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Address terms in the organization of turns at talk: The case of pivotal turn extensions[☆]

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Received 15 December 2011; received in revised form 11 July 2012; accepted 1 August 2012

Abstract

This paper provides an overview of address terms in the organization of turns and turn taking, and devotes particular attention to their use at one turn constructional juncture where the speaker's retention of the floor is uncertain: following grammatical completion points. It demonstrates that, and how, address terms can serve as a resource for extending turns at talk at this juncture. Address terms operate as turn constructional pivots, simultaneously completing the prior syntactic unit and initiating the next unit. Auditory and acoustic analysis reveals the intonational seamlessness of the pivotal address term's junctures with adjacent talk. The paper also examines the turn extensions achieved in this way and offers an account of what they accomplish, focusing on their recurrent use to support vulnerable claims. This study highlights the utility of address terms for purposes other than addressing per se, and more generally the incremental and interactive realization of turns at talk in ordinary conversation.

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Keywords: Address terms; Turn taking; Turn design; Pivots

1. Introduction

Address terms are both fertile and challenging for investigation because of various flexibilities surrounding their use. Unlike other forms of person reference, address terms are syntactically optional, with the consequence that each use represents a choice and invites analysis as a potentially methodical practice. And unlike most response tokens, this choice can be exercised in a diverse range of turn-organizational positions and action environments. Of course, in choosing to address a recipient explicitly at a given juncture, speakers must also choose from among a repertoire of available linguistic forms for addressing (e.g., names, titles, nicknames, terms of endearment, etc.), and there has been great interest in how these choices are intertwined with speaker-recipient relations (Brown and Ford, 1961; Braun, 1988; Martiny, 1996). But the more fundamental choice is the decision to use an address term, of whatever sort, in the first place.

From a formal linguistic point of view, address terms may be understood as an alternative to, or vestige of, the vocative case in English. Their manifest function is to disambiguate the directionality of the talk in progress, with direct implications for the subsequent order of speakership in multiparty contexts. That this linguistic account is at best incomplete is evidenced by their occurrence in dyadic interactions where they are entirely redundant as a resource for addressing. For instance, in this telephone conversation, Ann addresses Jenny by name ("Jen" arrowed) even though there can be no

[☆] I am grateful to John Heritage, Doug Maynard, Chase Raymond, and Tanya Stivers for their critical input as this paper was being developed. Previous versions were presented at the International Conference on Conversation Analysis in Mannheim, Germany (2010), the American Sociological Association annual meetings (2011), the Conversation Analytic Working Group at UCLA (2010), and a seminar at the University of Wisconsin, Madison (2011).

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Table 1
Positioning of address terms.

Turn initial	20
Turn medial	81
Turn final	48
Total	149

doubt that Jenny is the intended recipient of, and prospective respondent to, her talk – a compliment about Jenny's weight, produced to counter Jenny's prior self-deprecation.

(1) [Rahman:A:2:JSA(9)]

- 1 Jen: Oh: e-ye- ey list'n l:'m d<l went on the scale
 2 yestee l'm ten stone now,
 3 (0.5)
 4 Ann: Well now y[ou don't look it]
 5 Jen: [T e n s t o:]ne:.
 6 Ann: -> Y'don't look it Jen ah must be honest.
 7 Jen: Ah well ah mean t'say when you consider that I should be
 8 what izzit ei:ght'n a hahlf.=

The apparent redundancy in cases like this poses an analytic puzzle as to what it is being mobilized to accomplish. What actions or projects do address terms advance, above and beyond the act of addressing itself?

The inadequacy of a formal linguistic account, and the existence of plural functions for address terms, has long been recognized. Lerner (2003:184) notes that given the availability of less explicit means of addressing, address terms “appear to be deployed to do more than simply specify whom the speaker is addressing,” and he identifies distinct functions associated with turn-initial and turn-final uses (see also Rendle-Short, 2009). Correspondingly, Quirk et al. (1985:773) offers a less granular but broadly convergent account, distinguishing turn-initial uses aimed at “drawing the attention of the person or persons being addressed”, versus turn-medial and turn-final uses geared to “expressing the speaker's relationship or attitude to the person or persons being addressed.” A related stream of research explores their uses in forms of broadcast talk (Clayman, 2010; Jaworski and Galasinski, 2000; Rendle-Short, 2007).

Against this backdrop, *turn-medial address terms* remain largely unexamined, either overlooked in favor of turn-initial and turn-final cases, or lumped together with the latter rather than examined as phenomena in their own right. This is not an insignificant omission, as turn-medial address terms are remarkably commonplace. In a frequency count of address terms in various corpora of British and American telephone conversations, turn-medial uses are by far the predominant form, more frequent than both turn-initial and turn-final uses combined (Table 1).¹

This paper focuses on turn-medial address terms in the domain of ordinary conversation, with data drawn primarily from dyadic telephone conversations where their plural functions are more clearly in evidence. Within this domain, I exclude openings and closings and focus on those occurring within main body of conversation. I devote particular attention to one turn organizational juncture where the speaker's subsequent retention of the floor is at risk: following grammatical completion points, which are routinely implicated in establishing the relevance of turn transfer (Sacks et al., 1974). I will argue that, and how, address terms can serve as a resource for extending turns at talk at this juncture. I will also examine the turn extensions that are achieved thereby, and offer a partial account of what they accomplish, focusing on their recurrent use to support vulnerable claims. To develop this argument, I will first offer some general observations about address terms in the organization of turns and turn taking.

2. Address terms as turn organizational objects

Address terms are used in a wide range of positions over the course of turns and turn constructional units (henceforth TCUs). These include *TCU beginnings*, where the address term launches a larger sentential (excerpt 2) or subsentential (excerpt 3) unit of talk.

¹ The count encompassed the NB, SBL, Heritage, Holt, and Rahman corpora, and some smaller telephone datasets, and excluded the opening and closing phases (where address terms are virtually obligatory and occupied with tasks beyond the scope of this paper). Note that the “turn medial” category is broad and encompasses cases where the address term occurred (1) within a grammatical or turn constructional unit, (2) after a grammatical completion point but before a grammatically continuous increment of talk, and (3) between distinct grammatical units.

(2) [Holt 2.2.2]
Les: -> .t CAROL I finished the boo:k.

(3) [SBL 3.5.R]
Gin: -> Milly if they are °Christians.°

When turn-initial particles such as *well* or *oh* are also present, the relative placement of the address term is not random; it is a locus of order, with the address term regularly following such particles.

(4) [Marsha 60-1/1]
MAR: -> =Oh Ron that w'd be great.

(5) [Heritage 011 2: Call 4]
Edg: -> Well Michael anyway there it i:s, and ah:
an:d as I sa:y we uhm (.) we we: we would like to help if:
uh if [she ever needs ah[:::: she's (in need). You know?=
=

The same pattern of sequencing positions address terms subsequent to connectors like *and*, *but*, and *so*.

(6) [Heritage 11:1: Call 2]
Edg: Yes. Yes ye[s hahlf pahst eleven.
Dor: [()]
Dor: -> An:d Edgerton (.) uh you did say that you had some (.)
apples: to spaiuh didn't you?

(7) [NB II.4.R: 4]
Emm: =have my F:OOT up unna (.) pillow fer two da:ys yih
Emm: kno[w e:n]
Nan: [°Ya:h?°]
Emm: -> .hmhhhh.t.hhh ^But honey it's gunnuh be awright ah'm su:re<

(8) [Holt 5/88-2-4]
Dee: -> So Mark so I, I s'pose in the end Mark you're still
keeping th'm are yo[u?

In following turn-initial particles and connectors, the address term occurs *near* rather than *at* the turn's beginning, but still prior to its substance. This is a robust sequential regularity that extends beyond ordinary conversation to broadcast news interview talk (see also Clayman, 2010).

Address terms are also used *within the main body of the TCU*. Here again there are constraints, with address terms clustered at syntactic boundaries of various kinds. They recurrently follow phrasal and clausal boundaries projecting further talk (e.g., “after all Mark” in 9; “if you decide to go hon” in 10).

(9) [Holt 5/88-2-4]
Dee: Oh: yes well I do hope so cz I mean av-uh a:fter all
-> Mark we're not gett'n any younger. . .

(10) [NB II.4.R: 13]
Nan: -> [.tch Well [i f] you decide tih go hon uh:d .hhh 'z I say:
Emm: [*Ah-]
Nan: I c'n eether come'n get [chu er Bu]d c'n d]ro:p you O::FF?=
Emm: [Q h : : :] nq: <]
Nan: =e-an'then: ah:n ah'll drive o:ver in drop yih right off et
th'ste:ps:: en then uh park th'car en walk ba:ck, .hhhh if
you wunt to: uhm

They also follow sentential boundaries within TCUs containing multiple grammatical completion points. In such instances, the address term appears at a point that is syntactically complete but prosodically incomplete, and the subsequent talk is a syntactically dependent continuation of the prior TCU.

- (11) [Rahman:B:2:JV(14)]
 1 Jen: Oh[: ().
 2 Ver: -> [I'm sorry yih hahd th'm all o[n you [J e n n y] like that]
 3 Jen: [.hhh [^Oh don't] be sill]y=
- (12) [Heritage 01-6]
 1 Jer: That's intrest[ng?
 2 Gay: -> [It all sounds very twisted tuh me Jeremy ez
 3 [fahr ez]c'n say en ah mean the wheole thing is like hahlf=
 4 Jer: [Yes i t-]
 5 Gay: =the wuhrl'd is so: (.) uncert'n of what's hap'ning they're all

At the end of the TCU, address terms appear as a through-produced addition to a prior grammatical unit, typically with a rising or falling terminal intonation contour.

- (13) [Marsha 60-1/1]
 Mar: -> W'l it's: e-You really sound good Ro:n.
 Ron: [- Well I just came back fr'm a two month vacation.
- (14) [Rahman 00II]
 Ida: -> I wz nine nine yihknow Jenny?
 (.)
 Jen: Su you've lost foh[pounds.=

One particular TCU-final case that merits attention involves address terms prefaced only with the receipt token *oh* (arrowed):

- (15) [NB II.4.R: 1]
 Emm: HI: HONEY HOW ARE y[uh.
 Nan: [Fine how'r you.
 Emm: .kh.hh.hh.hahh AOH: AH'M PRETTY GOO::D I HADDA LIDDLE
 O:P'ration on my toe this week I had t'have (0.2) n
 toenail TAKEN O:FF,hh
 (.)
 Nan: Why[:
 Emm: [.hhh.hh Oh:: [I have a fungus 'n I: had'n inf::Ection,
 Nan: [(What wuhhh)
 (.)
 Emm: 'T's a [hell of a]
 Nan: -> [O_h: :::: E:mmah[:.
 Emm: [I'n that aw:fuh

These function as sympathetic responses to troubles talk or related informings (here, a report of illness and surgery), and they tend to be markedly stretched or drawled in addition to being delivered with terminal intonation.

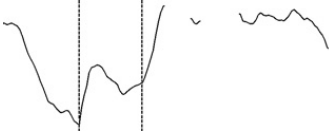
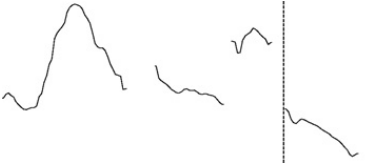
Note that free-standing address terms are absent from this array of examples. Recipient names may be used as stand-alone utterances, but these function as summonses or as displays of recognition in call openings (Schegloff, 1968, 1979a, b), or as quasi-summoning objects elsewhere when recipient engagement is problematic (Lerner, 2003). In performing actions in their own right, rather than being a component of some other action, these are best characterized not as “address terms” but in terms of the actions (summoning or displaying recognition) that they implement.

3. Continuative versus completional address terms

Given the range of positions of use, address terms clearly do not have any singular import for subsequent speakership. That is, they do not in themselves project that the speaker will either continue to speak or is possibly finished and ready to relinquish the floor. Their import for turn continuation or turn transfer is thus constituted by the immediate sequential environment, and by the details of their articulation and delivery, as summarized in Table 2.

Continuative address terms (excerpts 2–12 above, and the 1st example in Table 2) either launch or occur in the midst of a TCU in progress. They tend to be prosodically designed in a manner associated with speaker continuation (at

Table 2
Continuative vs. completional address terms.

	Continuative address terms	Completional address terms
Sequential position	TCU beginnings TCU middles	TCU endings
Prosody	Intonation level or slightly rising	Terminal intonation contour
Example with pitch track	<i>Oh: Ron that is so nice.</i> 	<i>You really sound good Ron.</i> 

grammatical completion points; see Ford and Thompson, 1996; Local et al., 1986; Walker, 2007). Most notably, the end of the address term is delivered with a relatively level or slightly rising intonation. The continuative example in Table 2 – which includes a pitch track for the utterance with the address-term segment bracketed by vertical bars – illustrates this slightly-rising pattern (following an initial pitch peak). Correspondingly, in most of the cases examined earlier (excerpts 2–10) the speaker talks past the address term without recipient intervention.²

² There is some evidence, as yet limited, that continuative address terms exert a claim to the floor that is discriminably stronger than the claim exerted by most other forms of talk. The evidence derives from the clustering of address terms just after episodes of overlap competition, which Schegloff (2000) has shown to be a locus of interactive work dealing with the aftermath of overlap. Although turn transition is not relevant at this post-overlap juncture, it may nonetheless be attempted by nonspeakers (the “losing” party in the competition for the floor) and anticipated by speakers. Here, following a spate of overlap (lines 10–11), coming close on the heels of a previous overlap episode (lines 5–6), the party that emerges in the clear at line 11 (Edgerton) restarts his turn but adds an address term at its new beginning (arrowed). The addition of this item suggests that it is a non-trivial feature of the turn that the speaker is now building in the aftermath of overlap (Schegloff, 2004).

[Heritage III:1: Call 14]

- 1 Jan: Alri:ght u-yes ah'll look intuh that u-and uh s[ee if we=
- 2 Edg: [Yuh.
- 3 Jan: =c'n got one=
- 4 Edg: =[Yes.
- 5 Jan: =[eh But chor hap[py:: with the fu]h]:rst one.]
- 6 Edg: [I- I a m n o t]m a k i n]g I am n o t
- 7 making a(r) veddy big issue of it=
- 8 Edg: =([)
- 9 Jan: =[No:. Well: it it's raght that we sh'd kno:w espically: eh-
- 10 you know uh: [w i t h u]
- 11 Edg: -> [I'm a little] bit uh Jane I'm a little bit
- 12 wuhrried abou:t what p e o p l e w i l l s a y a h o u : t .

And in the following excerpt from the contentious Bush-Rather interview, Dan Rather's effort to build a prefaced question is overlapped repeatedly and extendedly by Bush, while Rather repeatedly strives to retain the floor (lines 1–19). When Bush finally emerges in the clear (arrowed) he appears oriented to his tenuous hold on the floor in that he asks a question (“you know why”) of the sort recurrently used by those with restricted rights to speak (Sacks, 1972). It is in this environment – post overlap competition, and demonstrable sensitivity to one's continued hold on the floor – that Bush addresses his recipient by name (“Dan”, arrowed). Despite the formally “preliminary” character of this question, after a brief inbreath Bush continues speaking.

[CBS Evening News: Bush-Rather]

- 1 GB: Ple[ase]
- 2 DR: [Ah-] I h a v e o n e . . h h [h h Y o u h a v e s a i d t h a t - i f y o] u ' d =
- 3 GB: [Please fire a w a y h e h - h a h]
- 4 DR: =had kno:w::n, you said tha' if you had known this was an a r m s
- 5 for h o s t a g [e s s w l a p , . h h t h a t y o u w o u l d ' v e o p p o s e d i t . . h h h =
- 6 GB: [Yes]
- 7 DR: You a l s o [s a i d t h e t -] [t h a t y o u d i d N O T K N O W t h e t y -]
- 8 GB: [E x a c t] l y [(m - m a y - m a y I -) m a y I]
- 9 a n s w e r t h a t .
- 10 (0 . 4)
- 11 GB: (T h [u h] r i g h t () -]
- 12 DR: [T h a t w a s n ' t a] q u e s t i o n . = i t w [a s a s t a t e m e n t e h -]
- 13 GB: [Y e s i t w a s a]

Completional address terms (excerpts 13–15 above, and the 2nd example in Table 2) are positioned at the end of a TCU as a through-produced increment to a prior grammatical unit. They are themselves articulated with prosodic features – most notably terminal rising or falling intonation – associated with transition relevance and turn transfer at grammatical completion points (Ford and Thompson, 1996; Local et al., 1986; Stivers and Rossano, 2010). The completional example in Table 2 illustrates the terminal falling pitch contour. Notice that the prior excerpts containing completional address terms (excerpts 13–15) are each followed by turn transition with little or no time lag.

Specific instances may, of course, be equivocal as to their continuative/transitional status. One basis for equivocality is a contrast between sequential placement and intonation. In the following (arrowed), the address term's TCU-final position suggests completion and transition relevance, while the lack of a terminal intonation contour suggests continuation. Correspondingly, after a brief silence (line 2) both parties elect to begin speaking almost simultaneously (lines 3–4).

- (16) [Holt:2:2:2]
 1 Car: -> .hh Well drop it in: t'night then Leslie_
 2 (.)
 3 Car: |[duh- I c]an't remember w-uh it's under my ticket I expect=
 4 Les: [()]
 5 Car: =yes it must be=
 6 Les: =Yes you said so[:

A different basis for equivocality is exemplified below, namely a hitch separating an address term (“Guy”) from a prior TCU (“awright”). This type of response (*alright/OK* + address term) commonly stands as a possibly complete TCU within call pre-closings (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973). However, the intervening “uh:”, coupled with the address term's slightly rising intonation, allows for it to be heard alternatively as the start of a new TCU.

- (17) [NB 1.1.R*: 8]]
 1 Jon: YihknowAl Bifferd?
 2 Guy: Ye:ah?
 3 Jon: He lives there too eez gotta place down'ere too:.=
 4 Guy: =Well?maybe we c'n get one er the other,
 5 Jon: -> Ye:ah. ^Awright uh: Gu:y,
 6 (0.4)
 7 Guy: Ah'll call yuh back'n li'l bit.

Correspondingly, the address term is initially met with silence (line 6) as neither party elects to speak.

4. Address terms as turn-medial pivots

Turning now to address terms positioned within turns at talk rather than at their boundaries, there is one specific type of turn-medial position that stands apart from those sketched above. For this position, possibly complete units of talk both precede and follow the address term as in the following three instances.

- 14 statement [and I'll answer it. Thuh President]=
 15 DR: [Let me ask thuh question if I may first]=
 16 GB: =created this program, .h has testified er s:tated publicly,
 17 (.) he did not think it was arms fer hostages.
 18 .hh [and it was only later thet- and th]at's me.
 19 DR: [That's thuh President Mister Vice President]
 20 GB: -> (.hh) [Cuz] I went along with it because =ya know why Dan? .hh=
 21 DR: [We-]
 22 GB: =because !: [worried when I saw Mister:]=
 23 DR: [That wasn' thuh question Mister Vice President.]
 24 GB: =.hh Mister Buckley,

Could the address term be a way for the speaker who gains the floor to discourage his or her competitor from attempting to speak? Addressing the recipient by name here may serve to (1) highlight the local interactional division of labor between speaker and recipient, (2) invite a wayward recipient to attend to the speaker's subsequent talk (see also Lerner, 2003), and thereby (3) reinforce the speaker's status as the ratified occupant of the floor. Hence the use of an address term here may be a way of saying, in effect “me speaker, you listener” at a moment when that arrangement may be subject to challenge.

- (18) [Rahman:A:2:JSA(9)]
 1 Ann: -> Y'don't look it Jen ah must be honest.
- (19) [NB II.4.R: 1]
 1 Ann: ... I've got to uh .hhh I have goT.hh t[o g e]t.h .hhh=
 2 Emm: [Aah ha]
 3 Ann: -> =a couple of things tuh wear Emma I (.) jus'don't have
 4 enough clothes tuh: (.) t'go duh work in.
- (20) [HG II]
 1 Nan: -> It (js) hu:rt so bad Hyla I wz cry:::ing,=

How are such turns, which here involve grammatically and pragmatically complete sentences separated by an address term, to be parsed in turn constructional terms?

One possible analysis is that both sentences are discrete turn constructional units, with the address term lying within neither and constituting a third intervening TCU. This possibility may be represented schematically as in Fig. 1 below. This interpretation is implausible on its face, given that (as noted earlier) address terms do not normally appear as stand-alone units of talk. While there are other stand-alone uses of recipient names (as summonses or displays of recognition), such uses are not relevant in these cases.

A second analysis is that these turns encompass two TCUs, with the address term lying within either the initial or the subsequent unit. The two alternatives encompassed by this analysis may be represented as in Fig. 2. In this way of parsing the turn, the address term either completes the first TCU and opens a transition space, or it follows a transition space and launches the second TCU. Compound or multi-unit turns may indeed be organized in this way, with an address term adjacent to the transition space between TCUs, although prosodic and other aspects of speech delivery are necessary to constitute the actual unit boundaries from among the various grammatically allowable possibilities. For instance, here terminal intonation completes one TCU (note the period intonation on “understand” in line 3) and a beat of silence separates it from the address-initiated subsequent TCU (line 4).

- (21) [SBL 3:2:R]
 1 Cla: =Ah hgh[ah WE:LL]uhss uh that's a:[right,]
 2 Sar: [I've got] [NO LISTEN]NOW e-please
 3 -> if we don't show you'll know that we understand.
 4 -> Cl[aire it's] nahtheen thetchu haf tuh °do with it.°
 5 Cla: [Q h : :]

However, the cases now being considered (excerpts 18 through 20) are not delivered in this way. In each of these cases the talk prior to the address term, although grammatically complete, is prosodically incomplete. The prior talk exhibits little or no diminution in tempo or amplitude (cf., Local et al., 1986; Ogden, 2001). It is also intonationally continuous with the address term, with prior pitch movement either nonexistent or sustained across the juncture. And there is no silence or audible aspiration separating prior talk from the address term. Thus the transition from the prior grammatical unit to the address term is for the most part smooth and seamless across these cases, and in consequence the address term is phonetically affiliated with the prior unit.

Much the same can be said of the transition from the address term to the subsequent grammatical unit. The address term's ending is prosodically unmarked and continuous with subsequent talk, and there is no intervening aspiration or silence. This mode of delivery, which converges with continuative rather than completional address terms examined earlier, phonetically affiliates the address term with subsequent talk.

It follows that the address terms in these cases are delivered in relation to the surrounding talk so as to forge the grammatical units into a single through-produced utterance. This is incompatible with a parsing of the turn into two TCUs as in Fig. 2, or three TCUs as in Fig. 1, and suggests yet another possibility (Fig. 3 below): that the address term functions as a turn constructional pivot between otherwise-discreet grammatical units (Schegloff, 1979a,b; Walker, 2007). Since address terms appear recurrently in both turn-initial and turn-final positions (as documented previously), in the through-produced cases they can be understood as lying within and hence “belonging to” both the preceding and subsequent units of talk. In simultaneously capping off the prior unit and beginning the next, they have a Janus-faced quality represented schematically in Fig. 3. In this example, “You don't look it Jen” is a coherent utterance, as is “Jen I must be honest,” and the address term pivots between them.



Fig. 1. Three discrete TCUs.

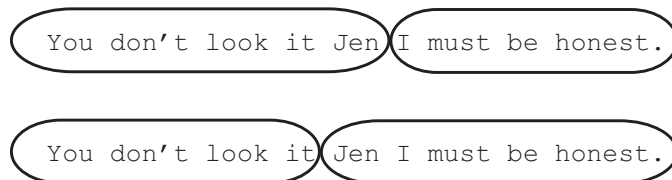


Fig. 2. Two discrete TCUs.



Fig. 3. Pivotal TCUs.

Such pivotal or unit-bridging address terms involve the speaker talking past a grammatically projected transition space and into an additional unit of talk. These cases thus entail a momentary circumvention of potential turn transfer (Sacks et al., 1974). Although they might be seen as non-normative, they are nonetheless empirically rather commonplace. Among the various turn-medial positions identified earlier (mid-TCU as in excerpts 9–12; pre- or post-TRP in a multi-unit turn as in 21; and TCU-bridging as in 18–20), those bridging or pivoting between otherwise distinct grammatical units are at least as frequent as any other turn-medial position.

Pivotal address terms differ from other turn constructional pivots examined in previous research (Schegloff, 1979a,b; Walker, 2007) in a way that bears on their utility. Other pivots are highly context-specific in that their substance is grammatically and referentially coherent with the prior and subsequent units of talk. Consequently they must be designed with substantial care so as to be coherently fitted to the adjacent talk. Address terms, by contrast, have a modular quality in that the same syntactically optional item can be “plugged into” and made to bridge many (if not all) successive grammatical units. They are thus very broadly usable as pivots, readily fitted to various incipient transition spaces so as to forge otherwise discrete units of talk into a single coherent utterance. This may partly explain their prevalence.³

The following marginal case is instructive in highlighting both the boundaries of the practice and the limits of its applicability. This resembles other pivotal address terms except that the talk following the address term is prefaced with a particle (“oh”).

- (22) [NB II.1.R: 3]
 1 Emm: ..What's ne:w.
 2 Lot: -> Gee nothing Emma oh: ah:: gee wih-uh: Bud goes out...

In cases of this sort, the address term does not operate as a pivot because (as demonstrated in the previous section of this paper) TCU-initial address terms normally follow rather than precede particles and connectors. Consequently, these are hearable as capping off the prior talk but not as starting the next. Since they are nonetheless through-produced and phonetically continuous, they resemble rush-throughs (Schegloff, 1987a,b) or abrupt-joins (Local and Walker, 2004) more than syntactic pivots.

³ Another possible basis for their utility in this environment stems from the speculation (detailed in note 2 above) that address terms, when intonationally unmarked and hence continuative, may embody a heightened claim to the floor that discourages response more than other forms of talk.

5. The intonational seamlessness of address-pivotal boundaries

Turns containing pivotal address terms retain possible grammatical completion points both before the address term and upon its completion. This makes them vulnerable to interdiction (see excerpts 11–12 above, and Jefferson, 1973), and makes the prosodic and speech-delivery features documented above crucial for the talk to come off as a single unbroken utterance.

Taking a closer look at intonation and supplementing auditory with acoustic analysis, it is apparent that pivotal address terms are characterized not only by the absence of terminal pitch contours, but also by the intonational seamlessness of the pivot's junctures with prior and subsequent talk. Such seamlessness is consistent with the design of other turn constructional pivots (Walker, 2007). The present cases show that regardless of whether the pitch prior to a given juncture is rising, falling, or level, that trajectory is sustained across the juncture. Correspondingly, when prior and subsequent talk is delivered at differing pitch levels, the pitch shift is localized within the address term rather than at its boundaries.

These features may be observed in the following example (arrowed) where “Emma” pivots between “people should be nice to you” and “you’re a thoroughly nice person to be nice to.” The associated pitch track (Fig. 4) has vertical bars at the pivot's boundaries.

- (23) [NB II.4.R: 4]
 1 Emm: [SO EVRYBUDDY'S BEEN] NI:CE IN THE'PA:RT] MEN'
 2 jjst like with my le:g ih[hhh HIH HUH HUH]
 3 Nan: [Yee :: aa :: ah:, h]
 4 Nan: -> Well you (.) people should be nice tih you Emma yer a:
 5 thoroughly [nice] person tuh] be n i c e] TO:[:.

The pitch track clearly shows continuous intonational trajectories across both junctures, gradually falling across the initial juncture and sharply rising across the terminal juncture. The antecedent falling trajectory extends from the two prior words (“tih you”) through the first syllable of the address term (the “Em” of Emma). The subsequent rising trajectory extends from the address term's second syllable (“ma”) through the onset of “you're.” The key shift in direction (falling to rising) thus occurs within the address term rather than at its boundaries, at the juncture between syllables, and that shift effectively bridges adjacent talk that is delivered at very different pitch levels.

A similar pattern may be observed in the next example, where “Hyla” pivots between “It just hurt so bad” and “I was crying” (see Fig. 5).

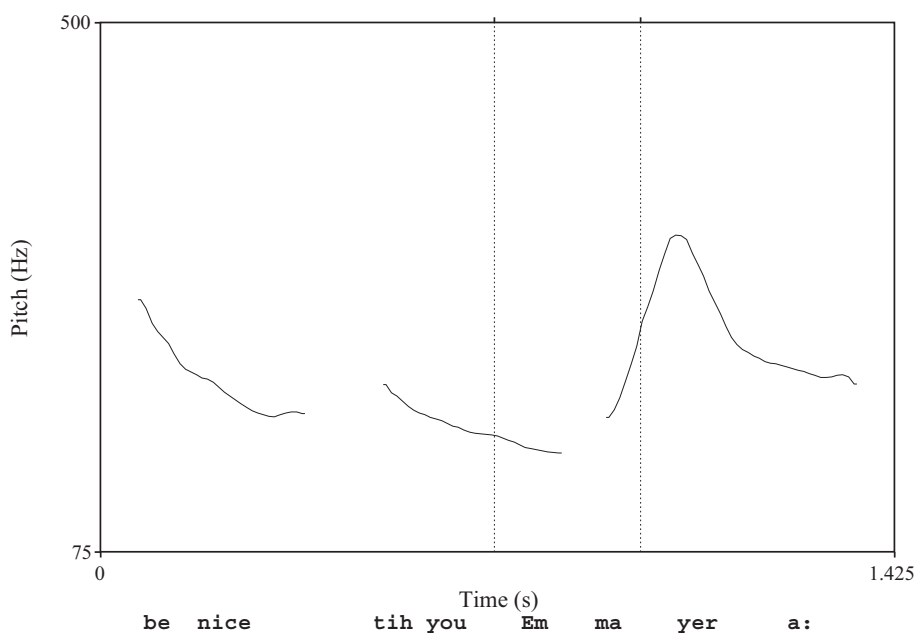


Fig. 4. Pitch track for Excerpt 23.

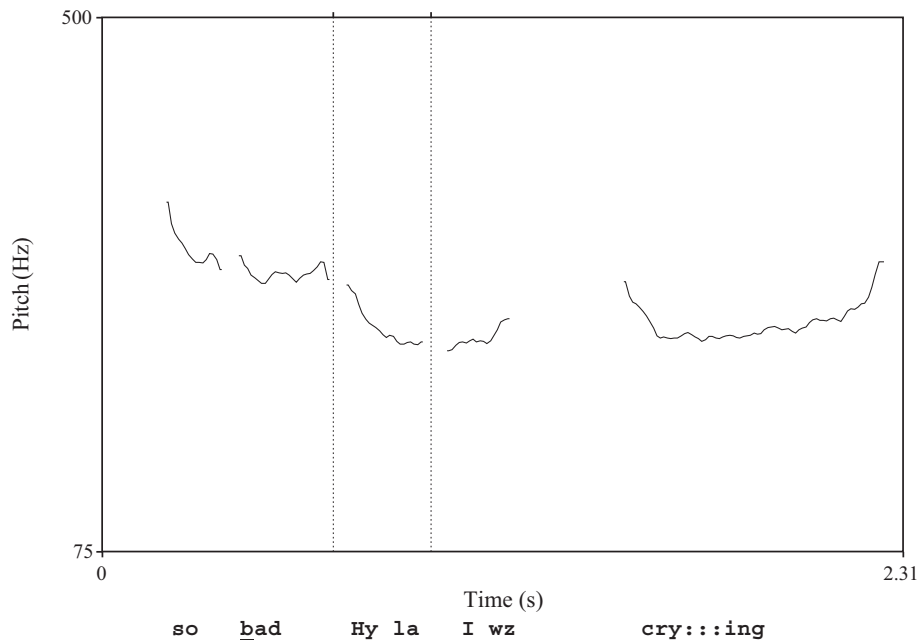


Fig. 5. Pitch track for Excerpt 24.

- (24) [HG: II: 2]
 1 Nan: B't 'e jis like o:pened up,
 2 (0.6)
 3 Nan: a lo:t y'know('v) (0.4) the pimples I ha:veɿ=
 4 Hyl: =Eoh::,
 5 (.)
 6 Nan: -> It (js) hu:rt so bad Hyla I wz cry::ing,=
 7 Hyl: =Yhher khhiddi[:ng.]

Here the prior and subsequent pitch trajectories are both relatively level, but there is again substantial continuity of pitch across both boundaries. The slight downturn and break at the initial boundary is attributable to the glottal closure on the “d” of “bad” and the unvoiced “h” at the onset of “Hyla.” Moreover, while the talk before and after the pivot is delivered at distinct pitch levels – the pre-pivot talk is substantially higher than the post-pivot talk – the pitch shift occurs within the pivot rather than at or prior to either of its boundaries, in this case during the address term’s first syllable.

This recurrent pitch pattern may be understood as the intonational correlate of what was previously analyzed on mainly syntactic grounds. The address term operates as a pivot not only between syntactic units, but also between intonation or tone units (e.g., du Bois et al., 1993; Reed, 2010), with its onset prosodically associated with the prior unit and its offset associated with the subsequent unit. The analytically distinct syntactic and intonational dimensions are, in practice, mutually reinforcing in the constitution of the address term’s pivotal character – that is, its intelligibility as simultaneously “belonging to” two otherwise-distinct turn constructional units.

6. Pivotal address terms and the suppression of terminal prosody

Given the general absence of disjunctive prosody at or prior to address-pivotal boundaries, the question arises as to whether this absence is an independent product of speakers working to circumvent an incipient transition space and thereby retain the floor, or whether the pivot itself is somehow implicated in the maintenance of continuative prosody.

Evidence for the latter stems from the contrasting intonational patterns characteristic of TCUs bridged by pivotal address terms (documented in the previous section) versus those achieved by rush-throughs and abrupt-joins. Both rush-throughs and abrupt-joins generally contain a pitch contour prior to the rushed/abrupt juncture (Local and Walker, 2004; Schegloff, 1987a,b; Walker, 2010). In those cases, even when speakers are otherwise working to compress the transition space and circumvent turn transfer (e.g., by speeding up prior to the juncture, continuing to vocalize across the juncture, eliding the onset of subsequent talk, etc.), they nonetheless persist in producing the type of pitch movement characteristic of TCU completion. TCUs bridged by pivotal address terms, in contrast (much like turn constructional pivots generally; see

Walker, 2007), tend to maintain a seamless pitch trajectory across the syntactic junctures. As the preceding analysis demonstrates, even when prior and subsequent talk is delivered at highly distinct pitch levels, disjunctive pitch movement is localized within the pivot rather than at its boundaries.

Given these patterns, how might address terms facilitate the suppression of terminal intonation boundaries? Consider that disjunctive intonation is a highly routinized and habituated correlate of syntactic completion, so much so that (as noted earlier) speakers recurrently produce such pitch movement even when otherwise acting to compress the transition space and extend the turn. Given this, address terms may aid speakers in breaking the disjunctive-intonation habit precisely because their Janus-faced character – simultaneously turn-final and turn-initial – alters the experience of speech delivery. Since they can be understood as integral to the prior unit, it may be easier for speakers to maintain continuative intonation when another bit of talk within that same unit is about to follow. By extension, the same logic would apply to the suppression of other prosodic harbingers of impending completion (e.g., diminished tempo and amplitude), as well as their suppression at the end of the address term itself. Since the address term may also be understood as launching a subsequent unit, that understanding may make it easier for speakers maintain continuative prosody on the address term in the service of progressing the unit that the address term has ostensibly launched.

This argument is speculative, but it is consistent with the distinct prosodic features associated with pivots (Walker, 2007) versus rush-throughs and abrupt joins (Local and Walker, 2004; Schegloff, 1987a,b; Walker, 2010). More generally, it accounts for a much more pervasive regularity in turn construction, namely the fact that TCUs with multiple syntactic completion points are recurrently delivered with terminal intonation restricted to only the final syntactic completion (Ford and Thompson, 1996).

7. Address-term-pivotal turn extensions in support of vulnerable claims

Given that address terms can enable turn extensions beyond a projected or incipient transition space, what do those extensions themselves accomplish? When further talk is achieved in this way, with effort expended to circumvent turn transition, it suggests the possibility that the speaker is distinctly motivated to continue, and that the continuation has a particular significance or import for them.

Although varying tasks can be pursued through address-pivotal turn extensions, most entail some form of elaboration on the action being implemented in the prior unit of talk. Address pivotal turn extensions thus tend to expand whatever action/sequence was in progress rather than launching a new sequential trajectory. Moreover, the most frequent type of elaboration involves supporting a prior claim. The claim may be factual or evaluative and offered in the service of a variety of context-specific action-types (e.g., compliments, complaints, accounts, etc.), but in each case it is treated as contentious or arguable and is bolstered by what follows. This pattern of turn construction – [claim + address term + supportive elaboration] – is readily apparent from a cursory inspection of an array of address-pivotal utterances, presented here in a slightly simplified tabular form so as to highlight the pattern (Table 3).

Examining these utterances in context sheds light on what the initial claims are doing, how they are vulnerable, and how the elaboration addresses those vulnerabilities.

One straightforward example is the first in the table and the case with which this paper began, a compliment produced to counter a prior self-deprecation. The exchange begins when Jenny comments, rather loudly and self-critically, on her recent weight gain to ten stone (140 lbs.) (lines 1–2). Ann disagrees (line 4), or at least she tries to. Just after she projects that a disagreement is in the works (“well now. . .”), she is interdicted by Jenny’s more emphatic repeat of the key fact of her current weight (line 5).

Table 3
Address terms and supportive elaborations.

Datum	Initial claim	Address term	Supportive elaboration
Rahman:A:2:JSA(9) NB II.4.R	Y’don’t <u>look</u> it I have <u>goT.hh</u> to get.h .hhh a couple of things tuh <u>wear</u>	Jen Emma	ah must be <u>honest</u> . I (.) <u>jus</u> ’don’t have enough clothes tuh: (.) t’ <u>go</u> duh <u>work</u> in.
Rahman:A:2:JSA(9) NB 1.6.R NB II.4.R HG II	<u>My</u> : fahm’ly’s the same Well <u>that</u> ’s not therapeutic People should be nice tih you It just hurt so bad	Jenny Lottie Emma Hyla	in fahct I <u>sometimes</u> find out nearly a week <u>later</u> . really it says on the (0.3) <u>thi</u> :ng. . . yer a: thoroughly nice <u>person</u> tuh be <u>nice TO</u> :. I was cry:::ing,
Rahman 001 Heritage IV:2:4 MDE:MTRAC:60-1:3	<u>Ah</u> dunno what <u>time</u> it was I <u>agree</u> with you ’hhh Ah that’s <u>so</u> nice’v you tih <u>call</u>	Jenny Edgert’n Tony	ah <u>cahn</u> ’t remembuh really, I think y’v gotta verry good point theh I <u>appreciate</u> it

- (25) [Rahman:A:2:JSA(9)]
- 1 Jen: Qh: e-ye- ey list'n l:'m d < l went on the scale
 2 yestee l'm ten stone now,
 3 (0.5)
- 4 Ann: Well now y[ou don't look it]
 5 Jen: [T e n s t o :]ne:.
 6 Ann: -> Y'don't look it Jen ah must be honest.
 7 Jen: Ah well ah mean t'say when you consider thet I should be
 8 what izzit ei:ght'n a hahlf.=

In general, compliments are vulnerable to being heard as face-saving niceties and hence less than fully sincere, particularly when the compliment is done in response to a prior self-deprecation rather than offered or volunteered. In this case the compliment's hypothetical vulnerability to doubt and disagreement becomes real and palpable at line 5 when Jenny emphatically reiterates the magnitude of her weight. Thus, when Ann offers her compliment a second time (line 6) she adds an address term, which serves as a bridge to further through-produced talk geared to support her compliment via an explicit avowal of sincerity: "I must be honest."

This case exemplifies the most prevalent pattern in address-pivotal elaborations, where the elaboration is designed so as to shore up a prior vulnerable claim. It also illustrates several recurrent bases for vulnerability, which may include that the claim (1) runs contrary to a previously expressed claim or assumption, (2) is counterintuitive, extreme, or hyperbolic, or (3) has face-saving or relational implications, and is thus vulnerable to the inference that the speaker is "just saying that" for the secondary payoffs of self-presentation or social harmony. The issue of secondary payoffs may be particularly problematic when (4) the claim is sequence-responsive rather than sequence-initiating, and thus hearable as "coerced by the prior action" rather than "offered on the speaker's own volition" (Raymond and Heritage, 2006). Following claims having one or more of these conditions, address-pivotal elaborations are geared to countering anticipated disbelief and forestalling potential disagreement.

The next case involves a claim functioning as an account for rejecting an invitation, with clear face-saving and relational payoffs. Emma has informed Ann of her recent toenail surgery, and after receiving a sympathetic response (line 1), Emma then invites Ann over for a visit (line 3). In response Ann sidesteps and in effect rejects the invitation by means of a well-prefaced counter-invitation to go shopping (beginning at line 4). Notice that she portrays her counter-invitation as having been already "in mind" prior to making the call ("Well I was gonna call and ask you...").

- (26) [NB II.4.R: 1]
 ((Emma has just reported her recent toenail surgery to Annie.))
- 1 Ann: [e-Qh:]: l:'m sorr[y E:m]ma:h,hh
 2 Emm: [A^H:.]
 3 Emm: ((cutesy)) dI AM TOO WHYNCHE COME'N SEE m[e.
 4 Ann: [h,h-hh-hh W'I l
 5 wz gunnuh call en a:sk you'f you (.) Buh wz playing golf
 6 th's aft'noon 'f you wandih go over tuh Ro:bins'ns wth
 7 me.=I've got to uh .hhh I have goT.h^h t[o g e]t.h .hhh
 8 Emm: [A^h ha]
 9 Ann: -> a couple of things tuh wear Emma I (.) jus'don't have
 10 enough clothes tuh: (.) t'go duh work in.
 11 Emm: Mm m[:. [(0.3)]
 12 Ann: [t.hhh at a:ll.[.hhhh] Ken yih wa:LK?hh
 13 (0.3)
 14 Ann: °W'd be too ha:rd for yu[h?°]

Ann's counter-invitation – to go shopping – offers a sociable alternative to Emma's original invitation in lieu of a flat rejection, but it is not very well fitted to Emma's current condition as a post-operative patient who had previously reported that she's lying on the couch with her foot bandaged. Ann's subsequent talk (lines 7–10) deals with the inappropriateness and insensitivity of her counter-invitation, and the rejection it implicates, by providing an account. The turn space for this account, which unfolds in two parts, is secured through two successive turn extensions, each methodically designed to pre-empt any change in speakership.

The first turn extension is achieved by means of a slightly rushed transition from the shopping invitation to the first part of the account (line 7) (Schegloff, 1987a,b; see also Local and Walker, 2004). Ann's counter-invitation has a terminal

(falling) pitch contour, but the transition to the next unit of talk is hearably compressed. Not only is there no measurable silence or audible aspiration, but also absent is the tiny “beat” of silence that typically separates successive units of talk. The vowel sound that ends the invitation blends seamlessly into the vowel sound that begins the account. In this first part of her account, Ann claims a pressing need for new clothes.

This initial account, while designed to justify both the counter-invitation and the rejection it implicates, is vulnerable for a variety of reasons. First is the fact, common to rejection accounts, that the circumstance being invoked was not previously mentioned or volunteered; it emerged only in response to Emma's original invitation. Thus, despite Ann's attempt to construct an intentional history that reaches backward in time (e.g., “I was gonna call and ask you...”), her account remains vulnerable to being seen as an on-the-spot fabrication to avoid having to pay a visit. Beyond this generic vulnerability are further weaknesses specific to this particular rejection account, grounded in the claimed need for new clothes. How pressing in this? Does shopping necessarily preclude a visit to a sick friend? Couldn't she do both?

This vulnerability is not merely an analytic construct or theoretical possibility; Ann herself displays some awareness of her account's weakness via the self-repair she executes upon launching it (line 7). She aborts and restarts her account in a way that intensifies the sense of necessity. The revised version is lexically almost identical to the original but differs in articulation and prosody, with the contracted “I've” unpacked to “I have,” and marked stress added to “got”. Both changes operate on the verb phrase conveying a sense of the imperative, and thus work to upgrade the claimed necessity of her need for clothes.

Correspondingly, to shore up this transparently vulnerable account, Ann proceeds to elaborate on it (line 9). As in the previous cases, she secures the turn space for this by means of a pivotal address term, which serves as a bridge to a subsequent through-produced unit of talk that supports and bolsters her claim. It does so by providing a further explanation as to why the clothes are needed, indicating that the need is not casual or frivolous but essential for work.

The final case involves a claim functioning as a complaint regarding the relaying of personal messages. Jenny reports (lines 1–2) that her son Matthew told her about a friend having come around to the house when she was away. The initial formulation (“Matthew's just telling me”) implies that the message was late in coming, and is followed by a somewhat more explicit complaint (“this is how I get messages”). In response, Ann issues a parallel complaint (lines 3–5) regarding her own family's tardiness.

- (27) [Rahman:A:2:JSA(9)]
- 1 Jen: =[Oh: Mahthew's jis telling me thet Sus'n's been round. Uh
 2 this's how I get messag(h)es(h)[yih know[hhuh!
- 3 Ann: [()]-[My: fam'ly's the
 4 -> same Jenny in fact I sometimes find out nearly a week
 5 late[r. ()]
- 6 Jen: [hhh It's- .hh an' people don't believe yih yih know
 7 [when yih say well I'm sorry they didn'pahss the message on=
 8 Ann: [No:
 9 Jen: =they think thet it's jist thet you haven't bothered
 10 phoning [ba:ck
 11 Ann: [Yes.
- 12 Ann: W'l'v course this is the awful thing with- (June Jacks'n)
 13 bec'z she really doesn't believe [me
 14 Jen: [Yeh I know that [yes,

Any such claim about not getting messages promptly could in principle be received skeptically in light of its secondary payoffs. And in this case Ann's claim is responsive rather than volunteered, and lacks any additional detail, making it vulnerable to the inference that she only said this because Jenny did, perhaps to show empathy or solidarity, or perhaps to take the spotlight from her. Ann appears to register the vulnerability of her responsive and as-yet insubstantial complaint when she prefaces her elaboration with “in fact,” thereby treating the claim in progress as contrary to expectations and perhaps worthy of doubt (cf., Clift, 2001; Edwards, 2006). And here again, the initial claim is capped off with an address term, which bridges a second unit of talk that bolsters the first by adding substance and weight to the complaint being advanced.

The vulnerability of the delayed-message claim is subsequently thematized in this episode, although for its use not as a complaint to a third party but rather as a defensive account to message authors themselves. Jenny comments (lines 6–10) that “people don't believe you when you say well I'm sorry they didn't pass the message on.” And Ann agrees (lines 8, 11–13), eventually citing a specific instance of being doubted in this way. So the notion that a claim of this sort may be vulnerable, received skeptically because of its secondary payoffs, is not just a theoretical possibility; it is lived

reality, and an accountable one at that, for interactants themselves. And it is this kind of vulnerability that pivotal address terms, and the subsequent talk that they facilitate, are designed to deal with.⁴

8. Discussion

The analysis of address terms as turn organizational objects supplements our understanding of turn taking as a formal organization of interaction by specifying a recurrent practice by which speakers can initiate, continue, and relinquish their turns at talk. It also underscores the contingent and interactive realization of turns as they emerge incrementally in real time.

This paper has focused on turn continuation at grammatical completion points, and in particular the use of address terms as a resource whereby speakers can circumvent incipient transition relevance and thereby secure further talk. Address terms can function as turn constructional pivots by virtue of a certain Janus-faced quality deriving from their recurrent use in both turn-initial and turn-final positions. Since they can be heard as integral to both the preceding and subsequent talk, simultaneously completing the prior unit and launching the next, they bridge otherwise discrete grammatical units into a single coherent unit of talk. They are also intonationally seamless with prior and subsequent talk in a manner consistent with other turn constructional pivots, and are thus delivered as a single continuous through-produced utterance.

While address terms function as pivots at the level of turn construction, in most cases the action being delivered retains substantial continuity across the turn in its entirety. The turn extensions that are achieved in this way tend to elaborate on the action in progress rather than launch a new sequential trajectory, and they are frequently geared to the task of supporting vulnerable claims.

This analysis focuses on the role of address terms in facilitating turn extension. It says nothing about whether, or how, such address terms may themselves contribute to the substance of the actions in which they are embedded. Since there are other methods of accomplishing turn extension in environments of transition relevance (including rush-throughs and abrupt-joins), to do so via an address term represents a selection from among alternatives, raising the possibility that this particular method is specialized for the particular action of supporting vulnerable claims. A convergent pattern of use has been documented in broadcast news interviews (Clayman, 2010), where lengthy turns and the sparseness of transition relevance exposes the action-substantive dimension of address terms more prominently. In that context, address terms are associated with vulnerable claims and appear to function as a resource for the presentation of such claims as genuine, sincere, or “from the heart.” This action-substantive function for address terms would explain why, in a similar action environment within ordinary conversation, interactants select address terms over other turn-extensional methods. The conversational address terms examined here thus appear to serve a dual function in the environment of vulnerable claims, both securing further supportive talk while at the same time presenting the talk in progress as “sincere” and “heartfelt.”

Finally, just as address terms can function as modular pivots by virtue of their syntactically optional and sequentially Janus-faced character, other lexical constructions with such properties can be deployed in a similar way, that is as resources for pivoting past an incipient transition space and securing further talk. These include interrogative formulations

⁴ Although address-pivotal turn extensions frequently involve supportive elaborations, they can also pursue other courses of action, including talk that modifies the action in progress and redirects the sequential trajectory. For instance, here an expressed desire to see the recipient socially (“Gee I’d love to see you Ron” in line 7), which might have engendered the making of arrangements of some sort, is quickly followed with an address term and a question (“you look the same?”) that suppresses the previous trajectory in favor of talk about how the recipient, and subsequently the speaker, are looking these days.

[Marsha 60 1/1]

- 1 RON: I mean Shaw: tuh me goes in th-same league ez Freu:d
 2 Darwin en:dah: hh (0.2) well yihknow, the rest of it.
 3 (0.4)
 4 MAR: ptlk hh Gee I r- I wish that were so. It may be:
 5 Be:cuss I think- (0.4) Wa:l. (.) Will aftuh talk
 6 about it some time u-
 7 gee I'd love tuh see yuh Ron you look the sa:me?
 8 Yih still thi:n:
 9 (0.5)
 10 RON: t Oh: yes.
 11 MAR: Me too. hha hahh hh I look just the same exac'ly ez
 12 a matter a' fa:ct,
 13 (0.2)
 14 RON: Ye- Well you have ez much hair ez y'always did though.

Instances of this sort, although possible with address terms, are exceedingly rare. They are, by contrast, recurrent with other turn extensional methods, most notably abrupt-joins (Local and Walker, 2004).

(e.g., “Oh it's warm don'tcha think it is?”), quotatives (e.g., “He made a home run the other night Barbara said she was really depressed. . .”), and the ubiquitous phrase you know (e.g., “we were there in June you know Bud played golf”) (Clayman, 2012). These formulations are syntactically pivotal in the same manner as address terms; whether they are also prosodically pivotal remains to be determined. More generally, although modular pivots are more broadly usable than the context-specific pivots featured in previous research, each pivotal formulation may nonetheless be specialized for environments of action and activity that remain to be specified.

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