s appear to make the provided contrasting resources in prior talk salient by retroactively linking the current turn back to the previous talk. However, conversational features of these *but*s are seen more as action designs that are displayed in the ongoing course of action to accomplish particular sequence moves. It has also been illustrated that participants can recognise a possible space for transition relevance unless sufficient resources are provided to demonstrate potential completion of the current turn. Compared to grammatical descriptions of turn-final conjunctional tokens, however, very few analyses have been documented with regard to action formation of final *but*s in a particular activity in progress. That is, a turn is designed in different ways, and the turn-shape stems from a reasonable choice of participants who utilise the organisation of situational and linguistic resources. As talk-in-interaction is essentially fluid, various resources are available to the recipient to comply with a projection of the action relevant to the current turn. Hence, the central issue to be considered in the next chapters is action designs in the production of final *but*s and provisions for the subsequent talk in the courses of action.

Chapter 4. Final *but*s: interactional contrast for sequence progression

4.1. Introduction

From a CA perspective, the design of a turn construction is a central aspect of turn-taking organisation. As for turn completion designs, a display of a possible completion point is organised as a resource that allows participants to make a smooth shift from one turn to another. Through talk-in-interaction, the speaker arranges a syntactic formation of his/her turn to make it projectable as a specific and contextually situated action for the participants (Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Schegloff, 1996). Here, syntactic information, or more simply the grammatical formation of a turn, is a clear indication of turn completion, which provides a clue to understand a possible completion of the turn and thus action to be projected (Ochs et al, 1996).

Nevertheless, the norm of 'grammar' here does not simply refer to a prerequisite rule for grammatical or sentential composition, and TCU is thus not always formulated as something registered in dictionaries or grammar-instructional texts. Instead, a turn organisational system is 'complex' (Ford, 2013, p. 5; Selting, 2000). That is, a projection of possible turn completion is not necessarily adumbrated by only syntactic or grammatical features of a turn: participants may acknowledge the projectability of actions and the readiness for speaker change without a strict syntactic achievement made at each turn-closing point. This complex feature of possible turn completion is also true for cases of final *but*s. As illustrated in Chapter 2, the English *but* serves various functions depending on how it is incorporated into utterances. The token not only shows a connection between the adjacent phrases or clauses in a single turn in a typical 'X-*but*-Y' structure, but also provides an interpretable implication without a clear verbal production of the Y unit, especially when the token is left at final placement. In the latter case, the production of the *but*-unit is not clearly brought into its syntactic completion point, unlike its traditional use as a conjunction.

This chapter considers the interactional features of turn constituents ending with *but* (i.e. final *but*s) for the progression of the sequence structure in light of the indexicality of a certain shift in focus of talk in the subsequent sequence. My collection highlights that a turn completion design of final *but*s is associated with the orderliness of retroactive interactional contrast, where the *but*-unit encodes a contrastive implication and recasts the prior action of the speaker without projecting a new action of the contrast. This operation of final *but*s is the establishment of a 'global-level' (Ford & Thompson, 1996) pragmatic completion as an achievement of a coherent structure of the ongoing sequence structure. I argue that final *but*s are the speaker's action design to prioritise sequence progression by retroactively recasting the prior unit rather than adding incompatibility at the content level.

I first revisit the literature on the complexity of how turn completion is displayed, which is relevant to understanding the finality of *but*s (Section 4.2). Then, I illustrate the projection of final *but*s in my data, considering its turn design and sequential placement (Section 4.3). To strengthen my argument, I discuss structural differences between final *but*s and those associated with follow-up productions of the *but*-speaker (i.e. local *but*s) (Section 4.4). In particular, this section handles the specific forms of *but* that show a similar feature of intra-turn placement – the Janus *but* (Mulder & Thompson, 2008), or local *but* in my thesis – and reformulates the current understanding of the action completion design of final *but*s.

4.2. Revisiting complexity in turn completion

The production of a conjunctional token *but* left at (turn-)final placement is an occasion where we understand the complexity of the turn transition space in terms of how participants (co-)construct and recognise a potential transition space of speakership (Murray, 1985, p. 33; Oreström, 1983, p. 29; Wilson, Wiemann & Zimmerman, 1984, p. 173). Syntactic completion is just one indication of turn completion, meaning that a turn-taking organisation is not constructed exclusively through the understanding of a syntactic status of turns (Ford & Thompson, 1996, p. 136). Instead, it has been considered that there are interplays between numerous aspects of turn completion. In fact, there is evidence that participants orient themselves to what follows and can predict a possible completion point even before the current turn has reached its syntactic completion point (e.g. Gumperz, 1982; Jefferson, 1973; Wells & Macfarlane, 1998; Wilson & Zimmerman, 1986), as in cases of what Schegloff (1996) called a 'pre-possible completion'. Instead of waiting for the current speaker to indicate the syntactic completion of the ongoing turn, participants expect that the speaker will close the current turn. Therein, an opportunity arises for the co-participant(s) to initiate a new turn with minimal overlap of talk (Jefferson, 1973).

The decision for a possible turn completion point should consider different 'non-syntactic' aspects of talk-in-interaction (Selting, 2000, p. 487). This viewpoint echoes Ford and Thompson's (1996) suggestion that the traditional attempts to segment TCUs from a syntactic perspective overlooked the complex nature of sequential organisations where the interplay between different conversational features might be present. In line with the argument regarding the importance but complexity of pragmatically indicated TRPs, they argued that pragmatic completion works within a specific sequential context wherein participants sensitively monitor when and how conversational actions are completable (p. 150–151). Pragmatic completion thus emerges from the participants' recognition of the point where the current action is

'informationally' complete even without clear syntactic achievements (see Koshik, 2002; Schegloff, 1996, p. 59; Walker, 2012, p. 149). Regarding this point, their study categorised two types of pragmatic completion: local and global (pragmatic) completion. Local completion occurs when the speaker's production of a turn unit continues, but in the middle of his/her production, the co-participant produces a minimal non-floor-taking turn (p. 150): this is what Schegloff (1997a, p. 33) called a 'quasi-turn' (also refer back to Section 3.3 for the norms of 'continuer' and 'passive recipiency'). This is the point where the co-participant reasonably finds a possible space to take a small turn that does not interrupt the speaker's continuation. Although the strong completion point of the speaker's action has not been achieved and there is thus little opportunity space for the recipient (or next speaker) to produce a concrete response, a possible local completion point is where the recipient can at least display his/her uptakes and structurally align those uptakes with the ongoing activity of the speaker (e.g. developing the story further in a storytelling sequence) (Stivers et al., 2011, p. 21). Global completion, on the other hand, indicates that the utterance is "not projecting anything beyond itself" (Ford & Thompson, 1996, p. 151). This is therefore the completable point of the speaker's action and operates as an opportunity space for the next speaker to take the floor and continue either new or expansional actions.

These norms of pragmatic completion (i.e. local or global) are key to understanding how turns-at-talk bear on projecting a completion of the speaker's action that leads to a possible transition space, particularly in the case of final *but*s. Again, pragmatic completions may indicate several loci of turn transition practices, especially where a syntactic and prosodic perspective can provide vague information to make the TCU and TRP relevant. The following sections emphasise that turn transition at final *but*s stems from the coherent connection between the current and prior unit in the ongoing talk, which becomes an account for the readiness for speaker change. The review section of this thesis (Chapter 2) highlighted that the prior literature has shown a grammatical status and some sequential properties of final *but*s. However, the question remains how such sequential features of final *but* provide for different forms of a next action. Here, it is important to consider the structure of sequence progression in terms of how participants recognise the flow of ongoing interaction for the current and next trajectory of talk.

4.3. Designing final *but*s as pragmatically complete: interactional contrasts

In this section, what is particularly illustrated is the sequential orderliness of final *but*s that are associated with non-literal, interactional contrasts by retroactively recasting the prior unit of talk as a means of organising the ongoing sequence. First, each final *but* in my collection is

placed as a final component of a pragmatically completed *but*-unit that is not a production of a content-level contrast to the initial action, but rather a backgrounding contrastive addition. As Ford (2000) argued, the production of such contrast is not treated as evoking any need for clarifying accounts of the production of the *but*-unit. Instead, the additional contrast appears to be more interactional than literal, in which the *but*-unit is well associated with the achievement of adequate resources for the subsequent sequence move without placing the contrast itself for further talk. Thus, the produced unit with final *but* is not syntactically incomplete but complete at its action level in the ongoing course of action, which contributes to maintaining the coherence of talk without making major divisions or intrusions for the subsequent sequence development.

In this sense, final *but*s do not always clearly form a compressed structure of a retraction of the initial claims, as seen in variations of concessive repair structure (cf. Koivisto, 2015; Mori, 1999a). Instead, a design of final *but*s is a non-intrusive contrast made after a possible completion point of the initial pre-*but* action is achieved. Using the following case-by-case analysis, I argue that the *but*-unit appears to be designed as much as being minimised, prioritising a progression of the sequence and "not encoding any content level incompatibility" (Ford, 2000, p. 300). Thus, the meaning of contrast here is that the *but*-unit delivers a certain contrast for sequential coherence in relation to the initial action of the speaker, and the unit does not ever strictly replace or revise, but rather foregrounds the initial action. That is, the production of *but*-units is minimally intrusive within the sequence and does not alter the possibility of sequence closure by ameliorating the prior action of the speaker. This sequential order with final *but*s provides a pathway of post-*but* trajectory of talk in that the recipient or the *but*-speaker him/herself takes an implementation of sequence move or shift.

4.3.1. Intra-unit formation of final **but*s***

One basic feature of the intra-unit placement of final *but*s is the sequential combination of an immediately preceding turn component (i.e. an X component) and the production of the token (i.e. final *but*) with no delay between them. Here, the X component is always syntactically complete to form a phrasal or clausal unit that projects more concrete actions than simple acknowledgements (e.g. *yeah*) or minimal responses (e.g. *yes* or *no*). Consider the following examples.

Excerpt (4.1): Tape_026602

```
 125   CLA:   I ↑haven't >really looked at it,<=
→126          =no I ↑glanced (.) very briefly↓ at it;=but_
 127          (1.2)
 128   NIN:   where it had er↓ a broom ↑garden.
 129          (0.4)
 130   CLA:   no↓ I didn't see that.
```

Excerpt (4.2): NC_003(1)

```
  97   $4:   hhh=co:s one of the things we discussed last week (.)
  98         wa::s (0.5) going away and finding work packages.
  99         (2.3)
 100   $2:   er:::m, (0.8) yes.
 101         (.)
→102   $4:   a:nd↓ (0.3) mine's not very interesting but_
 103         (0.4)
 104   $2:   do ↑you want to present that now,
```

In each case, it is clear that the first X component of a turn is syntactically complete and latched with the production of the token *but*, in that each speaker's action can be understood. This package formulates a *but*-unit, meaning that neither the X component nor the final *but* may be a freestanding unit. As shown in these examples, the final *but* is latched with the immediately preceding turn constituent to be a whole turn constructional unit (i.e. *but*-unit). In (4.1), the final *but* operates as a part of the *but*-unit, which is latched with the preceding X component, as in "`I ↑glanced (.) very briefly↓ at it;=but_`" (line 126). While there is no strong evidence of its syntactic completion, the unit is brought into its possible completion point, yielding transition relevance. This becomes evident at line 128, where the next speaker's (NIN) turn is indeed produced to implement a stepwise sequence move without attempting to request further explanation or resolution for the contrast, indicating that the recipient may treat the *but*-speaker's action as complete (Walker, 2012, p. 149). Example (4.2) also shows a similar case of final *but*. Within its sequence, the speaker ($4) produces a turn ending at *but* at line 102, and his action is in receipt of a responsive turn made by the co-participant ($2) without any attempts to clarify the speaker's contrast.

Although the intra-turn placement of that final token could possibly be treated as a grammatically ambiguous display of its completion point, the speaker's projected action in the *but*-unit is treated as complete and thus brings transition relevance for the *but*-recipient(s) (Ford & Thompson, 1996, p. 150; Local & Kelly 1986, p. 195; Mulder & Thompson, 2008, p. 186; Walker, 2012, p. 149). If any co-participants treat the *but*-unit as incomplete in a post-*but* space, it is not surprising that they reasonably choose to wait for further productions to bring a possible completion point, namely TRP. On the other hand, in the above cases, the *but*-speaker receives

the next speaker's action that is characterised by not containing any attempts to request further clarifications regarding what should come after the token. As seen in (4.1–2), the production of final *but* smoothly leads to the next-speaker turn, which can be initiated at a post-conjunctional place without invoking any need to repair or request further materials to be connected to the *but* at turn-final placement.

4.3.2. Final buts *as interactional contrast for sequence shifts*

It is important to grasp how co-participants understand the action completion of the *but*-speaker and how it thereby becomes a provision for the recipient action without a clear syntactic achievement with the Y component. Attention thus needs to be paid to the sequential placement of final *but* in the course of action, addressing participants' understanding of prior talk and projections of subsequent actions (Goodwin & Heritage, 1990, p. 288; Ford, 2013; Schegloff, 1996, p. 97). I now investigate how final *but* reasonably instructs participants to recognise a possible turn completion point in alignment with any resources produced in the prior talk.

The investigation of action design of final *but*s starts with Excerpt (4.3), which shows basic features of an interactive contrast with final *but* as an aligned move. As a background, KCX and PAT are talking about a doctor (referred to as 'she' or 'her' in this excerpt) about whom both participants have made negative assessments.

Excerpt (4.3): Tape_060503

```
   69  KCX:   there's me panicking.=like I said (   ) I said=
   70         =I'm going grey as it is now.
   71         I said [without worrying about.
   72  ???:          [heh heh
   73         (0.8)
   74  ENI:   hh heh heh heh heh.
   75         (0.3)
   76  KCX:   silly cows li(h)ke he(h):r?
   77  KAT:   yea:h=well=
   78  KCX:   =trying to be a doctor,
   79         (0.8)
   80  KAT:   is she a doctor or just a::
   81         (.)
   82  KAT:   [student;]
   83  KCX:   [no she' ]s a doctor.=
   84         =I think she's a junior like=
→  85  KCX:   =she's under him [but;
   86  KAT:                    [hmm
   87         (9.3)
   88  KCX:   do you know there's more go- gaps on
   89         this tapes than (   )
```

The structure of the sequence is developed in line with KCX's negative evaluation of the doctor. At line 80, KAT produces a turn as an FPP as a request for confirmation of the official status of "her" being a doctor or student. This question may stem from KCX's continuous criticism and her negative evaluative stance on the doctor. Then, the respondent KCX smoothly (without initiating inserted sequences or delayed responses) produces a relevant SPP (line 83) as an answer to the prior FPP unit. The following units in lines 84 and 85 are immediately produced as a form of increment (Schegloff, 1996, 2001) to the base SPP, wherein the first production is expanded into the next unit. At line 85, the *but*-speaker's addition for contrast is designed for the least expansion of the previous and syntactically complete initial pre-*but* action (line 83) of the same speaker, whose move is not intrusive and does not block the subsequent sequence development or completion; that is, the production of the unit is not treated by the recipient KAT to enter a further expansion of the sequence. The action here is not a show of direct contradiction between two components, namely the initial and the additional unit; instead, it is an aligned practice in that the initial action is complete but expanded to react to the prior form of the recipient's confusion while still holding the same position without revising the action by producing any incompatible alternatives at the content level.

The significant insight obtained in (4.3) is that the base units have already been provided in this question-answer sequence and the sequence is now closure relevant, unless there is nothing for the participants to produce on that account. Thereby, the turn design with the contrastive *but*-unit displays a certain readiness for a sequence move and shapes a trajectory of talk in progress. This move for sequence closure is evident in that the SPP with the additional *but*-unit receives the next speaker's (overlapped) production of a minimal post-expansion unit (i.e. SCT). This production of "hmm" (line 86) is affiliative to the *but*-speaker, which indicates that the current sequence possibly reaches its completion point (Schegloff, 2007, p. 118). This course of action indeed allows the participants to implement a drastic thematic shift at post-*but* placement following the significant length of the gap (line 87).

When the least expansion is made to the SPP, such action design with the production of the final *but* is seen with the immediate adjunction between the pre-*but* unit and the *but*-unit, where possible turn relevance is obscured by being rushed to produce the *but*-unit (Schegloff, 1982). This rush-through-like practice contributes to the successful accomplishment of the speaker's action forming a [base unit + contrast] construction in a single turn, which does not block the achievement of a possible sequence completion point. Then, the next speaker enacts a practice of implementing a certain move in an ongoing activity without displaying his/her orientation specifically made to only the *but*-unit, or invoking any need to resolve the syntactic incompleteness of the unit.

To provide more analytical accounts of such orderliness of final *but*s for the progression of the ongoing sequence, the following excerpt (4.4), the expansion of the previous example in (4.1), is now considered. In this excerpt, the participants orient themselves to the same topical line of 'gardener's world'. The course of action starts with the projection of a compound TCU that is collaboratively brought into a possible syntactic completion point (Lerner, 1996), which is formulated to be an FPP and receives a relevant SPP in the question-answer sequence structure in progress.

Excerpt (4.4): Tape_026602

```
 120   NIN:   [did you see, you ↑know ↓this ↑last gardener's;
 121          (1.2)
 122   CLA:   gardener's ↑wor[ld.
 123   NIN:                  [gar:dener's world.
 124          (0.6)
 125   CLA:   I ↑haven't >really looked at it,<=
→126          =no I ↑glanced (.) very briefly↓ at it;=but_
 127          (1.2)
 128   NIN:   where it had er↓ a broom ↑garden.
 129          (0.4)
 130   CLA:   no↓ I didn't see that.
 131   NIN:   oh_=let's have a look and see if I can find it=
 132          =[(         )
 133   CLA:   =[mm mhm.
```

This course of action starts with NIN's initiation of a pre-sequence, as she needs to determine whether CLA is familiar with that portion for the subsequent sequence progression. At line 120, NIN launches a telling but does not bring the ongoing turn to a syntactic completion point, emerging from the limited access to the lexical token "world". Then, CLA orients himself towards the collaborative completion of the first question by implementing a post-first insertion in the following turn at line 122 (see Liddicoat, 2007, p. 145; Schegloff et al., 1977), providing a candidate solution to the word-search repair, which is confirmed by NIN at line 123. The FPP, launched by NIN and co-constructed with CLA, is in receipt of CLA's response at lines 125–126 produced in a multi-unit turn formulated to be an SPP that now becomes relevant. Here, CLA first produces a form of dispreferred answer to the FPP, but then moderates that answer without mentioning what exactly he glanced at. This additional component is not strictly a revision of the base SPP unit but collaborative in that CLA may recognise that the first dispreferred response can block the sequence development, and thus displays an alignment in the additional *but*-unit. Therein, CLA's turn is necessary for NIN to move forward to the completion of the ongoing larger sequence, and the drastic sequence shift right after line 127 therefore seems highly unlikely. Instead, this is a sequential point where the co-participant NIN

is informed of a certain contrast stemming from a retrospective linkage between two resources. NIN's action (line 128) can thereby be made as a production of a follow-up question to seek this more specific information by unpacking "it". This recipient turn is therefore formulated to implement an expansional course of action in conjunction with the completion of the prior question-answer sequence, to accomplish the inquiry by producing the subsequent question whose action constructs a pathway to possible sequence closure.

Note that my analytical accounts are not based on the fact that the Y component for contrast is 'missing' after *but* (cf. Mulder & Thompson, 2008). This analytical decision is simply made because the participants do not show their orientation. An important trait of final *but*s illustrated here is that the recipients do not orient themselves to the *but*-unit as something that they need to do. Instead, the participants can sustain the ongoing trajectory of talk through the initiation of a next course of action for the subsequent sequence development. This is also observed for the cases in which a sequence shift trajectory is indexed after the recipient disorientates to the current talk in multiple activities but then returns, as in the following excerpt (4.5). This fragment of interaction represents talk between three participants walking down the street: LAR, PAU, and the third participant (who is the son or nephew of LAR). The sequence undergoes a sharp shift from "gloves" to "Pampers", which is implemented at the post-conjunctional place. Here, the next speaker LAR does not orient herself to the projected contrast before she projects an action for the sequence move.

Excerpt (4.5): Tape_034504

```
 1   PAU:   I do this all the time.
 2          (2.1)
 3   PAU:   I can't be bothered to take my gloves off.
 4          (0.6)
 5   LAR:   it takes you hal[f an hour to get your card out
 6   PAU:                   [yeah yeah yeah yeah yeah yea(h)h
 7          (32.6) ((manipulating a cash machine))
 8   LAR:   (          )
 9          (6.5)
10   LAR:   put these on while your hands are war↓m;
11          (0.9)
12   PAU:   yeah
13          (2.6)
14   LAR:   you hold that, oh come on=
15          =he normally puts them on↑ straight away,
16          (0.3)
17   PAU:   hm;
18          (2.2)
19   PAU:   er aa↑ron can put his other gloves on;
20          (1.3)
21   PAU:   just like that but those ones;
22          (0.5)
```

```
  23   PAU:   they seemed to take twice as ↑long to put on;
  24          (1.3)
  25   LAR:   THEse are supposed to grow with your hands;=
  26          =I'll tell you what,=
  27          =they didn't grow much with anthony's=
  28          =[no:.
  29   PAU:    [no they didn't with aaron's=
  30          =they haven't done with them=
→ 31          =they're still wearing them=but_
  32          (3.1)
  33   LAR:   hold your hand out (   )
  34          (1.0)
  35   LAR:   er you used to use er Pampers nappies=
  36          =didn't you=
  37   PAU:   =yeah
```

Analogous to the other closure relevant cases with final *but*s, the excerpt above illustrates a sequential environment with the production of a *but*-unit as a non-minimal but adequate and not-so-intrusive action to add a contrast in relation to the same speaker's syntactically completed previous action. At line 10, LAR instructs the third participant to put on his gloves, which may be what he has trouble doing (see line 14). This indexes the topic of talk in the following sequence development, where LAR and PAU mention that gloves are supposed to be stretched but not so done while "`they're still wearing them` (gloves)". At line 29, PAU, the *but*-speaker, produces the initial pre-*but* action as an affiliative one to the prior statement of LAR (line 25–28). In LAR's production, the *but*-unit (line 31) is placed to add a non-literal contrast, whose action does not induce further expansions of the sequence. Here, the *but*-recipient LAR may treat the *but*-unit not as an action to initiate an expansional course of action to provide accounts for that contrast, but as a possible sequence closing point without focusing on the contrast itself (Ford, 2000).

In (4.5), the emergence of a possible sequence closure point is also evident at lines 28–29 in that both participants overlap and produce the same assessment of "`no`", and thus they are already affiliated in the process of the production of the initial pre-*but* unit. In the post-*but* space, there is no strong evidence that the next speaker's response (line 33) is made relevant for the current *but*-unit with her orientation to any prior actions and thus misplacement here (see Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). On this occasion, it can be interpreted that LAR returns to the course of action with PAU and implements a new sequence in the post-*but* space, which may result in the post-conjunctional sequence shift, without re-orienting herself to the initial pre-*but* action.

When the *but*-unit is produced after the initial unit without a clear indication of a possible turn transition space between these units, the current course of action reaches its possible completion point for sequence closure. Again, the contrast is not literal, as it provides

no content-level contrasts. This aspect of interactional contrast is also observed in the cases where the *but*-unit is not latched with the initial unit. That is, the initial-contrast connection is distant, but the production of a retroactive *but*-unit for interactional contrast is made after the initial achievement of a possible sequence closure point. I now consider the following excerpt (4.6) where two participants are in the middle of an informing sequence on the topic of the hospital.

Excerpt (4.6): Tape_060503

```
   32  KCX:   second of m↑arch I go to hospital. ((N1))
   33         (0.4)
   34  KAT:   do you?
   35         (0.7)
   36  KCX:   y:eah.
   37         (0.5)
   38  KAT:   chuffing hell.=
→  39  KCX:   =I don't ↑really wanna go but;
   40         (3.5)
   41  KAT:   our arthur's ↑been clear clear clear. ((N2))
   42         (0.4)
   43  KCX:   is he al↑right.
   44         (.)
   45  KAT:   yeah=he's fine now_
```

The (4.6) in question illustrates a different structural relationship between two contrasting resources when compared to final *buts* as in (4.3–5). I argue here that it is important to understand the location of the *but*-unit, where an interactional contrast is encoded, in the informing course of action: showing an epistemic shift through the delivery and reception of news (Heritage, 2012a, 2012b; Mori, 2006). Here, the initial pre-*but* action (line 32) becomes salient at a possible (global) completion point of the *but*-unit and stands as an inference of the retroactive recast. That is, the *but*-unit displays a possible completion point of the current informing sequence in a move from the recipient's uptake, her negative assessment, leading to a collaborative assessment. The achievement of such a move then signals the readiness for the next course of action without re-projecting the same action.

Prior to line 39, the sequence starting with KCX (the *but*-speaker)'s announcement has reached its possible completion point. The first action of announcement is syntactically complete at line 32 and then followed by a confirmation check by KAT (recipient) (line 34), leading to her negative assessment (line 38). At line 39, KCX's turn ends with a final *but* that is outlined by its pragmatic turn completion design, where the *but*-turn is shaped by packaging the final token *but* with the immediately preceding turn constituent. This *but*-unit shows the commonality in final *but*s that can be described in the way that the unit ending with a final *but*

is not designed to alter the initial action but to expand that action. Nevertheless, this *but*-unit is more of an affiliative action (Pomerantz, 1984a, p. 66–68) by showing the negative stance of the *but*-speaker in relation to the base announcement, which emerges from the negative assessment of the recipient.

Again, the sequence construction in (4.6) can be characterised by the following two features of action design of the *but*-speaker. Firstly, the *but*-unit projects the speaker's action not to project a new course of action but to retrospectively recast the initial action without displaying any need to produce accounts for the contrast. Secondly, and more distinctively compared to the other cases, the action type of the initial action of the *but*-speaker is an announcement of the news that may require some forms of assessment for possible sequence closure (Schegloff, 2007). At line 1, a news announcement is made under the topic of going to the hospital (N1). Then, the news-recipient of N1 (KAT) produces a possible newsmark that may index the trajectory of talk (Heritage, 1984a; Jefferson, 1981), whose action is on this occasion subsequently followed by a minimal confirmation by the teller with no additional resource. The recipient action for negative assessment at line 38 can then induce a possible completion point of an informing course of action in relation to the first announcement. At the following line 39, right after the negative assessment made by the recipient, the teller KCX elaborates on the initial announcement at the *but*-unit with a negative statement that appears to be designed to affiliate the prior (and negative) assessment of the recipient. This potentially intensifies a possible completion of the first story line, which seems to be acknowledged by the recipient in line with the lack of additional unit provided by the *but*-speaker in the post-*but* space (Goodwin, 1984; Jefferson, 1978).[40] This observation is evident in that the recipient then finds an opportunity space to initiate a follow-up talk for the subsequent sequence construction (Schegloff, 2007, p. 183–184).

The example in (4.6) brings us back to the sequential property of final *but*s that works as an elaboration on the initial resource as an inference for the *but*-unit (Hata, 2016a; Koivisto, 2015). In this regard, my observation is that the *but*-unit reflects the speaker's design to avoid further expansions stemming from that contrast by not producing any accounts for the contrasting action of the speaker. This orderliness of interactional contrast achieves a shift in focus after the completion of the base actions in the ongoing sequence. The recipient thus perceives an availability in the post-*but* space to implement the subsequent sequence development with different foci of talk or a completely new social action.

[40] In (4.6), one can realise that the post-*but* silence (line 40) is significant and therefore may need to be investigated in depth. However, it is difficult to confirm the true status of this silence as filled or unfilled, as there is no access to visual information. This point is expanded upon in Chapter 6.

Nevertheless, the next speaker always seems to have a reasonable choice to (or not to) respond to the *but*-unit, meaning that the final *but* does not systematically restrict the following course of action. That is, the next speaker may respond to the final *but* if necessary (for the *but*-recipient), but the *but*-speaker may try to step into the immediate start of the next course of action, reflecting the design of final *but*s after a possible sequence closing point. To demonstrate this, the following example (4.7) is considered.

Excerpt (4.7): Tape_076601

```
 95   DOR:   =and what did they call her.=
 96          =now she's a[lright.=now she she picked the pa:per.
 97   JUD:               [she she used to live down the back of us.
 98   DOR:   but she's moved.
 99          (.)
100   JUD:   [(   )
101   DOR:   [she picked all the pa:per.
102          (0.9)
103   DOR:   but they pa- he painted he papered every
104          room (          ).
105          (0.4)
106   JUD:   really?
107          (.)
108   DOR:   mhm.
109          (3.3)
→110  DOR:   I mean they've just had a new double glazed back door↑
→111         put off (1.8) (and/on) that but_
112          (1.3)
113   DOR:   [then one MOR:NING I we]
114   JUD:   [but it doesn't look it] doesn't look double
115          glazed;=does it.=
→116  DOR:   =no:<= ONe morning I was off up Bambury Lane and
117          John was waiting_
118          (0.6)
119   DOR:   to catch Paul to come
120          (1.7)
121   DOR:   some trust or: I don't know whether it's social
122          or what bought a detached house.
123          (0.5)
124   DOR:   on Bambury Lane.=cos there were an uproar.
125          (0.4)
126   DOR:   cos Mick started all this up there.
127          (1.4)
128   DOR:   and it was done (0.9) through a trust then.
129          (0.3)
130          and it was done so quietly.
131          (0.5)
132   DOR:   that they hadn't time to object;
133          (0.6)
134   JUD:   mhm.
```

This is an extract of the middle of a storytelling sequence on the topic of the renovation of the accommodation of participants' acquaintance. Indeed, the completion of the *but*-unit in (4.7) is relatively clearer and becomes evident at lines 113 and 116, where the *but*-speaker initiates a stepwise move of the subsequent storytelling sequence with a new and independent resource to the *but*-unit. As was observed in the previous example (4.6), the action formation of final *but* in (4.7) is also a contrastive (but not literal contrast) addition to the prior statement of the same speaker. The *but*-unit appears to be designed as something affiliative with the co-participant for a stepwise move to a possible completion point of the current story line, which now orients itself to the absence of a certain response after the confirmation of the recipient's "really?" (line 106) has been made. This action of requesting confirmation is responded to by the speaker as it stands, but not subsequently followed up by the recipient. Thereby, the production of "really?" may not only index the following trajectory of talk but also invite the teller to elaborate on the prior turn (Jefferson, 1981; Heritage, 1984a). At lines 110–111, DOR's turn seems to provide additional talk on the ongoing topic as a means of expanding the current trajectory of talk (see Schiffrin, 1987, p. 296, for this function of *I mean*). This elaborative turn by DOR (lines 10-13) is initiated by "I mean" to expand the current trajectory of talk (Schiffrin, 1987, p. 296), rather than just serving as a replacing-type repair (Schegloff et al., 1977), and ends at the placement of the final *but*.

With this final *but*, the speaker produces an interactional contrast that is designed as an orientation to the previous informing sequence, returning to the speaker's negatively delivered telling about the paint and wall papering. This additional action receives a confirmation check from the recipient regarding "new double glazed back door" (line 110), which is then addressed by the speaker. Here, it is interesting to see that the recipient's confirmation check is overlapped with the speaker's action to implement a stepwise sequence move (lines 113). This sequence shift is seen to reflect the *but*-speaker's design of the *but*-unit as an action for additional and contrastive commentary, but not to induce the contrastive format for disaffiliated actions of the recipient. This is made evident by the fact that the response with a confirmation is minimally produced with "no:" and immediately jumps through the production of the next line of announcement: "ONe morning" (line 116) that is recycled from the previously incomplete unit (line 113).

The observation of the last example in (4.7) supports Koivisto's (2015) argument for the complexity at a turn-final position, in that turn transition is not the best way to outline the sequential property of final conjunctional tokens. In this vein, transition relevance associated with final *but*s can also be seen without any speaker change in a particular course of action. In my collection, Excerpt (4.8) is another case where the *but*-speaker provides the following talk

in the post-conjunctional space by self-selecting himself and restarting. In this example, two speakers, BRI and MAR, orient themselves to the news announced by BRI.

Excerpt (4.8): Tape_023402

```
  10   BRI:   it was al↑so noted to↓day,
  11          (1.0)
  12   BRI:   at these ah: (0.3) presentation↓ that
  13          I ↑always the one↓ (0.8) with the least (0.4) brummie↓
  14          accent,
  15          (0.5)
  16   MAR:   uh-huh,
  17          (0.2)
  18   BRI:   which made me feel go↓od,
  19          (0.5)
  20   MAR:   ehh (0.3) heh heh [heh
  21   BRI:                     [well↓ (0.4) except for andy.
  22          (1.5)
  23   MAR:   mm.=we ↑oh yeah andy's.
  24          (0.4)
  25   BRI:   the ni[gerian.
  26   MAR:         [ni↑gerian, (0.2) mm,
  27          (0.6)
→ 28   BRI:   yeah_=except of him.=of course.=but;
  29          (5.0)
  30   BRI:   cos (1.0) I was ↑getting a bit upset that
  31          my voice was going a bit (0.6) brumm↓ie;
  32          (0.5)
  33   MAR:   oh: right,
```

Analogous to the other cases, the *but*-unit in (4.8) is the point where the ongoing (but subsidiary) sequence is brought to its possible closing point. The completion here is associated with the achievement of an affiliation of the recipient to the *but*-speaker. To investigate this sequential context, my observation starts at line 10, where BRI is placed to be the storyteller in this talk. The trajectory of talk is then indexed by MAR, who displays a recipient role at line 16 (Goodwin, 1986; Jefferson, 1984a; Schegloff, 1982). At line 18, BRI formulates an upshot, which shows how this announcement is to be understood by MAR: "`the one↓ (0.8) with the least (0.4) brummie↓ accent,`" (lines 13–14) is a positive for BRI. Then, MAR produces some laughter tokens that can also be seen as an affiliative response (line 20). After this, BRI's *well*-prefaced turn (line 21) is designed to insert a side sequence made relevant to the ongoing course of informing action (Jefferson, 1972, p. 315), to which MAR also orients herself. This subsidiary sequence, embedded in the main storytelling sequence, is occupied with the participants working to identify another person 'Andy'. BRI first mentions another person who also does not have this accent at line 13. MAR then shows that she is familiar with this third

person, and both BRI and MAR work out Andy's nationality at lines 23–26, indicating that the participants orient themselves to the same focus in talk. Once this is accomplished, MAR issues a "mm." (line 26), which could be a signal for BRI to continue. At line 28, BRI then re-issues his qualification "except of him." via a repeat in the *but*-unit. The recipient MAR also does not show any orientation to further elaborations seeking resolution of the incompleteness.

Here, it is important to note that the post-*but* production unit of the speaker (line 30) does not belong to the *but*-unit, but is made as a re-entry to the ongoing storytelling course of action. Given that this is a storytelling sequence in which BRI's role has been set as a teller, it is arguable that BRI furthers the current activity by unpacking the reason why his previous utterance is positive. This sequential move can be explained in a way that the *but*-speaker here reasonably chooses to start up unless the recipient takes a turn at a post-conjunctional silence (Jefferson, 1983). The following silence is significantly long, and BRI, the speaker, may perceive this silence as a possible space for him to provide further talk. Syntactically, BRI's *cos*-prefaced turn (lines 30–31) is seen to be the speaker's justification (Schiffrin, 2001, p. 57) and is connected back to his own prior upshot at line 18. Now that BRI has unpacked information, at line 33 MAR shows an orientation to have gone from being uninformed to informed via the production of a change of state token *oh*, which may indicate that MAR now has all the information to provide a more substantive response (Heritage, 1984a). From this observation, it seems that BRI has to implement a move from the side sequence into the main course of action to provide resources for MAR to be ready to produce a certain response on a turn-by-turn basis, which results in closing the side sequence at the post-conjunctional place. This occasion is highly similar to a sequence closing case, and clarifies the complexity of final *but*s that certainly reflect a given sequential context in their utilisation.

What has been illustrated so far is that the production of a final *but* does not only and simply display a turn completion, but operates as a contrastive addition made to the previous productions of the same speaker without invoking any need for explanation. Pragmatic completion is hence seen to be potentially achieved without producing a *but*-prefaced unit to follow. Although these final *but*s seem to highlight a contrast that implies something, which mirrors Mulder and Thompson's (2008) notion of 'implication left hanging', I argue that these *but*s are more interactionally rather than literally contrastive, without explicating what is missing. In (4.8), for example, the *but* appears to conclude the statement of the ongoing subsidiary sequence with a contrastive implication. Thus, the *but* is designed not to hold a space to provide accounts of the contrast, as frequently seen in the speaker's continuation, as in [contrast + *but* + accounts for that contrast] (Ford, 2000; Levinson, 1983; Schegloff, 1996; see also Section 4.3). Instead, the contrast appears to have the interactional function of making a

sequence coherent (Ford, 2000, p. 301). This type of contrasting construction is not identical to the unit-initial placement of the token *but*. Rather, the *but*-unit is not designed to produce a direct contrast to any resources made so far, yet adequate resources for a shift in focus have been achieved in the prior part of the sequence.

Excerpt (4.9) below also provides a thorough demonstration of how the production of the final *but* is embedded in the sequence structure with potential multiple activities. As background, some sounds coming from the TV or the radio are audible throughout this fragment of talk. At the beginning of this fragment, the trajectory of talk, STE's working situation, is indexed by the question-answer adjacency pair sequence.

Excerpt (4.9): Tape_060902

```
   1   KAT:   so how come you were working with gaffer?
   2          (1.7)
   3   STE:   cos I wanted three h↑ands.
   4          (1.3)
   5   STE:   and I only h↑ad two;
   6          (0.4)
   7   KAT:   ain't you been outside like↓ today then=
   8   STE:   =yeah. (.) all outside.
   9          (0.6)
  10   KAT:   all of↓ you? (0.2) flipping hell.
  11          (0.3)
→ 12   STE:   well not all of them but_
  13          (29.6)
  14   KAT:   there were an accident at top road today.
  15          (1.3)
  16   STE:   anybody hurt,
  17          (0.4)
  18   KAT:   yeah.
  19          (0.2)
  20   STE:   who_
  21          (1.7)
  22   KAT:   a young lass,
  23          (0.8)
  24   KAT:   she were (0.3) she'd got a s↑cooter.
```

The question is projected by KAT to be the FPP (line 1) and the relevant answer to be the SPP is then provided by the next speaker STE (lines 3). After the SPP is incremented at line 5, the subsequent question-answer sequence successively follows in a stepwise move for post-expansion, in which the next FPP turn (line 7) made relevant from the prior talk leads to the next SPP (line 8). In this SPP turn projected by STE, the information of "`all outside`" is provided as a resource and becomes salient in the later part of the ongoing sequence. At line 10, the following turn projected by KAT displays the speaker's negative assessment, which shows KAT's uptake of STE's prior action. Here, KAT's assessment possibly alerts STE to the

necessity of repair of the previous part of the talk. Then, STE expands the current sequence by clarifying that what he meant is "`not all of` **`them`**" (line 12, emphasis added here) in the third position of the sequence (Schegloff et al., 1977).

Arguably, this *but*-unit projected by STE is pragmatically brought into a possible completion point. Firstly, the *but*-unit is produced after the base units of the current sequence have been achieved. The *but*-unit does not appear to be placed to replace a trouble source of the base. Here, the *but*-unit shows a sequential pattern of contrast making, but not in a literal way. Rather than focusing on the content-level incompatibility, the *but*-speaker appears to prioritise a preference for sequence progressivity over the production of the accounts of that contrast. As has been described so far, this is a sequential feature of the final *but* that is not placed in focus as the contrast itself, but is relative to the context of the ongoing activity, and the production of the *but*-unit is designed not to be intrusive in the subsequent sequence development or completion. Secondly, the *but*-turn is not in receipt of any displays of the recipient's orientation, or to any call for further productions to complete the contrast at the content level or to revisit the speaker's initial action. In this sense, a post-*but* space at line 13 is notable as there is an extensively long silence before the next sequence is implemented at line 14. This may also indicate that the prior sequence has already been closed, and the post-*but* silence then does not show the noticeable absence associated with the incompleteness of the action sequence (Schegloff, 1968), but rather the point of lapse (Sacks et al, 1974), or the post-accomplishment silence.[41]

In addition, a closure relevant type structure with final *but*s is seen along with their operation in the extended courses of action to prevent a stay in the current sequence once the initial action has been accomplished. For example, Excerpt (4.10) illustrates a single case of this fully contextual property of final *but*s. At the beginning of the discussion session, the attendants talk about the report written by another, who is not yet present. Before the excerpt, \$1 says that the report is satisfactory as the introduction section of their written report. After this, \$3 asks whether the proposal should be substantially revised, which is denied by \$1, leading to his explanations and \$3's acknowledgement. After this exchange, \$3 resumes the first topic regarding the content of the peer's report (line 80), followed by \$1's response, where his turn is closed by a final *but* (line 84).

[41] However, it is also important to revisit the point that this interaction takes place with some audible sounds coming from the TV or the radio. This probably explains the long silence between two turns (lines 12–14) and indicates that they may temporarily orient themselves to other sources rather than the talk itself in the post-conjunctional silence. Without video data, I cannot be sure of what exactly the two participants are doing at that moment, reflecting a limitation of audio-based studies (see Chapter 6).

Excerpt (4.10): NC_027

```
   1   $4:   did you read though mo's,
   2         (0.5)
   3   $1:   I did yeah.
   4   $4:   I got a quick scan through that;=
   5         yeah [this morning.
   6   $1:        [I ha:d a quick read this mo[rning
   7   $3:                                    [what was it about.
   8   $1:   e::r it's er (0.3) well it's supposed to be
   9         justification.
  10   $4:   his is quite a good introduction actually;=
  11         =[it makes quite a good introduction.
  12   $1:    [yeah exactly that's what I was thinking.<=I was
  13         reading through and going it's qui:te a good
  14         introduction and not much in the way of
  15         justifying [yet;
             ((23 lines omitted))
  39   $3:   [should he be rewriting about the other design
  40         proposals as well then.
  41         (0.6)
  42   $1:   (nn)no.
  43         (1.5)
             ((28 lines omitted))
  72   $1:        [I had a choice of these two things.=
  73         =and I choose to go with this one,
  74   $3:   so you're basically saying (.) we're making ah:
  75         combined device.=and then we're justifying what
  76         device is.
  77   $1:   mmhm?
  78   $3:   right okay.
  79         (8.0)
  80   $3:   so what has he gone;
  81         (0.9)
  82   $3:   has he:: wrote in the lit review. (.) has he talked
  83         about the (0.8) parameters↑ that we need ↓o::r_=
  84   $1:   =a:: little bit but_
  85         (4.1)
? 86   $3:   e::rm
  87         (0.9)
  88   $1:   it'd be quite interesting as an English person to
  89         take that.
  90   $4:   what is ↑it,=
  91   $1:   =eh: spoken english self-assessment grid.
  92         it's what kairul's about to (do/take).
```

The final *but* at line 84 certainly prompts contrastive information at a possible pragmatic completion point. In the prior exchanges, the participants ($1 and 4) already articulated that the peer's document to some extent needs to be revised but already meets the certain standard, and this given information potentially becomes shared knowledge among the attendants and adequate resources to implement a stepwise move to the next course of action. Furthermore, the following 4.1-second gap (line 85) is considerably long to indicate an emergence of transition relevance (Jefferson, 1989). Therefore, a form of response from the *but*-recipients

might arise as observed so far. A potential yet minimum response is projected by $3, where it is observed that he takes the floor by articulating an interjection "um." (line 86; indicated by ? symbol), which may signal a planning effort (Bortfeld, et al., 2001; Romero Trillo, 1994) or a type of dissent marker (Norrick, 2009b). Then, $1 decides to completely change the topic before the response is made explicit, and no following attempt is recognised as a further response made relevant to the *but*-turn throughout the interaction.

What example (4.10) illustrates is a distinctive feature compared to the other cases cited in this chapter, in which the *but*-unit is a direct response in the second slot in the question-answer course of action. That is, the *but* is placed as the base unit, and thus a possible sequence closure point is achieved not before, but at/around its end. Nevertheless, there is one commonality here: the *but* places an interactional contrast without eliciting any need for further explanation or resolution to account for the reason of its production. In other words, the *but* appears to operate as managing the sequence coherence, pragmatically completing the speaker's action as minimally as possible for the progression of the sequence.

Regarding this point, my interpretation is that $1 completes his turn and gives the floor back to the co-participants, but then realises that talking about the peer's written document has already been completable and therefore indicates a non-stepwise self-dispreference regarding the same topic, leading to an interactional movement to the new one. This is implied by the observation that the 4.1-second gap is considerable and no co-participants try to project further actions in that line of talk, and $3 is also potentially reluctant to make an explicit comment on that occasion. The shift away from the topic of peer's written document is successful, with one of the recipients ($4) showing a preference for the new topic of 'a spoken English self-assessment grid for English nationals' (line 88) and projecting an immediate response (line 90). This topical shift can also be supported by the fact that no discussion regarding this topic is made after all attendants are presented.

The observations made so far have indicated that final *but*s, regardless of their grammatical status as a conjunction or particle, work to indicate a possible action completion point of the speaker. A *but*-unit is not merely a continuation of the prior talk but may operate as a resource for participants to understand a possible action completion point, and therefore, no attempts to revisit the contrast are initiated in the post-conjunctional space. The projected action in a *but*-unit is regarded as an interactional contrast that stems from the previously completed actions of the same speaker in a retrospective construction, yet it is not designed to bring new contrastive material nor to call for further resolution of the contrast. Instead, a possible space for sequence progression emerges.

4.4. Projection of final or non-final *but*s: global or local

Having explained a basic feature of the production of final *but*s, I now compare these *but*s with some controversial cases where *but* can be interpreted as both a turn-initial and turn-final token on a single occasion: Janus *but*s (Mulder & Thompson, 2008, p. 183).[42] These cases demonstrate a complex feature of conjunction in the unfolding of talk, stemming from a wide distribution of the token in spontaneous interaction. In my collection, Janus *but*s at final placement share an interactional feature of unit-initial conjunctions to connect the previous and following material by the same speaker. A possible completion of such *but*s is characterised in that the deployment of the speaker's post-*but* continuation often comes together with either a) the recipient's production of minimal response tokens as an invitation for further continuation without claiming the speaker incipiency (Schegloff, 1997a, p. 33); or b) post-*but* silence where no responses are provided. In this section, I argue that this trait of Janus *but*s is distinctive from final *but*s in that the former do display a possible non-global, local pragmatic completion point: thus, local *but*s.

In the previous section, I suggested that the production of final *but*s implies an interactional contrast stemming from the sequential context. On the other hand, when the accountability for the projected contrast is not achieved, the co-participants reasonably choose to wait for a further action of the speaker to achieve an understanding of the current contrastive action. In those cases, the speaker typically produces further talk in which accounts for the contrast are given. To clarify this point, I now present several self-continuation cases. The fragment of talk in (4.11) took place between SPE and CLA in an estate company's office; SPE is an agency officer and CLA is a customer searching for a new property. This example shows a general feature of turn shape with a final *but*, and this *but*-unit is seen to provide a possible transition point of speakership. On this occasion, however, the recipient action is minimally produced as an indication of his acknowledgement rather than as a substantial response, which is then followed by the *but*-speaker's action to achieve clear syntactic completion to explicate a contrast.

Excerpt (4.11): Tape_026603

```
27   CLA:   A niece of mine living in (     ) tells me that
28          it's picking up s↓lightly the property market.<=
29          =would you agree with that↑ or_
30          (0.3)
```

[42] Another ambiguous case reported in prior studies is Fraser's (2009) example of a standalone *but* that is formulated as a whole response to the previous-speaker's turn with neither the X nor the Y component (p. 300; refer back to Chapter 2). In my collection, no such standalone *but* is recognised.

```
  31   CLA:   I find that hard to believe.
  32   SPE:   no;
  33          (0.4)
  34   CLA:   mm no:=I don't think so;=[no.
  35   SPE:                           [not really n[o::
  36   CLA:                                        [no::: no:
  37          (0.9)
  38   SPE:   people are holding off now
  39          [(                ) cutting back=(                )
  40   CLA:   [mmhm; (0.4) and, exactly, yes, yes, (.) quite yes.
  41          (0.3)
  42   CLA:   yeah,=[yeah,
  43   SPE:        [er::m
              ----- phone rings -----
  44          (1.6)
→ 45   SPE:   there is some property moving but_
  46          (.)
  47   CLA:   mmmm;
  48          (0.9)
> 49   SPE:   nothing exciting really,
  50          (2.4)
  51   CLA:   do you want to ditch me and grab the phone before it;
  52   SPE:   er::m (0.3) erm I'll give you those (         )=
  53   CLA    =alright, thanks.
```

SPE's *but*-unit (line 45) stems from the prior talk about a particular area in housing, expanding the ongoing course of action in a stepwise move. When compared to the other cases of final *but*, a unique conversational structure can be seen in the following two points. Firstly, the *but*-unit is followed by the minimal recipient action (line 47) and a post-conjunctional 'self-expansion' implemented by the *but*-speaker (line 49). On the one hand, one may suggest that the *but*-unit is brought into a possible completion point of its action, and the recipient CLA thereby recognises a TRP in a post-conjunctional minimum silence (line 46) or a pre-possible completion point of the turn (Schegloff, 1996, p. 83). On the other hand, it is arguable that the completion of the *but*-unit here is 'locally' achieved at a post-conjunctional silence where the next speaker exhibits a minimal response formulated to be "a small, non-floor-taking turn" (Ford & Thompson, 1996, p. 150). At line 3, CLA's minimal acknowledgement seems to be designed not to claim speakership incipiency but to invite further productions of talk (Drummond & Hopper, 1993, p. 209; Ford & Thompson, 1996, p. 150–151; Jefferson, 1993; Local & Kelly, 1986, p. 199; Schegloff, 1997a, p. 33). Secondly, line 45 is the first announcement where SPE introduces a contrast in the production of the *but*, which shows little to no linkage to the previous parts of the talk. The recipient's minimal response may yield an opportunity space for the speaker CLA to complete the current action and make the contrast more explicit by providing a clear account for that contrast.

The production of *but*s which project new contrasting actions in the context and are thus locally completable (hence, local *but*s) may outline the unit or turn as something incomplete and continuing. This is arguably associated with a phenomenon that Schegloff (1996) called 'maximum grammatical control' (p. 93). The excerpt in (4.12) is in the middle of the informing sequence; KAT is the teller and MAG is the recipient, which shows a similar case of local *but*. The turn in lines 85 and 86 is the moment where KAT adds information, which is then followed by the speaker's follow-up production of the contrasting resource at the post-*but* structure of talk (line 90).

Excerpt (4.12): Tape_060901

```
  52   KAT:   he's found out you don't have to finish after two
  53          hours=you can work as much you like,=
  54          =finish at ten o'clock at night?=if you want.
  55          (1.0)
  56   MAG:   yeah >but he (doesn't)< wanna knacker himself out;=
  57          =does he.=
  58   KAT:   =well I says to him I says well make sure,=
  59          =well it's five past eight he'd get in↓
  60          instead of five past seven.=
  61   MAG:   =mmhm.
  62          (1.1)
  63   KAT:   cos a[ll this week I've done well with his tea;=
  64   MAG:        [>yeah but<
  65   MAG:   =.hhhhh ((COUGH))
  66          (1.4)
  67   KAT:   I've been putting it ↑out just as he's walked in,=
  68          =I said I'm getting good (man) at this tea,=
  69          =he says ↑aye you wait till I change shifts.=
  70          =.hhhh [huh huh huh huh .hhhhh
  71   MAG:           [mhm.
  72          (0.8)
  73   KAT:   °°((6.5 seconds, very quietly whispering))°°
  74          (1.3)
  75   MAG:   mhm.
  76          (0.8)
  77   KAT:   (   ) just talked about (         )
  78          (0.3)
  79   MAG:   ehh [heh heh heh heh heh heh heh
  80   KAT:       [mhm
  81          (1.8)
  82   MAG:   [oh
  83   KAT:   [erm:
  84          (2.0)
  85   KAT:   no little lad come for avon money and everything
→ 86          from Alice but_
  87         (0.3)
  88   MAG:   mm.
  89          (1.2)
> 90   KAT:   he didn't, he give me it on Wednesday night.=
  91          =and I should've give her it yesterday morning.=
```

```
92          =but she didn't get it till last night.
93          (1.4)
94   KAT:   and she didn't fetch money till this morning.
```

Analogous to the other cases of post-*but* continuation, a local-level pragmatic completion is achieved at the point where the recipient MAG finds a space to produce a continuer (Schegloff, 1982). Although the turn reaches a syntactic completion point at the end of "`everything from Alice`" (lines 85–86), the immediate adjunction with the production of *but* makes its syntactic completion ambiguous. Furthermore, the final intonation contour of level pitch (line 86) does not clearly show a clear completion of the turn (Szczepek Reed, 2004, p. 105–106). Indeed, such a syntactic and prosodic feature of the production of *but* is observable in the cases of final *but*s, except for one thing: whether the reference for understanding a contrasting action is sufficiently provided in the context of the talk. Considering the sequential placement of this *but* in (4.12), this is a practice of producing a new resource in the ongoing sequence, constructed in a partially completable 'X *but*' structure, and the co-participant reasonably waits for further attempts to clarify the reason for that contrasting action.

Excerpt (4.13) also illustrates the property of self-completion cases: the recipient action is minimally constructed to produce a simple acknowledgement, which leads to the production of more talk by the *but*-speaker to make the contrasting proposition clearer.

Excerpt (4.13): Tape_026505(1)

```
14   NIN:   he never forgets a thing,=does he.=
15   CLA:   =no steve doesn't;
16          (0.2)
17   CLA:   mm.
18          (0.8)
19   CLA:   mm.=
20   NIN:   =when you and I went up to (weldon) to
21          look after them.=
22   CLA:   =yep.
23          (0.2)
24   NIN:   (       )
25          (.)
26   CLA:   mmhm,
27          (1.5)
28   NIN:   I mean he was only a (0.7) tiny_=wasn't he.
29          (0.3)
30   CLA:   oh crikey yeah;
31          (0.9)
32   NIN:   [you] couldn't fool [him]=
33   CLA:   [mm                 [mm
34   NIN:   =we used to play hide and seek.=
35          =and you could[n't fool] him=
36   CLA:                 [mmm
37   CLA:   =mm.
```

```
  38          (1.1)
  39   NIN:   [(          )
  40   CLA:   [(oh well.)
  41          (0.8)
→ 42   CLA:   oh he's a very bright little boy but_
  43          (.)
  44   NIN:   mmhm.
  45          (4.0)
> 46   CLA:   you can't really relax with him.=can you;=
  47   NIN:   =no.
```

This excerpt represents a continuation of an ongoing sequence, where the participants co-construct the course of action in a stepwise move by orienting themselves to the ongoing topic of Steve: a child they both know. The production of *but* (line 42) leaves the contrasting implication hanging, and may invite the relevant recipient response based on that implication (Mulder & Thompson, 2008, p. 186). Here, the *but*-unit summarises what has been collaboratively constructed in the sequence to assess Steve. This *but*-unit is formulated with the initial token *oh* that might display the forthcoming counter-informing of the contrastive information to the previous resources (Heritage, 1984a, p. 312), which makes the unit project a partial acknowledgement of the prior claim and a prospective disagreement to follow (Ford, 2000; Levinson, 1983; Pomerantz, 1984a). Although a possible completion point of the *but*-unit is potentially achieved and thus transition relevant, the completion of CLA's contrasting action is partially indicated at that point and therefore, the next speaker exhibits a minimal response designed not to claim speakership incipiency. Thereby, the next speaker on this occasion may not perceive the readiness for a sequence move with the current resources with her orientation of being in receipt of an account of the counter-informing.

In fact, it is unsurprising to see that the *but*-speaker projects more talk after the post-conjunctional silence, which accounts for the emergence of the Janus *but*. If *but* completes a turn, then a potential point of completion has been reached. Just as with any possible turn completion point, the recipient can produce the next turn. However, the turn-taking system allows for both options (see Sacks et al. 1974), and it is thus possible for the current *but*-speaker to self-select, especially after a post-conjunctional silence. In this regard, it is particularly notable in (4.13) that no resources have been clearly provided to display the contrasting implication associated with the *but*-unit, making it the initial countermove in the ongoing activity, as follows.

Claim	NIN:	Steve could not be fooled.
Acknowledgement	CLA:	He is a very bright little boy ***but***.
Account		You cannot really relax with him, can you? (new account)

Unlike final *but*s, the sequential context in these examples of speaker continuation demonstrates that there is no full achievement of the *but*-speaker's action with current resources. Although the participants can implement the next action at the length of silence, even after the production of minimal acknowledgement, they choose not to initiate the new course of action at that point. Given this, the recipient is sensitive to the insufficiency of resources in the current sequential context and thus reasonably elicits additional talk for further resources to make the contrast clearer.

Similarly, my collection also includes some instances where the *but*-recipient displays no response, and the speaker thereby continues, as in (4.14). In this fragment of talk, *but* is adjacent to a minimal acknowledgement token "yeah" (line 29) at the point where the *but*-speaker JOH acts to propose a disagreement to an earlier assessment by the prior speaker MAR and reformulate it. This is a similar turn formation to a typical intra-turn construction of concession–disagreement [*yeah* + *but*…] structure (Pomerantz, 1984a), while the turn components for disagreement are rather delayed and thereby completed after a post-*but* silence (line 31).

Excerpt (4.14): Tape_023403

```
  17   JOH:   and one thing we don't want↓ is extra work,
  18          (18.2)
  19   MAR:   I mean if we get finished ↓now and clean
  20          the ki- cooker and er clean everything.
  21          (0.3)
  22   MAR:   and say right. (.) we're out of the kitchen then;=
  23          =nothing more tonight,
  24   JOH:   that's it.
  25          (8.0)
  26   MAR:   if they want something they can get
  27          it themselves
  28          (0.7)
→ 29   JOH:   yeah (0.2) yeah=but;
  30          (1.9)
> 31   JOH:   tell them to clean up after them,=
  32   MAR:   =yeah.
```

As Jefferson (1983) argued, the speaker in the fragment above reasonably enacts the post-*but* continuation as there is no response at a local-level pragmatic completion point (yet, it is a possible point). Attention should be paid here to the point that the *but*-speaker's production is a dispreferred type of action (i.e. disagreement to an assessment) and thus marked in this exchange (refer back to Chapter 3). To undermine the previous resource, *but* may function to display the speaker's action of concession to what has been claimed (Barth-Weingarten &

Couper-Kuhlen, 2002, p. 346; Couper-Kuhlen & Thompson, 2000). As Mulder and Thompson (2008) documented, the type of *but* in (4.14) leaves a contrasting implication hanging and not linguistically produced (p. 186) at the moment of lines 29. Here, my observation is that the *but*-speaker produces a unit ending with *but*, whose action only introduces the forthcoming disagreement as provisions for an account of the contrast. The *but*-recipient may orient himself to the speaker's concession as an introduction of disagreement, and thus reasonably choose to wait for further, actual productions of disagreement.

As continuously seen in the examples in this section, it is arguably not clear if the *but*-speakers in the examples (4.11–14) indicate a cessation or continues, and ultimately whether or not there is a clarifying account of the speaker action as complete at the point of *but* (Local & Kelly, 1986; Mulder & Thompson, 2008; Walker, 2012). The co-participants in those instances may have no access to accounts for the contrast because inadequate resources are provided in the previous parts of talk to infer action completion of the *but*-speaker. Instead, the speaker's contrasting action is complete in the speaker's post-*but* talk with a clarifying account. What has been illustrated for local *but*s is thus that the turn continues in the post-conjunctional space when the *but*-speaker's action is partially (at the local pragmatic level) complete due to the immediate juncture of the production of *but* afterwards to a syntactically completed unit in the same turn position. The speaker has a choice to either cease or implement a continuation after the production of *but*. In such cases, as Jefferson (1983) claimed, the speaker indicates a possible space for the recipient to enact minimal actions, and this is where a *but*-recipient can reasonably produce a quasi-turn designed as an invitation for further productions by the speaker. As displayed in Schegloff's (1996) notion of maximum grammatical control, a local *but* is designed for the recipient as a display of a local pragmatic completion point and also a further production to follow, stemming from its formulation of a syntactically incomplete turn unit, or a sequential package by producing *but* after a syntactically complete unit with no delay.

4.5. Summary

This chapter has suggested that turn transition – whether the speaker continues the production of a *but*-prefaced unit – may not be the best classification for final *but*s. This is because final *but*s are outlined with not just a grammatical property of the token-in-use, but also with contextual practices in light of what final *but*s provide for the subsequent talk. Here, the unfolding of particular social actions with final *but*s emerges from how the speaker designs the *but*-unit in the ongoing sequence structure, meaning that whether or not the next speaker continues on or off the same line of talk does not explain the finality of *but*s (Koivisto, 2015, p.

71). Instead, we should consult how such an action is constructed through turn-by-turn exchange wherein final *but*s operate as prompting the progression to the next course of action.

The key observation in this chapter is that the *but*-unit stands to designedly project an interactional contrast retroactively connected with the previously completed action in the sequence. This action is not designed to strictly enact a contrasting action to the prior one, to indicate expressions of a trouble/problem, or to request resolution for the contrast (Ford, 2000). In this type of action formation of final *but*s, a sequential pattern is seen in that the *but*-unit is not simply made as an increment-like grammatical extension (Schegloff, 1996) of the initial claim with a direct contrast as in a 'X *but* Y' formation. Instead, the *but*-unit is a social action to display a variation of "a preference for progressivity of the sequence" (Fox, 2015, p. 59), wherein the current sequence is designedly brought into its closure as quickly as possible and moves to the next course of action. Therefore, the production of interactional contrasts is typically not intrusive for the subsequent sequence development or completion. This is an opposite move compared to an increment type of insertion with prosodic breaks, in which the additional unit "sounds tacked on" (Couper-Kuhlen & Ono, 2007, p. 524). These designedly completing features of *but*-units allow for a smooth shift of not only speaker transition but also substantial sequence moves to a next course of action, which may stem from an orientation of the speaker to a previously made possible sequence closure.

Having outlined the sequential placements of final *but*s, this section has also provided analytical accounts of the implementation of final and local *but*s. Considering the cases of both *but*s, it is supported that participants are sensitive to what has been provided in the ongoing sequence structure. In this chapter, I have argued that one of the key features of final *but*s is the achievement of the global-level pragmatic completion of the *but*-unit, whereby the *but*-speaker's action is projectable by retroactively linking the current unit back to the pre-*but* action, indicating a certain readiness for sequence moves. This is made evident by the point that each *but*-unit does not receive a request for additional talk from the speaker to provide accounts for the contrast. On the other hand, local *but*s represent the complex feature of what Mulder and Thompson called Janus *but*s: sharing the property of the token at both initial and final placement (2008, p. 182–183). This ambiguous feature of *but*s is truly distinctive from other cases of retroactive final *but*s in how pragmatic completion is achieved. In each case, the productions of local *but* are followed by additional talk in that the *but*-speaker provides a contrasting resource in the syntactically complete 'X *but* Y' structure. Such a post-*but* completion by the speaker is best described as a formation of local pragmatic completion (Ford & Thompson, 1996). Given that the inference of the speaker's contrast has not been achieved in the ongoing sequence structure, the *but*-speaker reasonably continues to project his/her action by providing further

resources to clarify the contrast, which can explain why the co-participant can take a minimal and non-competitive turn (i.e. quasi-turn) or produce no response. Although possible transition space initially emerges in each post-conjunctional space, this form of completion is not sufficient to perfectly clarify the property of the token as a turn-completer (cf. Mulder & Thompson, 2008, p. 183).

In short, this chapter has illustrated how the *but*-unit is shaped in line with an ongoing conversational activity and how this projection is organised in talk-in-interaction. My findings show a sequential orderliness of interactional contrast, in which final *but*s display a possible action completion point after sufficient resources for a certain sequence development (or even completion) have been achieved at the point of the production of those *but*s. In these cases, final *but*s are the speaker's action design to prioritise sequence progression rather than adding content-level contrast or incompatibility. That is, the final *but* holds the prior resources or productions to make the sequence closure relevant, and invites an implementation of social action that furthers the current course of action or initiates a new sequence.

Chapter 5. Final *but*s: reworking as preference organisation

5.1. Introduction

The consideration of action formations of final *but*s provides a clue to understand the sequence-organisational construction to which the conversational participants sensitively orient themselves for the subsequent sequence development or completion. In the previous chapter, I argued that the *but*-unit is by no means always placed to back down from the original (and initial) action, but is rather a backgrounding addition for interactionally contrastive material in relation to the previous pre-*but* unit by the same speaker. What is particularly noteworthy is that while each *but*-unit does some contrasting, it does not appear to be designed to indicate a direct contradiction between two components at the content level: interactional contrast. Instead, the unit projects the speaker's production of something more interactional, in relation to the initial action, demonstrating the speaker's preference for the subsequent sequence development or completion, whose action emerges from the sequential context. In this regard, the *but*-unit displays that the resource needed to begin the subsequent sequence move has been achieved and is sufficient with no need to (re)produce further contrasting resources, suggesting that the readiness for a certain sequence move in the activity in progress is indexed.

Nevertheless, the interactional operation of final *but*s is contextually situated, and the *but*-unit does not always indicate the availabilities for sequence shift as it depends on how the sequence is co-constructed. This chapter investigates the sequential placements of final *but*s when sequence expansion is relevant. Again, a *but*-unit operates as a possible action completion point, in which the projection of a contrasting action is possibly and pragmatically (Ford & Thompson, 1996) complete, as sufficient resources are given in the prior exchange. In comparison to my findings in the previous chapter, final *but*s can also function as a form of the speaker's reworking in pursuit of a more of preferable response from the co-participants. On such occasions, a different pattern of interactional practices of final *but*s is seen in that the *but*-unit displays the speaker's affiliative action, which is retrospectively related back to his/her previously completed pre-*but* action. That is, the *but*-unit appears to be designed to pursue a response from the co-participant without paying any attention to the contrast itself.

As such, this chapter aims to deal with the second research question, considering the cases of final *but*s that are placed to sustain or expand or the ongoing course of action. First, as a preliminarily note, Section 5.2 provides a basic understanding of social alignment with concession making, which is relevant to the action design of final *but*s illustrated in this chapter. Section 5.3 then considers how the *but*-unit is made relevant to the initial pre-*but* action, and how a recipient action is implemented in the post-*but* space. With regard to this point, an

analytical focus should be placed on action formations of final *but*s for the progression of the ongoing sequence. My observation here highlights that the *but*-unit emerges from the immediately preceding action of the co-participant and provides another opportunity space for him/her to produce more preferable action. Even in such cases, final *but*s are placed not to focus on the contrast for the content incompatibility itself, but rather as a retroactive return to the speaker(s) initial action which has not been accomplished in a preferred way to make the sequence closure relevant.

5.2. Prior studies on concession making

As has been outlined throughout this thesis, conversation is intersubjective and reflexive, and thus mutual understanding and agreement between participants are an engine for sequence progression (refer back to the previous chapters). Recalling the norm of preference organisation, there is ample evidence that social dispute is accountable for delaying the achievement of the first action and prolonging the ongoing activity (Pomerantz, 1984a; Schegloff, 2007). If the first action (FPP) is a question, the prospective response to accomplish the first action, and thus the preferred action, is the informative one. Similarly, if the first action displays the speaker's assessment, the second preferred action is something that supports the first assessment or even upgrades the assessment in the second slot (Pomerantz, 1984a; p. 59–64). Although the responsive action is seen to be flexible and to accept many variations, there is "an institutionalised ranking of alternatives" (Heritage & Atkinson, 1984, p. 53) to accomplish social actions.

When disputes occur in the ongoing activity, there is a distant approximation between participants, and they may need to resolve such contradictions by conceding their point (Barth-Weingarten, 2003; Pomerantz, 1984a). As Goffman (1955) argued, each speaker has "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact" (p. 213). An established controversy can be a threat to the recipient's face (Brown & Levinson, 1987)[43] and subjected to conversational troubles that block the subsequent sequence development (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984; Sacks, 1973). In a turn-by-turn exchange, this is an action of concession that is utilised to secure social affiliation, wherein participants show a certain agreement by producing and/or invoking more preferable actions to deal with the blockage for progression of the sequence (Antaki & Wetherell, 1999, p. 9). Concession is thus a significant practice for conversational participants to moderate ongoing

[43] According to the face theory (Brown & Levinson, 1987), contradictions/disagreements inflict damage to the recipient's 'positive' face: his/her desire to be accepted by others.

contradictions, disagreements, and counterarguments; it is never a premediated rhetorical device (Lindström & Londen, 2013) but is instead contingent on a particular context.

As such, many variations of concessive practices have been reported in which the differences are seen in the display of the degree of agreement and structural formations of the concessive turn or unit. On one side of the spectrum, the speaker backs down from his/her original claim and even adopts the other's position as a resolution of the continuous dispute at the end of the discussion sequence. On such an occasion, there is a three-part action sequence: the speaker first produces a claim (initial claim), which the recipient then responds to with his/her acknowledgement before providing his/her counterclaim (Barth-Weingarten, 2003, p. 21). According to Antaki and Wetherell (1999), the first action is a challengeable proposition (X), and the move from the second (X') to third action (Y) is a flow from concession making to reclaiming the original claim. Thus, the second move, concession, is arguably associated with the concession-speaker's display of partial agreement that only shows the specific point to which the speaker is conceding (Kotthoff, 1993, p. 210). Regarding the three-part action sequences, Couper-Kuhlen and Thompson (2000) introduced the notion of a specific concessive move called 'cardinal concessive'. This is an interactional practice for concession making, in which the concession-speaker, in the production of the concession (X'), "very often accomplish[es] conceding by acknowledging only part of what the other speaker has said" (p. 385). That is, acknowledgement is a key resource in a recurrent format, which provides him/her with a pathway to resume the original claim in a less face-threatening way than just disagreement (see Brown & Levinson, 1987). Based on this cardinal concessive scheme, Couper-Kuhlen and Thompson (2005) later described cases of 'concessive repair' type action formations:

Overstatement	they're both very good
(a) *Concession*	I mean Melinda is inclined to spend more than she's got
(b) *Revised statement*	but she's toned down a lot
	she's realized the price of things

(Adapted from Couper-Kuhlen & Thompson, 2005, p. 260)

As in a compound turn construction unit (Lerner, 1996), a concessive unit is designed by speakers to revise a previous overstatement. The concession-speaker in the above example first backs down but then produces a revised statement by either simply resuming or downgrading the previous one, meaning that he/she still holds and does not change the original claim by the production of such revision.

Apart from a three-part action move for concession, on the other side of the spectrum, Koivisto (2012, 2015) found a particular use of the Finnish *mutta* (equivalent to the English *but*) utilised as an interesting variation of concessive repair. Her examples convincingly showed that the concessional unit (X') ends with the production of *mutta*, and no reproduction of overstatement (Y) is provided afterwards. Here, Koivisto proposed that the sequential three-part structure of concession is compressed into a two-part one: [claim + (concession + *mutta*)]. This is a reduced formation of concession making as a means of resolution for the ongoing controversy without reproducing, revising, or downgrading the original claim. However, she only illustrated cases where co-constructed controversy is resolved in the post-*mutta* space; hence, the speaker's overstatement still holds, and the recipient is thereby encouraged to revisit the prior overstatement. For the English *but*, Mulder and Thompson's (2008) study examined similar cases where a conjunction *but* is placed at a turn-final placement, which leaves a contrastive implication hanging, instead of an actual production of the contrastive resource. Stemming from those cases of *but* and equivalents in other languages, Hata (2016a) showed the specific use of final *but*s operating as a concession display device in academic discussion sessions. In those cases, it was argued that the final *but* is designed not only to invoke a sequential return connecting the concessive unit to the overstatement in a retrospective way, as Koivisto (2015) argued, but also to terminate the ongoing controversy: contrast-terminal. The latter argument stemmed from the following observations: a) the concessive *but*-unit is typically not the first attempt to resolve the dispute in extended courses of action; b) those attempts are at least aligned by the co-participant (opponent) and/or supported by the other participants; and c) the *but*-concessive unit does not invoke any repair initiation or even further disagreements.

5.3. Counter-dispreference: interactional contrast for affiliative responses

Despite the fact that final *but*s operate to display a coherent linkage in a retroactive way between the initial action and an additional action for certain contrast, their action formation is rather contextual in terms of sequence organisation. Unlike the cases illustrated in Chapter 4, my data also show particular cases of final *but*s that are placed before a possible completion point of the sequence has not been achieved yet, especially when the first action of the *but*-speaker a) is not in receipt of the achievement of a relevant and adequate second pair, or b) continuously receives dispreferred actions, blocking the achievement of the completion of an ongoing sequence, especially when participants are in dispute.

In this regard, I argue that final *but*s emerge from the speaker's orientation to the current lack of availability of the accomplishment of the ongoing action sequence. The *but*-unit is

thereby designed as a pursuit of more affiliative and preferred responses from the co-participant for the subsequent development, or even completion, of the sequence. This feature of final *but*s is associated with a particular sequential context in which the *but*-speaker's first and completed action (e.g. disagreement with the co-participant or question) is not in receipt of the preferred type of action to accomplish the initial action. This section also illustrates that the trajectory of post-*but* talk is also intersubjective and thus contingent on the recipient's response. The key findings in my observations are: a) that the *but*-unit is designed not strictly to back down from the original statement, but rather to display partial agreement and thus indicate a possible and currently preferable pathway for the recipient to achieve the sequential agenda; and b) that the recipient action is not restricted to the production of acknowledgement but is more flexible.

5.3.1. Indication of something left unaccomplished

In this section, I illustrate the interactional action that a final *but* may serve regarding something left unaccomplished in the current course of action, which does not simply stand as a variation of a concessive repair: providing a concession that is retrospectively related back to the previously completed initial action without restating the same contrast (Hata, 2016a; Koivisto, 2015; Mulder & Thompson, 2008). Unlike previous suggestions, my findings provide an alternative interpretation of final *but*s in that the *but*-unit retroactively recasts the initial action by displaying a partial acknowledgement of a particular portion of information, and there is not always convincing evidence of the same speaker backing down from the overstatement. Such an action is implemented in accordance with an invitation for the *but*-recipient to provide an affiliative action truly supporting the prior activity of the speaker.

First, I consider Excerpt (5.1), in which the participants are talking about a person working in a hospital. The first action in the excerpt stems from the deployment of a story preface to check that the prospective story is tellable (Lerner, 1992; Sacks, 1974).

Excerpt (5.1): Tape_026506

```
126   NIN:   do you remember when we had to go and coll↑ect her.
127          (0.8)
128   CLA:   [yeah.
129   NIN:   [that night,
130          (0.2)
131   CLA:   er:m
132          (1.0)
133   CLA:   hang on.
134          (0.4)
135   NIN:   it was ve↑ry le-=
136          =there's some ve↑ry lonely lanes there.=
```

```
 137   CLA:   =>I remember< going late at night.=
 138          =were ↑we collecting her,
 139          (.)
 140   NIN:   mmhm.
 141          (.)
 142   CLA:   were we really;
 143          (0.7)
 144   NIN:   (and) she was in the flat.
 145          (1.6)
 146   CLA:   (                ) ((eating))
 147          (0.3)
 148   NIN:   and she'd passed out in the phone box.
 149          (2.2)
→150   CLA:   I remember that happening=but_
 151          (1.1)
 152   NIN:   and that's when we went to collect her there.
 153          (.)
 154   CLA:   and that was Wythenshawe.
 155          (1.1)
 156   NIN:   that was wy↑thenshawe.=[yeah.
 157   CLA:                          [((cough)) (0.2) mmhm.
```

CLA firstly displays the status of being a knowing recipient (K+) at line 128, yet also shows his uncertainty in the following turn (lines 131–133), providing an action space for NIN to be a teller and resulting in an expansion of the storytelling course of action. NIN as a teller thereby orients herself to minimise the epistemic gap in knowing (see Heritage, 1984a, 2012b), and displays further actions to tell the story (lines 135–136). At lines 137–138, CLA then takes the floor to re-clarify his unknowledgeable (K-) state about the story of collecting the person; this action is subsequently in receipt of NIN's confirmation at line 140. CLA's next turn, "`were we really;`" (line 142), as a newsmark, indexes the storytelling sequence as a trajectory for the following exchange. In line with the suggested trajectory of talk, NIN expands the ongoing sequence that yields CLA's response to exhibit his understanding made relevant to the resources provided in NIN's turns. Until that point, NIN's attempts to display backgrounding information are seen to be inadequate and treated as such by CLA, which is evident in that CLA produces his concessive turn (line 150) to invite further actions to accomplish the current activity. These productions by NIN are thus dispreferred in that, considering that this course of action is constructed as a type of questioning sequence, her backgrounding is not informative enough to advance the subsequent sequence (Schegloff, 2007, p. 59). Here, CLA's *but*-unit (line 150) is designed to be addressed to NIN's prior turn, showing his general acknowledgement yet also indicating that his primary inquiry still holds. Such contrast is initially projected, where CLA shows a partial acknowledgement of what NIN says yet does not display his strong familiarity with the ongoing story (lines 137–138). In the following talk, CLA re-projects the same action recycled from his previous turn at line 142, indicating that his previous question still requires a

follow-up action. Following a post-*but* silence, the next-speaker turn (line 152) is designed as a confirmation that what CLA claims to remember is exactly the reference relevant to the story preface.

In (5.1), the production of a *but*-unit works for retrospective return, which is an affiliative orientation to what has been constructed in the ongoing action sequence. This type of action design displays the speaker's orientation to something left unaccomplished in the ongoing sequence, which can also be seen in the following excerpt (5.2) in a different sequential placement of the *but*-unit: the initial pre-*but* action is now at the first slot of the sequence (FPP). Unlike the previous cases, the *but*-unit in question is sequentially connected back to the previous action in the first slot of the sequence, but at the same time, the unit appears to support the prospective production of the SPP from the co-participant.

Excerpt (5.2): Tape_026503(2)

```
  20   CLA:   I'm try↓ing to remember,=
  21          =did they↑ have any↓ the kids,
  22          (2.3)
  23   NIN:   e[:rm
→ 24   CLA:    [I know they cut some for them but_
  25          (1.5)
  26   NIN:   (no:)
  27          (0.5)
  28   CLA:   huh.
```

Although the additional contrastive part of the speaker's action is not produced in immediate juncture to the base FPP unit, the final *but* here works to display the speaker's access to the knowledge associated with the previously completed action of questioning (line 21). As has been continuously observed, this *but*-unit displays an interactional contrast that is not designed to ameliorate the initial action nor to block the sequence progression based on the contrasting action of the speaker. Instead, the *but*-unit is designedly produced as an aligning extension following a possible completion point of the base unit. At first, CLA produces the FPP asking a question in which "the kids" is an extra-posed subject and co-referential with the pronominal subject "they". The FPP is therefore asking whether "the kids" had any (of whatever it is that is presumably salient in the context).[44] At line 23, the SPP is absence with a silence (line 22) immediately after the FPP. Here, the co-participant NIN may orient herself to the FPP to fill the silence, but does not provide a concrete answer at that moment. This is also the point where CLA overlaps NIN and then makes a statement of what he already knows in

[44] What is implied with "any" (line 21) is not inferable within the provided portion of the audio data.

the *but*-unit (line 24). Prior to the display of the next speaker NIN's orientation to the FPP,[45] CLA starts the *but*-unit in question and adds a contrast to the prior resource of the base FPP made by the same speaker in the sequence. Here, the projected action is not a direct contrast between two TCUs by the same speaker (lines 21 and 24), but more of a collaborative one, incrementing the prior question. Regarding its sequential location, the *but*-unit is not formulated as a freestanding action as either an FPP or an SPP, but is something additional. This aligning move then invites a responsive action by the next speaker NIN to fill the SPP slot that has been absent. The SPP is later provided at line 26 after CLA's additional action made to the first question, which leads to a completion of the sequence with CLA's minimal acknowledgement, or SCT, of the SPP at line 28.

What has so far been illustrated in this section is a unique sequential placement of final *but*s as a countermove to dispreferred-like actions. The *but*-unit displays the speaker's reworking by showing a particular portion of the speaker's acknowledgement to prompt a preferable next action for the sequence progression. Again, the sequential context is contingent and collaboratively constructed, but based on the participants' mutual understanding in the ongoing course of action. Thus, action completion is not necessarily brought by the speaker him/herself: the co-participant may jump in and complete the action collaboratively (Lerner, 1991, 1996). With regard to this point, the following excerpt (5.3) shows that such collaboration is also observed in the case of final *but*s (cf. Walker, 2012). The excerpt represents a single occasion on which the *but*-speaker closes the current turn at the point without any constituents to follow. Instead, a possible relevant unit to be sequentially connected to its precursor is produced by the co-participant, who collaborates with the *but*-speaker.

Excerpt (5.3): NC_089

```
 1   $2:   Dropbox.=honestly it takes two seconds to just sign
 2         up to it and it's (0.3) really easy.=
 3         =cos everything for this project's on Dropbox.
 4         (0.7)
 5   $2:   you can just do it all online?
 6         (1.0)
 7   $4:   yeah I can send an email to you; (.) right now.
 8         (0.4)
 9         and you can just install it;
10        ((transcription omitted between 02:58:03-03:02:33))
11   $2:   you don't need to install it.
```

[45] One might focus on the point that NIN actually initiates her production slightly before the initiation of the *but*-unit by CLA. Nevertheless, this does not necessarily mean that NIN shows an orientation to the FPP in a way that CLA understands this orientation. This excerpt instead shows the mis-timed start of the turn in that CLA could not have heard NIN's production of "e[:rm" before starting his additional turn.

```
  12          (1.0)
  13   $4:    really?=
  14   $2:    =yeah_=that's (what we were) said.
  15          (2.0)
  16   $4:    are you sure he said it like=
  17   $2:    =you ↑don't have to install it,
  18          (0.4)
  19   $2:    honestly ↑just sign up,
  20          (5.5)
  21   $1:    you can ↑install it on your computer at home.=
  22          =and a couple ↓of other com↑puters if you really
→ 23          wish too but_
  24          (0.2)
  25   $2:    you don- you can still do it all on↑line
  26          if you want.=
  27   $1:    =yeah.
```

To understand this case, it is important to remember that this is a multi-party conversation where two speakers ($2 and $1) share the same stance and collaboratively orient themselves to $4's question, who is unsure of how the software works. Unlike the other cases of dyadic interaction, two participants, the *but*-speaker ($1) and the collaborator ($2), complete a cardinal concessive move together (Couper-Kuhlen & Thompson, 2000): the production of concession (X') followed by the reclaiming of the original statement (Y). The current *but*-turn can thereby be packaged with the next-speaker response to display a possible action completion point in a similar way to co-construct a compound TCU (Lerner, 1996), as in "`you can ↑install it on your computer at home`" (X') *but* "`you don- you can still do it all on↑line`" (Y).

Note here that there is no guarantee that the *but*-speaker exactly means to imply what is filled by the collaborator, simply because the actual production of the *but*-speaker's Y unit is not visible in the data. Instead, my argument is that the collaborator's action here illustrates a common design of a final *but* as a countermove to the established dispreference in the ongoing activity. As has been claimed so far, the *but*-unit for concession is seen to reflect the noticeable absence at line 20, in that the prior action for suggestion has not been in receipt of any substantial and preferable responses to accomplish that suggestion. Line 24 is then a point of possible completion of the *but*-speaker's action and is thus associated with transition relevance. This is also the point available for the collaborator ($2), who perceives an opportunity for collaborative completion. The recipient action to achieve syntactic completion is then acknowledged by the *but*-speaker at line 27. Here, the collaborator's action is made relevant to the *but*-unit and is eventually designed to complete the *but*-speaker's syntactically unfinished business to offer a syntactically complete suggestion to the other participant.

5.3.2. Moderation for current disputes

I now turn to the point that a *but*-unit can establish a possible space to moderate the dispreferred actions in disputes to indicate a clear accomplishment of the ongoing activity in progress, wherein the prior action does not receive the preferred response for possible sequence closure. The following excerpt (5.4) is an example of such trait of the final *but* as a countermove to the blockage for sequential accomplishment. In this excerpt, where two participants are discussing a potential housing property for their associate, the line of talk is initially made regarding two aspects of the property: the electric efficiency and the type of house. Through this course of action, the initial asking for confirmation is left unaccomplished, and the *but*-unit makes such unfinished business salient at its action completion point. As well as the other instances shown above, final *but*s are outlined with no additional talk of the *but*-speaker to produce the contrastive proposition to be prefaced by *but* in a syntactically clearer way.

Excerpt (5.4): Tape_026610

```
  14   CLA:   you didn't put a definite no on economy seven.=
  15          =[did you?
  16   NIN:    [well they were terrace:s.
  17          (0.2)
  18   CLA:   oh well fair enough.=
  19          =no I'm talking about economy seven.=
  20          =[in case you heave ] any more not (pres:) basic
  21   NIN:    [well I think ↓that]
  22          (0.2)
  23   NIN:   yes she did.=[she wan]ts gas cooking,
  24   CLA:                [mm;    ]
  25          (0.3)
  26   CLA:   she prefers about er:: far prefers gas cooking.=
→ 27          =I know but_
  28          (0.5)
  29   NIN:   you I THInk you'll find she won't
  30          (0.6)
  31   NIN:   even contemplate cooking by electricity;
  32          (0.4)
  33   CLA:   mm[m;
  34   NIN:     [I doubt [that very mu[ch
  35   CLA:              [mm;         [mm;
  36          (4.0)
  37   NIN:   what's this one.
  38          (1.2)
  39   NIN:   this looks they look like↓ barratts?
```

The sequence structure starts with the first action, or CLA's confirmation marked by a tag question (lines 14–15), not receiving an aligned response by the co-participant NIN. CLA suspects that NIN did not put a no sign on the economy-seven class houses and now requests

confirmation of this. However, this action does not receive a concrete response (for CLA) from NIN with a dispreferred marker "well" (line 16). CLA then gives a general acknowledgement of NIN's turn, yet chooses to rework with the additional resource (lines 18–20) to try to complete the initial question. At line 23, NIN's next response only contains what CLA already knows, which is subsequently what CLA picks up on in a *but*-unit. At lines 26–27, CLA's turn is then designed to show his partial acceptance of NIN's prior response, but in the same turn, he also indicates that the prior question has been left unanswered. Here, the contrasting resource provided in the prior part of the talk is made relevant, and NIN's following turn shows her uptake of the *but*-speaker's partial acknowledgement. This is evident in lines 29–34, where the next speaker produces a response in the same sequential context without implementing an immediate sequence shift. Although a NIN instead marks her uncertainty, which is indicated with the intra-turn production of "I THInk" (Kärkkäinen, 2003), this may be treated as more concrete response by CLA and leads to the progression of the sequence without any returns to the same contrast.

As such, the *but*-speaker's interactionally contrasting action provides an opportunity space for the *but*-recipient to rework to address the previous action in a more preferred way. Hence, if the recipient produces an affiliative action after final *but*, and the completion of a certain unaccomplished action is achieved at post-*but* placement, and/or participants do not have anything else to say within the current sequence, they can take a smooth pathway towards sequence closing. Such a case can be seen in Excerpt (5.5). This is an occasion where the recipient does not implement further countermoves, and so provides a go-ahead to close the current sequence. In this exchange, the participants co-construct the debate on the property renovation/construction of their acquaintance.

Excerpt (5.5): Tape_026506

```
39   NIN:   I mean once we've got through this one=
40          =I'm blowed if I'm going to do it just for
41          the sake of doing it=
42   CLA:   =[well  [mm
43   NIN:   =[it'll [have to really need it=
44          =[before we start again
45   CLA:    [oh:.=yeah I know=
46          =but they they are a little bit inclined to what
47          shall we spend some money on next.=
48          =aren't they.
49          (0.2)
50   NIN:   mm.
51          (1.5)
52   CLA:   mm.
53   NIN:   well if it's there fa[ir do
```

```
  54   CLA:                          [oh
  55           (0.3)
  56   CLA:    fair do, I know but er
  57           (.)
  58   CLA:    it's up to them what they do with their money=
→ 59           =I know but_
  60           (0.3)
  61   NIN:    (hhh)=
  62   CLA:    =mhm.
  63           (7.2)
  64   NIN:    what's happened to the rest of the pa↑per↓ Larry,
  65           =there's only↑ half of it there?=
  66   CLA:    =well which paper (are you looking at.)
```

At line 45, CLA indicates his general acknowledgement of the initial claim of his co-participant NIN (line 39–41, 43–44), yet this turn also prefaces contrasting claim (lines 46–48). NIN's subsequent turn (line 50) can show her general acknowledgement of CLA's contrasting action, to which CLA shows his uptake (line 52). After this exchange, NIN implements further contrasting action, which leaves space for CLA to revisit the previously made contrast (lines 53). CLA's action at lines 54–59 is then formulated to be a sign of partial agreement addressed to NIN that, I argue, possibly proffers an opportunity space for the *but*-recipient to rework and display an affiliative response. That is, the *but*-unit is not merely a production of retrospective contrast but is designed as a means of counteraction to the current blockage in the ongoing confrontation. This next turn is subsequently placed in the post-*but* space and produces a (non-verbal) acknowledgement made relevant to the *but*-turn without reclaiming any contrasting resources, whose action is consolidative to the *but*-speaker (see line 62). This observation is evident at line 63, where there is a significant length of silence yet no actions made by the participants to extend the course of confrontational action. Instead, the participants smoothly take a stepwise move towards the initiation of a completely new sequence, which is implemented by NIN (line 64). That is, the participants recognise a certain readiness for a sequence shift when the moderation of the co-constructed confrontation successfully operates.

This pattern in the utilisation of final *but*s is also seen in the following fragment (5.6a–6b). Here, a particular insight is offered in the sequential placement of partial agreement/concession and its treatment in a multi-party conversation, as has been previously touched on in (5.3). This excerpt in particular illustrates that the extensive courses of action are co-constructed by participants, in that a certain contrast is established and becomes a significant resource at the point of final *but*. The course of action here is extensively expanded stemming from $2's concern that the current analysis offered by $5 is problematic. $2 repeatedly suggests that the direction of the wind should be considered, leading to his explanation of why the issue

of wind direction should have been taken into account in their current project. For clarity, I first provide the prior part of the argumentative sequence.

Excerpt (5.6a): NC_091

```
   4   $1:   so:: just a little progress report from each person,
   5         and then we'll get to the↓ Gantt chart stuff.
   6         (0.5)
   7         after that; (0.2) so er:: kairul.
   8         (0.3)
   9         how's the work going.
  10   $5:   erm (0.6) I've got numbers off mohammed yesterday.=
  11         for the:: (1.0) horizontal forces;=
  12         so mm- I've started working on ↓those;
  13         (0.9)
  14   $1:   oka[y,
             ((26 lines omitted))
  41   $1:   =the [wind↑ is the problem.
  42   $5:        [because
  43   $5:   yeah because since↓ (0.3) the wind would be
  44         acting (0.5) a lot further from the:: ground.
  45   $1:   yeah.=
             ((13 lines omitted))
  59   $1:   erm (.) is it is ↑it possible↓ that the wind would
  60         be blowing from one direction and the
  61         tidal↓ (0.4) would act in another direction;
  62   $2:   =[yeah.
  63   $1:   =[eh.
  64   $2:   completely possible. (0.3) wind rotates three sixty.
  65   ??:   righ[t
  66   $2:       [tide (0.8) round about one eighty;=
  67         =°it isn't strictly that°
  68   $5:   right.
             ((49 lines omitted))
 118   $2:   presumably (.) eh I mean I don't know how you're
 119         calculating your forces.
 120         (0.5)
 121   $2:   eh.=presumably it's just a series of constant signs
 122         to do with the angle of the wind (0.4) versus
 123         the angle of the: (0.5) tripod leg to the wind.
 124         (1.2)
 125   $5:   er:m, (0.3) I'm just assuming i:t's (0.7)
 126         <a simple beam wi:th> (1.0) normal moments.
 127   $2:   yeah.=
 128   $1:   =°yeah°
 129         (0.6)
 130   $2:   okay. (.) e:rm, (0.4) but in terms of then
 131         the stresses. (0.3) well the forces acting on the
 132         tripod legs [cos of course they're gonna be at=
 133   ??:               [°yeah°
 134   $2:   =sort of a wi[de shaped angle.
 135   ??:                [(    ) yeah
 136         (.)
 137   $2:   they're not gonna be:↓ (.) n- so if the wind is
 138         coming say (.) head on.
```

```
 139   $5:   yeah.
 140   $2:   and you:r back leg is here >obviously< that's
 141         gonna take a lot of the force.
 142   $5:   yeah.=
 143   $2:   but if the wind swings round to there (0.2)
 144         there's gonna be a cross force acting on that=
 145         =isn't there.
 146         (1.0)
 147   $2:   eh yeah all I'm thinking is could you because
 148         you know the wind eh th- you know the tide is pretty
 149         much go.=you can assume either runs (0.2) from
 150         east to west or west to east.
 151         (0.2)
 152   $2:   I don't know exactly but we can find that out.=
 153         =that's very easy.=but (.) they only GO one way or
 154         the other? (0.3) high flows whereas the WIND can go
 155         in any direction.=
 156   $5:   =yeah
```

In this excerpt, it is clear that the issue of wind direction is initiated by two participants ($1 and $2), upgrading their personal concern to be the main topic of debate in a stepwise move. $5 first describes why the wind direction is problematic (lines 43–44), which is followed by a question-initiating non-minimal sequence: $1's confirmation check (lines 59–61) is sequenced into $2's confirmation and expansion (lines 62, 64, 66–67). This expanded exchange explicitly highlights that the wind can blow in an opposite direction from the tide, and therefore, the wind direction is what should be discussed. Yet, $2 repeats a hedging action, which is particularly evident in the use of "`presumably`" and "(not) `exactly`" as a sign of the speaker's uncertainty (Fraser, 1996, p. 181–182; Fung & Carter, 2007, p. 419), until the participants reach the concluding part (see the underlined lines above). This action is frequently linked with the projection of the core idea: the wind can go in any direction, and care should be taken with it. This then becomes a salient resource at the placement of the final *but*, as follows.

Excerpt (5.6b): NC_091

```
 165   $2:   so the wind could come from anywhere. (.) and you
 166         can see what scenario is the k- is the worst,=
 167         =I mean we're assuming (.) that when they're
 168         together.=they're gonna be worst case scenario?
 169   $5:   °yeah°=
 170   $2:   =we could find however if actually it's ten degrees
 171         off. (0.7) then puts this MASSive cross moment on
 172         that we haven't accounted for?
 173   $5:   yeah.=
 174   $2:   so: (1.2) °it's probably (0.6) worth looking at;°
 175   $5:   yeah.
 176         (0.5)
 177   $2:   eh I don't understand what the calculations you're
→178         doing.=outside it's difficult to say but_
```

```
179          (1.5)
180   $1:    yeah. (.) I definitely agree what you're doing you
181          need to do more pull.
182   $5:    I'll look into that I ↑hadn't thought of that
183          actually.=
184   $2:    =okay.
185          (1.2)
186   $1:    what else are you working on?
187          (1.0)
188   $5:    that's mostly it,
189          (1.9)
190   $1:    okay.
```

To make a pathway for the current sequence completion, the *but*-speaker ($2) reasonably requests a preferred action from the *but*-recipient ($5) that orients the latter to the concession of the former. It is particularly noteworthy that $2's series of counterclaiming is in receipt of a minimal response token "yeah" from $5 several times in this exchange. As a token itself, in which it is used without claiming speakership to project further actions, it does not necessarily signal a clear response (e.g. confirmation) (Clark, 1996; Jefferson, 1993; Schegloff, 1982; Stivers, 2008). Hence, $2 may treat the current conflict as unresolved, and therefore continues explanation. Then, line 180 is the important moment of transition relevance where the co-participant ($1) jumps in as a collaborator and produces an affiliative response to the *but*-unit. At line 182, $5 takes a turn space after this collaboration and finally produces an action preferable to minimal acknowledgement tokens. Now that the *but*-speaker's action is accomplished, sequence closure is relevant (Schegloff, 2007) and the trajectory is again open for the new course of action (line 186).

As highlighted in the previous examples, the *but*-speaker action of concession making is addressed to the resources of the co-participants as a means of pursuing a preferred affiliation to close the conflicting sequence. Nevertheless, the speaker's persuasion is not always successful and vulnerable to context renewing. In this regard, my argument is that the *but*-unit leaves the next speaker's response open as to how he/she will respond: in either an affiliative or a disaffiliative way. This property of final *but*s is made particularly concrete in the following example (5.7), which demonstrates the recipient action as neither agreement (thus, preferred) nor clear disagreement (dispreferred). Instead, this excerpt illustrates a moment where the recipient reframes the subsequent talk by picking up on the speaker's concession to progress the ongoing sequence. As background, there is a dispute between two participants about renting a chainsaw to lop off a hedge. Throughout this interaction, NIN shows interest in utilising a chainsaw, which CLA acknowledges but rejects. At line 109, *but* is placed in the turn-final position and sequentially makes the previously made contrast salient in a practice of

interactional contrast. This *but*-unit then receives the recipient action to implement a question-answer course of action in the same larger sequence.

Excerpt (5.7): Tape_026503(3)

```
 8   NIN:   how much can you cut with those as opposed↑
 9          to having
10          (0.2)
11          needing↓ (1.7) the: er:m↓
12          (.)
13   NIN:   the ↑other ones.=that are used for trees,=
14          =erm;
15          (0.8)
16   CLA:   cha(hh)insa(h)w.=
17          =[.hhh hahh hah=.hhh
18   NIN:    [chainsaw.=I couldn't forget the word,
19          (.)
20   NIN:   the ↑chain[saw.
21   CLA:             [oh they'll take er do a fair amount
22          of work.=but erm_
23          (0.9)
24   CLA:   I think (.) ↑certainly as far as the hedge is
25          is concerned,
26          (0.4)
27   NIN:   well I ↑know TH[At.
28   CLA:                  [yeah.=↑hang on.=hang on.
29          (1.2)
30   CLA:   in a well-established hedge like that=
31          =I would [think er the loppers,
32   NIN:            [yea:h
33   CLA:   if the:: erm (0.3) hedgecutter won't tackle it,=
34          =the loppers (0.2) will=
35   NIN:   =yes but what I was thinking [more
36   CLA:                                [mm
37          (0.5)
38   NIN:   is the rest of the round there;
39          (0.6)
40   NIN:   round at the si:de there,
41          (1.5)
42   NIN:   I mean a lot of the: (0.3) you know_ (.) when we
43          start getting rid of all the r[ubbish down that side.
               ((50 lines omitted))
94   NIN:   well I was just thinking of taking the work↑
95          out of it.
96          (0.3)
97   CLA:   OH I know what you ↑mean.=yeah_
98          (0.3)
99   NIN:   mm.=it's one ↑hell ↓of a lot [of ↑work (   )
100  CLA:                                [but (.) you ↑see=
101         =we don't really need a chainsaw;=do we.
102         (1.0)
103  NIN:   NO:.=I wouldn't ↑say [↓so  n↑ormal.=
104  CLA:                        [no:
105  NIN:   =[but erm: the[re's quite=
106  CLA:    [yeah;       [no;
```

```
 107   NIN:   =a lot [to work.
 108   CLA:         [to hire↑ one possibly for a specific
→109           dep- speci(h)fi(h)c ↑job but_
 110           (0.3)
 111   NIN:   I wonder how much they are to ↑hire.
 112           (0.5)
 113   CLA:   not ↑very dear.
 114           (.)
 115   CLA:   [what (.) erm chainsaw;
 116   NIN:   [oh ↑aren't they. (.) mm,
 117           (1.1)
 118   CLA:   I think (when) l:ast time I looked at the hire list
 119           price pri[ce list;
 120   NIN:            [mhm.
```

This fragment of talk is initiated by the question posed by NIN and co-constructed with CLA. At lines 8–14, NIN's turn is designed to ask about the efficiency of utilising a chainsaw in comparison to other alternatives, but NIN does not have access to the lexical word 'chainsaw' at that time. At once, NIN closes the ongoing and unfinished unit and initiates a new one, which may stem from the conversational action to search for the word before asking a complete question (see Heeman & Allen, 1999; Liddicoat, 2007, p. 171, p. 188). Therein, NIN initiates an insertional and subsidiary course of action (Jefferson, 1972) for this word-search repair sequence, in which the potential word is provided by CLA at line 16, latched with confirmation by NIN at lines 18–20. The success of this word-search yields CLA's placement of the SPP at lines 21–25. This turn, and especially the projection of *oh*, displays that CLA is now informed of what NIN initially asked (Heritage, 1984a, p. 322–323), and now the SPP is made relevant to the FPP with NIN's initial question. Here, CLA treats NIN's initial question as a suggestion to use a chainsaw for their work, which is rejected in the SPP turn, packaged together with an acknowledgement. At that moment, NIN would possibly be able to close the current sequence with CLA's disagreement by projecting a post-minimal acknowledgement (Schegloff, 1990, 2007). Instead, NIN displays her preference for the idea of utilising a chainsaw after line 35, indexing the ongoing trajectory of talk for subsequent exchanges.

Following the continuous discussion on the same topic of the utilisation of a chainsaw, CLA produces a turn at lines 100–101 to reproduce a contrast and clarifies his opinion that a chainsaw is not needed. The placement of the tag question "`do we.`" in the turn, together with the projection of disagreement (or simply, contrast), arguably operates as an invitation for the aligning response from NIN, and indexes a course of action for the subsequent talk (Hepburn & Potter, 2010; Moore & Podesva, 2009). CLA's attempt to close the ongoing disagreement can also be seen in the standalone token "`no;`" as a minimal post-expansion that might implement action to acknowledge a shared opinion rather than negating it (Jefferson, 2002).

This possibly functions to move into the next trajectory of talk without providing a go-ahead for renting a chainsaw. The *no*-recipient NIN, however, rejects this potential trajectory of talk, and re-displays interest by implementing the reproduction of prior talk. This expansion of the current sequence results in the continuation of disagreement, which yields CLA's re-projection of the proposed contrast in CLA's subsequent turn at lines 108–109, indirectly illustrating why there is no need to rent a chainsaw in their situation. As has been seen in the other instances, the *but* here sequentially displays a possible and recognisable turn completion point for the recipient, which successfully provides the recipient NIN with a space to produce a response at line 111.

From this observation, it is evident that NIN's interest has remained displayed from the prior part of talk and has developed into the interactional trajectory through a stepwise move to make a final decision on whether they will utilise a chainsaw. Here, it is important to highlight that NIN is partially affiliative with CLA and produces (partial) agreement twice (lines 27 and 103). In particular, her action in a multi-unit turn (lines 103, 105, and 107) formulates a typical case of cardinal concessive, indicating her concession as a partial acknowledgement of CLA's disagreement, and then reclaiming the overstatement previously made. Here, CLA also continues the dispute but appears to be motivated to manage this confrontation in a reasonable way. CLA then displays general agreement in the *but*-unit that a chainsaw might not be necessary to lop off a hedge, but only in normal circumstances, so the speaker notes an exception to this proposition. Here, I argue that the *but*-unit contributes to establishing a possible space for the recipient to produce a preferable response for the *but*-speaker at the post-conjunctional place. The projected contrast arguably works to invite an agreement, yet the recipient enacts an action to sustain the trajectory of talk and thus furthers the ongoing discussion on utilising a chainsaw without displaying the readiness for sequence completion. The recipient's FPP (line 111) is thus considered as a re-attempt to invite a go-ahead response from a different focus on the ongoing topic: the price of hiring a chainsaw, which is picked up on from CLA's contrasting action.

5.4. Summary

Compared to the cases examined in Chapter 4, the final *but*s illustrated in this chapter show distinctive features as a means of preference organisation. The observation suggests a sequential property of final *but*s as the speaker's reworking to resolve something not accomplished. Those *but*s are placed after the productions of base FPP and/or SPP, but before the action sequence has been brought into its closure relevance point. As a practice of organisation of talk,

participants are sensitive to the relevance between the current and next turn in line with the progression of the course of action. The orderliness of interactional contrast with this type of *but*s is seen in that the expansion of the ongoing sequence is relevant when the course of action is left unaccomplished because of the co-participant's disaffiliation (Schegloff, 2007; Sidnell, 2010). It is commonly observed in my data that the final *but* on such sequence expansional occasions operates as a sequence organisation practice to encourage the co-participant(s) to re-orient themselves to that initial action of the *but*-speaker. The initial action of the *but*-speaker stands as an account of the *but*-unit, and no following talk is provided to reproduce the same action. Regarding this, the examples cited so far have illustrated cases where the *but*-unit is not merely an addition of contrasting action but something emergent from the speaker's sensitive orientation to the availabilities of sequence expansion.

My findings partially mirror Koivisto's (2015) study on the final *mutta* as an acknowledgement of the possibility of positive alternatives provided by the co-participants. In her analysis, the final *mutta* is the ending point of the speaker's concessive action as a partial retraction of his/her initial action (to be acknowledging). She claimed that the *mutta*-unit is a variation of concessive repair, reformulating the initial action of the same speaker, while the relevance of a contrastive view point is left implicit and the initial action still holds and is foregrounded (p. 69). My observation on final *but*s differs from hers in that there is no strong evidence of concession making in its generic pattern as a retraction or reformulation of the initial pre-*but* action of the speaker. Instead, the *but*-unit flexibly stands as either a concession made to the co-participant's claim by backing down from the initial claim, or a partial agreement with or acknowledgement of a specific portion of information to which further dispreference does not need to be made. Apart from any distinction between concession and partial agreement, my argument is that the *but*-unit can be well described in terms of sequential placement as a design to invoke the recipient's action in light of a more preferable option to accomplish the ongoing course of action.

Although my observation illustrates that the *but*-unit is also not strictly bound to a particular sequential position (Koivisto, 2015, p. 70), there is a pattern of its sequential placement: the *but*-unit is placed after the speaker's initial claim (either first or second action) is in receipt of a dispreferred-type action. Thus, the structural pattern of final *but*s is that the production of these *but*s is a point of expansion relevance (Schegloff, 2007) where the *but*-speaker reworks to create another opportunity space for the recipient to deal with the ongoing disaffiliation. Attention should be paid here to the point that *but* is not necessarily placed at the point where participants have reached an agreement to resolve a confrontation in talk: the speaker action of reworking is only projected. Regarding this point, my findings can add

significant insight to Koivisto's observation in terms of the flexibility of the post-*but* trajectory. In her study, the examples of the final *mutta* also show a similar feature of its action design as a pursuit of an affiliative response. In those examples (at least, in her demonstration), all the cases take place where the recipient's next action is formulated as an agreement with the initial claim. On the other hand, my cases of final *but*s have shown that the *but*-speaker is not always in receipt of a preferable response at the post-*but* space. That is, when the recipient produces a dispreferred action such as further disagreement, the expansion is relevant. Therein, the recipient can manipulate the next turn position in association with his/her reasonable choice to either accept or reject the *but*-speaker's reworking.

Chapter 6. Discussion

6.1. Main findings of the study

Utilising the framework of CA, this thesis has aimed to unfold how the final *but* becomes a resource of talk-in-interaction. In particular, I empirically observed interactional achievements of final *but*s for the progression of the ongoing sequence structure. While my findings partially mirror previous studies with regard to turn completion features of final conjunctions (Hata, 2016a; Koivisto, 2015; Local & Kelly, 1986; Mulder & Thompson, 2008; Walker, 2012), some underexplored features of final *but*s were also uncovered in terms of their contextual features for the subsequent sequence progression. Firstly, the production of a final *but* is followed by a post-conjunctional silence that enables a clean transition of speakership without invoking a competitive turn-taking environment. Secondly, when ending with a final *but*, the current turn is brought to its possible pragmatic completion point and provides a readiness for the next relevant or new course of action. The construction of the sequence with no repair action initiated in the post-*but* space for the *but*-turn means that, as Walker (2012) suggested, the unit ending with *but* is informationally complete to project the speaker's action, meaning that the recipient can treat the final *but* as a device to display a finality of the turn rather than the speaker's continuation signal. In other words, participants do treat the final *but* as turn-completing, although conjunctional tokens in turn-final placement can be ambiguous based on their syntactic property (Drake, 2015).

As Koivisto (2015) initially claimed, the sequential pattern of the *but*-unit is not associated with a particular sequential position and thus does not always emerge in the same way. As illustrated in Chapter 3, my study became motivated once I found two different trajectories taken in a post-*but* space: sequence completion and expansion. On the one hand, a final *but* is treated as a possible action completion point, and thus transition space is yielded. Given that the action is completed, this can also be an opportunity space for participants, including the *but*-speaker, to implement a new course of action in line with a new direction of talk. On the other hand, some cases of final *but*s appear to be strongly associated with transition relevance where the next speaker always provides a certain response to the *but*-speaker. In those cases, sequence expansion is implemented at the post-*but* trajectory of talk.

Although these different trajectories of post-*but* talk could be outlined by identifying the next speaker's action, I argue that such observation is descriptive and thus not analytical, meaning that how these *buts* systematically figure in the equation remains unclear. Here, I revisit the research questions that were initially introduced in Chapter 1, and I now address them thoroughly based on the findings presented in the main analytical chapters.

Q1: Trajectory type 1:

How do final *but*s display possible action completion and reasonably provide for possible sequence progression to the next course of action?

Q2: Trajectory type 2:

What accounts for final *but*s placed to sustain or expand the ongoing course of action?

In both cases, although there is no clear indication of a syntactic completion of a turn, the placement of a final *but* displays a possible point of global pragmatic completion within a combination with the immediately preceding material to be a whole turn constructional unit. Final *but*s are the point where the *but*-speaker does not provide any more contrasting resources to supplement the contrasting action and the orientation of the co-participant(s). In particular, I have emphasised that transition relevance is associated with a possible global-level pragmatic completion point (Ford & Thompson, 1996) at the final *but*. Here, the form of a retroactive connection is made to the initial pre-*but* action that is syntactically complete, and the readiness for speaker change thereby emerges.

In Chapters 4 and 5, I demonstrated that final *but*s are associated with interactional contrasts as a means of management for the speaker regarding the availability of sequence closure or expansion. That is, the *but*-unit displays a particularly designed action to either promote the progression of the ongoing talk for sequence closing, or to provide another space for the recipient to proffer an affiliative response to close the ongoing sequence. In line with Ford's (2000) argument, the contrast does not encode any content-level incompatibilities between two (or more) different units. Rather, the *but*-unit operates as an organisational device for the ongoing sequence "*through* the absence of moves toward explanation or solution" (p. 305).

Chapter 4 addressed Q1 in terms of a) how *but* is placed in a single completable turn constituent, and b) how final *but*s (and *but*-units) index the availability for the progression of the sequence, leading to a possible sequence closure point. I argued that final *but*s operate as a contrasting but backgrounding addition designed to make a retroactive connection between the current turn and the previously completed unit(s), which yields transition relevance. The orderliness of these final *but*s is seen in that the *but*-speaker firstly enacts the initial pre-*but* action that becomes an inference, and the later production of the *but*-unit then does not project further or new actions, but retroactively recasts the initial action. This course of action works

to prompt a coherence of talk by holding the completed status of the initial action, albeit a follow-up addition to that action. In line with Ford (2000), the contrast here does not mean a production of any literal contrasts between different units of talk; instead, the contrast is designedly shaped with a respective sequential context, and not in an intrusive way as a blockage for sequence progression.

The important feature of this type of final *but* can be seen in the way that the speaker always produces the *but*-unit after an initial (but possible) completion point of the ongoing course of action has been achieved. In other words, the *but*-unit is a practice of the speaker's display of an interactional contrast, stemming from the sequential context, but whose action of contrasting is as minimal as possible so as not to make the contrast itself the focus of the talk (Ford, 2000, p. 301). In this sense, I established that the *but*-unit is a design of the speaker's preference for the progression of the sequence structure over the contrasting action itself. The *but*-recipient then treats the ongoing course of action as completable and is thus affiliative with a suggested completion point of the course of action, unless there is no more need to clarify the *but*-unit.

To address Q2 above, in Chapter 5 I shifted my analytic focus to cases where *but*-units are placed as a sequence expansion. Unlike the sequence closure/shift cases described in Chapter 4, I illustrated that final *but*s also command the speaker's action of reworking as a countermove to the current dispreference, as a means of resolving a blockage to accomplish the ongoing sequence activity. In this type, the *but*-units are formulated as a display of partial acknowledgement and are strictly addressed to the co-participants. Analogously, final *but*s here are retroactively connected to the previous resource (e.g. the participant's action of question, suggestion, or announcement) that stands as a reference to index the *but*-unit that recasts the initial action without projecting a new contrasting action. On the other hand, the *but*-speaker seeks more preferable alternatives to his/her prior action by producing either a concessive retraction or partial acknowledgement of the dispreferred action of the recipient. My observation in Chapter 5 in particular is that this action design certainly stems from an interactional contrast that is retrospectively made between the *but*-unit and the initial pre-*but* action to achieve a certain shift in focus, but now to resolve the current dispreference. That is, the *but*-unit sequentially provides another space for the co-participants to re-address the speaker's initial action that has so far been left unaccomplished. The recipient then has a meaningful choice to either accept or decline the speaker's reworking, and this choice will index the availability of sequence closure or expansion and formulate the subsequent course of action through a stepwise move.

This type of orderliness of interactional contrast appears to be significantly contextual when a final *but* is utilised in the sequential context of argumentation: where participants co-construct the course of producing, challenging, and reasoning claims and counterclaims (Coupler-Kuhlen & Thompson, 2000). On these occasions, the speaker action that includes the final *but* is formulated as a form of partial acknowledgement operating as a possible vehicle to encourage a certain affiliation that can be either accepted or rejected by the next speaker. When he/she declines this concessive move, the post-*but* space is utilised to (re)claim a contrasting resource and implement further debate. When the speaker's reworking action is accepted and certain consolidation between participants is achieved, the recipient produces an acknowledgement of the *but*-turn without providing further contrasting resources, which leads to structuring a smooth way to sequence closing. Thus, a trajectory of post-*but* talk is contextually regulated, which can explain why the next turn never implements a drastic sequence shift in these cases. These traits of final *but*s can be an informing addition to the existing literature on how these *but*s systematically operate as an interactional device to accomplish a particular social action on a turn-by-turn basis. To conclude this thesis, I discuss implications and limitations of my research, and offer suggestions for future work.

6.2. Implication of this study

The objective of my study was to offer a fine-grained understanding of how conversational participants utilise grammar to accomplish particular actions, which goes beyond traditional instructions on how *but* should be used, particularly in the initial position of a unit (see Haugh, 2008, p. 426). In my observations, I did not make claims about the *but*-speaker's intentional or psychological factors, or about whether the speaker 'intentionally' ends a turn at the placement of *but*. Instead, I treated final *but*s as interactional practices that can be available by looking through sequential designs of each action and the relevance between them.

The main contribution of this thesis project is that it provides systematic descriptions of interactional patterns and practices of final *but*s that are recognisable to the participants and, via their orientations, to analysts. I argue that an interactional property of the final *but* should be understood in accordance with not just its grammatical status, based on whether a contrastive proposition is clearly provided (in the prior talk) or made implicit, yet specific orderliness associated with final *but*s. First of all, final *but*s in my collection are utilised as a means of accomplishing several forms of sequence progression; their function appears to be strongly associated with global pragmatic completion (Ford & Thompson, 1996). The production of *but* at final placement is combined with the immediately preceding unit with no strong sign of a

prosodic gap between them, operating as a single turn constituent, or TCU. Unlike its use as a traditional norm of conjunction, final *but*s indicate an interactional contrast that is not placed to introduce an account for the contrasting action itself (Ford, 2000).

Regarding this point, I argue that the orderliness of such an interactional contrast is distinguishable from a literal contrast. As Levinson put it, when *but* is used as the introduction to a literal contrast (e.g. disagreement), this initial action is regularly followed by a *but*-prefaced unit that provides an account of the specific reason why the speaker is doing this contrasting action (Levinson, 1983, p. 331–334). This orderliness of the contrast has been clearly shown in cases of [*year*(*yes*) + *but*…] structure to mitigate a dispreferred action. The speaker's continuation to explain the contrast is designedly and normatively produced to moderate the forthcoming dispreferred action by indicating an affiliative response (e.g. *yeah* or *yes*) first (Coupler-Kuhlen & Thompson, 2000, 2005; Pomerantz, 1984a). This orderliness of contrast making explains local *but*s (in Chapter 4) being followed by the speaker's explanation in that the inference of contrasting action has not yet been projected in the ongoing sequence. On the other hand, final *but*s are designed to indicate an implicit and non-literal contrastive linkage retrospectively made to the speaker's initial action. In the construction of interactional contrast, the *but*-speaker's initial action has been previously completed without invoking any need for explanation, and is never altered by the production of final *but*s.

As an addition to the literature, it is also appropriate to argue here that talk-in-interaction is fundamentally contingent (Sacks et al., 1974), and that no fragment of talk can be considered to show an identical phenomenon to others in terms of conversational structure. As Ford (2001) put it, "there are recognizable sequence of actions that … are normative, but they are not absolute nor predetermined, that is, they are contingent" (p. 55). The present work cautiously suggests that the sequential placement of final *but* is not a simple phenomenon, but rather displays complexity in the unfolding of talk, which is not simply outlined by clear turn transitions but rather an interactional agenda of the participants within their construction of the sequence.

6.2.1. Contextual features of final but*s*

Again, final *but*s are designed as syntactically incomplete but pragmatically complete without invoking any need to account for the contrast. That is, the *but* is not formulated to induce the recipient's response to pursue its syntactic completion with an explanation. Recalling the norm of indexicality, the research on final *but*s needs to generate analytical insight regarding how conversational participants create a particular context through the course of actions in which

they are embedded (Sacks, 1992). Here, the discussion returns to how these final *but*s inform participants of the option to produce a go-ahead to close a current sequence structure or to expand it, or whether the placement of that token alters those choices. In this regard, I argue that the action design of final *but*s reflects its interactional context of the course of action where the way of orientation displayed in the subsequent turn directly affects the following pathway of talk.

Regarding the contextual properties of the final *but*, my findings do not show strong evidence of its operation as leaving an implication of concession, or as backing down from the initially produced action, which has been continuously claimed in prior studies on final *but*s and equivalents in other languages (Koivisto, 2012, 2015; Mulder & Thompson, 2008). Regarding this point, Mulder and Thompson (2008) claimed:

> Yet there is a clear implication left "hanging", such that the clause ending with *but* is open to being interpreted as a concession, with the claim for which it is a concession only implied (see Couper-Kuhlen & Thompson (2000)). That is, *but* tells the hearer that there's an implication, and invites the listener to infer what it is and continue the interaction appropriately given that implication. (p. 186)

My argument above partially agrees with this commentary in that the syntactic incompleteness of the *but*-unit leaves something hanging as no more talk is provided for accounts for the contrast in the post-*but* space. However, again, the resource to be implied is 'missing' in the sequential context, and the recipient does not show any orientation to the *but*-unit as such. Hence, we might end up assuming rather than describing the concession making feature of final *but*s. It is instead arguable here that the *but*-unit holds the completion of the initial action, regardless of whether the speaker concedes to the other participants or not, and thus a possible point for sequence shift or expansion can be re-oriented right after the production of *but*.

Reconciling my work with Ford's (2000) observation of interactional contrasts, the findings in my thesis suggest that the sequential placement of the token is associated with a particular social action that stems from the sequential context. In my data, the sequential placement of final *but*s is complex, particularly in informing/storytelling sequences. On these occasions, the *but*-unit is produced in relation to the pre-*but* unit after the co-participant (or the next speaker) shows his/her orientation to it, showing the agreed stance between participants. Again, the contrast here does not mean that the action for content-level mismatch contrasted the initial action, and it does not invite further elaboration or resolution (Ford, 2000, p. 301). Instead, it is an action of creating structural coherence by backgrounding or providing an

additional reference for the base unit. That is, the construction above is relatively globally conducted in a way that the *but*-unit is outlined with its delayed production at a possible completion point of the initial action.

Given that sequence organisation is intersubjective, final *but*s show availabilities for sequence moves in accordance with the sequential context. Here, the production of the *but*-unit is utilised as a practice to prioritise a progression of the sequence without blocking the sequential progression nor adumbrating the further talk by putting a focus on the contrasting action. This is evident in that the recipient does not show his/her orientation to the *but*-unit as freestanding to be revisited. For instance, once the trajectory of talk is indexed for informing in the storytelling sequence, and the participants are then assigned particular roles (i.e. teller or recipient), it is convincingly seen that the *but*-speaker as a teller continues in the post-*but* space and produces further talk (Jefferson, 1978; Sacks, 1974) but not in the same story line or at the same sequence level (i.e. base vs. side sequence). On these occasions, although the *but*-unit is followed by the speaker's continuation, a preference of progression of the sequence is also observed. Here, the *but*-unit is not designed to be a display of incongruity of the contents that may block the subsequent sequence development, and the absence of the recipient's action appears to be unnoticeable (Schegloff, 2007, p. 20). That is, accounts for final *but*s should not merely come from the absence of the speaker's post-*but* continuation (cf. Walker, 2012, p. 151).

Therefore, I insist in my analysis that turn transition with a speaker shift does not provide a detailed account of the sequential operations of final *but*s. In this regard, I now consider a thorough examination of Mulder and Thompson's (2008) argumentation in support of the description of the *Janus but*, the notion I initially introduced in Chapter 2, to see whether my argument is applicable in debatable cases in their study.

Excerpt (6.1): [Adapted from Mulder & Thompson (2008, p. 183)]

1	JIM:	… we would charge (H) % … five-hundred fifty dollars on ac- on an account,
2		it would be five-hundred dollars,
3		it's really kind of a switch around **but**.
4		(H) what … what that would –
5		… I think it would be good for (H) … the five or six of us,
6		(H) to have Galino down here,
7		(H) can kind of explain what products,
8		… we can offer from the bank side,
9	JOE:	… hm.
10	JIM:	~Matt needs to know that,
11		and … and we all need to know that,
12		(H) and then,

Mulder and Thompson (2008) claimed that the production of *but* (line 3) closely resembles the token placed as a final particle, as a) the *but* here is adjunct to the previous turn constituent with no pause or intonation break, and b) the subsequent action of the same speaker at (and after) line 4 initiates a new social action (p. 183–184). However, the production of this *but* does not end a turn: thus, it is not a turn-final conjunction (p. 185), which they argued is distinctive from final *but*s. Nevertheless, analogous to some of the previous examples in this thesis, the above excerpt shows the pattern that I have shown regarding the orderliness of interactional contrast with the production of final *but*s. Firstly, the initial action has been previously completed with a strong syntactic closure (up to line 2), and this pre-*but* action is followed by the additional unit ending at *but* (line 3) that does not replace the materials produced in the initial action or evoke any need to reformulate the accounts for the contrast. Secondly, the *but*-unit is placed at the point right before the *but*-speaker initiates a new social action, which is associated with the ongoing sequential context of informing. Given that the initial action has already been brought to into a possible point, the post-*but* floor is open for the next trajectory of talk for stepwise development of the ongoing sequence structure. The structure of the talk in question is co-constructed as a type of informing course of action where the *but*-speaker JIM has already been assigned the role of information provider. Throughout JIM's informing, the other participants display their orientations to the topic and the informer JIM. JIM's multi-unit turn (lines 1–3) is thus a continuation of this informing. After the *but*-unit (line 3) indicates his concessive move (p. 184), the next course of action is not a continuation of the same level of informing, but rather makes a suggestion stemming from his informing.

These traits of the sequential placement of final *but*s recall some unique cases where each *but*-speaker does not cease but continues, and links the next turn at the post-conjunctional place back to the prior talk. Regarding such deviant cases of *but*, Mulder and Thompson's (2008) study illustrated two types of Janus *but*; the difference between Janus 1 and 2 can be seen in their structural design. Janus 1 refers to the placement of *but* followed by a silence and the speaker's continuation of talk to produce a contrasting resource. On the other hand, Janus 2 displays an action completion of the *but*-speaker, leading to the speaker's production of more talk that initiates a new social action. For the Janus 2 Janus *but*, in particular, Section 4.4 presented that the *but*-speaker implements self-continuation of the *but*-ending turn by providing additional talk after the recipient's minimal response. Unlike the other cases of final *but*, the *but*-speaker's self-continuation can be characterised by the lack of display of readiness for a sequence move. As witnessed in that section, no contrastive resources appear to be provided as a reference to the speaker's contrast in the ongoing course of action at the point of *but*, and the recipient reasonably needs to wait for forthcoming conversational resources to understand the

but-speaker's contrasting action. I claimed that a pragmatic completion is 'locally' achieved on these occasions, as Ford and Thompson (1996) described. That is, the recipient may recognise a post-*but* silence as the right space to produce a minimal acknowledgement token or a continuer without claiming speakership incipiency (see Schegloff, 1982, Steensig, 2013) to have access to further resources to later provide a more substantial reaction. In this manner, I argue that *but* in these self-continuation cases is systematically distinguished from the token in turn-final occasions. These case-by-case analyses highlighted that the sequential design of final *but* is simply outlined with neither the presence or absence of next-speaker turn, nor with propositions provided in the current and prior turns. Instead, insights can be offered through a serious consideration of sequence organisation with respect to systematic sequence-structural patterns of turn-by-turn interaction. The following sections discuss these points further.

6.2.2. Complexity and emergence: trailoff conjunction/particle revisited

As above, I claimed that final *but*s encode interactional contrast as a means of organising the ongoing sequence by not projecting any new contrasting moves to be the focus of subsequent talk. Although the orderliness of such interactional contrasts is one of the core contributions of my study, it is of the utmost importance to consider the phenomenon in line with its particular occasion in the ongoing course of action. In Chapter 2, I introduced the norm of trailoff conjunction that has been continuously applied to final *but*s (Hata, 2016a; Local & Kelly, 1896; Walker, 2012). Based on my findings, I argue that the current notion of the term trailoff conjunction is a discursive or general category for *but*s followed by a transition of the speakership; I also touched on this in the previous section.

Throughout the main analytical chapters, I illustrated that the placement of the final *but* is designedly embedded in the ongoing sequential context. Recalling the idea of emergent grammar (see Chapter 2), my description of final *but*s does not label the phenomenon as belonging to a simple discursive category, but instead sees it as emergent from a turn-by-turn exchange. As Hopper (1987) claimed, the notion of 'grammar' should not necessarily be formulated by abstract descriptions or, more specifically, lexicographical rules. Rather, grammar arises as a social phenomenon at a specific time in a specific form of the utterance. The English *but*, for instance, has been classified as a not only syntactic (i.e. coordinating conjunction) but also pragmatic token (i.e. discourse marker), and as a device to preface the next production of a unit (e.g. Fraser, 1999; Schiffrin, 1987). In this sense, the token at final placement is indeed incongruent with traditional properties of initiality, as it seems not to formulate a syntactic completion of the utterance. Therefore, a syntactic status of final *but*s (and

the other final conjunctions) is truly ambiguous if investigations only examine whether the rules fully explain the turn-final placement of the token or treat those cases as deviant altogether.

The notion of emergent grammar has been utilised in relevant studies explicitly dealing with a grammaticalisation process of the final *but*, including the American and Australian English *but* (Mulder & Thompson, 2008; Izutsu & Izutsu, 2014) and its equivalent in other languages (Haselow, 2015 for German *aber*; Koivisto, 2015 for Finnish *mutta*). However, although the inspection of the grammaticalisation development of final *but*s highlights the use of tokens in contrast to initial *but*s, I argue that the central issue of those studies is an intuition-based interpretation of the connection between distant units, one of which ends with *but*. For example, Mulder and Thompson (2008) claimed that final *but*s display some contrasting implications left hanging. They showed this using the structure, "my mum doesn't think so, ***but*** (they are)" (p. 196). In their excerpt, this unit is indeed closed at the production of *but*, which is then followed by the recipient's minimal acknowledgement of "yeah". On this occasion, the crux of the issue is that the implication that the authors claimed to be made, "they are", is not actually produced or, at least, not displayed in the talk. Furthermore, the recipient's reaction of "yeah" does not support that contrasting implication left hanging either. As analysts are not the speakers themselves, no argumentation about the phenomenon would be possible without looking at the participants' orientation; thus, CA strictly adheres its 'next-turn proof procedure' (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p. 15).

Since it is better not to be overly specific about anything missing in the excerpts, as suggested above, this thesis does not consider the grammaticalisation status of final *but*s. Instead, it would be more plausible to state that the properties of final *but*s are indexical and thus emerge from a particular sequential context of the ongoing sequence. At the *but*-unit, the speaker does not sequentially project a new contrasting action but retroactively recasts the initial action, interactional contrast, as an organisational device. In other words, the unit is designedly incomplete at the syntactic level but pragmatically complete for achieving several social actions (Koshik, 2002).[46]

I now consider a more detailed re-examination of the norm 'trailoff conjunction', and first revisit Walker's (2012) description of the concept. In his classification, he considers trailoff conjunctions as the final token of the informationally completed unit, so that "participants do not systematically attempt to produce the talk which might otherwise be projected by the

[46] The reference to Koshik (2002) here intends to make a relation to the phenomenon of different types of pragmatic (but not syntactic) completion. However, note that the descriptions of final *but*s and her norm of 'designedly-incomplete utterances' are fundamentally different in that the latter shows a strong preference for the next action to resolve the incompleteness, which is often seen in classroom settings.

conjunction" (p. 149). His evidence appears to come from the observation of the speaker's post-conjunctional cessation and the frequently seen responses of the co-participants. His notion of 'informationally complete' is analogous to Ford and Thompson's (1996) complex TRP associated with the global pragmatic completion point. Thus, final *but*s do not invoke any need for the participants to achieve syntactic completion of the *but*-unit, but the co-participant will do so unless it is necessary to accomplish a particular interactional task, depending on how the co-participants treat its completion in the ongoing activity.

In light of such contextual properties of final *but*s, my observations on the trajectory of post-*but* talk offer an implication regarding the orderliness of interactional contrast in goal-oriented and multiparty courses of action (see Drew & Heritage, 1992a, p. 53; Heritage & Atkinson, 1984, p. 15; Kasper, 2009, p. 15). Again, the NUCASE data represent multi-part conversations, meaning that there is always a co-participant other than the speaker and a direct recipient of the final *but*. In these cases, I argue that final *but*s are formulated where participants orient themselves to their institutional agenda where the focus of talk has been preliminarily decided (Fisher, 1996; Heyman, 1986). Thus, it is of central importance for them to secure the smooth progression of the ongoing sequence to accomplish their agenda. For instance, if the co-participant treats the *but*-speaker's action as complete but the *but*-recipient does not react in a preferable way, the co-participant may jump in and produce an affiliative response. To better illustrate my argument, I now reconsider the following example in (6.2).

Excerpt (6.2): NC089

```
  10          ((transcription omitted between 02:58:03-03:02:33))
  11    $2:    you don't need to install it.
  12           (1.0)
  13    $4:    really?=
  14    $2:    =yeah_=that's (what we were) said.
  15           (2.0)
  16    $4:    are you sure he said it like=
  17    $2:    =you ↑don't have to install it,
  18           (0.4)
  19    $2:    honestly ↑just sign up,
  20           (5.5)
  21    $1:    you can ↑install it on your computer at home.=
  22           =and a couple ↓of other com↑puters if you really
→ 23           wish too but_
  24           (0.2)
  25    $2:    you don- you can still do it all on↑line
  26           if you want.=
  27    $1:    =yeah.
```

In (6.2), the next speaker (co-participant) elaborates his/her initial action (lines 25) after the production of the *but*-unit. The silence (line 20), which lasts longer than five seconds, is

prominent here, as the absence of the acknowledgement from \$4 is dispreferred and therefore oriented to by \$1. The *but*-unit (lines 21–23) does not add a new contrast in this line of talk but collaboratively recasts the initial action of suggestion made by the co-participant. Then, the speaker \$2 returns to the initial action in the post-*but* space, showing an orientation to the currently unaccomplished sequence, which formulates a collaborative-type completion (Lerner, 1996). We may thus need to delineate final *but*s as something not predetermined or overgeneralised in a single term but rather intersubjective, meaning that the production and meaning of the tokens are indexed (so emergent) in a specific sequential context.

The other issue that I will indicate here is that the norm of trailoff conjunctions over-generally considers every conjunction placed as a turn-completer, which may not exactly depict what the speaker is doing and what options there are in the ongoing sequence structure. I have claimed that final *but*s are associated with the orderliness of interactional contrasts that arguably stems from an inherent semantic meaning of contrast. As Norrick (2009a) argued, final conjunctions "[offer] the speaker a last chance to modify the current utterance" (p. 328), but the speaker's modification might be embodied by the token that he/she uses. [47] For example, when *so* is placed as a final token, the turn may prompt its basic function to introduce a concluding remark or result stemming from the speaker's reasoning process (Schiffrin, 1987; Müller, 2005; Buysse, 2012). Analogous to the cases of final *but*, the final *so* sequentially closes the current turn without any production of the Y component, yet operates as a part of the turn by being packaged with the immediately preceding turn constituent with no silence between these two components. Nevertheless, the *so* here implies the speaker's 'reasoning' that can explain why the speaker gave a negative assessment in the prior turn, instead of a contrasting implication (Stoke, 2010). In the case of a final *or*, with its inherent meaning of showing an alternative option, the *or*-turn downgrades the speaker's epistemic stance by indexing uncertainty about a proposition (Drake, 2015). As Drake (2015) remarked, the conversational achievement of the turn-final *or* may stem from its status as a coordinating conjunction to connect two syntactic items representing alternatives (p. 315). Therefore, the norm of trailoff conjunctions should not be read as the description of sequential properties of conjunctional tokens at final placement of the unit/turn.

[47] An exception might possibly be seen in special cases of *and*. *And* is generally characterised by its structural feature of merely juxtaposing two units of utterance with few implications made relevant for their relationship to be interpreted (Schiffrin, 2006). Nevertheless, van Dijk (1979) reported a potential role of *and* in signalling a contrast between two propositions, and this might also be applicable to the turn-final *and*.

6.3. Notes on quantification

As all turns allow for multiple options at their ending, attention must be paid to what final *but*s specifically do and for what provisions are indexed for different forms of the next-speaker action. The current investigation of final *but*s is in agreement with prior research in that the turn-final conjunctional token displays a possible turn completion point that indicates the availability of the speaker(s) for transition (Local & Kelly, 1986, p. 192). As I explained in the previous chapters, final *but*s are strictly contextual and embedded in the ongoing sequence structure, systematically providing different options to implement the progression of the ongoing talk. In my thesis, three different post-*but* trajectories of talk have been considered: (a) final *but*s as provisions for the progression to the next course of action (Type 1); (b) final *but*s placed to accomplish the initial action (Type 2); and (c) local *but*s followed by accounts. The distributional figure of each trajectory type present in my data sample is offered in Table 6.1.

Action type	***Tokens (n=36)***
Final *but*s: Type 1 trajectory	**15**
Final *but*s: Type 2 trajectory	**9**
Local *but*s: Self-continuation	**12**

Table 6.1: Quantitative distribution of the sequence structure of final *but*s in my collection

It should be noted that the above table should not be treated as representing the overgeneralised distributions of post-*but* trajectories. Following Schegloff's (1993) discussions on qualification issues in CA research, in this thesis I have avoided making any claims from a descriptive-statistic perspective, a frequency-based observation of the findings, due to the contingency of final *but*s. The talk-in-interaction is essentially intersubjective and context-situated/renewing, and no fragment of talk can be considered to show an identical phenomenon as others with regard to, for example, how the sequence is initiated, sustained, and closed, and who participated (Ford, 2001, p. 55). What the table above shows is a simple distribution of sequence-structurer types in my collection; it does not suggest evidence for generalisation from a quantitative research perspective. In other words, it should not be misread to mean that the sequence continuation type is more significant than the sequence shift type simply because the former is more frequent than the latter. The analyses in this thesis have thus focused on the context-situated features of final *but*s, not simply informed from descriptive-statistic results.

Nonetheless, although generalisability (in CA, and potentially other micro-analytical methods too) can be discussed and problematised (see Drummond & Hopper, 1993; Schegloff, 1993), this does not necessarily mean that any works should avoid suggesting how their findings might be generalisable. Rather, CA can also benefit from quantitative-analytical techniques that can be utilised to identify a focus of investigation for CA, which is practically impossible to manually attain through traditional 'unmotivated looking'. Indeed, the generalisability of contextual features of language has often attracted researchers of language and social interactions from micro-analytic perspectives (e.g. Heldner & Edlund, 2010; Mautner, 2007; Tao 2003; Walsh et al., 2011). This type of case-by-case CA research contributes to uncovering the features that might be associated with such a distinction, instead of representing the data sample in terms of frequency distributions.

Here, generalisability does not simply deal with whether or not the data sample is representative in terms of frequency distributions. In particular, this thesis has demonstrated the distributions of three post-*but* trajectory types, which should not be read as representing the general distribution of the token. The central analytical point was not whether sequence closing is more frequent than sequence continuation. In fact, one of the central goals of CA is to describe interactional patterns, practices, and phenomena that are recognisable to the participants and, via the latter's orientations, to the analysts. As Koivisto (2012, p. 1269) demonstrated, the patterns in the sequence structure seen with the different trajectories of post-*but* talk can be systematically conventionalised. Although the target phenomenon does not seem to occur very frequently (only 36 cases were considered in this thesis), the present study on the final *but* offers an understanding of how the conversational participants accomplish particular social actions in ways beyond normative uses of initial *but*s.

6.4. Limitations

As a final remark in this discussion chapter, I must acknowledge that this audio-based investigation inherently overlooks any multimodal or bodily conducts at the point of final *but*s. In research on social interaction, visual actions have been treated as a significant device to organise talk-in-interaction (e.g. Ford, Thompson & Drake, 2012; Goodwin, 1979; Hayashi, 2003, 2005; Streeck & Hartge, 1992; see also Adolphs & Carter, 2007; Knight, 2011 from the discourse-analytic functional perspective). Regarding this point, Heath (2004) stated:

> [t]he analytic commitment to describing the resources on which participants rely in the accomplishment of social action and activities has led to a growing interest in exploring the ways in which objects, artefacts and other features of the *physical* environment feature in conduct and interaction. (p. 278, emphasis added)

The vital importance of assessing the multimodal or physical features of interaction, in which talk-in-interaction is embedded, was well-documented in C. Goodwin's works (1986, 2000a, 2000b), which demonstrated that participants produced their turn in accordance with various actions available through non-verbal/vocal resources, including eye-gaze, gesture, and the manipulation of objects. Other studies (e.g. Heath & Luff, 2000 Hindmarsh & Heath, 2003) have also discovered that particular artefacts (e.g. medical records) and gestures are utilised in the particular settings of interaction to accomplish several social actions. Although conversation is essentially complex and contingent (see Ford, 2001), we can see that "the [participant]'s bodily conduct creates different, but interrelated, sequential trajectories" (Heath, 2004, p. 277). Therefore, a detailed exploration of physical features of talk-in-interaction has the potential to provide a considerable understanding of how social activities are organised through spontaneous interaction.

The main reason why I did not incorporate a multimodal analysis on the final *but* is simply because there was no such case identified in the data I acquired (some multimodal corpora and free video resources on the internet). This may be explained by the fact that the target phenomenon does not occur very frequently. As this thesis handled audio data, it included practically no discussion on any visual actions taking place around final conjunctional tokens offered. However, some claims could benefit from having access to visual resources. In (6.3), for example, a considerably long silence (29.6 seconds) was identified between the current *but*-unit and the next-speaker turn, as follows.

Excerpt (6.3): Tape_060902

```
   6          (0.4)
   7   KAT:   ain't you been outside like↓ today then=
   8   STE:   =yeah. (.) all outside.
   9          (0.6)
  10   KAT:   all of↓ you? (0.2) flipping hell.
  11          (0.3)
→ 12   STE:   well not all of them but_
  13          (29.6)
  14   KAT:   there were an accident at top road today.
  15          (1.3)
  16   STE:   anybody hurt,
```

In Chapter 4, I claimed that these participants potentially oriented themselves to other resources than to the ongoing talk itself. In this data, what I assume to be the television or the radio is audible; this could have been clearly asserted if a corresponding video-recording of this occasion was available. On this occasion, action formation in the post-conjunctional space was not convincingly displayed in the transcription, which should not simply emerge from the irrelevance between the current-speaker and next-speaker action. With the relevance to turn-final conjunctions, Walker (2012) illustrated that a possible completion point and an indication of transition relevance appear to be designed by visible behaviours of participants. His examples of *but* at turn-final placement (p. 153–155) convincingly suggested that the *but*-speaker does not perform any bodily conduct to indicate that there is more to come after *but*, and the *but*-recipients conduct a gaze-shift from the *but*-speaker to the other participants in the post-conjunctional place, which may characterise a possible completion of the *but*-turn without strong evidence of its syntactic completion. Therefore, research on final *but*s could be intensified by enclosing visual resources; this could be done in future studies by investigating physical resources and bodily conducts associated with the tokens.

In my analyses, I simply could not incorporate any multimodal perspectives except prosodic features of final *buts* as I only had access to the audio-recording data samples. Hence, future works will need to explore interactional practices of final *but*. Nevertheless, audio-based research is not totally obsolete nor invaluable through a CA framework. This framework has provided insight into features of our social interaction, and it is what most CA studies have utilised, even in cases when video-recordings were not accessible (see Atkinson & Heritage, 1984; Ochs et al., 1996). Although only audio-recordings were considered, my case-by-case analysis has offered significant insights into the sequential placement of final *but*s in different courses of action. In particular, the sequence organisation in association with the production of final *but*s was informed from the CA proof procedure, and what I highlighted in Chapters 4 and 5 was evident in the transcription. This point echoes ten Have's note that "video analysis has been mostly used in a complementary fashion to audio-based CA" (2007, p. 8), although it can also be acknowledged that video data are a powerful source to provide more fine-grained pictures regarding what happened on the target occasion.

In addition, as prior research has done, the present study also failed to find strong patterns of prosodic features that independently index the clear turn-holding/turn-yielding structure designed by the *but*-speaker. In my observations, no pattern was recognised regarding a prosodic design indexing the post-conjunctional trajectory of talk. In particular, the final *but* in the excerpts is associated with selective final pitch contours either a falling, slightly falling, or level pitch. Therefore, although prosodic designs of a turn may indicate its possible

completion point, the characterisation of post-conjunctional silence, whether it is for turn-yielding or turn-holding, can be ambiguously made through a prosodic perspective (Local & Kelly, 1986; Local, Kelly & Wells, 1986; Local & Walker, 2004). The systematic sequence organisation of the post-conjunctional talk could be more precisely attained from investigations on larger courses of actions: how they are co-constructed by the participants and what provisions the final *but* displays for the subsequent sequence development.

Furthermore, I should note here that my study only considered final *but*s in English. As the system and its orderliness might be universal among other languages or may be seen with certain variations (e.g. Auer, 1996; Hayashi, 2005; Stivers et al., 2009), which has been partly stated in my thesis, the observation of final *but*s can connect to previous works on the equivalents of *but* in other languages: German (*aber*), Finnish (*mutta*), and Japanese (*kedo*). Revisiting those studies (Haselow, 2015; Koivisto, 2012, 2015; Mori, 1999a; Haugh, 2008), the final *but*s in my collection share some properties of finality seen in these equivalents. One commonality is that final *but*s do not embody any contrasts as a significant unit (for the participants) in the ongoing talk, but instead background the *but*-unit and foreground the initially produced unit. As I have argued in my study, this is a practice of interactional contrast as a means of sequence organisation (refer back to Sections 6.1 and 6.2). On the other hand, my findings do not support the systematic orderliness associated with these equivalents to final *but*s. For example, not all cases of *but*s show the speaker's concessive move to the previous speaker, in contrast to what Koivisto (2012, 2015) reported. In addition, what has been claimed about the Japanese final *kedo* serving as a resource for pursuing a response (Mori, 1999a; Haugh, 2008) is not shown in the systematic orderliness in final *but*s on the occasions of immediate sequence closure. However, my findings do not strictly delimit those studies as I did not draw any strict comparisons between final *but*s and other equivalents. This is simply a provisional commentary on the possibilities for re-examination of those cases in light of whether the orderliness of interactional contrasts can also be applied to those equivalents and what may become provisions for the sequence progression or trajectories of post-conjunctional talk.

Chapter 7. Conclusion

From descriptive perspectives on language-in-use, it is plausible to claim that participants use language in ways that are incongruent with traditional notions of grammar. Utilising the framework of CA, this thesis investigated the sequential placement of final *but*s in English. The central question was how participants shape and adapt *but* at the final placement of the turn construction unit, or turn itself, to accomplish particular social actions. My analysis focused on the systematic orderliness in accordance with the production of final *but*s in light of trajectories of the subsequent talk: what final *but*s provide in a particular sequential context and how the tokens become provisions for different pathways of the sequence development or closure. Based on my collection of final *but*s from two corpora (i.e. BNC Audio and NUCASE), what I found was the orderly properties of final *but*s and sequential patterns associated with interactional contrasts. In this conclusion, I now summarise the arguments I have presented throughout this thesis.

One of the themes to emerge from my analyses of final *but*s was that the production of this final token is strongly tied to the design of global-level pragmatic completion. Although *but* encodes its inherent meaning of contrast, the contrast of final *but*s is not literal with content-level incompatibility. Instead, the contrast is interactional and designed to indicate the speaker's preference for progressivity of the course of action. The orderliness of such an interactional context is seen in the retroactive connection between the *but*-unit and a previously completable unit in the ongoing course of action. Here, the *but*-unit does not project new contrasting actions in the sequence, but retroactively recasts the previous unit that now becomes a reference. In other words, the *but*-speaker's action (at the *but*-unit) is not formulated as providing the new focus of talk in the sequence progression; instead, the previous action is foregrounded. Therefore, the orderliness of interactional contrast is distinctive when compared to the uses of initial *but*s (and local *but*s) in that any follow-up units to account for the contrasting action are unnoticeably absent.

Based on two different trajectories found in the post-*but* space, I also addressed the issue of contextual properties of final *but*s with interactional contrast. Regarding this point, a key question was how final *but*s become provisions for a stepwise topic transition or entire closure, or a sequence expansion in different ways. My findings particularly emphasised how transition relevance is yielded and what options or availabilities are provided by final *but*s. In my analytic chapters, I suggested that how the indexicality is co-constructed on a turn-by-turn basis is a strong factor for sequence progression, systematically providing different options for the subsequent structure of the talk. In my collection, no matter what proposition is made and how

clearly the propositional connection is displayed in the course of action, final *but*s show different orientations of the *but*-speaker to the possibility of achievement of the ongoing sequence. This difference is an interactional pattern that outlines a possible trajectory of post-*but* talk, highlighting how the current *but*-unit or turn is designed in line with a sequential context of the ongoing talk and thus invokes certain sequence progression. As the current resource is sufficient to allow the co-participant to make a certain move in the ongoing activity without reproducing the same contrasting resource, he/she does not request clarification for what comes after *but*, yet produces the relevant turn. That is, the occurrence of final *but* has systematics as an interactional accomplishment of a social action, which is not achieved by chance.

All in all, this work provides one way to uncover how participants organise real-life conversation through qualitative investigation on the use of final *but*s. Although these findings are generally compatible with prior studies on *but* as a turn-completer or trailoff conjunction, there are several areas to which my findings contribute. In particular, what this thesis has presented is a complex nature of final *but*s, which can be neither simply described nor explained utilising overgeneralised or grammatical notions or terms. This limited perspective on *but*, as well as other final conjunctions, may fail to provide an analytical account of why the next speaker shows different orientations to the token at turn-final placement. Therefore, it is of central importance to examine action formation of the *but*-speaker and the recipient designs in the ongoing sequence, instead of exclusively focusing on the sequential placement and grammatical/syntactic status of trailoff conjunctions.

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Appendix A: Transcription convention

[ ]	overlap onset and offset
(.)	micro-pause (< 0.2 seconds)
(0.8)	length of pause/gap in seconds
=	latching
<	jump-started
examp-	truncation
>example<	accelerated part of talk
<example>	slowed part of talk
((example))	transcriber's comment
(example)	approximation of what is heard
( )	particularly inaudible part
example	highlighted part for investigation
.	unit-final pitch contour (falling)
;	unit-final pitch contour (slightly falling)*
,	unit-final pitch contour (slightly rising)
?	unit-final pitch contour (rising)
_	unit-final pitch contour (level)*
example	word stress
↑↓	sharp rise or fall in pitch (intra-TCU)
:	sound stretch (multiple symbols indicate a length)
°example°	lower volume than surrounding talk
°°example°°	much lower volume than surrounding talk
EXAMPLE	increased volume compared to surrounding talk

Note:

This convention was in alignment with Jefferson (2004). Some symbols, indicated by an asterisk (*), were added from Selting et al. (2009); indicated by * sign above. It should also be noted that a pronoun *I* was always capitalised in order to make a distinction from /i/ sound. Pitch contours were identified utilising the *Praat* software.

Appendix B: Collection of the instances (final and local *but*s)

Tape_ 023402 (00:11:28-00:12:26)

```
   1   MAR:   wonder if we'll get any (.) any vouchers↑ for the dog?
   2          (0.3)
   3   MAR:   in the pet food shop?=
   4          =°he(h)h°
   5          (0.4)
   6   BRI:   He makes enough noise.=doesn't he,
   7          (.)
   8   MAR:   yeah, (0.2) yeah;
   9          (8.4)
  10   BRI:   it was al↑so noted to↓day,
  11          (1.0)
  12   BRI:   at these ah: (0.3) presentation↓ that
  13          I ↑always the one↓ (0.8) with the least (0.4) brummie↓
  14          accent,
  15          (0.5)
  16   MAR:   uh-huh,
  17          (0.2)
  18   BRI:   which made me feel go↓od,
  19          (0.5)
  20   MAR:   ehh (0.3) heh heh [heh
  21   BRI:                     [well↓ (0.4) except for andy.
  22          (1.5)
  23   MAR:   mm.=we ↑oh yeah andy's.
  24          (0.4)
  25   BRI:   the ni[gerian.
  26   MAR:         [ni↑gerian, (0.2) mm,
  27          (0.6)
→ 28   BRI:   yeah =except of him.=of course.=but;
  29          (5.0)
  30   BRI:   cos (1.0) I was ↑getting a bit upset that
  31          my voice was going a bit (0.6) brumm↓ie;
  32          (0.5)
  33   MAR:   oh: right,
  34          (0.8)
  35   JOH:   I've given her her hairdryer back?
  36          (1.2)
  37   JOH:   on trial; (.) I've told her.
  38          (0.3)
  39   JOH:   if she leaves it plugged in and switched on again;
  40          (0.4)
  41   JOH:   she won't get it back;=
  42   MAR:   =yeah;=she's definitely unplugged the hairdryer;=
  43          =and she's unplugged her radio as well_
```

Tape_ 023403 (00:43:29-00:45:16)

```
              ----- MAR is doing something (cleaning?) -----
   1   JOH:   I got it first time,
   2          (29.3)
   3   MAR:   °oh::: go:d;°
   4          (3.1)
```

```
 5   JOH:   tell her↓ there will be half a pie for her tea.=
 6          otherwise she doesn't get none,=
 7          =I mean this is ridiculous,
 8          (0.2)
 9   MAR:   yeah;
10          (0.3)
11   MAR:   turn that on for me=will you,
12          (0.4)
13   MAR:   (just/john)
14          (3.5)
15   JOH:   it's making work↓ for everybody,
16          (6.3)
17   JOH:   and one thing we don't want↓ is extra work,
18          (18.2)
19   MAR:   I mean if we get finished ↓now and clean
20          the ki- cooker and er clean everything.
21          (0.3)
22   MAR:   and say right. (.) we're out of the kitchen then;=
23          =nothing more tonight,
24   JOH:   that's it.
25          (8.0)
26   MAR:   if they want something they can get
27          it themselves
28          (0.7)
→ 29   JOH:   yeah (0.2) yeah=but;
30          (1.9)
> 31   JOH:   tell them to clean up after them,=
32   MAR:   =yeah.
33          (0.9)
34   JOH:   don't leave it for [you all the time;
35   MAR:                       [yeah.=lynn doesn't cook any meals↓
36          for any of them,=
37   JOH:   =no.
38          (0.4)
39   JOH:   well >I mean↓< that's different to the way we live
40          though,=isn't it?
41   MAR:   mhm,
```

Tape_ 026503 (1) (00:08:45-00:10:00)

```
 1   NIN:   can't imagine you meeting me↓ with a nice cooked
 2          dinner and a:
 3          (1.6)
 4          a cake made b(h)y heh heh heh=
 5   CLA:   =([   ] no I (    )
 6   NIN:     [yo- your o(h)wn fair huh huh hu hu (with)
 7          a ca(h)n[dle o(h)n.=°huh hu hu hu hu°
 8   CLA:           [no:
 9          (1.5)
10   CLA:   use a soldering iron↓ or a blow lamp or
11          [something n(h)ot.=.hh huh huh huh huh huh
12   NIN:   [hmmm (.) hah hah hah hah hah hah hah hah=
13   ???    .hhhh
14          (0.4)
15   NIN:   burnt toast. (.) huh h[uh
16   CKA:                        [ah no.=
```

```
  17          =it's ↑not really burnt;=
  18          =it's the way I ↑like it (though)_
  19          (1.2)
  20   CLA:   [must admi-
  21   NIN:   [well it used to [smoke.
  22   CLA:                    [Technica-
  23   NIN:   .hh huh huh h[uh huh huh °huh huh huh°
  24   CLA:                [well yes.=technically speaking
→ 25          I suppose it is burnt but_
  26          (2.2)
> 27   CLA    well done I [(       )
  28   NIN:               [well it doesn't taste very nice,
  29          (0.6)
  30   CLA:   I can't agree cos [I that's how I like it.
  31   NIN:                    [and jus-
  32          (0.4) ((background sound))
  33   NIN:   well you used to scrape some of it
  34          [off↓ because it was all over the (   )
  35   CLA:   [oh.=if it gets really charred.=
  36          =I don't know but if it's [really charred=
  37   NIN:                             [ehh
  38   CLA:   =[that's a bit
  39   NIN:    [hah hah hah
  40          (1.3)
  41   CLA:   ((cough))=huh huh
  42          (0.7)
→ 43   CLA:   certain degree of grey blackness even but_
  44          (1.4)
  45   NIN:   and how d'[you get toast
  46   CLA:             [mm
  47          (1.3)
  48   NIN:  charre:d so that you've got to scrape it off=
  49         =but it isn't burnt oh I=
  50   CLA:  =well leaving it that little bit=
  51         =[too long,=you know_
  52   NIN:   [(      )
  53         (2.5)
  54   CLA:  REmember ro- robin coming home↓
  55         (0.6)
  56   CLA:  (     ) I don't believe it (0.3) burnt?
  57         (0.5)
  58   CLA:  burnt toast from an electric toaster;=
  59         =>I don't know< how he does it.=
  60         =huh huh [huh
  61   NIN:           [I don't know<=
  62         =.hh [hu hu hu hu hu hu hu hu hu hu hu hu=
  63   CLA:       [huh huh huh huh huh huh huh huh
  64   CLA:  =mmm;
  65         (1.1)
  66   CLA:  oh well;
  67         (5.6)
  68   CLA:  doesn't feel like ↓sunday (     ) does it.
  69   NIN:  no;
```

Tape_ 026503 (2) (00:15:04-00:15:41)

```
   1   NIN:   are you going to have a piece of cake.
   2   CLA:   oh yeah.
   3   NIN:   (     )
   4          (1.1)
   5   CLA:   hmm.
   6          (2.1)
   7   NIN:   he's done this in two:_
   8          (1.3)
   9          and then↓ (.) sandwich[ed them together.
  10   CLA:                         [what two cakes and put them
  11          together=
  12   NIN:   =ye:s.=w[ell I used to do;
  13   CLA:           [mhm
  14          (0.7)
  15   CLA:   mmhm (0.9) mm mhm mhm mhm ((laughing))
  16          (3.0)
  17   NIN:   it's ↑quite good though,
  18   CLA:   m↑mm;
  19          (2.1)
  20   CLA:   I'm try↓ing to remember,=
  21          =did they↑ have any↓ the kids,
  22          (2.3)
  23   NIN:   e[:rm
→ 24   CLA:    [I know they cut some for them but_
  25          (1.5)
  26   NIN:   (no:)
  27          (0.5)
  28   CLA:   huh.
  29          (0.9)
  30   NIN:   (it's a wonder) Caroline didn't,=.hh huh huh huh huh
  31   CLA:   no;
  32          (0.3)
  33   NIN:   she usually stuffs doesn't she?
  34   CLA:   MMm_=oh yes.
```

Tape_ 026503 (3) (00:32:12-00:34:51)

```
   1   NIN:   just <ho:w>
   2          (1.0)
   3   CLA:   wha[t.
   4   NIN:      [much;
   5          (1.4)
   6   NIN:   er:::m
   7          (1.1)
   8   NIN:   how much can you cut with those as opposed↑
   9          to having
  10          (0.2)
  11          needing↓ (1.7) the: er:m↓
  12          (.)
  13   NIN:   the ↑other ones.=that are used for trees,=
  14          =erm;
  15          (0.8)
  16   CLA:   cha(hh)insa(h)w.=
  17          =[.hhh hahh hah=.hhh
```

NIN: [chainsaw.=I couldn't forget the word,
(.)
NIN: the ↑chain[saw.
CLA: [oh they'll take er do a fair amount
of work.=but erm_
(0.9)
CLA: I think (.) ↑certainly as far as the hedge is
is concerned,
(0.4)
NIN: well I ↑know TH[At.
CLA: [yeah.=↑hang on.=hang on.
(1.2)
CLA: in a well-established hedge like that=
=I would [think er the loppers,
NIN: [yea:h
CLA: if the:: erm (0.3) hedgecutter won't tackle it,=
=the loppers (0.2) will=
NIN: =yes but what I was thinking [more
CLA: [mm
(0.5)
NIN: is the rest of the round there;
(0.6)
NIN: round at the si:de there,
(1.5)
NIN: I mean a lot of the: (0.3) you know_ (.) when we
start getting rid of all the r[ubbish down that side.
CLA: [Er::: I wouldn't like
to put er erm a hedgecutter through that erm:::
that bush there:<=
°=that's a little bit too he[avy for it°
NIN: [which bush.
CLA: will the one (0.6) where: the hedge terminates and_
(1.1)
NIN: mhmmm;
(1.0)
NIN: no:.
(1.5)
CLA: that dead looking e well dead ( )
(0.6)
NIN: no:;=No but would it do to↓=
=I mean you're going to have a lot of the:
(0.7)
NIN: stuff that we chopped off.
CLA: yep;
(1.4)
NIN: to put to<=if we're getting a trailer an::d
getting rid of it [all.
CLA: [yep, (.) yep_
(0.9)
NIN: you're going to have to cut it down↓ still
further↓ into smaller pieces aren't you.=
=to get as much as you [can in the t↑railer.
CLA: [Oh I see what you mean;=
=to cram on the trailer(s)=yes. (.) yes=yes;
NIN: will a hedgecutter do there↑ or
will you have to you revert to erm:
(1.0)

```
  75   NIN:   a chainsaw.
  76   CLA:   er::::↓::: combination of both↑ I should thin-=
  77          =I (will/would) not too concerned about that anyway.
  78          I can use the loppers.
  79          (0.3)
  80   CLA:   if we were doing it (0.4) seven days a week
→ 81          fair enough;=you'd probably need a ↑chainsaw but_
  82          (0.8)
> 83   CLA:   the amount (     ) we doing (0.3) the loppers or
  84          the handsaw
  85          (0.9)
  86   CLA:   [but
  87   NIN:   [oh. (.) hand[saw.=that's hard work
  88   CLA:                [no:,=no no no not the really,=
  89          =not the thick↓ ones,
  90          (0.5)
  91   CLA:   you know tell what I mean.
  92   NIN:   mmm.
  93   CLA:   but er:m;
  94   NIN:   well I was just thinking of taking the work↑
  95          out of it.
  96          (0.3)
  97   CLA:   OH I know what you ↑mean.=yeah_
  98          (0.3)
  99   NIN:   mm.=it's one ↑hell ↓of a lot [of ↑work (   )
 100   CLA:                               [but (.) you ↑see=
 101          =we don't really need a chainsaw;=do we.
 102          (1.0)
 103   NIN:   NO:.=I wouldn't ↑say [↓so  n↑ormal.=
 104   CLA:                       [no:
 105   NIN:   =[but erm: the[re's quite=
 106   CLA:    [yeah;       [no;
 107   NIN:   =a lot [to work.
 108   CLA:          [to hire↑ one possibly for a specific
→109          dep- speci(h)fi(h)c ↑job but_
 110          (0.3)
 111   NIN:   I wonder how much they are to ↑hire.
 112          (0.5)
 113   CLA:   not ↑very dear.
 114          (.)
 115   CLA:   [what (.) erm chainsaw;
 116   NIN:   [oh ↑aren't they. (.) mm,
 117          (1.1)
 118   CLA:   I think (when) l:ast time I looked at the hire list
 119          price pri[ce list;
 120   NIN:           [mhm.
 121          (0.8)
 122   CLA:   I <think about>
 123          (2.1)
 124   CLA:   five six quid a day >something like that
 125          they were< last year.
 126          (0.9)
 127   CLA:   [mmm.
 128   NIN:   [°oh that's not bad rea[lly_°
 129   CLA:                         [oh it is↑n't bad;=
 130          =if you've got a lot of erm chainsaw work to do,
 131          (1.4)
```

```
132   CLA:   that can be done in a day you know;
133   NIN:   yea:[:h
134   CLA:       [mhm;
135          (1.3)
136   CLA:   now whether that's erm (0.6) .hhh
137          including all the protective clothing or not=
138          =I dunno.
139   NIN:   I don’t know.
```

Tape_ 026505 (1) (00:06:05-00:06:58)

```
  1   CLA:   oh major;=I bet he wanted to be right from being
  2          a kid wanted to be prime minister?
  3          (0.4)
  4   CLA:   Huh;
  5   NIN:   ken's got a very retentive brain.=
  6          =hasn't [he.
  7   CLA:           [very?
  8          (.)
  9   NIN:   very retentive memory.=[hasn't he.
 10   CLA:                          [Oh extr↑emely.=yeah.
 11          (1.0)
 12   CLA:   like his f↑ather,
 13          (2.1)
 14   NIN:   he never forgets a thing,=does he.=
 15   CLA:   =no steve doesn’t;
 16          (0.2)
 17   CLA:   mm.
 18         (0.8)
 19   CLA:   mm.=
 20   NIN:   =when you and I went up to (weldon) to
 21          look after them.=
 22   CLA:   =yep.
 23          (0.2)
 24   NIN:   (       )
 25          (.)
 26   CLA:   mmhm,
 27          (1.5)
 28   NIN:   I mean he was only a (0.7) tiny_=wasn't he.
 29          (0.3)
 30   CLA:   oh crikey yeah;
 31          (0.9)
 32   NIN:   [you] couldn't fool [him]=
 33   CLA:   [mm                 [mm
 34   NIN:   =we used to play hide and seek.=
 35          =and you could[n't fool] him=
 36   CLA:                 [mmm
 37   CLA:   =mm.
 38          (1.1)
 39   NIN:   [(         )
 40   CLA:   [(oh well.)
 41          (0.8)
→ 42   CLA:   oh he's a very bright little boy but_
 43          (.)
 44   NIN:   mmhm.
 45          (4.0)
```

```
> 46   CLA:   you can't really relax with him.=can you;=
  47   NIN:   =no.
  48          (0.3)
  49   CLA:   he's (     ) switched on (     )=
  50   NIN:   =mmhm.
  51          (1.3)
  52   NIN:   it's a shame_=isn't it.=
  53   CLA:   =Mm and they shouldn't be: (0.4) can't rather
  54          it can't be down to lack of (0.3) contact.=
  55          =°I wouldn't have thought°
  56   NIN:   no;
```

Tape_ 026505 (2) (00:32:48-00:33:50)

```
   1   NIN:   well why wouldn't they take them underneath the floor;
   2          (1.8)
   3   NIN:   they could of couldn't they up there.
   4          (1.4)
   5   CLA:   yes;=they certainly could, (.) but at the time
   6          of building I think it was↓
   7          (0.8)
   8   CLA:   just continued practice from the victorian days
   9          to run it round (   ) on the top;
  10          (0.9)
  11   CLA:   hmmm.
  12          (5.4)
  13   CLA:   pretty sure.
  14          (3.5)
  15   CLA:   <there has been or appears to have been↑>
  16          a hole↓ in the wall.=
→ 17          =that's been plastered up rather badly but_
  18          (1.1)
> 19   CLA:   above that housing that cover;
  20   NIN:   mmm;
  21          (1.0)
  22   CLA:   on the: (0.7) bathroom wall.
  23          (1.4)
  24   NIN:   mhm,=
  25   CLA:   =the wall separating the bathroom from the:=
  26          =s[pare room from °the back bedroom°
  27   NIN:     [yeah.
  28          (0.6)
  29   CLA:   in the bottom there's been a hole about the ↑size
  30          of a pipe,
  31          (0.2)
  32   NIN:   [wasn’t there
  33   CLA:   [about three quarter pipe;=yeah.=
  34   NIN:   =mmhm.
  35   CLA:   or fifteen mil- twenty two millimetres yeah,
  36          (1.9)
  37   CLA:   mmm;
  38          (11.4) ((CLA is whistling))
```

Tape_ 026506(1) (00:09:22-00:12:21)

```
 1   CLA:   it's not too bad finding ((cough))
 2          where you want to ↑go.
 3   NIN:   mhm;
 4          (0.4)
 5   CLA:   when it comes to ((cough)) looking for↓ x-ray or
 6          path lab °or whatever it is;°
 7          (1.0)
 8   CLA:   but finding your way↑ out;
 9          (1.8)
10   CLA:   very seldom they have continuing.
11          (1.1)
12   CLA:   er continu↑ity.
13          (0.9)
14   CLA:   ((cough)) of markers saying exit;=you know;=
15          =or this way out.
16          (0.7)
17   NIN:   wouldn't it it's stu[↑pid that isn't it;=
18   CLA:                       [mmhm tzs. .hhh
19   NIN:   you can't get out quick enough.=
20          =[can you usually.
21   CLA:    [<not short> on the emergency exit↓ signs,=
22          =but y↑eah exactly.
23          (0.9)
24   CLA:   mmm.
25          (3.0)
26   CLA:   I mean (0.3) we should argue (      ) once
27          you've got in.
28          (0.7)
29   CLA:   but once you've gone down and turned left then
30          turned right and gone a[head and (take the exit)
31   NIN:                          [m↑hm.
32          (0.6)
33   CLA:   it's like a labyrinth;=yo(h)u kno[(h)w=
34   NIN:                                   [I kn(h)ow(h)
35   CLA:   =hh huh huh huh huh huh huh=
36   NIN:   =certainly if you've not been before.
37   CLA:   mm↑hm; mhm.
38          (1.2)
39   CLA:   exactly.
40          (7.0)
41   CLA:   I asked somebody↓ the way out;
42          (1.0)
43   CLA:   and she offered to sho(h)w me,
44          (0.6)
45   CLA:   m[m;
46   NIN:    [oh.
47   CLA:   only (.) cleaner mm.
48          (1.9)
49   CLA:   .hhh[hh ((cough))
50   NIN:       [well carolyn when carolyn was working↓ at witham-
51          (0.7)
52   NIN:   withamshaw.
53   CLA:   mmhm;
54          (0.5)
55   NIN:   she said it was very lonely at night
```

```
56          when [you were walking down the corridors.
57   CLA:        [yes_=I remember you↓ say↑ing oh it would be
58          of course;=yeah,
59          (1.4)
60   CLA:   ((cough)) mmm; (.) oh: it'd be;
61          (0.4)
62   CLA:   it's quite a it ↑seems at least quite a
63          pleasant↓ hospital,
64          (0.6)
65   CLA:   quite a pleasant atmosphere;
66   NIN:   mmm;=
67   CLA:   =mmhm.
68          (2.4)
69   NIN:   I shouldn't imagine they have the problems that they
70          do at erm wythenshawe a:nd=
71          =[(              )
72   CLA:    [wait (      ) oh (    ) wythenshawe,=
73          =no: they won't °of course°
74          (1.0)
75   CLA:   oh no.
76          (0.4)
77   NIN:   and do you reme↑mber the:
78          (2.0)
79   CLA:   what;
80   NIN:   when carolyn ↑was working there↓ they had
81          this intru↑der.
82          (0.8)
83   CLA:   °well they're often having intruders (    )°
84          (1.4)
85   NIN:   I can't remember all the details;
86   CLA:   .hhh ((cough)) m[m
87   NIN:                   [there was quite a to-do about it
88          in the paper.=
89   CLA:   =mhm,
90          (4.1)
91   NIN:   I I know carolyn said that they (0.2) in the end=
92   CLA:   =yes
93          (0.8)
94   NIN:   they refused to work on their own,
95          (0.8)
96   CLA:   OH: that's right.=
97          =[I remember yes yes yeah
98   NIN:   because they were ↑so: way out.=there was no↑ way↓=
99   CLA:   =mmmm;=
100  NIN:   =that they could have summoned help or anyt[hing else.
101  CLA:                                              [mmm; mmm;
102         (3.5)
103  CLA:   and di didn't she have to leave the (          )
104         (0.9)
105  NIN:   pardon?
106         (0.4)
107  CLA:   didn't she ha- well to get from A to B.
108         (0.7)
109  CLA:   didn't she have to leave the (.) building=
110         some[where,
111  NIN:       [ye:s.=
112  CLA:   =yeah I th[ought so
```

```
113   NIN:              [yeah.
114           (1.1)
115   CLA:    ((cough)) mhm;
116           (4.1)
117   CLA:    they're not too bad here but at wytham- wythenshawe
118           it'd be (qui(h)te) different kettle of fish
119           °al[together°
120   NIN:       [er: ye:s
121   CLA:    mmm;
122           (2.4)
123   CLA:    mmm;
124   NIN:    mmm;=because
125           (2.8)
126   NIN:    do you remember when we had to go and coll↑ect her.
127           (0.8)
128   CLA:    [yeah.
129   NIN:    [that night,
130           (0.2)
131   CLA:    er:m
132           (1.0)
133   CLA:    hang on.
134           (0.4)
135   NIN:    it was ve↑ry le-=
136           =there's some ve↑ry lonely lanes there.=
137   CLA:    =>I remember< going late at night.=
138           =were ↑we collecting her,
139           (.)
140   NIN:    mmhm.
141           (.)
142   CLA:    were we really;
143           (0.7)
144   NIN:    (and) she was in the flat.
145           (1.6)
146   CLA:    (                 ) ((eating))
147           (0.3)
148   NIN:    and she'd passed out in the phone box.
149           (2.2)
→150  CLA:    I remember that happening=but_
151           (1.1)
152   NIN:    and that's when we went to collect her there.
153           (.)
154   CLA:    and that was Wythenshawe.
155           (1.1)
156   NIN:    that was wy↑thenshawe.=[yeah.
157   CLA:                           [((cough)) (0.2) mmhm.
```

Tape_ 026506(2) (00:14:40-00:15:55)

```
  1   NIN:    Had they actu actu really had a quote.=
  2   CLA:    I don't know.=I really don't know.
  3           (0.3)
  4   NIN:    m[m.
  5   CLA:     [they were due to get one.
  6           (0.6)
  7   CLA:    any ti[me.
  8   NIN:          [they might have had one and found out what
```

```
 9          it was go(h)ing to [co(h)st and were deci(h)ded=
10   CLA:                      [.hhh
11   NIN:   =[against
12   CLA:    [possibl.=((cough))=
13   NIN:   =they're having a m(h)ini break↑=
14          =[instead.
15   CLA:    [oh possibly a↑gain.=i it's just possible
16          actually that
17          (1.4)
18   CLA:   the const↑ruction ↓of the bungalow didn't lend
19          itself properly well to.
20   NIN:   ↑↑well I [think,
21   CLA:            [knocking through.
22          (0.6)
23   NIN:   oh well it's so beautiful I mean as it is in there;
24          they don't need anything doing to,=
25          =I mean [they've got it nice;=
26   CLA:           [wow
27   NIN:   =they've got it,
28          (0.8)
29   NIN:   so they don't get s- sort of minimum;
30          (1.6)
31   NIN:   you know.
32          (0.5)
33   CLA:   labour.
34          (0.3)
35   NIN:   yes.
36          (0.6)
37   CLA:   ((cough)) hm[m
38   NIN:               [so I shouldn't imagine that erm↓
39          I mean once we've got through this one=
40          =I'm blowed if I'm going to do it just for
41          the sake of doing it=
42   CLA:   =[well  [mm
43   NIN:   =[it'll [have to really need it=
44          =[before we start again
45   CLA:    [oh:.=yeah I know=
46          =but they they are a little bit inclined to what
47          shall we spend some money on next.=
48          =aren't they.
49          (0.2)
50   NIN:   mm.
51          (1.5)
52   CLA:   mm.
53   NIN:   well if it's there fa[ir do
54   CLA:                        [oh
55          (0.3)
56   CLA:   fair do, I know but er
57          (.)
58   CLA:   it's up to them what they do with their money=
59          =I know but_
60          (0.3)
61   NIN:   (hhh)=
62   CLA:   =mhm.
63          (7.2)
64   NIN:   what's happened to the rest of the pa↑per↓ Larry,
65          =there's only↑ half of it there?=
```

```
66   CLA:   =well which paper (are you looking at.)
67   NIN:   the:: telegraph.=last week's telegraph.=
68          =ther[e's only one sheet th       ]ere.
69   CLA:        [I haven't the faintest idea.]
70          (0.5)
71   NIN:   jus[t
72   CLA:      [one sheet.
73          (0.3)
74   NIN:   well one: (0.7) section,
75   CLA:   ah.
```

Tape_026602(1) (00:00:31-00:02:52)

```
     ----- Tape_026602 starts -----
 1   CLA:   ((cough)) the bloom.
 2   NIN:   the bloom.=
 3   CLA:   =[er::m
 4   NIN:    [yes (     ) different coloured broom.
 5          (0.3)
 6   CLA:   Oh for the back.=yes,
 7   NIN:   ye:a[h.
 8   CLA:       [yes.
 9   NIN:   I think um
10   CLA:   ((cough))
11          (1.1)
12   NIN:   we'll have to have a trip to St Ishmal's for that;
13          (0.5)
14   CLA:   pr↑obably.
15          (0.7)
16   NIN:   er:[:m well we do
17   CLA:   where else could we↑ go.
18          (.)
19   CLA:   other than that err rather ex[pensive.
20   NIN:                                [well: what I=
21          =I do like about St Ishmal's is the way it's laid out.
22          (.)
23   NIN:   and [(     )
24   CLA:       [it's laid out but the plants look healthy.=
25          =and they're kept in healthy con[ditions.=((I mean))
26   NIN:                                   [they do.
27          (0.4)
28   NIN:   yea:h=
29   CLA:   =to me that (0.3) dingle place;
30   NIN:   I wasn't very struck on t[hat.
31   CLA:                            [I ↑wasn't at all=
32          =struck.=no:_
33          (1.1)
34   NIN:   no:_=I wasn't.=
35   CLA:   =there were all weeds growing amo[ng the plants=
36   NIN:                                    [messy
37   CLA:   =they're selling=yes messy.
38          (0.4)
39   CLA:   and it wasn't just the messiness=
→ 40        =I don't mind th[at but_
41   NIN:                  [no:::
42          (1.3)
```

```
  43   NIN:   huh.=
> 44   CLA:   =[they weren't looked after.
  45   NIN:   =[I think cos you=it was difficult to find.
  46          the things that you w- you want oh I don't know=
  47          =it was just
  48          (1.2)
  49   NIN:   I [didn’t [er:m
  50   CLA:     [mmm    [mmm
  51          (0.2)
  52   NIN:   didn't appeal to me↓ [somehow.
  53   CLA:                        [no.
  54          (1.4)
  55   NIN:   but er:m (.) I remember when we got the original
  56          broom.=that we've got in the garden now.=
  57          =the golden one.
  58          (0.5)
  59   CLA:   yea;= where did we get that.
  60   NIN:   we got that at [St Ishmal's
  61   CLA:                  [(                    )
  62          (0.7)
  63   CLA:   mmhm
  64   NIN:   and er:m
  65          (2.9)
  66   NIN:   they're sort of labelled=you know what=
  67          =it gives you this picture of what you're buying=
  68          =[as well
  69   CLA:   =[Oh yes.
  70          (0.3)
  71   CLA:   with most of the plants.=°it does°=yeah.
  72   NIN:   yes_=cos I ↑want to get the particular one I want.
  73          (0.6)
  74   CLA:   hmm[::
  75   NIN:      [to go ne[xt to the
  76   CLA:               [mmm.
  77   CLA:   well obviously;=yeah.
  78   NIN:   you know for the effect [and er:m
  79   CLA:                           [for the for the contrast=
  80          =yeah.
  81          (0.5)
  82   CLA:   mmm.
  83   NIN:   I want to know the height.
  84          (0.4)
  85   CLA:   mm
  86   NIN:   it's going to grow [(    )
  87   CLA:                      [mmm (.) mmm
  88          (1.0)
  89   NIN:   I think it’s er::
  90          (1.5)
  91   NIN:   I think it'll look ↑nice there.
  92          (0.7)
  93   CLA:   it should look quite attractive;
  94   NIN:   °yeah.°
  95   CLA:   ((cough)) it might be a bit of a job er:m
  96          (0.9)
  97   CLA:   keeping them separate (              )=
  98          =[growing into one another.
  99   NIN:   =[but I d↑on't think so.
```

```
 100   CLA:   n[o?
 101   NIN:    [oh no.=
 102   CLA:   =no [no (    )
 103   NIN:       [WEll↓ it doesn't really matter.
 104   CLA:   oh that's al↑right then. (0.4) good,
 105   NIN:   because I mean they don't sort of grow out=
 106          =they gr↑ow up don't they.
 107          (0.8)
 108   CLA:   yeah, but they do grow out a bit too.=
 109          =I mean the one at twenty [seven.
 110   NIN:                             [yes I know but no enough
 111   NIN:   it wouldn't really matter if (.) that=
 112   NIN:   =a little bit of it [(
 113   CLA:                       [no no=
 114   CLA:   =[no °no no (          )°
 115   NIN:   =[cos that's the id↑ea.
 116          (.)
 117   CLA:   mm.=I suppose so:=yeah,
 118          (0.9)
 119   CLA:   [hm
 120   NIN:   [did you see, you ↑know ↓this ↑last gardener's;
 121          (1.2)
 122   CLA:   gardener's ↑wor[ld.
 123   NIN:                  [gar:dener's world.
 124          (0.6)
 125   CLA:   I ↑haven't >really looked at it,<=
→126          =no I ↑glanced (.) very briefly↓ at it;=but_
 127          (1.2)
 128   NIN:   where it had er↓ a broom ↑garden.
 129          (0.4)
 130   CLA:   no↓ I didn't see that.
 131   NIN:   oh_=let's have a look and see if I can find it=
 132          =[(         )
 133   CLA:   =[mm mhm.
 134          (0.7)
 135   NIN:   ((and/erm)) I thought
 136          (0.7)
 137   CLA:   somethi- er excellent photography there.=you know?
 138          (0.6)
 139   NIN:   I k↑↑no[:w.
 140   CLA:          [hmmm;
```

Tape_026602 (2) (00:09:56-00:10:57)

```
   1   NIN:   well (0.5) that was all blue.=do you remember.
   2   CLA:   no.
   3          (0.5)
   4   NIN:   because [I when I
   5   CLA:           [I only remember one.
   6          (0.8)
   7   NIN:   when I went to see Lil.
   8          (0.4)
   9   CLA:   yeah;
  10          (1.0)
  11   NIN:   er spent the day with he[r;
```

```
   12   CLA:                              [°yeah yeah°
   13           (0.2)
   14   NIN:    and I hadn't seen the flat before;=
   15           =and the first thing she said to me (.) wherever
   16           you look in here i(h)t's blue; (0.2) and
   17           it was↑ to[o;
   18   CLA:                [rea↓lly
   19   NIN:    ye:s.
   20           (0.4)
   21   NIN:    er [I found
   22   CLA:       [Well how do you mean,=the paint[work was blue;=
   23   NIN:                                        [th-
   24   NIN:    =everyt- yes_ (0.3) paint decorations everything.
   25           (0.4)
   26   CLA:    what (              )
   27           (0.2)
   28   NIN:    well↓ (.) n-
   29           (0.5)
   30   CLA:    [((cough))
→  31   NIN:    [not every not every exactly everything [but;
   32   CLA:                                            [mhm;
   33           (0.3)
>  34   NIN:    as you got went in[to the flat you got [an overall
   35   CLA:                      [((cough))          [mhm;
   36           (0.3)
   37   CLA:    [mhm;
   38   NIN:    [picture of [blue.
   39   CLA:                [mhm, mhm,=
   40   NIN:    =everywhere you looked was [blue.
   41   CLA:                               [(     )
   42           (0.3)
   43   NIN:    I find blue a depressing [colour.  ]=
   44   CLA:                             [well it's]
   45   NIN:    =even [though I like      ] blue.
   46   CLA:          [nice blue isn't it.]
   47           (0.2)
   48   NIN:    [(and I)]
   49   CLA:    [blue   ] for depression and red for excitement and;
   50           (.)
→  51   NIN:    yes=but_
   52           (0.4)
   53   CLA:    what's a calming colour.=
>  54   NIN:    =for a decora:tion in a [home.    ]=
   55   CLA:                            [°really;°]
   56   NIN:    =I don't like blue.
   57           (0.3)
   58   CLA:    no:.=n[o:;
   59   NIN:    yet young Nicky's gone for blue↓ blue,
   60   CLA:    well it's a cha(h)nge from black that (     )=
   61           =[>huh hah hah hah hah hah<
   62   NIN:    well ye:s,=they've got the black
   63           [furniture;=you know_
   64   CLA:    [they've got the black furniture (   ) of course;=
   65           =yes[:.
   66   NIN:        [that- that's [true;
   67   CLA:                      [°true.°
   68           (0.2)
```

```
69   CLA:   mhmm.
```

Tape_026602 (3) (00:26:03-00:26:31)

```
 1   CLA:   there's no price on there I presume;=
 2   NIN:   =no: that's just the [thing;
 3   CLA:                        [huh >hm hm hm hm<
 4   NIN:   it's a stupid habit not °putting the price on;°
 5          ()
 6   CLA:   tsz .h[hhh
 7   NIN:         [people must lose sales↓ for that.=
 8   CLA:   =well i[t's possibly at the request of the=
 9   NIN:          [(   )
10   CLA:   =[vendor you know
11   NIN:    [I know they do.
12          (.)
13   NIN:   [but what I'm saying is peoples=
14   CLA:   [°(  )°
15   CLA:   =°oh ye[ah I know°
16   NIN:          [a lot of people if they're alright.
17          (0.4)
18   NIN:   if (0.2) if you want it=you're interested=
19          =and you're interested you'll find out↓
20          (0.2)
21   CLA:   [of course you will]
→ 22   NIN:   [fair do's         ]=but_
23          (0.7)
24   CLA:   yeah
25          (0.8)
> 26   NIN:   not everybody will bo[ther like that;
27   CLA:                         [hhhh ((yawning?))
28          (0.2)
29   CLA:   oh no no [no
30   NIN:   you do tend to skip by if there's another one
31          that yo[u think oh well;
32   CLA:          [(of) course you will.=mhm.
```

Tape_ 026603 (00:11:39-00:12:43)

```
 1   SPE:   Is ↑haycastle too far?
 2          (1.1)
 3   DOR:   er (   ) I I don't know↑ Johnston frightfu Er
 4          Johnston;
 5          (0.2)
 6          I don't know er hhh.
 7          (       ) only [be a matter of
 8   SPE:                  [mind you that's the other direction
 9          to Johnston (       )=
10   CLA:   =w↑ell possibly,=I don't↓ ↑know love;
11          (0.7)
12   CLA:   she m[ight?
13   SPE:        [er::::m
14          (0.7)
15   CLA:   erm
16          (0.8)
```

```
  17   CLA:   well ↑she might well do;
  18          (3.6)
  19   CLA:   you've gi↓ven a goodly little p↑ile here.=
  20          =(THat's why.)
  21          (0.3)
  22   SPE:   well there's ↑quite a few.
  23   CLA:   yap;
  24          (1.6)
  25   CLA:   hmm;
  26          (7.0)
  27   CLA:   A niece of mine living in (     ) tells me that
  28          it's picking up s↓lightly the property market.<=
  29          =would you agree with that↑ or_
  30          (0.3)
  31   CLA:   I find that hard to believe.
  32   SPE:   no;
  33          (0.4)
  34   CLA:   mm no:=I don't think so;=[no.
  35   SPE:                           [not really n[o::
  36   CLA:                                        [no::: no:
  37          (0.9)
  38   SPE:   people are holding off now
  39          [(                  ) cutting back=(                 )
  40   CLA:   [mmhm; (0.4) and, exactly, yes, yes, (.) quite yes.
  41          (0.3)
  42   CLA:   yeah,=[yeah,
  43   SPE:         [er::m
               ----- phone rings -----
  44          (1.6)
→ 45   SPE:   there is some property moving but_
  46          (.)
  47   CLA:   mmmm;
  48          (0.9)
> 49   SPE:   nothing exciting really,
  50          (2.4)
  51   CLA:   do you want to ditch me and grab the phone before it;
  52   SPE:   er::m (0.3) erm I'll give you those (         )=
  53   CLA    =alright, thanks.
```

Tape_ 026610 (00:28:07-00:28:52)

```
   1   NIN:   it's a: pity that this h[ouse is er::m
   2   CLA:                           [oh.
   3          (0.8)
   4   CLA:   which ones did you heave;=by the way.
   5          (0.5)
   6   NIN:   oh:;=only the ones↓ I knew she wouldn't have;
   7          (0.2)
   8   NIN:   er: (.) economy seven.
   9          (0.2)
  10   CLA:   Oh my god.=[yeah.
  11   NIN:              [er:::[m terrance.
  12   CLA:                    [Well hang on.=no.
  13          (0.3)
  14   CLA:   you didn't put a definite no on economy seven.=
  15          =[did you?
```

```
16   NIN:    [well they were terrace:s.
17           (0.2)
18   CLA:    oh well fair enough.=
19           =no I'm talking about economy seven.=
20           =[in case you heave ] any more not (pres:) basic
21   NIN:    [well I think ↓that]
22           (0.2)
23   NIN:    yes she did.=[she wan]ts gas cooking,
24   CLA:                [mm;    ]
25           (0.3)
26   CLA:    she prefers about er:: far prefers gas cooking.=
→ 27         =I know but_
28           (0.5)
29   NIN:    you I THInk you'll find she won't
30           (0.6)
31   NIN:    even contemplate cooking by electricity;
32           (0.4)
33   CLA:    mm[m;
34   NIN:      [I doubt [that very mu[ch
35   CLA:              [mm;         [mm;
36           (4.0)
37   NIN:    what's this one.
38           (1.2)
39   NIN:    this looks they look like↓ barratts?
40           (0.4)
41   NIN:    it's an ↑en::d (1.5) terrace.
42           (0.4)
43   CLA:    well.
             ----- Tape_ 026610 ends -----
```

Tape_ 034504 (00:02:20-00:03:47)

```
 1   PAU:    I do this all the time.
 2           (2.1)
 3   PAU:    I can't be bothered to take my gloves off.
 4           (0.6)
 5   LAR:    it takes you hal[f an hour to get your card out
 6   PAU:                    [yeah yeah yeah yeah yeah yea(h)h
 7           (32.6) ((manipulating a cash machine))
 8   LAR:    (          )
 9           (6.5)
10   LAR:    put these on while your hands are war↓m;
11           (0.9)
12   PAU:    yeah
13           (2.6)
14   LAR:    you hold that, oh come on=
15           =he normally puts them on↑ straight away,
16           (0.3)
17   PAU:    hm;
18           (2.2)
19   PAU:    er aa↑ron can put his other gloves on;
20           (1.3)
21   PAU:    just like that but those ones;
22           (0.5)
23   PAU:    they seemed to take twice as ↑long to put on;
24           (1.3)
```

```
25   LAR:   THEse are supposed to grow with your hands;=
26          =I'll tell you what,=
27          =they didn't grow much with anthony's=
28          =[no:.
29   PAU:    [no they didn't with aaron's=
30          =they haven't done with them=
→ 31        =they're still wearing them=but_
32          (3.1)
33   LAR:   hold your hand out (   )
34          (1.0)
35   LAR:   er you used to use er Pampers nappies=
36          =didn't you=
37   PAU:   =yeah
38          (0.8)
39   LAR:   I bet you didn't know like I didn't know they
40          were tested on animals;
41          (0.8)
42   PAU:   no;=I didn't,
```

Tape_060503 (00:43:22-00:45:48)

```
 1   KAT:   didn't mark come off?
 2   KCX:   but it come all out in grey streaks all over it=
 3          =I wrote to them.
 4          (0.7)
 5   ???:   hu huh, (0.2) yeah.
 6          (6.3)
 7   KCX:   erm.
 8          (5.2)
 9   KCX:   I think they sent me money for a new pair of sheets.=
10          =can't remember. (.) that long ago.
11          (1.4)
12   KAT:   oh I haven't done nowt like that for ages.
13          (1.5)
14   KCX:   I've only done it once with crisps
15          (0.6)
16   KAT:   I had some were soggy and sour and horri[ble
17   KCX:                                           [hmmm.
18          (0.6)
19   KAT:   and they sent me a box back.
20          (2.2)
21   KAT:   Mmm
22          (0.5)
23   KCX:   I enjoyed that.
24          (1.1)
25   KCX:   yeah,
26          (21.2)
27   KCX:   I'm pregnant me.
28   KAT:   hh huh huh huh huh
29          (8.4)
30   KCX:   I hate it,
31          (1.3)
32   KCX:   second of m↑arch I go to hospital.
33          (0.4)
34   KAT:   do you?
35          (0.7)
```

```
   36  KCX:   y:eah.
   37         (0.5)
   38  KAT:   chuffing hell.=
→  39  KCX:   =I don't ↑really wanna go but;
   40         (3.5)
   41  KAT:   our arthur's ↑been clear clear clear.
   42         (0.4)
   43  KCX:   is he al↑right.
   44         (.)
   45  KAT:   yeah=he's fine now_
   46  KCX:   =e:rm
   47         (0.4)
   48  KCX:   oh I asked him about that;
   49         (1.5)
   50  KCX:   when I went and he said it were nothing to worry about
   51         (0.7)
   52  KCX:   it's just
   53         (0.7)
   54  KAT:   just precautions or [something
   55  KCX:                       [he said he said oh he didn't know
   56         what she m↑entioned it for=he said when did she
   57         mention it=I said first time I came.
   58         (2.4)
   59  KCX:   so anyway he looked back through and flicked through=
   60         and he he looked.
   61         (3.2)
   62  KCX:   well it it's nothing to worry abo:ut.
   63         (1.5)
   64  ENI:   so she frightened you half to d[eath;
   65  KCX:                                  [(          )=
   66         =she's bloody mental,=
   67         =what's the point in s↑aying that.=I said and there's
   68         (1.0)
   69  KCX:   there's me panicking.=like I said (   ) I said=
   70         =I'm going grey as it is now.
   71         I said [without worrying about.
   72  ???:          [heh heh
   73         (0.8)
   74  ENI:   hh heh heh heh heh.
   75         (0.3)
   76  KCX:   silly cows li(h)ke he(h):r?
   77  KAT:   yea:h=well=
   78  KCX:   =trying to be a doctor,
   79         (0.8)
   80  KAT:   is she a doctor or just a::
   81         (.)
   82  KAT:   [student;]
   83  KCX:   [no she' ]s a doctor.=
   84         =I think she's a junior like=
→  85  KCX:   =she's under him [but;
   86  KAT:                    [hmm
   87         (9.3)
   88  KCX:   do you know there's more go- gaps on
   89         this tapes than (   )
   90         (0.6)
   91  KCX:   on off on off on off.
   92         (0.5)
```

93 ??? ((cough))

Tape_ 060901 (00:24:14-00:26:22)

1 KAT: what time's bill home today;=half past twelve.
2 (0.6)
3 MAG: °no he'll be home before that today°=
4 =cos they leave at half eleven.
5 (0.7)
6 MAG: they clock off at half eleven now.
7 KAT: he'll be home between twelve and half past then,
8 MAG: no he'll be home about five to twelve.
9 (1.2)
10 KAT: it ↑↑only takes him twenty-five minutes.
11 ()
12 MAG: well (0.2) i- if his mate comes in;
13 (0.6)
14 MAG: like he's got a good mate;
15 (.)
16 KAT: [yeah
17 MAG: [so if his mate comes in he releases his mate↓ early.
18 (0.6)
19 MAG: so if he releases him early_ (0.4) he could be er:
20 it takes him abo:ut (.) thirty-five to forty minutes;
21 (0.9)
22 MAG: but (.) like he might come in say twenty past eleven.
23 (0.3)
24 KAT: [( )
25 MAG: [something (like that)
26 (0.9)
27 MAG: cos bill goes early to release them on Fridays;=
28 =cos that way they (.) can go shopping with
29 their missus and everything;
30 (0.2)
31 KAT: oh tha- so it's only half a day's ever.
32 (0.5)
33 KAT: ([ )
34 MAG: [on fridays;=
35 KAT: =>is it< only a thirty odd hour week.
36 (0.9)
37 KAT: steve's is;
38 (0.7)
39 MAG: thirty-nine (.) thirty-eight hour.
40 (0.6)
41 MAG: thirty-eight hours a week.
42 (1.3)
43 MAG: bi[ll's
44 KAT: [well (0.2) if Steve goes for this interview↓
45 (0.3)
46 KAT: he's working till:=he'll not be in till half past eight
47 because he says (0.4) all that week↓ he can gain
48 four hours↓ (0.3) work.
49 (1.9)
50 KAT: because er:::m
51 (1.2)
52 KAT: he's found out you don't have to finish after two

```
  53          hours=you can work as much you like,=
  54          =finish at ten o'clock at night?=if you want.
  55          (1.0)
  56   MAG:   yeah >but he (doesn't)< wanna knacker himself out;=
  57          =does he.=
  58   KAT:   =well I says to him I says well make sure,=
  59          =well it's five past eight he'd get in↓
  60          instead of five past seven.=
  61   MAG:   =mmhm.
  62          (1.1)
  63   KAT:   cos a[ll this week I've done well with his tea;=
  64   MAG:        [>yeah but<
  65   MAG:   =.hhhhh ((COUGH))
  66          (1.4)
  67   KAT:   I've been putting it ↑out just as he's walked in,=
  68          =I said I'm getting good (man) at this tea,=
  69          =he says ↑aye you wait till I change shifts.=
  70          =.hhhh [huh huh huh huh .hhhhh
  71   MAG:          [mhm.
  72          (0.8)
  73   KAT:   °°((6.5 seconds, very quietly whispering))°°
  74          (1.3)
  75   MAG:   mhm.
  76          (0.8)
  77   KAT:   (   ) just talked about (         )
  78          (0.3)
  79   MAG:   ehh [heh heh heh heh heh heh heh
  80   KAT:       [mhm
  81          (1.8)
  82   MAG:   [oh
  83   KAT:   [erm:
  84          (2.0)
  85   KAT:   no little lad come for avon money and everything
→ 86          from Alice but_
  87         (0.3)
  88   MAG:   mm.
  89          (1.2)
> 90   KAT:   he didn't, he give me it on Wednesday night.=
  91          =and I should've give her it yesterday morning.=
  92          =but she didn't get it till last night.
  93          (1.4)
  94   KAT:   and she didn't fetch money till this morning.
  95          (0.5)
  96   KAT:   she didn't have her purse on her,
  97   MAG:   oh I've got to get a birthday card↑ for our Shaz,=
  98          =I've gotta get a birthday↑ card for our Steve,
```

Tape_ 060902 (00:42:41-00:43:32)

```
          ----- background (e.g. TV or Radio) -----
   1   KAT:   so how come you were working with gaffer?
   2          (1.7)
   3   STE:   cos I wanted three h↑ands.
   4          (1.3)
   5   STE:   and I only h↑ad two;
   6          (0.4)
```

```
   7   KAT:   ain't you been outside like↓ today then=
   8   STE:   =yeah. (.) all outside.
   9          (0.6)
  10   KAT:   all of↓ you? (0.2) flipping hell.
  11          (0.3)
→ 12   STE:   well not all of them but_
  13          (29.6)
  14   KAT:   there were an accident at top road today.
  15          (1.3)
  16   STE:   anybody hurt,
  17          (0.4)
  18   KAT:   yeah.
  19          (0.2)
  20   STE:   who_
  21          (1.7)
  22   KAT:   a young lass,
  23          (0.8)
  24   KAT:   she were (0.3) she'd got a s↑cooter.
```

Tape_ 071501 (00:24:59-00:26:05)

```
   1   18H:   plus they also say that a nurse is so busy.
   2          (0.3)
   3   18H:   and they're angels and they're that=
   4          =and the other that they won't complain,
   5          (0.7)
   6   18L:   well that's the only way that this can be:
   7          (0.4) assessed.
   8          (0.4)
   9   18L:   is by so that the patient,
  10          (0.7)
  11   18L:   >blah blah la<
  12          (0.3)
  13   18L:   when a patient feels his ↑care is not good_=
  14          =he knows he can complain without any worry;
  15          (0.3)
  16   18L:   but complaining↑=I mean if he's gotta complain.=
  17          =it means that (0.3) quality assurance isn't
  18          there.
  19          (0.8)
  20   18J:   but;=
  21   18L:   this is only thing if they've got something
  22          to comp↑lain about;
  23          (0.4)
  24   18J:   if you were the ↑patient [(   )
  25   18H:                            [so there's nothing to
  26          actually say.
  27          (0.3)
  28   18L:   in a positive sense.
  29          (.)
  30   18H:   yea[:h
  31   18J:      [yeah=
  32   18L:   =the only [thing that says;]
  33   18H:             [so if it        ]=yeah.
  34          (0.4)
  35   18L:   er:::m (.) meaning >ha blah blah blah<
```

```
  36          (0.4)
  37   18L:   and action taken;
  38          (0.2)
  39   18L:   it should also↑ mean that when Mr ((deleted))
  40          that's it.
  41   18L:   says (.) the nurses were marvellous.
  42          (0.4)
  43          the nurses are able to say in all (      )
  44          and with evidence to support their opinion.=
  45   18E:   [we were crap.
  46   18L:   [yes we are really doing a [pretty good job.
  47   18E:                              [ehhh heh
  48          (0.8)
  49   18L:   that's all it says in a positi- from
  50          a positive angle.
  51          (.)
→ 52   18H:   yeah=bu[t;
  53   KBU:          [(     ) a pretty good job?
  54          (.)
  55   18L:   so what (        )
  56          (0.4)
> 57   18H:   but like, if you take like↓
  58          (0.5)
  59          like er,le let me=
  60          =if you were the patient and lesley was the nurse↓
  61          (0.7)
  62          like (.) you wouldn't have a c↑lue.
  63          (0.2)
  64   18H:   whether it was er good or not;=
  65          =because as long as it was pretty clean.=
  66   18L:   =let's have a look what examples they're using.
```

Tape_ 076601 (00:01:04-00:04:04)

```
               ----- Tape_076601 starts -----
               ((inaudible till 00:1:04))
   1   DOR:    she's been dead four years.
   2           (2.3)
   3   DOR:    Oh.= it was it was bad that (0.8) she used to
   4           (        ) those draws that bad
   5           (0.5)
   6   DOR:    that after so: long.
   7           (2.0)
   8           you'd see him go all white.
   9           (0.9)
  10   DOR:    and then you'd gradually see round the crutch.
  11           (0.9)
  12   DOR:    then so:: more so.=
  13   JUD:    =yeah [(                )=
  14   DOR:          [right,
  15   DOR:    =snd then all of a sudden after so: long.
  16           you saw a new Alf.
  17           (2.0)
  18   JUD:    mm[m
  19   DOR:      [but you never (0.4) there's never a pair of
  20           underpants.=she might see a pair of (0.3) long
```

johns.=↑long long johns.
(0.6)
DOR: and a pair of socks.
DOR: but Paul said they've opened windows and trevor said.
(1.1)
it's nearly knocked him off the ladder.
(1.2)
DOR: he said to Paul, you've done.=cos I think first time
he painted it.=Paul he had to paint it wi- windows
shut.<=they wouldn't open window.
(0.3)
JUD: no?
DOR: no:
(.)
DOR: so I said to Paul.=↑well you've done well getting
windows open;<=and ↑even nets are down.
(0.7)
DOR: but ah, I've gone in and opened it (.) °it° stinks.
(1.0)
JUD: urgh.
(0.9)
JUD: ↑↑well how do people live like that.
DOR: I mean (1.0) bloody er:m=
axminster car↑↑pets all the way through.
(1.0)
DOR: well it was fitted o:[ut.
JUD: [well who buys that,=Social.
DOR: no?=they bought↑ it all↓ cash.
(1.0)
DOR: when when when they bought that house they paid
c[ash for it.
JUD: [oh I thought ( ) in there=
DOR: =not at ↑all.=
JUD: =oh.=
DOR: =they sold a fa:↑rm.
(0.7)
JUD: ohh.
DOR: an:d bought it cash and it were s↑how house.
(0.6)
JUD: [yea-
DOR: [they bo↑ught all curtains and carpet and carpet.
and I don't think it's altered;
(0.6)
DOR: It's same in he:re,=right through the ↓room;=
=and all the way to the up the stairs,=
=and it's all axminster.=all curtains;
(1.1)
DOR: are er anderson.
(1.1)
JUD: very nice;
DOR: hmm,
(1.7)
DOR: and wallpaper ( )=
=↑oh she's papered every painted and papered
every room in there;
(1.1)
DOR: and I were laughing,=weren't I.

```
 78          (3.5)
 79   DOR:   Social Services↓ or::
 80          (0.8)
 81   DOR:   somebody to do with (   ) or somewhere↓ (0.5) contacted
 82          him; (.) and asked him to do it;=
 83          but ↑they paid all cash.
 84          (0.4)
 85   JUD:   m[m
 86   DOR:    [and they did every room cos his er sister↓
 87          (0.6)
 88   DOR:   used to work in homebase be it rich.=
 89          (she's) [(little bit) rich=
 90   JUD:           [yeah,=(         )=
 91   DOR:   =(      ) back part time now I thin[k my mum said.
 92   JUD:                                      [is she.
 93          (1.2)
 94   ???:   ((cough))=
 95   DOR:   =and what did they call her.=
 96          =now she's a[lright.=now she she picked the pa:per.
 97   JUD:               [she she used to live down the back of us.
 98   DOR:   but she's moved.
 99          (.)
100   JUD:   [(   )
101   DOR:   [she picked all the pa:per.
102          (0.9)
103   DOR:   but they pa- he painted he papered every
104          room (          ).
105          (0.4)
106   JUD:   really?
107          (.)
108   DOR:   mhm.
109          (3.3)
→110  DOR:   I mean they've just had a new double glazed back door↑
→111         put off (1.8) (and/on) that but_
112          (1.3)
113   DOR:   [then one MOR:NING I we]
114   JUD:   [but it doesn't look it] doesn't look double
115          glazed;=does it.=
116   DOR:   =no:<= ONe morning I was off up Bambury Lane and
117          John was waiting_
118          (0.6)
119   DOR:   to catch Paul to come
120          (1.7)
121   DOR:   some trust or: I don't know whether it's social
122          or what bought a detached house.
123          (0.5)
124   DOR:   on Bambury Lane.=cos there were an uproar.
125          (0.4)
126   DOR:   cos Mick started all this up there.
127          (1.4)
128   DOR:   and it was done (0.9) through a trust then.
129          (0.3)
130          and it was done so quietly.
131          (0.5)
132   DOR:   that they hadn't time to object;
133          (0.6)
134   JUD:   mhm.
```

NC_003 (1) (00:54:32-00:56:43)

```
 1   $4:   eh so that's pretty much what I've got on
 2         erm (0.3) site selection.=
 3         =I'm afraid not very much.
 4         (0.3)
 5   $4:   [but.
 6   $2:   [no ↓no.=that's fine.=
 7         =cos I think now we can almost say.
 8         (0.9)
 9         the SU- we need to do obviously more information
10         on (.) what tidal turbine we want.=
11         =[but now we can::
12   $4:    [mhm,
13         (1.5)
14   $2:   pick out more areas rather than be limited to
15         these areas to [these wind farm sites to these=
16   $4:                 [yeah.
17   $2:   =tidal sites now we [can actually say↓=
18   $4:                       [yeah.
19   $2    =(0.2) let's put em: you know.
20   $4:   yeah.
21         (0.4)
22   $2:   in the places we think it's gonna be most optimum;
23   $4:   yeah.
24         (2.3)
25   $2:   but that now comes back to (.) what kind of
26         ↑tidal currents do we want;=
27   ??:   =hh [huh huh
28   $3:       [huh huh
29         (5.2)
30   $4:   mm.=er:m.(.) obviously (.) <kairul is absent,>=
31         =so he can't present his further work,
32         (0.8)
33   $4:   has [any↑one managed to.
34   $2:       [I >I DID have a look< [through.
35   $4:                              [yeah.=
36         =does anyone (.) did you manage to [look through it.
37   $2:                                      [er:m.=
38         =I mean it was just.=
39   $3:   =no [I literally=
40   $4:       [ah he ju-
41   £3:   =just saw it [then.
42   $4:                [ah: he just sent the email
43         this morning.=
44   $2:   =I [don't know it=
45   $4:      [eh:: I can
46   $2:   =ca- case study about the wind turbine and then
47         there was just the base and structures the gravity
48         [base <the monopi:le tripod>          ]
49   $4:   [yeah.=it was basically it's a (     )]=
50         =yeah.=lit review about the foundation structures.=
51         =and how they work.
52         (0.2)
53   $4:   er:: which is fine. (.) er: that's[:
54   $2:                                     [no.=
55         =it was good it just=
```

```
  56   $4:   =yea[h.
  57   $2:       [it giv- gives a better pictu[re of what=
  58   $4:                                     [mm-hm,
  59   $2:   =we're actually looking at which was good.
  60   $4:   mhm.
  61         (2.3)
  62   $4:   °°have you already signed one of these.°°
  63   $1:   mm. (.) oh.=do I have to sign that again.
  64   $4:   well if you're already signed one;=you can sign
  65         >it again if you want.<
  66   $1:   I d- I thought I thought on bits she was just
→ 67         writing down the address again but;
  68         (0.3)
  69   $2:   I haven't filled that one out.
  70   $3:   Oh shit,=there's three pages.=
  71   $1:   =ye[ah
  72   ??:      [hh huh
  73   $3:      [what a nump[ty.
  74   $2:                  [language,
  75   $4:   oh there's only two.
  76   $3:   so[rry.
  77   ??:    [hh huh huh huh
  78   $1:   >it's alright [it gets beeped.<
  79   $3:                 [is that it?
  80         (1.4)
  81   $4:   no she doesn't care.=.hh [er-
  82   $2:                            [ARE the:::
  83         (0.7)
  84   $2:   have we already done this.
  85   $4:   no we've done↑ the:: one page one;
  86   $2:   [ah right okay
  87   $1:   [have we done the the the final page.=
  88         =I remember doing that last week;=
  89         =[but the first page I don't remember doing.
  90   $4:    [yeah.
  91   $2:   right; (.) no problem.= right I'll fill that
  92         out in a minute_
  93   $4:   yeah.=.hhh okay. (0.2) er:::m
  94         (0.9)
  95   $4    I'm just thinking as well. (.) where doe:s e:rm.
  96         (3.0)
  97   $4:   hhh=co:s one of the things we discussed last week (.)
  98         wa::s (0.5) going away and finding work packages.
  99         (2.3)
 100   $2:   er:::m, (0.8) yes.
 101         (.)
→102   $4:   a:nd↓ (0.3) mine's not very interesting but_
 103         (0.4)
 104   $2:   do ↑you want to present that now,
 105         (.)
 106   $2:   o::r (0.5) in the (.) °group discussion;°
 107         (0.6)
 108   $2:   which is kinda happening now anyway.=
 109   ??    =.hhh hhh
 110         (0.5)
 111   $4:   oh I'll do a gro- no it's this week's deliverables.=
 112         =so [okay.
```

```
113   $2:       [no I was just thinking if
114         (.)
115   $2:   [elly and then
116   $4:   [I'll do it in group dis[cussion.
117   $2:                           [do you have any information
118         or anything_=
119   $3:   =[yep
120   $4:   =[>no you're right it's five point one
121         it'll come later.<
122   $2:   yep.
```

NC_003 (2) (01:37:31-01:38:50)

```
  1   $4:   I don't know how much of that (.) you're interested in.
  2         (0.5)
  3         in terms of the gearing to get it up [an:d;
  4   $3:                                        [yeah.=
  5         =I mean
  6   $4:   yea[h.
  7   $3:      [I would (0.5) my only worry is that is that
  8         this is a lot of work.
  9         (0.9)
 10   $2:   it was a↑lways going to be a lot of wo[rk.
 11   $4:                                        [it's a
 12         big project this is
 13         (0.9)
 14   ??:   [(     )
 15   $3:   [well I mean yeah well [I'm I I've I've been=
 16   $4:                          [yeah.
→17   $3:   =interested in that of course.=yeah but_
 18         (1.7)
 19   $4:   but basically it works out each chapter (1.0) is
 20         your dissertation.
 21         (0.9)
 22   $3:   [yeah.
 23   $4:   [that's that's the kind of guidelines.=each chapter
 24         is your dissertation.
 25   $3:   well the thing is this power electronics and
 26         .hhh modelling of the:: (.) you know;
 27   $4:   yeah.=
 28   $3:   =joining the two: tranfor- blah blah
 29         .hhh that (0.5) is massive anyway?
 30   $4:   yeah. (.) yeah no that's fine.
 31         (0.4)
 32         that's
 33         (0.6)
 34   $2:   it's gonna be.=
 35   $3:   =oh I know ↑it's gonna be [massive.=
 36   $2:                             [honest↓ly
 37   $3:   =but then if we're doing a whole
 38         (0.5)
 39   $4:   yeah.=
 40   $3:   =the the we're getting more and more chapt↑ers?=
→41         =I ↑know it's gonna be big but_
 42         (0.7)
 43   $4:   yeah. no.=I THInk in terms of er:m (0.4) you're
```

```
44          right.=we can't go too in depth.=
45    $3:   =[yeah;
46    $4:    [but if (.) if we say right we're gonna have a::
47          ring structure: (0.2) that goes up and down.=
48          =.hh we can look at say the loadings.
49          (0.4)
50          I mean it shouldn't take too long to work out the
51          the weight needing to be lifted,
52          (0.4)
53          and therefore you're gonna have this need ↑this
54          gear ratio and [whatever.=
55    $2:                  [yeah.
56    $3:   =yeah.=I mean well that's fine I mean I do
57          .hhh a whole
58          (0.4)
59    $2:   well [so I think
60    $3:        [subject on gears so;=
61    $2:   =we'v[e th-
62    $4:        [yeah exactly.=so they'r- they're that should
63          be okay for () °for↓° you ho[pefully;
64    $2:                               [we've refi::ned more
65          of what we want now;
66    $4:   ye[ah.
67    $2:     [a solid a solid structure with↓ a tidal turbine
68          attachment that lifts.
69    $4:   yes.
```

NC_027 (00:02:15-00:04:16)

```
 1    $4:   did you read though mo's,
 2          (0.5)
 3    $1:   I did yeah.
 4    $4:   I got a quick scan through that;=
 5          yeah [this morning.
 6    $1:        [I ha:d a quick read this mo[rning
 7    $3:                                    [what was it about.
 8    $1:   e::r it's er (0.3) well it's supposed to be
 9          justification.
10    $4:   his is quite a good introduction actually;=
11          =[it makes quite a good introduction.
12    $1:    [yeah exactly that's what I was thinking.<=I was
13          reading through and going it's qui:te a good
14          introduction and not much in the way of
15          justifying [yet;
16    $4:              [cos it is just like basically abo:ut
17          why renewable power's come about which is=
18    $1:   =.hh yeah.
19          (0.3)
20    $4:   °quite a good introduction.°
21          (1.7)
22    $1:   the: a: little bit of English needs correcting
23          but that's fine.
24          (0.5)
25    $1:   I just couldn't be bothered to do it
26          at [eight am this morning
27    $3:      [I didn't read it_
```

(0.4)
$3: erm:
(1.8)
$3: what wa- what was he writing about the justification.
$1: yeah he was supposed to be doing the justification
chapter of >why we chose< the project.
(0.4)
and <so far> I think he's done like the introduction
to say: (0.4) wh:y
(0.3)
$1: [we w-
$3: [should he be rewriting about the other design
proposals as well then.
(0.6)
$1: (nn)no.
(1.5)
$1: but what do you mean the other design proposals sorry?
$3: in the group project↓ should we be_
(1.3)
in the write-up you should ( ) say these were
the other ideas;=
$3: =[this is why we chose this one.=
$1: [I don't↑
$1: =no::.=I don't think so,=I think that comes in the:↓
management report;
(0.4)
$1: where you talk about why you::
(0.3)
$1: [or how you went about choosing your project.
$3: [oh:: right okay.
$3: so that would be: (.) going be in like the appendix.
$1: (hh)yeah. (0.2) well it's the mou- it's a totally
separate report↓ the management report.
$3: oh: right.
$1: er:m
(1.6)
$1: but no.=in terms of the project (0.3) erm (.)
it's just assumed that you've already chosen
your subject↑ when you start writing it?
(0.7)
$1: cos much the same as if you were presenting to
industry or something >you wouldn't go to
industry going.<=
$3: =so: [you're. (.) right ↓yeah.
$1: [I had a choice of these two things.=
=and I choose to go with this one,
$3: so you're basically saying (.) we're making ah:
combined device.=and then we're justifying what
device is.
$1: mmhm?
$3: right okay.
(8.0)
$3: so what has he gone;
(0.9)
$3: has he:: wrote in the lit review. (.) has he talked
about the (0.8) parameters↑ that we need ↓o::r_=
→ $1: =a:: little bit **but**_

```
  85          (4.1)
  86    $3:   e::rm
  87          (0.9)
  88    $1:   it'd be quite interesting as an English person to
  89          take that.
  90    $4:   what is ↑it,=
  91    $1:   =eh: spoken english self-assessment grid.
  92          it's what kairul's about to (do/take).
```

NC_039 (1) (00:11:01-00:11:17)

```
   1    $4:   so who's (.) going to present then.
   2          (0.5)
   3    $4:   so (.) the people who are going to present
   4          are gonna be the (0.4) proofreaders.
   5          (0.2)
   6    $1:   ef[fectively.
   7    $3:     [do you think that would be:: a good idea just
   8          so it sort of shares it.
   9          (0.5)
→ 10    $3:   like obviously do work as well on top of that but;
  11          (0.5)
  12    $4:   mmm[mm;
  13    $1:      [it means you come
  14          (0.4)
  15    $1:   [well it-
  16    $3:   [means you get a fu- full like↓
  17          (0.6)
  18    $3:   you've read everything through,=
  19          =as well if [that makes sense,
  20    $4:               [yeah.
```

NC_039 (2) (00:49:36-00:49:47)

```
   1    $2:   what you doing on friday↓ at twelve o'clock.
   2          (0.9)
   3    $4:   NOThi::ng.=
   4    $2:   =apart from meeting↑ us.
   5          (0.4)
   6    $4:   oh do you have (0.2) lectures earlier.
   7          (0.7)
   8    $2:   from [monday to Friday
   9    $3:        [yeah I've got I've got a seminar;=
→ 10          =you guys could meet though:=but_=
  11    $4:   =ehh heh heh [heh
  12    $1:                [twelve o'clock.
```

NC_043 (00:00:47-00:11:17)

```
   1    $2:   what (   ) what happened?
   2          (0.7)
   3    $1:   she tripped
   4    $2:   and what happened;=
   5    $1:   =(and) Scarlett fell over
```

```
   6          (1.1)
   7   $2:    over::
   8          (0.5)
   9   $1:    just fell over.
  10          (0.6)
  11   $2:    over steps o::[r
  12   $1:                  [>no just↓< (.) jus[t
  13   $2:                                     [just like
  14          (0.2)
  15   $2:    BAM.
  16   $1:    yeah.=fell over.
  17          (1.4)
→ 18   $1:    over nothing↓ but_
  19          (0.5)
  20   $2:    yeah like she tripped;
```

NC_047 (00:35:32-00:36:52)

```
   1   $1:    we only had one: sales person in the west.=
   2          =an:d (0.2) we seem to have done quite well.
   3          (0.3)
   4   $1:    [in the west for product three,
   5   $5:    [.hhh we could just go four four four four.
   6          (0.2)
   7   $5:    hhhhh=
   8   $2:    =we could.
   9   $1:    we could.
  10          (1.3)
  11   $4:    .hhhh [but it's (0.2) the export market's so big.=
  12   $2:          [wait let's ↑look at the orders.
  13   $4:    =a[nd we'll only have four
  14   $1:      [yeah I th[ink we should
  15   $2:      [we had a lot of or[ders from north,=
  16   ??:                         [(           )
  17   $2:    =and we didn't <get them out.>
  18          (0.9)
  19   $5:    o:::r [s:::::ix.=
  20   $1:          [okay.
  21   $2:    =how many >did we [have in the north↑< last time?=
  22   $5:                      [and three three and four
  23   $1:    =er: (.) only three.
  24          (0.6)
  25   $2:    compared to what are the [others.
  26   $6:                             [.hhhh=
  27   $1:    =er:m (.) south two west one export twelve_
  28   $6:    =but the people that we are hiring↑ (.) are for
  29          this semester for for the next.=
  30   $4:    I think the next.=
  31   $6:    =the nex[t.
  32   $4:            [I think;
  33          (.)
  34   $2:    there's a lot of orders from north;=
  35          =so maybe we should up that a bit;
  36          (0.5)
  37   $1:    up sa:les.
  38          (0.7)
```

```
39   $1:   or: up sales [in places where there's less,
40   $4:                [you gotta you gotta up delivery;=
41         =haven't you?
42   $1:   [orders.
43   $2:   [true.=
44   $3:   =what time we- do we h[ave to turn it in?
45   $2:                         [there was less in the west;
46   $5:   two thirty.=
47   ??:   =two thirty.=
48   $1:   =so shall we go [fo:r.
49   $2:                   [how many did we have ↑oh yeah.=
50         =we only had one in west.=
51         =that's probably why we didn't have any orders.\
52         (0.7)
53   $2:   so maybe up the [west.
54   $5:                   [so what did we do last time_=
55         =sorry twelve.
56         (0.3)
57   $1:   twelve two one three.
58         (0.2)
59   $2:   I say up the west,
60         (0.6)
61   $1:   .hhh so s[hall we could go.
62   $2:            [so let's go::
63         (0.7)
64   $1:   two::: west?
65         (0.5)
66   $1:   I still think we need a lot in
67         expo[rt.
68   $2:       [yeah yeah ye[ah (.) definitely.
69   $4:                    [mmm=ele- eh ten or ele[ven.
70   $5:                                           [two west.
71         (2.2)
72   $2:   two west.
73   $5:   how many d[id we have in no:rth.=
74   $1:             [we have two.
75   $5:   =we didn't have enough:=four north maybe,
76         (0.8)
77   $1:   I don't know.=cos if we're already getting quite a lot=
78   $2:   =[yea::h.
79   $1:   =[of orders from them the[:n.
80   $2:                            [but we want to keep them;=
81         =don't we.=
82         =>↑how many did [we have.<=three.
83   $5:                   [we're not selling to them.
84         (.)
→ 85   $5:   we're having orders from them but_
86         (0.2)
87   $1:   not sel- (.) so maybe we [should do just=
88   $3:                            [where are you looking?
89   $1:   =ten two two two?
90         (4.2)
91   $2:   [y::eah:::.
92   $4:   [ten two two two.
```

NC_089 (02:57:50-03:03:48)

```
   1   $2:   Dropbox.=honestly it takes two seconds to just sign
   2         up to it and it's (0.3) really easy.=
   3         =cos everything for this project's on Dropbox.
   4         (0.7)
   5   $2:   you can just do it all online?
   6         (1.0)
   7   $4:   yeah I can send an email to you; (.) right now.
   8         (0.4)
   9         and you can just install it;
  10        ((transcription omitted between 02:58:03-03:02:33))[48]
  11   $2:   you don't need to install it.
  12         (1.0)
  13   $4:   really?=
  14   $2:   =yeah_=that's (what we were) said.
  15         (2.0)
  16   $4:   are you sure he said it like=
  17   $2:   =you ↑don't have to install it,
  18         (0.4)
  19   $2:   honestly ↑just sign up,
  20         (5.5)
  21   $1:   you can ↑install it on your computer at home.=
  22         =and a couple ↓of other com↑puters if you really
→ 23         wish too but_
  24         (0.2)
  25   $2:   you don- you can still do it all on↑line
  26         if you want.=
  27   $1:   =yeah.
  28         (1.4)
  29   $2:   Do,=just go on just [go dropbox dot com.=
  30   $1:                       [yeah I have,
  31   $2:   =or dot org whatever it is.
  32         (1.9)
  33   $2    Or: google dropbox [(     )
  34   $1:                      [google;
  35         (3.5)
  36   $2:   wa::↓it;
  37         (1.1)
  38   $2    log in, (0.7) sign u:p_ (0.6) (     )
  39         (4.3)
  40         ((omitted between 03:03:15-03:03:26; $1 is singing))
  41         (1.8)
  42   $2:   and then you need matt to invite you so you can get
  43         into: the shared folder?
  44         (0.4)
  45   $2:   oh you've got one.=there's an invite?
  46         (0.9)
  47   ???:  (is th[at?)
  48   $2:         [er: one new shared folder invitation,=
  49         =>no no no< go go to that.
  50         (5.3)
  51   $4:   alright okay.=so which one's the er::
  52         (0.7)
```

[48] During the duration, the conversation is largely inaudible/unintelligible due to the multiple activities happening at the same time.

53 ??? ((clearing throat))
54 (0.4)
55 $4: folder that we're using;

NC_091 (00:00:44-00:05:48)

1 $1: okay; (.) I think it's just a standard recap meeting
2 really isn't it;
3 (0.5)
4 $1: so:: just a little progress report from each person,
5 and then we'll get to the↓ Gantt chart stuff.
6 (0.5)
7 after that; (0.2) so er:: kairul.
8 (0.3)
9 how's the work going.
10 $5: erm (0.6) I've got numbers off mohammed yesterday.=
11 for the:: (1.0) horizontal forces;=
12 so mm- I've started working on ↓those;
13 (0.9)
14 $1: oka[y,
15 $5: [a::nd th- (0.7) I've found out that (0.6)
16 calculating the horizontal forces for the tripod↓ is
17 a lot (0.3) more complicated compared to::↓ (0.3)
18 monopile?
19 $1: yeah;
20 $5: cos like if a wind's blowing from one direction.
21 (0.4) maybe one or two of the:: (0.7) piles
22 piles would be in (0.4) compression.=
23 =and the other one would be [in tension.
24 $1: [so it depends.
25 (0.5)
26 $5: [because ( )
27 $1: [what position the tripod is in the direction of
28 the: (.) forces.=
29 $5: =of the forces yeah.=
30 $1: =mhm;
31 (0.8)
32 $1: yeah.=that could be a problem area.
33 $5: yeah.
34 $1: er:[::m
35 $2: [°shouldn't b[e°
36 $1: [is this mainly to do wi:th current
37 and wa↑ve or_
38 (0.3)
39 $5: er::m (0.7) current and wave wouldn' t be as sig-
40 as significant as wind?=
41 $1: =the [wind↑ is the problem.
42 $5: [because
43 $5: yeah because since↓ (0.3) the wind would be
44 acting (0.5) a lot further from the:: ground.
45 $1: yeah.=
46 $5: =which I assume is the::[::
47 $1: [so yeah_=
48 =you have a big moment.=
49 $5: =yeah. so i[t's ( ) in the morning.
50 $1: [right okay. (0.5) er::m

(1.7)
$1: I think that's the problem with wind is co::s
(0.5) °you just° never know where it's coming from
the direction's always changing.=
=so it would be quite hard to (0.6) get an accurate
position on the tripod;=wouldn't it.
$5: yeah.
(1.4)
$1: erm (.) is it is ↑it possible↓ that the wind would
be blowing from one direction and the
tidal↓ (0.4) would act in another direction;
$2: =[yeah.
$1: =[eh.
$2: completely possible. (0.3) wind rotates three sixty.
??: righ[t
$2: [tide (0.8) round about one eighty;=
=°it isn't strictly that°
$5: right.
$1: I mean we have to you have to think of worse case.
what's the worst possible: (0.8) interaction
[you can have.=
??: [( )
$1: =and then you have to: (0.8) base your design on that,=
$5: =yes=so the worst case would be:: both acting in the
same direction;
$1: right okay. (0.3) er:m
(2.2)
$1: THAt's probably be to do with it'll be one or::
the other then won't it,=
=it'll be:: if you can predict the tide betwee:n
(0.5)
is it a hundred and eighty degrees,
$2: about that yeah;
$1: if you can do that then that's where you:r tripod
leg should be positioned in a way that they can
handle the current (.) and also the wind in
that direction;
(1.2)
$2: [(eh/wait)
$1: [I
(0.2)
$1: I've drawn up erm (.) a design of the tripod.
(0.6) from what we discussed.
(0.9)
$1: er:m (1.0) so >you can have a look at< that after
the meeting if you want;
$5: yeah sure.
$1: hmm.
(1.4)
$1: doug? (.) >were you going to say< something?
$2: yeah.= I was just gonna say I think in eh the
solent where is which we are looking to install.
(0.3)
$2: eh the prevailing wind is from the south west (.) if
that helps at all;
(11.8)
$1: alright. (.) so:: (0.8) ((clear throat))

(1.1)
$1: yeah.=maybe t- to get a good idea of the::
(1.0)
direction the tide flows in and out. (0.3) er::m
(1.7)
$1: and then use that with the: ( ) prevailing
wind from the south west and you can maybe get
(0.3) can maybe erm: (1.9) narrow down the::
eh problem areas.
(1.3)
$2: presumably (.) eh I mean I don't know how you're
calculating your forces.
(0.5)
$2: eh.=presumably it's just a series of constant signs
to do with the angle of the wind (0.4) versus
the angle of the: (0.5) tripod leg to the wind.
(1.2)
$5: er:m, (0.3) I'm just assuming i:t's (0.7)
<a simple beam wi:th> (1.0) normal moments.
$2: yeah.=
$1: =°yeah°
(0.6)
$2: okay. (.) e:rm, (0.4) but in terms of then
the stresses. (0.3) well the forces acting on the
tripod legs [cos of course they're gonna be at=
??: [°yeah°
$2: =sort of a wi[de shaped angle.
??: [( ) yeah
(.)
$2: they're not gonna be:↓ (.) n- so if the wind is
coming say (.) head on.
$5: yeah.
$2: and you:r back leg is here >obviously< that's
gonna take a lot of the force.
$5: yeah.=
$2: but if the wind swings round to there (0.2)
there's gonna be a cross force acting on that=
=isn't there.
(1.0)
$2: eh yeah all I'm thinking is could you because
you know the wind eh th- you know the tide is pretty
much go.=you can assume either runs (0.2) from
east to west or west to east.
(0.2)
$2: I don't know exactly but we can find that out.=
=that's very easy.=but (.) they only GO one way or
the other? (0.3) high flows whereas the WIND can go
in any direction.=
$5: =yeah
$2: can you not set up a:: er::m (0.7) basically
spreadsheet or↓ you can do it in matlab;=
=it's easier; (0.3) where you just run (.) the
each angle of attack. (.) you could do it at
ten degree ( ) or one degree ( ) or whatever one
you want. (0.2) and then you get the whole range of
what's happening;
(0.4)

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 165   $2:   so the wind could come from anywhere. (.) and you
 166         can see what scenario is the k- is the worst,=
 167         =I mean we're assuming (.) that when they're
 168         together.=they're gonna be worst case scenario?
 169   $5:   °yeah°=
 170   $2:   =we could find however if actually it's ten degrees
 171         off. (0.7) then puts this MASSive cross moment on
 172         that we haven't accounted for?
 173   $5:   yeah.=
 174   $2:   so: (1.2) °it's probably (0.6) worth looking at;°
 175   $5:   yeah.
 176         (0.5)
 177   $2:   eh I don't understand what the calculations you're
→178         doing.=outside it's difficult to say but_
 179         (1.5)
 180   $1:   yeah. (.) I definitely agree what you're doing you
 181         need to do more pull.
 182   $5:   I'll look into that I ↑hadn't thought of that
 183         actually.=
 184   $2:   =okay.
 185         (1.2)
 186   $1:   what else are you working on?
 187         (1.0)
 188   $5:   that's mostly it,
 189         (1.9)
 190   $1:   okay.
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