CHAPTER FOUR

CLICKS AND SEQUENCE MANAGEMENT

4.1 Introduction

One of the key findings in the previous chapter was that clicks are commonly produced in the juncture between the two units which comprise multi-unit, multi-action first closing turns, as in `yep (0.2) [⊙] o:k ay then`. In this location, clicks were found (along with a constellation of other phonetic events such as increases in pitch and loudness) to index that the talk following their production comprises not only a separate unit of talk but also a new and disjunctive sequence; that of call closure. Since these clicks were commonly and systematically produced between the closing down of one sequence and the initiation of another, it was hypothesised that in English talk-in-interaction, clicks may engage in sequence management, functioning to index and demarcate new and disjunctive sequences of talk. The purpose of this chapter is to examine this hypothesis.

To investigate the hypothesis that clicks can index new and disjunctive sequences of talk, an analysis is required which begins from linguistic form rather than interactional function: namely, from clicks. This is because, unlike in the F1 turns in which the clicks are always produced in the initiation of the new action/sequence of call closure, the number of different sequences which clicks can initiate in talk-in-interaction is potentially infinite. Thus rather than searching for sameness in sequence or action, as was done for the F1 turns in chapter 3, the analysis in this chapter began by searching for all occurrences of clicks. Once these had been identified, further investigations could then be undertaken so as to establish whether the clicks were situated in new and disjunctive sequence boundaries. This chapter therefore exemplifies an analysis which begins from linguistic form rather than interactional function (the latter of which was the case in the preceding chapter), and then seeks to map form to function.

Detailed investigations of the data revealed a plenitude of turns and environments in which interactants do indeed initiate their new and disjunctive sequences of talk with an audible click. Importantly, these environments are not confined to call-closing implicative situations, in which the click prefaces a move from some on-topic talk into the closing section of the call (as was the case in the F1 turns in chapter 3). Instead, the clicks initiate various different types of new and disjunctive sequences such as requests, making arrangements, doing informings and offers of call closure (which may or may not engender the termination of the call). Moreover, these different types of click-initiated new sequences are produced at various structural locations in the calls, ranging from the opening sequences through to the closing sections. The clicks found in the F1 turns in chapter 3 thus comprise a subset of these *new sequence indexing* clicks, henceforth NSI clicks.

An initial insight into the placement of the NSI clicks is provided in fragment 1. Observe in 1 that the opening stretch of this fragment concerns Lesley's figurative assessment of the life of a recently deceased man: `so he had a good innings didn't he` (L1). As is typical after such sequence-closing figurative expressions, the recipient (Mum) subsequently provides her agreement of the figurative assessment (with `I should say so yes` (L2)), and then proffers a sequence-closing assessment (`marvellous` (L4)). This format of figurative assessment and agreement/assessment has previously been identified as being a typical way in which large sequences of talk are brought to a close (Drew & Holt 1988, 1995, 1998). After Mum's assessment (L4), Lesley then initiates her following turn with an audible alveolar click, takes an inbreath and then produces a topically disjunctive shift in sequence concerning a telling of her previous activities: `anyway we had a very good evening on Saturday` (L5).

Fragment 1: Holt.1.8/Saturday/

```
01:    Les:   so he had a good inni:ngs did[n't he
02:    Mum:                                [I should say so: yes
03:           (0.2)
04:    Mum:   marvellous
05: → Les:    [!]..hhh anyway we had a very good evening o:n saturday
06:           (0.2)
07:    Mum:   Ye:s
```

This chapter investigates such (NSI) clicks and their sequential environments and is organised as follows. First, the details of the study are outlined (4.1.1). Next, the phonetic properties of the NSI clicks in the collection are presented (4.2). This is

followed by an investigation of the sequential properties of the NSI click environments (4.3). After, the participant orientations to the NSI function of clicks are explored (4.4) and the phonetic characteristics of the environments in which NSI turns are produced are detailed (4.5). Finally, a summary of the study is given (4.6).

4.1.1 Outline of Study

The purpose of this study is to investigate the hypothesis that in English talk-in-interaction, clicks may engage in sequence management, functioning to index and demarcate new and disjunctive sequences of talk. This hypothesis arose out of the finding in chapter 3 that clicks are routinely produced in sequence boundaries in multi-unit, multi-action first closing turns in the closing sections of a call. The aims of the study in this chapter are therefore: (1) to identify whether clicks are indeed produced as markers of new sequences in English talk-in-interaction; and (2) to explore the phonetic and interactional environments in which these NSI clicks may occur. To the best of the author's knowledge, this is the first empirical analysis of the phonetic and interactional properties of clicks in naturally-occurring English talk-in-interaction.[1]

In total, 117 instances of clicks initiating new and disjunctive sequences of talk were identified through multiple listenings to the data. These click-initiated new sequences and their sequential environments were each extracted using PRAAT and placed into separate AIFF files. Detailed sequential, impressionistic and instrumental investigations were then conducted following the approaches outlined in chapter 2.

The 117 NSI click turns identified were produced by 20 different speakers comprising seven men and thirteen women with a variety of ages and non-standard accents. Note that 72 of these click-initiated new sequences were produced by one speaker, Lesley, arguably due to the fact that, as noted in chapter 3, she spent the most time on the phone in the corpora examined; the remaining 45 NSI clicks were produced by the other 19 speakers. That so many different speakers preface their new sequences of talk with

[1] In his study of non-lexical sounds in American English, Ward (forthcoming: 22f) comments on the use of clicks in conversation and notes that they can occur near changes in topic. Rather than regarding these clicks as having an interactional function, however, Ward instead claims that they have a paralinguistic function, indicating speaker dissatisfaction. He therefore argues that their production near to changes in topic indexes 'dissatisfaction with the current topic, or the lack of one'. Thus his claims are markedly different from those in this thesis in which it is argued that clicks engage in sequence management.

clicks serves to refute the suggestion that these clicks are an idiosyncratic feature of one person's speech. Moreover, that these speakers represent a variety of sociolinguistic attributes serves to strengthen the argument that these NSI clicks are not sociolinguistically determined. Instead, they appear to be a resource which parties-to-talk can use to signal the interactional structure of their talk, regardless of their age, sex, accent or other such social characteristics.

The next section (4.2) will examine the phonetic properties of the 117 NSI clicks in the collection.

4.2 Phonetic Properties of Clicks in Collection

All the clicks in the NSI collection are produced with an *ingressive* airflow which is typically velarically initiated. The production of the velarically initiated clicks can most easily be described in terms of four phases (following and adapted from Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996: 246-7)[2]: (1) the tongue tip/blade is raised (or the lips are closed) to form a front closure and the back of the tongue is raised to form a velar closure on the soft palate; (2) while both the anterior and the velar closure are maintained, the body of the tongue moves down, decreasing the pressure of the air in the front part of the mouth; (3) the front of the tongue moves down, releasing the forward closure so that air rushes into the mouth to equalize the air pressure, producing a sharp transient; (4) the velar closure formed by the back of the tongue is released (see Stevens 1998: 121-124 for details on the acoustic properties of clicks). In short, then, the velarically-initiated clicks are produced by a complete closure being made in two places in the vocal tract and the enclosed cavity in the vocal tract being expanded to create a partial vacuum after which the anterior constriction is rapidly released, resulting in the click sound (Ladefoged & Traill 1994).

In velarically-initiated clicks, the posterior closure is always located at the soft palate. Moreover, it is always voiceless and never occurs with nasality (see Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996 and Ladefoged & Traill 1994 for a discussion of all the varieties of posterior closures found in the African languages which use clicks in a lexically

[2] These phases are based on x-rays taken of a !Xóõ speaker, which are published in Traill (1985).

contrastive way). The release of the posterior closure (as with the anterior closure, see Gimson 1970: 34) can occur either with or without a portion of affrication. Figure 4.1 provides a wave form and spectrogram of a bilabial click ([ʘ]) in which the posterior velar closure is released with affrication ([k^h]). This affrication can be seen on the wave form and the spectrogram as high energy noise following the release of the velar closure. In comparison, figure 4.2 beneath provides a wave form and a spectrogram of a bilabial click in which the voiceless velar accompaniment is released without affrication. Note the lack of noise after the release burst of the velar closure.

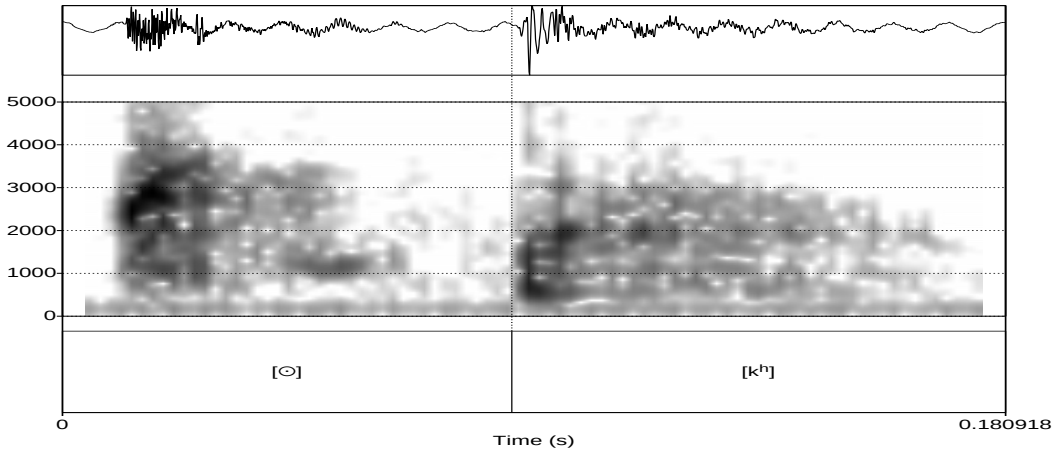

Figure 4.1: Wave form and spectrogram to show affricated release of voiceless velar closure (taken from Holt.SO.88.2.4/drop/)

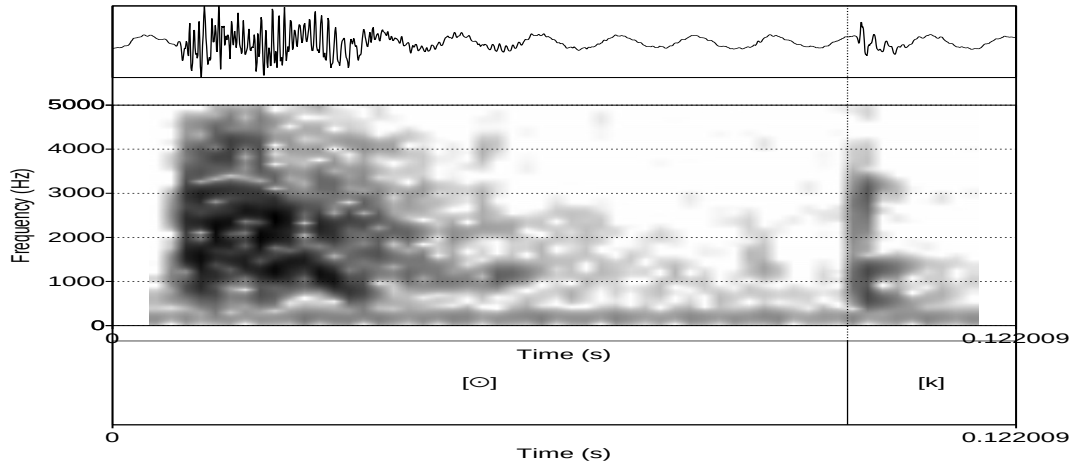

Figure 4.2: Wave form and spectrogram to show non-affricated release of voiceless velar closure (taken from SO.88.(II).2.2/useful/)

Although most of the clicks in the NSI click collection are velarically initiated, there are some which are not and which instead have just one anterior closure (without the posterior closure at the velum). These non-velarically initiated 'clicks' are, therefore,

not technically clicks according to the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) definition, as the IPA (1999) maintains that clicks have both an anterior *and* posterior closure (as together these closures create a rarefaction of the air when the front closure is released). However, although they do not have a posterior closure, the non-velarically initiated clicks share a number of similar properties to the canonical clicks: they are produced using an ingressive airflow mechanism; they have a complete occlusion of the vocal tract further forward than the velum; they are voiceless, without nasalisation and, importantly, they distribute at the same location in the interactional organisation of the talk – namely, in sequence boundaries. The noise in these clicks is typically made by either the lips or the tongue and alveolar ridge being quickly snapped apart, resulting in a percussive (Pike 1943). That some 'clicks' are not produced with a velar closure appears not to influence their sequential distribution in talk-in-interaction. Thus both velarically-initiated and non-velarically initiated clicks comprise the NSI click collection in this study, as they appear to be in system with each other in new sequence initiations. The term click will be used throughout to refer to both types of sound. (Note, however, that all the clicks discussed in the data fragments in this chapter are velarically initiated in order to avoid possible controversies with the material presented on the grounds that the clicks do not accord with the IPA definition).

The clicks which have no velar closure are not acoustically and auditorily salient, as there is no enclosure and rarefaction of air in the vocal tract which is released. In comparison, the velarically initiated clicks are all produced with a high amplitude, relative to the surrounding talk. For this reason they are typically acoustically and auditorily salient. Observe in figure 4.3, for example, that the amplitude of the lateral click is fairly high, relative to the amplitude of the following talk. This can be seen by the line of the intensity trace, by the disturbance in the wave form and by the darkness in the spectrogram. High amplitudes and sharp onsets followed by a long sustained stimulation, as is the case with the click in figure 4.3, are typical properties of lateral clicks (Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996: 258).

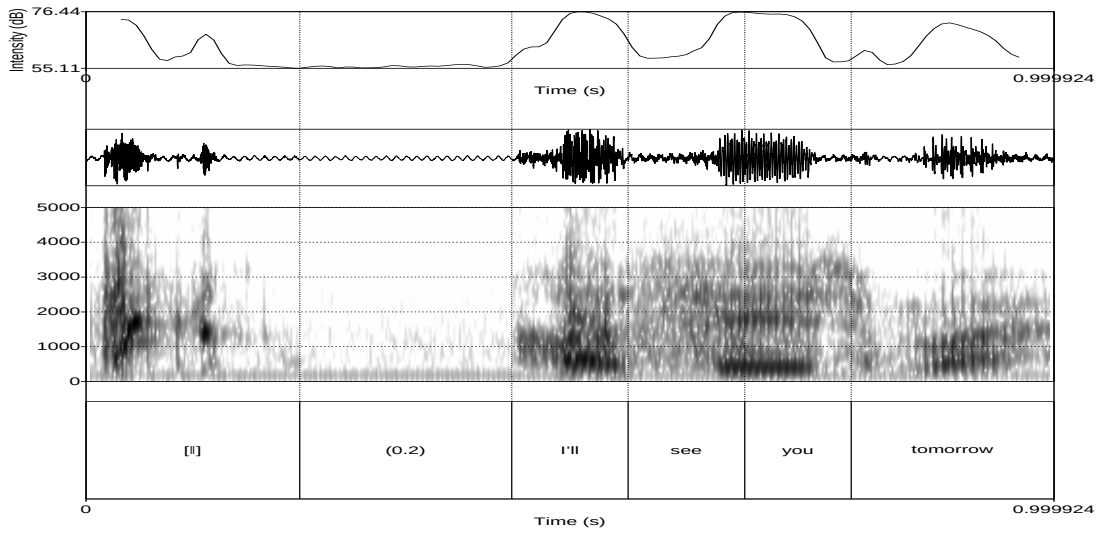

Figure 4.3: Intensity trace, wave form and spectrogram to show high amplitude of click relative to following talk (taken from Holt.U.88.1.9/bye/)

The anterior closures in the NSI click collection can occur at several different locations: the lips ([ʘ]), the teeth and lips ([ǀ̪]), the alveolar ridge ([!]), the hard palate ([ǂ]) and the alveolar ridge with laterality ([ǁ]). These anterior closures, with the exception of those which occur at the lips, are typically produced using the tongue blade. For the sake of simplicity, most of the clicks will be described according to the location of the release of the anterior closure, with most other details will be omitted. Thus if, for example, the anterior closure occurs with alveolarity, then the click will be regarded as being an alveolar click.

There are some occasions in the data set, in which speakers produce a bilabial percussive (Pike 1943; see also Ball 1999) before producing an alveolar click. That is, two click type sounds can be heard in very close proximity: an initial bilabial (without velar closure) and a following alveolar (with velar closure). These stretches have been transcribed as ʘ‿! whereby the initial bilabial click symbol is used to denote the bilabial percussive (which occurs as a result of the speaker opening their mouth), and the following alveolar click symbol to denote the alveolar click (with velar closure). More research is needed in order to establish whether these types of clicks function differently to the velarically and non-velarically initiated clicks which do not have initial percussives.

The most frequently occurring NSI clicks in the data set are bilabial clicks. These clicks typically have a higher amplitude than the other clicks (except lateral clicks) and are fairly easy to identify both auditorily and acoustically. Figure 4.2, repeated below, provides a wave form and a spectrogram of a bilabial click. Observe how the energy is spread diffusely at all frequencies across the release of the bilabial closure. This is typical of the release bursts of labial stops (Stevens 1998: 340-354).

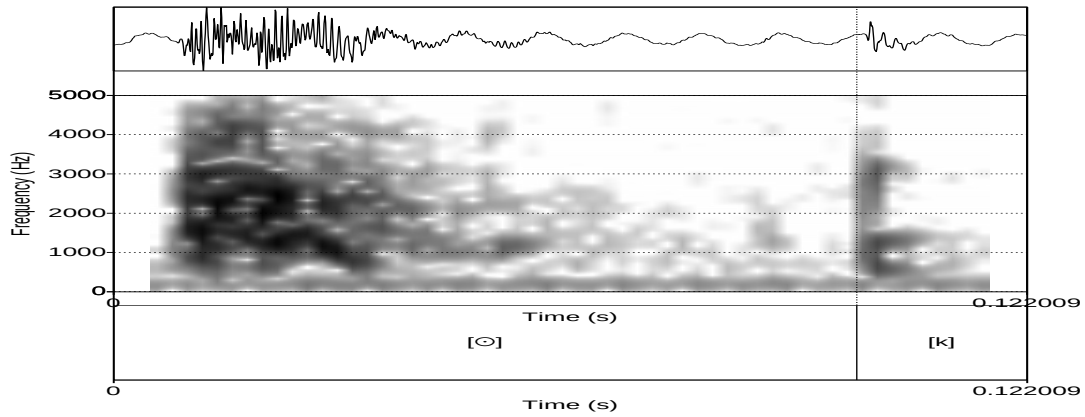

Figure 4.2: (repeated) to show release burst of bilabial click (taken from SO.88.(II).2.2/useful/)

Alveolar clicks are also frequently produced in the collection although not as often as bilabial clicks. It is often difficult to work out exactly where the 'alveolar' (and other) clicks are produced, as they are sometimes so fronted that they could be dental and at other times are retracted towards the postalveolar region. Moreover, the quality of the recordings in the corpora are sometimes less than ideal, resulting in fine phonetic analysis not always being possible. However, as with the lack of difference between the velarically- and non velarically-initiated clicks, the difference between the exact location of the alveolar (and other) click closures does not appear to influence the sequential distribution of the clicks in the collection. For this reason, most of the clicks which are not bilabial have been transcribed as being alveolar, even though this can vary between dental and postalveolar. The labiodental and lateral clicks are, however, marked in the transcript as such.

In short, the clicks in the NSI collection share a number of phonetic characteristics: they are always ingressive, typically velarically initiated and are produced with a high amplitude, no voicing and no nasalisation; the posterior closures are always produced as voiceless velar plosives, which can be released either with or without affrication; and the anterior closures are typically produced with bilabiality or alveolarity and can also

occur with or without affrication in their release. Both velarically and non-velarically initiated 'clicks' comprise the collection and are referred to as clicks, as both types share phonetic and distributional similarities.

Now that the phonetic properties of the NSI clicks have been documented, the next section (4.3) will describe their sequential environments.

4.3 Sequential Environment of New Sequence Indexing (NSI) Clicks

NSI clicks always initiate the onset of a new and disjunctive sequence of talk. Moreover, they are consistently produced in the boundary between the closing down of one sequence and the subsequent initiation of another. In other words, there are no instances in which a click-initiated new sequence is proffered *interruptively* in the middle of an ongoing sequence (French & Local 1983). Instead, the NSI clicks always preface new sequences of talk after the preceding sequence has been successfully and collaboratively closed down. That the NSI clicks initiate the onset of a new and disjunctive sequence only after the preceding sequence has been successfully brought to a close raises questions regarding how the pre-click sequences are terminated. There are various ways in which the sequences before the NSI click turns are closed down and these are typically dependent on the length and type of the preceding sequence, and its location in the call. In call openings, for example, which routinely have a minimal adjacency pair design, as in *hi Bill—hi Gordy* after the initial opening summons-answer adjacency pair, the click-initiated new sequences (which typically embody the reasons-for-call) are often produced after the completion of the second pair part of the identification sequence (as this completes the opening sequence). However, after more extended sequences of talk, which are generally situated in the middle or towards the closing section of calls, the click-initiated new sequences are typically produced after the preceding sequence has been closed down. Commonly occurring sequence-closing devices include repetitions (Curl et al. 2004), figurative expressions (Drew & Holt 1998) and assessments (Goodwin & Goodwin 1992), the latter of which is evidenced in fragment 2 (see Bodwin's receipting assessment `oh splendid` (L2) and Lesley's subsequent news confirmation/sequence-closing third (`yep` (L3)).

Fragment 2: Holt.C.1985.6/splendid/

```
01:    Les:   so she's comin::g to the f:irst one after Christmas
02:    Bod:   oh: splendid
03: → Les:   yep (0.2) [⊙] okay the[n
04:    Bod:                          [righ[t well I shall ]see you
05:    Les:                               [see you later ]
06:           (.)
07:    Les:   b[ye bye:
08:    Bod:     [bye
```

In this section, some of the typical components which serve to successfully and collaboratively close down the sequences of talk which precede the NSI clicks will be outlined. These components comprise: Minimal Adjacency Pairs in Opening Sequences (4.3.1); Assessments (4.3.2); Figurative Expressions (4.3.3); Sequence-closing Repetitions (4.3.4); and Minimal Final Closing Tokens (4.3.5). The occurrence of 'Prefatory Discontinuity Markers' (Drew & Holt 1998), such as *anyway*, *right* and *okay*, which occur in initial position after the production of the NSI clicks and which function to index that the click-initiated new sequence is different from and disjunctive to the preceding (pre-click) sequence, will also be discussed (4.3.6).

4.3.1 Minimal Adjacency Pairs in Opening Sequences

Call openings are routinely characterised by the occurrence of the same two or three adjacency pair sequences, as schematised in figure 4.4 (Schegloff 1968, 1979b, 1986b, 2002; Sacks 1992a, 1992b; Hopper 1992). Notice in 4.4 that a summons-answer sequence firstly occurs in which the ringing of the phone summons the recipient to answer (Sequence 1). Second, an identification/recognition sequence is conducted in which the participants establish each other's identities (Sequence 2). Then, a greeting sequence may be produced in which the speakers enquire about each other's well being, although this sequence is less common than the summons-answer and identification sequences (Sequence 3). After, the speaker commonly produces a click-initiated new sequence, which introduces their reason-for-call and which may or may not be prefaced with a sequence-closing first unit (Sequence 4) . Note that each of the component parts of the openings have been highlighted in the fragments using the typefaces demonstrated in figure 4.4.

Sequence 1: Summons-Answer Sequence: e.g. *'telephone rings'- hello*

Sequence 2: *Identification/Recognition Sequence*: e.g. *hi Jack-hi Roger*

Sequence 3: ***Greeting Sequence: e.g. how are you-fine***

Sequence 4:→ **(sequence-closing first unit +) click + reason-for-call**

Figure 4.4: Schema of typical sequence composition of call openings which precede NSI click turns

Fragments 3 and 4 provide examples of call openings in which the caller prefaces their reason-for-call with a turn-initial click immediately subsequent to the identification/ recognition sequence. Observe that both of these fragments begin with the 'called's' summons-answer response—hello (Fragment (F)3, L1); hello Cadbury four eight seven two three (F4, L1)—which serves as a second pair part (SPP) to the summons (not shown in either fragment). This is followed by the 'caller's' other-identifying first pair part (FPP)—hi Bill (F3, L2); hello Ken (F4, L2)—which is responded to by the called with an other-identifying recognitional SPP: hi Gordy (F3, L3); hello (F4, L4). Then, after these two initial minimal adjacency pairs, in which the phone is answered and the participants have established each other's identities, the caller produces a loud, turn-initial click, a subsequent particle uhm, and then proffers their reason-for-call (or in the case of fragment 3, a preface to their reason-for-call): are you going tonight (F3, L4); I just phoned to find out about what's happening tonight (F4, L5-6). Note that these reasons for call are ratified by the recipients in their subsequent turn: mm (F3, L6); I haven't got a clue (F4, L9).

Fragment 3: Holt.SO.88.1.2/bath/[3]

```
01:    Bil:   Hello:
02:    Gor:   Hi Bill
03:    Bil:   Hi Gordy
04: →  Gor:   [⊙]uh:m (0.4) are you going tonight
05:           (.)
06:    Bil:   mm
07:    Gor:   .hhh (0.2) would you mind giving me a lif[t
08:                                                    [no that's alright
```

[3] The pseudonym 'Norm' has been changed to 'Bill' in this fragment in order to avoid the potential misinterpretation that Gordon's anterior closure of the bilabial click in L4 was maintained from the closure at the end of his production of Norm in L2.

Fragment 4: Holt.SO.88.1.9/tonight/

```
01:    Ken:   Hello Cadbury four eight seven two three=
02:    Gor:   =hello Ken h
03:           (.)
04:    Ken:   hello[:
05: →  Gor:         [[⊙] .hh uh:m (.) I just phoned to found out about what's
06: →          happening tonight
07:           (0.6)
08:    Gor:   .h[hh
09:    Ken:     [I haven't got a clue
```

Another excerpt of data in which a speaker prefaces their reason-for-call with an audible click after the production of the opening adjacency pair sequences is provided in fragment 5. In this call, Patrick's summons-answer response is unrecorded thus the fragment begins with the caller's (Lesley's) initial greeting and other-identification request: `oh hello is that Patrick` (L1). After Patrick has confirmed his identity (`it is yes` (L3)), Lesley then produces a self-identification (`oh hello this is Lesley` (L4)), which subsequently receives a recognitional greeting from Patrick (`oh hello Lesley` (L6)). Once the participants have established their own and each other's identities, a greeting sequence then ensues (L7-9). This sequence is initiated by Lesley's `how are you` in L7, which, after being responded to by Patrick's `I'm very well thanks` (L8), is brought to a close by Lesley's sequence-closing third (`good` L9) (Davidson 1984; Merritt 1980; Heritage & Greatbatch 1991; Beach 1993, 1995). After a 0.2 second gap (L10) in which neither party takes up the turn (L10), Lesley takes an inbreath, produces `uhm` and a loud click, and then initiates a new sequence which embodies her reason-for-call: `we're coming to Maidstone tomorrow` (L11). This new sequence is attended to by Patrick in his next turn (L12).

Fragment 5: Holt.SO.88.(II).1.7/maidstone/

```
01:    Les:   oh hello (.) is uhm that Patrick h
02:           (0.2)
03:    Pat:   it is ye[s
04:    Les:          [oh hello this is Lesley
05:           (0.6)
06:    Pat:   oh hello Lesley
07:    Les:   hello how are you
08:    Pat:   I'm very well tha:nks
09:    Les:   good
10:           (0.2)
11: →  Les:   .hhh uh:m [o͙] we're coming to Maidstone uh t: hh tomorrow
12:    Pat:   ye:s
```

The final fragment to be examined in this section on the use of clicks in opening sequences is given in fragment 6. In comparison to the above fragments, this fragment has a compressed opening sequence structure, as after Gordon's summons-answer

response (hello L1), the caller, Dana, does not produce either an other, or request for an other, identification. Instead, she displays that she has recognised the voice of the person who has answered the phone (i.e. 'the called') and that he is the person to whom she wishes to speak by initially greeting him (hello L3), and then immediately producing some topical other-directed talk (where have you been all morning (L3)). Gordon responds by producing a multi-unit, multi-action NSI click turn (L4-5). In the first unit, Gordon attends to the first part of Dana's preceding turn (in which she greeted him with a recognitional *hello*) by also producing a recognitional hello (L4). Gordon's *hello* serves to close down the greeting/identification sequence. Then, he attends to the latter part of Dana's turn in which she enquired as to where Gordon had been that morning by producing the following SPP: I've been at a music workshop (L4-5). This SPP is initiated with a new-sequence indexing click which serves to demarcate the change in sequence from the first unit of Gordon's turn, which concerned the greeting/identification sequence, to the second unit concerning his prior whereabouts. That this click is doing disjunctive work even though the next turn is not a FPP (or a first in a sequence) is very interesting, as it shows that NSI clicks are not bound to FPPs (or first items in a sequence). Gordon's SPP is receipted by Dana in third position with the change-of-state token oh (L7) (Heritage 1984b).

Fragment 6: Holt.1988.U.1.4/hello/

```
01:    Gor:   hello:
02:           (0.4)
03:    Dan:   hello where have you been all morning=
04: → Gor:   =.hh hello .h Uh:m (0.5) [⊙]. I've been: (.) at a
05: →        music workshop
06:           (0.8)
07:    Dan:   oh:
```

4.3.2 Assessments

There are many instances across the NSI collection in which the sequences which precede the click-initiated new sequences are closed down by a series of sequence-closing assessments, as in *it's horrible-yes it's awful* (see Ogden (forthcoming) for the phonetics of assessment sequences). This finding therefore supports the claim that assessments are one resource which speakers can deploy to exit from extended sequences of talk (Goodwin & Goodwin 1992; Schegloff 1995b). The typical shape embodied by the sequence-closing assessments is schematised in figure 4.5 (below), which bears striking similarities to the sequence-closing sequence shape proposed by

Schegloff (1995b: 195). Observe in 4.5 that A provides an initial assessment (L1) which, as is typically the preferred response to assessments (Pomerantz 1984), is agreed with by B (L2). Subsequently, as B's assessment displays alignment with A's preceding assessment, the interactants have no more work to do and sequence closure/initiation is a relevant next action. Thus in the following turn, either A or B then produces an NSI click turn in which the click initiates a new and disjunctive sequence of talk (L3), which can be situated either turn-initially, or turn-medially after an initial sequence-closing first unit. This change in sequence is then accepted by the recipient (L4). Note that again the different component parts of the assessing sequence have been highlighted using the same typefaces as in figure 4.5: the assessments are underlined, the second assessments are italicised and the NSI click turns emboldened and initiated with an arrow.

01:	A:	assessment
02:	B:	*agreement with A's assessment/second assessment*
03:→	A/B:	**(sequence-closing first unit +) click + new sequence**
04:	B/A:	acceptance of new sequence initiated in L3

Figure 4.5: Schema of sequence-closing assessments which precede NSI click turns

Fragment 7 provides an episode of interaction between Norm and Lesley in which an extended sequence of talk is closed down by a series of sequence-closing assessments, after which a new and disjunctive sequence is initiated with an audible click. This fragment is taken from a larger sequence which concerns Norm's telling of his use of a dialysis machine, which he now has at home. The fragment begins with Norm informing Lesley of how long it used to take him to go to Bristol to use the hospital's dialysis machine: you leave Wincanton about three o'clock and get back about two in the morning (L1-2). In response, Lesley provides the change-of-state token oh (L3), which is a typical receipt of news-informings and routinely occurs at the end of a possible complete informing (Heritage 1984b: 301). However, rather than terminating his telling, Norm overlaps the final portion of Lesley's *oh* to upgrade his telling by providing Lesley with more detail concerning why it was inconvenient for him to have to use the hospital machine: and work full time on top of that (L4). Lesley receipts Norm's telling with oh dear (L5), which Norm overlaps with the but-prefaced, disjunctive, positive assessment but it's a lot easier now (L6) (note that his assessment refers to the fact that he now has

his own dialysis machine, which was mentioned in the earlier part of the call). Norm's assessment receives the typically preferred response, as Lesley subsequently agrees with it by producing yes I'm sure (L7). Then, after a 0.2 second gap in which neither participant proffers any further topical talk (L8), thus evidencing that the sequence is potentially closed down, Lesley produces the NSI click turn (L9): the initial particle mm attends to and closes down the preceding sequence; after, Lesley produces a click, takes an inbreath and then produces a new sequence of talk: okay well I'll tell Gordon and I'm sure he was going to give you a ring anyway before Sunday (L9-10). Note that the object of Lesley's telling in *I'll tell Gordon* does not refer to the preceding sequence regarding the time taken for Norm to get to Bristol but instead concerns Norm's arrangements with seeing his friend and Lesley's son, Gordon. This change in sequence is accepted and attended to in Norm's next turn, as evidenced by his following production of that's right yeah (L11).

Fragment 7: Holt.SO.88.1.8/tell/

```
01:    Nor:   you leave Wincanton about three o'clock and get back about
02:           two in the morning
03:    Les:   .hhhh oh[:
04:    Nor:          [and work full time on top of that
05:    Les:   oh [dear
06:    Nor:      [but it's a lot easier no:w hh huh
07:    Les:   yes I'm sure
08:           (0.2)
09: →  Les:   hm:[⊙] .hhh okay well I'll tell Gordon and uhm (0.3) I'm sure-
10: →         and he was going to give you a ring anyway .hhh before Sunda:y
11:    Nor:   that's ri:ght yea[h
```

A fragment in which the sequence which precedes the click-prefaced sequence is closed down in a strikingly similar way to that presented in fragment 7 (above), is given in 8 below. This fragment (8) is taken from a call between Lesley and Dana in which Dana has called Lesley to arrange to return her book which she has borrowed. The initial stretch concerns Lesley's informing of how she has mentioned the book in question to a couple of other people who are going away (L1-3). She then produces a positive assessment of the book: it's a handy little book to have isn't it (L3-4). Lesley's assessment receives the typically preferred response from Dana, as Dana subsequently produces an agreeing yet minimal second assessment (yep (L6)), which aligns with Lesley's immediately preceding assessment (Pomerantz 1984). That Dana produces her second assessment with syllable final lip closure (i.e. as *yep* not *yes*) serves to index that she has no further topical talk to proffer (Heritage & Sorjonen 1994; Raymond 2000). Lesley orients to Dana's *yep* as functioning to close down the

preceding sequence, as she subsequently initiates a click-prefaced move to call closure with her production of `right` (L8) and following `okay bye` (L10). This is accepted by Dana, as evidenced by her following production of `bye` (L11). However, call closure does not immediately occur, as Lesley provides further topical talk concerning the previously mentioned book: `if you want to see it again sometime let me know` (L10-12). This talk appears to be oriented to the fact that Lesley's preceding FPP of the terminal exchange (`okay bye` (L10)) was produced in overlap. Thus by reiterating some topical talk, Lesley gets a second chance to produce her FPP of the terminal exchange out of overlap, as does indeed happen in L16. Note that because of Lesley's movement out of call closure in this closing implicative environment this fragment was not included in the F1 collection in the chapter 3.

Fragment 8: Holt.SO.88.(II).1.6/handy/

```
01:    Les:   yes: there's uh- a couple of people have said that uh- (.)
02:           they're going (.) off to places and I have uh .hh mentioned hh
03:           (1.0) that I've got this book it's a handy little book to have
04:           isn't it
05:           (.)
06:    Dan:   yep
07:           (.)
08: → Les:    [⊙] .hh right
09:           (.)
10:    Les:   [okay bye: .hh ] [if ] you want to see it again sometime h let me
11:    Dan:   [(            )] [bye]
12:    Les:   know [hhh
13:    Dan:        [right [okay]
14:    Les:               [.h h]
15:           (0.5)
16:    Les:   bye: [hhh
17:    Dan:        [bye:
```

Three additional fragments in which the stretch before the click-initiated new sequence is closed down with an assessment are given in 9 to 11. In 9, the agreement of the assessment (which also embodies the sequence-closing first unit hence being shown in italic *and* bold typefaces) comprises a stretch of laughter (L5), after which the click-initiated new sequence is produced: `well look uhm` (L5). Fragments 10 and 11 differ slightly in that the recipient of the assessment produces their agreeing second assessment in the juncture between the preceding sequence and the click-initiated new sequence: see Dan's `yes` (F10, L6) and Lesley's `no` (F11, L4). However, in both of these fragments the first assessments (which this time also comprise the sequence-closing first unit hence being underlined and emboldened) do receive a second agreeing assessment from the recipient, albeit later than in other fragments. These fragments (10

and 11) therefore share a similar but compressed design of that schematised in figure 4.5.

Fragment 9: Heritage.I.3/look/

```
01:    Lis:   [no: well it's[just as well for you: [you wouldn't] like
02:    Ile:                 [(yeah)               [hhhhhhhhhhh ]
03:    Lis:   her very much if she did it every
04:           m o(h)r[(h)ning]                [heh
05: →  Ile:          [ e h h ] heh heh heh e-[heh .hhh [!]..well look uh::m (1.0)
06: →         cu- it- tomorrow's Fri:day isn['t it h
07:    Lis:                                  [yep
08:    Ile:   .hh Uh:m: (0.3) no:w u- can you come over in the morning or the
09:           afternoon be[cause
10:    Lis:                [I'll have to consult (Si:r)
```

Fragment 10: Holt.SO.88.1.3/college/

```
01:           I thought I'd (0.3) phone cause we haven't (0.5) exchanged more
02:           than a (.) few words in the past few weeks [hh
03:    Dan:                                              [true it i[s tru:e]
04:    Gor:                                                         [.hhhhhh]=
05: →         =and it's (.) a sha:me hh [⊙] .hhh[hhh]hh how's college going=
06:    Dan:                                  [yes]
07:    Gor:   hhhhh[hh
08:    Dan:        [how do you thin:[k
```

Fragment 11: Holt.2.12/grownup/

```
01:    Joy:   I thought (.) go:sh hasn't he grown up:[p you know]
02:    Les:                                          [Mmhm hm-hm]
03: →  Joy:   □o longer the little bo:y [[!] .hhhh] Anyway what I'm phoning for
04:    Les:                            [n o : :]
05: →  Joy    in the: .h in that envelope the[re's a:: an N.H.R. program:
06:    Les:                                  [yes
07:    Les:   yes it's for anybody who who's not got one
```

4.3.3 Figurative Expressions

Another typical way in which the sequences which precede the click-initiated disjunctive new sequences are closed down is by the use of a figurative expression, such as *so he had a good innings didn't he* in fragment 1 above. This finding therefore aligns with the claim that figurative expressions are one device employed by speakers 'to summarise a topic, and thereby to draw it to conclusion' (Drew & Holt 1998: 503; see also Drew & Holt 1988, 1995). Sequence-closing figurative expressions typically perform the action of assessing but they have a distinct form and have been analysed separately from assessments in the literature; they will therefore be examined separately from assessments in this chapter.

Figure 4.6 provides a schema of the way in which the figurative expressions typically close down the sequences of talk which precede the NSI click turns. Notice in 6 that A firstly produces a figurative expression (L1) which is subsequently agreed with by B (L2). Then, either A or B produce a click-prefaced disjunctive change in sequence which may or may not occur after a sequence-closing first unit (L3). This change in sequence is then accepted by the recipient in their next turn (L4). The different components of the closing sequences engendered by the figurative expressions are highlighted with different typefaces (as illustrated in figure 4.6).

```
01:    A:    figurative expression
02:    B:    agreement with A's figurative expression
03:→   A/B:  (sequence-closing first unit +) click + new sequence
04:    B/A:  acceptance of new sequence initiated in L3
```

Figure 4.6: Schema of sequence-closing figurative expressions which precede NSI click turns

Fragment 1 (repeated and expanded below) contains an example of a figurative expression closing down an extended sequence (L8) before the production of a click and the onset of a new and disjunctive sequence (L13). This fragment is taken from a stretch in which Lesley has been telling her mother (Mum) about a mutual acquaintance, who was 79 years old and still working, that had died suddenly that week. The fragment begins with Lesley's informing of the unusual job that this man had (`he was a buyer for the only horse hair factory left in England` (L1-2)), which Mum receipts with `good gracious` (L3). Then, after Lesley has produced an incremental phrase which restates the deceased man's job (`and he was their buyer` (L5)), which is minimally receipted by Mum (`hm hm` (L7)), Lesley produces a figurative expression which positively assesses the longevity and the completeness of the recently deceased man's life: `so he had a good innings didn't he` (L8). In response, Mum provides a strong agreement using a confirmation and agreement format (`I should say so yes` (L9)), which is a common response to assessments with final tag questions, as was the case in Lesley's preceding turn (Heritage & Raymond ms). Mum then produces an aligning assessment (`marvellous` (L11)), which potentially upgrades Lesley's assessment of *good* (L8) to *marvellous* (L11). Then, after a 0.2 second gap in which neither speaker takes up the turn (thus evidencing that the sequence has potentially been brought to closure), Lesley produces a click, takes a relatively long and loud inbreath and introduces a new and disjunctive sequence which

concerns a news-informing of an event she recently attended: anyway we had a very good evening on Saturday (L13). The new sequence initiated in this NSI click turns is subsequently accepted by Mum with yes (L15).

Fragment 1 (repeated and expanded): Holt.X.C.1.1.1/saturday/

```
01:    Les:   he was a (0.4) a buyer for the ho- (0.3) the only horse hair
02:           factory left in England
03:    Mum:   good (gracious)
04:           (.)
05:    Les:   and he was their buyer
06:           (.)
07:    Mum:   hm:::.hhm:
08:    Les:         [so he had a good inni:ngs did[n't  h e ]
09:    Mum:                                       [I  should] say so: ye:s
10:           (.)
11:    Mum:   marvellous
12:           (0.2)
13: → Les:   [!].hhh anyway we had a very good evening o:n saturda:y
14:           (0.2)
15:    Mum:   yes
```

Note that in their paper on the use of figurative expressions in the management of topic and sequence transitions in talk-in-interaction, Drew & Holt (1998) examine fragment 1 (above) in detail. They argue that the termination of the sequence is apparent *before* Lesley's figurative expression and that her repetition of the deceased man's job (and he was their buyer (L5)) is a failed attempt at closing down the sequence. She therefore 'upgrades' her attempt to close the sequence or, in the words of Drew & Holt (1998: 504), 'tries again with a "stronger" closing move by producing the figurative summary'. These scholars therefore conclude that 'speakers may produce a figurative summary when they fail in an initial attempt at topic closure…' as 'figurative expressions may have greater "power" in drawing topics to a conclusion than other closing techniques such as repetition or (non-figurative) assessments' (ibid; but see Holt & Drew 2005 for the use of figurative expressions in *pivotal* rather than disjunctive topic transitions).

Fragments 12 and 13 provide further examples of click-initiated shifts in sequence which are preceded by a sequence-closing figurative expression. Observe in both fragments that a speaker assesses the previously ongoing sequence with a figurative expression: he's had quite a chequered career really (F12, L7); I think perhaps he took it to heart (F13, L5). After, the recipient of the figurative expression provides their agreement of the assessment undertaken in the expression:

yeah (F12, L11);[4] yeah (F13, L7). Then, after a gap in which neither participant produces any topical talk (F12, L12; F13, L9), either the recipient (see F12) or the producer (see F13) of the figurative expression produces a click-initiated disjunctive shift in sequence—alright well I'll get my husband then to get in touch with you with the address (F12, L13-14); well he said to let you know to drop in any time (F13, L10-11). These disjunctive shifts are subsequently accepted by the recipient: thanks very much (F12, L15); right well I'll pop over then (F13, L14).

Fragment 12: Holt.2.3/address/

```
01:    Les:   is he Jew
02:           (0.4)
03:    Ste:   oh yeah
04:           (0.2)
05:    Ste:   he's had he's a Czechoslovakian Jew [so he's had k-]
06:    Les:                                      [y   e   a   h ]
07:    Ste:   he's had quite a (.) chequered career real[ly
08:    Les:                                            [eh heh
09:    ?:     .hhh
10:    Ste:   [yeah
11:    Les:   [yeah
12:           (0.5)
13: →  Les    [⊙] .hh alri:ght well- I'll get my husband then: to get in touch
14: →         with you with the address
15:    Ste:   thanks very mu:ch
```

Fragment 13: Holt.SO.88.(II).2.4/drop/

```
01:    Dan:   yeah he'd just had his first piece of work ripped apart
02:           [but I think now he's getting used to it an::d .hhh
03:    Les:   [.hhhhhh
04:    Dan:   it's uh [(    )
05:    Les:           [ye:s uhm and I think perhaps uh he took it to heart
06:           (.)
07:    Dan:   [yeah:]
08:    Les:   [.hhh ]
09:           (0.2)
10: →  Les:   uhm: (0.5) [⊙] right well he said to let you know that-
11:           (0.3) to drop in any time [hhh huh huh huh huh
12:    Dan:                             [yeah
13:    Les:   [.hhhhhh
14:    Dan:   [well I'll pop over the[n
```

4.3.4 Sequence-closing Repetitions

An additional practice which is frequently found to achieve the collaborative closing down of the sequence which precedes the NSI click turns is that in which a speaker repeats a stretch of their talk, as in *yeah that's true .hh that's true.* This finding therefore

[4] Lesley produces some laughter in L8 (before her agreeing yeah in L11), which appears to be responsive to Steven's pun (on Czech) in his figurative expression.

supports the claim that one function of self-repetitions in talk-in-interaction is to achieve collaborative sequence closure (Curl et al. 2004). It is important to point out, however, that these sequence-closing repetitions are typically situated after a preceding first assessment or figurative expression and therefore routinely provide it with its preferred agreeing response. In other words, as represented schematically in Figure 4.7, some type of assessment is typically produced by A, which is subsequently agreed with by B with the use of a sequence-closing repetition. A gap then ensues (as indicated by (..)), in which neither participant proffers any topical talk, after which either A or B then initiates a click-prefaced change in sequence. Repetitions therefore comprise one way in which a speaker can align with a sequence-closing assessment or figurative expression. Again, the different sections of the closing sequence which precede the NSI click turns are demarcated using the typefaces shown in the figure.

```
01:    A:     assessment/figurative expression
02:    B:     agreement with A in form of repetition
03:           (..)
04:→   A/B:   click + new sequence
05:    B/A:   acceptance of new sequence in L4
```

Figure 4.7: Schema of sequence-closing repetitions which precede NSI click turns

Fragment 14 provides an extract in which a repetition closes down the sequence which occurs before the NSI click turn. This fragment is taken from a radio phone in show in which Lee has called David and Judy (the presenters) to discuss the current problems with his love life. Observe in 14 that the sequence is moved towards closure with David's figurative assessment of Lee's relationship: `it sounds as if there's thick and thick` (L6). After a 1.2 second gap (L7), Lee (the caller) receipts David's assessment with a sequence-closing repetition: `yeah that's true .hh that is true` (L8). A gap of 0.2 seconds then occurs after which Judy initiates a new and disjunctive sequence with a turn-initial bilabial click: `so the suggestion that perhaps you try and do something differently` (L10-11).

Fragment 14: Pline/suggestion/

```
01:    Lee:   [but surely if you love somebody are you not there [for them
02:    ?:                                                       [.hhh
03     Lee:   through thick and thin
04:    Dav:   I uh interesting your definition of love really
05:           (0.6)
06:    Dav:   uh it sounds as if there's (.) thick and thick
07:           (1.2)
08:    Lee:   yeah that's true .hh that is true
09:           (0.2)
10: → Jud:    [⊙] .hh so the suggestion that- that perhaps you try and do
11: →         something differently I mean you might have a:ll sorts of ideas
12:           as to how you could do it differently but I think .hh that idea
13:           of David's about (.) finding something to try to break the
14:           pattern if you know you are going to keep m- try and keep going
15:           with this relationship of course breaking the pattern might break
16:           the relationship but that's I suppose a risk you take isn't it
17:    Lee:   .hh that is a risk you take but I think it when it comes to a
```

Unlike the repetitions discussed by Curl et al. (2003), the sequence-closing repetitions identified in the NSI collection can be comprised solely of the lexical item *yes* or a variant thereof. These repetitions are therefore not engaged in appraising. A case in point is given in fragment 15. This fragment is taken from the opening sequence of the same call as that in fragment 14. Lee, the caller, begins his call to the radio phone-in problem line by providing some talk which attends to the preceding caller's problems and results in his assessment that he expects this man's deceased wife is now resting in peace (L1-4). In overlap with Lee's subsequent production of the particle `uh` (L4), Judy (one of the two presenters) thanks Lee for his preceding assessment—`thank you for saying that` (L5-6)—and then provides an assessment of his assessment: `that was nice of you to think about him` (L7). Note that as Judy's assessment is not an agreement with Lee's preceding assessment but rather is an assessment of his act of assessing, her turn does not comprise a second pair part to Lee's assessment. Instead, it embodies a first assessment of Lee's act of kindness. Lee attends to Judy's assessment by producing a repetition of *yes* tokens—`yea:h ye:p` (L8)—which comprise a sequence-closing agreement and the first unit of the NSI click turn (hence being italicised and emboldened). Then, after a 0.2 second gap, Lee takes up the turn by producing a loud, turn-initial click and then proffering a new sequence (and his reason-for-call): `anyway my problem is a relationship problem` (L9). This new sequence is accepted by Judy with `mm mm` (L11).

Fragment 15: Pline/relationship/

```
01:    Lee:   when things like that happen you know you can't always have
02:           [the perfect ending but I'm sure that uh .hh his his good lady
03:           [.hhh
04:           wife is very happy and at peace now .hhhh [uh
05:    Jud:                                             [thank you for saying
06:           that and I expect Simon's probably still listening so: that-
07:           that was nice of you to (.) .hh[h to think about him
08: → Lee:                                   [y e a : h   y e : p
09: →         (0.2) [⊙] .hh anywa:y my problem is a rela:tionship problem
10:           (.)
11:    Jud:   [mm mm
12:    Lee:   [uh:m (.) I've been in a relationship for three years now .hh and
```

It is important to point out that although the sequence-closing repetitions typically provide an agreement with a preceding assessment (as in fragments 14 and 15 above), they can also occur as closing components after no such assessment. Fragment 16 provides one such example. Notice that Lesley's sequence-closing repetition of yes yes (L11) is produced in receipt of Kevin's statement that it's at least a year since they have been to Wells (L9-10). Subsequent to her repetition, a 0.3 second gap occurs, in which neither speaker produces any talk concerning the previous topic (L12). Lesley then produces a multi-unit NSI click turn (L13-15): the first unit, comprised of the minimal receipt token hahm, attends to the preceding sequence and functions to close it down and the following click-initiated unit, composed of I just thought I'd give you a ring and see how Janet was … (L13-14), begins a new and disjunctive sequence (note that this new sequence is accepted by Kevin in his following turn (L17)). Observe, however, that although Lesley's repetition of *yes* in L11 is not receipting an immediately preceding assessment, the action which most of the prior sequence concerned was that of assessing; namely the collaborative assessment of the participants' view that the Kent area had recently deteriorated. Thus the argument still holds that in the NSI click collection, sequence-closing repetitions typically receipt a preceding act of assessing.

Fragment 16: Holt.U.88.2.2/janet/

```
01:    Les:   so we were not sorry to k- hhh to uh: leave it h
02:           (0.3)
03:    Kev:   no I I think uhm (0.3) I'm [(.) you know over sorry that uh: I
04:           don't go back [there very often these] days
05:    Les:   no: hhh no:[h
06:    Kev:              [matter of fact I haven't been to Maidstone for a long
07:    Kev:   time
08:    Les:   no[: h
09:    Kev:     [(We:lls) maybe but uh (0.3) .hhh (0.3) well that's at least a
10:           [year now
11:    Les:   [.hhh ye::s: Ye:s hh
12:           (0.3)
```

```
13: → Les:   hah:m (0.2) [!] .hhhh I just thought I'd give you a ring and see
14: →        how Janet was: is she uhm:: h alright now th- the tablets worked
15: →        and so on
16:          (0.5)
17:    Kev:  uh:: (0.6) well we: we didn't hear anythin:g uh: (.) we he-
```

4.3.5 Minimal Final Closing Tokens

There are many NSI click turns which are comprised of (at least) two units: one which functions to close down the preceding sequence of talk and a following click-initiated unit which initiates a new and disjunctive sequence of talk. NSI click turns with first closing units are given in fragments 2, 6-7, 9-11 and 15-16 above, which are repeated in table 4.1 below for ease of reference.

Fragment number	**NSI Click turn**	
	First Unit	**Second Unit**
2	Yep	Okay then
6	hello	I've been at a music workshop
7	hm	Okay well I'll tell Gordon…
9	ehh heh heh heh e-heh ((laughter))	well look uhm tomorrow's Friday isn't it
10	and it's a shame	how's college going
11	No longer the little boy	anyway what I'm phoning for in that envelope there's an NHR program
15	Yeah yep	Anyway my problem is a relationship problem
16	Hahm	I just thought I'd give you a ring and see how Janet was…

Table 4.1: NSI click turns which comprise multi-units

All of the first units produced in the fragments provided in table 4.1 are uttered in sequence-closing implicative environments, such as after the opening sequence of a call (F6), assessments and figurative expressions (fragments 2, 7, 9-11 and 15), and sequence-closing doubles (F16). In the NSI click collection, however, there are also several occasions in which a speaker produces a first closing unit which serves to close down the preceding sequence of talk in environments which do not contain typical sequence-closing components. Moreover, in these turns, the first units are commonly comprised of minimal receipts such as *yes*, *okay* or *mm* although overwhelmingly these receipts are composed of the *yep* variant of *yes*, an item which was also frequently found in the first units of the F1 turns discussed in chapter 3.

Fragments 17-19 provide three episodes of interaction in which a speaker produces an NSI click turn with a minimal first closing unit comprised of *yep*. The sequences before the NSI click turns in each of these fragments concern: an informing of the participant's

visits to Newcastle (F17); a disagreement of the confusion of Lesley's mother (F18); and an informing, resulting in a collaborative completion (F19, L2-3), of the called's problems with their phone (F19). Subsequent to these sequences the speaker initiates their NSI click turn with *yep* (see F17, L6; F18, L13; F19, L5). A gap then ensues, an audible click is produced and the speaker instigates a new sequence: in F17 the new sequence initiates a shift to close with the re-referencing of a planned future arrangement (Button 1987, 1990), and in F18 and F19 it concerns a greeting.[5]

Fragment 17: SO.88.(II).1.7/Newcastle/

```
01:    Pat:   I've been to New[castle once
02:    Les:                  [.hh
03:           (0.7)
04:    Les:   yes
05:           (0.5)
06: → Les:    yep (0.2)[⊙] .hhh okay then Patrick well s::ee you over the
07: →         weekend the[n
08:    Pat:              [you'll ring if you mind I mean if you want to ring
```

Fragment 18: Holt.SO.88.1.11/anyway/

```
01:    Van:   hello Lesle[y
02:    Les:              [hello: sh[e getting confu:sed.h[hhhh
03:    Van:                        [(            )      [pardon
04:    Les:   is she getting confu:se[d h
05:    Van:                          [no:: she's not[getting=
06:    Les:                                         [.hhhh
07:    Van:   =confu[sed
08:    Les:         [ih-she called you V- me Va:nna heh heh he[h eh .h h h h h h
09:    Van:                                                   [No:: she said
10:           would you like to talk to Va:nna=
11:    Les:   =.hh oh well I think she meant the other way round- I th-
12:    Van:   [ah::]
13: → Les:    [yep ](0.2) [!] .hhh anyway how are you h
14:    Van:   I'm fine tha:nks
```

Fragment 19: Holt.SO.88.2.10/pin/

```
01:    Les:   and then people get an engaged signal uh well no: not enga:ged
02:           it ri:[n g s ] [but  nobody  a:nswers it ]
03:    Dan:         [but no] [on'es the:re yes that's i]t
04:           (0.2)
05: → Les:    .hh yep (0.3) [⊙] how are you h
06:    Dan:   (0.3)
07:    Les:   oh I'm okay thanks
```

[5] Although the sound file is not available, from the transcript it appears that there is click produced in a similar location (i.e. before a "how are you" type utterance) in a fragment in Jefferson's (1984a: 193) paper: (the tch cluster typically represents clicks in CA notation).

```
01:    M:     cause god I can't afford to you know (0.2) get like that
02:           (0.3)
03:    S:     ye:ah
04:           (0.6)
05:    M:     hhh tch how are you
```

That speakers regularly produce the syllable final closed-mouth variant of *yes* (i.e *yep*) in the first unit of the NSI click turns in order to close down the preceding sequence provides some details concerning what items frequent this sequential location, as although sequence-final closing tokens have been mentioned in the literature (see Schegloff 1995b), their typical compositions have not been examined. Moreover, it aligns with the claim that speakers produce this variant of *yes* to indicate that they have no more topical talk to produce (Heritage & Sorojonen 1994; Raymond 2000). However, previous arguments about the closing function of *yep* have focused solely on adjacency pairs in which the production of *yep* in a second pair part is said to close down that adjacency pair sequence (ibid). Thus the claim that *yep* can also close down longer sequences of talk is, to the best of the author's knowledge, the first of its kind.

To this point, some of the typical ways in which the sequences which precede NSI clicks are closed down have been examined. In the next subsection (4.3.6), some of the typical prefatory discontinuity markers which occur in the onset of the click-initiated shifts in sequence and which serve to mark out this sequence as being new and disjunctive will be presented.

4.3.6 Prefatory Discontinuity Markers

In the NSI click collection, the sequences which precede the NSI click turns are collaboratively and successfully brought to a close, after which a speaker then produces a click-initiated change in sequence. It is important to point out that these changes in sequence are not brought about in a step-wise fashion whereby a speaker segues from one sequence to another (Button & Casey 1984; Jefferson 1984a). Instead, they are topically disjunctive and as such are therefore oft produced with a 'prefatory discontinuity marker' such as *anyway*, *alright* or *well*, which serves to explicitly 'disengage the forthcoming turn from being tied or connected to, or coherent with, its prior turn' (Drew & Holt 1998: 510). In other words, the discontinuity markers function to overtly mark out the new sequence as being different from and thus not related to the preceding pre-click sequence (see Drew & Holt 1998 for a similar claim).

A number of discontinuity markers are found to mark out the new sequences in the NSI click turns provided in the above fragments. These markers have been repeated in table

4.2. Note that the markers may occur alone (as in fragments 1, 8, 11-15 and 18) or in combination (as in fragments 2, 7, 9 and 17).

Fragment number	Discontinuity Marker(s)	NSI Click Turn
1	anyway	anyway we had a very good evening on Saturday
2	okay then	okay then
7	okay well	okay well I'll tell Gordon…
8	right	right
9	well look	well look tomorrow's Friday isn't it
11	anyway	anyway what I'm phoning for in that envelope there's an N.H.R. program
12	alright	alright well I'll get my husband then to get in touch with you with the address
13	right	right well he said to let you know to drop in any time
14	so	so the suggestion that perhaps you try and something differently
15	anyway	anyway my problem is a relationship problem
17	okay then	okay then Patrick well see you over the weekend then
18	anyway	anyway how are you

Table 4.2: Prefatory discontinuity markers in NSI click turns

Notice in table 4.2, that the lexical items *okay*, *right*, *well*, *anyway*, *alright* and *so* all occur as prefatory discontinuity markers in the onset of the click-initiated new sequences. Unlike in the F1 turns (see chapter 3), in which *okay* (and *then* as in *okay then*) is routinely situated as the first lexical item in the onset of the click-initiated new sequence, the most frequently occurring initial lexeme in the NSI click turns—both in the above fragments (see 1, 11, 15 and 18) and across the collection—is *anyway*.

Fragment 20 provides another NSI click turn in which *anyway* is produced as the first lexical item in the onset of the click-initiated new sequence. This turn occurs after a complaint sequence by Lesley regarding the lack of interest shown by the police in observing a man she regarded as suspicious and as possibly being involved in a burglary the evening before at their home (L1-2). After a delayed minimal acknowledgment from Skip (L4) (Jefferson 2002), and a following microgap (L5), Lesley produces a click-initiated new sequence with the prefatory marker *anyway* in initial position: `anyway the post-office was also done` (L6). Unlike her preceding sequence, which concerned her complaint of the police (see L1-2), Lesley's new sequence in L6 instigates an informing of another property which was burgled.

Fragment 20: Holt.X.C.2.1.6/postoffice/

```
01:    Les:   and if they wanted to: uh observe him getting off the bus they
02:           could easily have done so but they made no effort whatever
03:           (1.0)
04:    Ski:   no:
05:           (.)
06:→   Les:   [!] .hhh anyway the post office was a:lso done hh
07:    Ski:   oh:
```

4.3.7 Summary

This section has provided a description of the sequential environments of NSI clicks. It has shown that the sequences before NSI clicks are routinely closed down by the following closing components:

- minimal adjacency pairs in opening sequences;
- sequences of assessments;
- figurative expressions;
- sequence-closing repetitions;
- minimal final closing tokens.

Additionally, this section has demonstrated that the sequences after NSI clicks are topically disjunctive and that prefatory discontinuity markers such as *anyway*, *okay* and *right* commonly occur as the first lexical item of the new sequences in order to index their disjunctiveness. The next section (4.4) will examine participant orientations to the NSI click turns in more detail.

4.4 Participant Orientations to NSI Click Turns

This section will examine participant orientations to NSI click turns. First, it will discuss that in the NSI click collection used in this thesis, the click-initiated new sequences are always accepted by their recipients (4.4.1). One deviant case will be presented in which the click-recipient does not accept the *topic* of the new sequence but does accept the shift in sequence. Next, this section will highlight that although the click-producer typically produces the subsequent change in sequence, there are some deviant cases in which this change is implemented by the recipient of the click (4.4.2). Finally, this section will show that parties-to-talk can sometimes move to a new

sequence simultaneously, with one speaker's click-initiated shift in sequence being produced in overlap with the onset of the other speaker's shift (4.4.3).

4.4.1 Click-Initiated New Sequences Accepted by their Recipients

As has been demonstrated throughout the discussion of the data fragments in 4.3 above, the recipients of the NSI click turns consistently accept the new and disjunctive sequences initiated in these turns. Their acceptance is evidenced by the fact that they do not resist the change in sequence by producing talk concerning the previous or another previously unmentioned sequence. Instead, they take up and attend to the click-initiated new sequence by subsequently proffering a sequentially fitted response. This suggests that the NSI click turns are sequentially warranted by their occurrence after the collaborative closing down of the preceding sequence, as the recipients orient to the changes in sequence they bring about as being unproblematic.

Table 4.3 details all the NSI click turns and the recipient responses in fragments 1-20 above. Observe that the recipient always provides a fitted response to the NSI turn.

Fragment	NSI Click Turn	Recipient Response
1	anyway we had a very good evening on Saturday	yes
2	okay then	right
3	are you going tonight	mm
4	I just phoned to find out about what's happening about tonight	I haven't got a clue
5	we're coming to Maidstone tomorrow	yes
6	I've been at a music workshop	oh
7	okay well I'll tell Gordon…	that's right yeah
8	right	(inaudible)
9	well look tomorrow's Friday isn't it	yep
10	how's college going	how do you think
11	anyway what I'm phoning for in that envelope there's an N.H.R. program	yes it's for anybody who's not got one
12	alright well I'll get my husband to get in touch with you with the address	thanks very much
13	right well he said to let you know to drop in any time	yeah
14	so the suggestion that perhaps you try and something differently	that is a risk you take but I think …
15	anyway my problem is a relationship problem	mm mm
16	I just thought I'd ring and see how Janet was …	well we didn't anything
17	okay then Patrick well see you over the weekend then	you'll ring if you mind I mean if you want …
18	anyway how are you	I'm fine thanks
19	how are you	oh I'm okay thanks
20	Anyway the post office was also done	oh

Table 4.3: Recipients' fitted responses to NSI click turns produced in fragments 1-20

There is one instance in the collection in which the recipient of the NSI click turn repudiates the action embodied in the new sequence. Note, however, that the recipient's rejection does not concern a refusal of a change in sequence *per se* (in that they want to remain on the prior topic), but rather is a refutation of the presumed action undertaken in and through the newly-initiated sequence; that of call closure. This fragment is given in 21 below. Observe in the initial portion of the fragment, that the participants (Mum (Ilene) and daughter (Alex)) are engaged in the action of confirming travel arrangements for their next meeting (L1-5); this action is initiated by Alex's FPP information request: `is Daddy coming on Wednesday` (L1). Subsequently, Ilene receipts and closes down the sequence with her minimal final closing token `yah` and then, and after a 1.2 second gap (L6), produces a click-initiated new unit: `so we'll see you then` (L6). At this point in sequence, there is no evidence that Ilene's click-initiated unit in L6 initiates a new and disjunctive sequence, apart from it being prefaced with a click. However, Alex subsequently orients to this unit as offering a disjunctive shift into call closure, as after providing her affirmation of the arrangement with `okay` (L8), she immediately produces her request for Ilene (her Mum) to wait in order that she (Alex) can ask about her (Ilene's) well-being: `okay but wait a minute uhm uh how are you` (L8). This indicates that Alex orients to Ilene's click-initiated unit in L6 as offering call closure, an action which she does not yet want to happen, as evidenced by the fact she initiates a new sequence (with a FPP) concerning Ilene's well-being. This fragment is therefore a deviant case, as although Alex orients to the click-initiated new unit as initiating a new sequence, she resists the new sequence it proposes. It serves to strengthen the argument that clicks can preface new sequences of talk, as at the point at which Alex asks Ilene to wait, the only evidence of a new sequence is the preceding click. This indicates that Alex has oriented to the click as evidencing a disjunctive shift in sequence which, in this case, is a shift towards call closure.

Fragment 21: Heritate.II.2.3/so/

```
01:    Ale:   is Daddy com[ing on Wednesday
02:    Ile:                [eghhm
03:    Ile:   uhm::::: I eh-he's coming on the eightee:nth and I think
04:           that's Wednesday ye:p
05:    Ale:   o:kay
06:→   Ile:   yah (1.2) [!] so: we'll see you the:n
07:           (0.2)
08:    Ale:   okay but wait a minute uhm uh how are you:
09:    Ile:   oh I'm very well thank you
```

4.4.2 Click Recipients can Produce Subsequent New Sequence

Although the typical format of the NSI click turns comprises one speaker producing both the click and subsequent change in sequence, this is not their only format. Rather, there are occasions in which one speaker produces a click in a sequence-closing environment and the recipient of that click then produces their own disjunctive change in sequence. Moreover, as with the NSI turns outlined above, this change in sequence is generally not oriented to by its recipient as being problematic because the recipient (i.e. the click producer) subsequently provides a sequentially fitted response to the change in sequence. This suggests, then, that at certain locations in talk, clicks may provide a licence for a disjunctive sequence shift which can be performed by either the producer or the recipient of the click. Further work is needed to establish the contexts in which this situation occurs and to identify any differences in the linguistic-phonetic and interactional properties. It may well be the case, for example, that these instances comprise a different system but that their system cannot readily be identified due to the way in which the NSI collection was put together (being a form-first analysis; see chapter 6 for more discussion).

There are two environments in the collection in which the recipient of a click instigates a following disjunctive shift in sequence: (1) in overlap with the click producer's post-click inbreath or (2) after the click producer has provided a following 'minimal closing token' and a gap has ensued. These two environments are schematised in figures 4.8 and 4.9. Note that (..) is used to denote a gap of variable length. It can be seen in both schemas that after B (the recipient of the click) has initiated the change in sequence, A (the click producer) always subsequently accepts this sequence shift. Again the typefaces shown on the schemata are used to illustrate various components of the sequence in the fragments discussed.

```
01:    A:     (minimal final closing token +) click + in[breath
02: → B:                                                 [new sequence
03:    A:     acceptance of new sequence initiated in L2
```

Figure 4.8: Schema of sequence in which click recipient produces a new sequence in overlap with click-producer's subsequent inbreath

```
01:    A:     click + minimal closing token
02:           (..)
03: → B:     new sequence
04:    A:     acceptance of new sequence initiated in L3
```

Figure 4.9: Schema of sequence in which click recipient produces a new sequence after a minimal final closing token and following gap

Fragments 22 and 23 provide two instances of interaction in which the recipient of a click begins a following disjunctive change in sequence in overlap with the click-producer's immediately subsequent inbreath (as in the schema in figure 4.8). Observe in 22 that the change in sequence implemented by Vanna (L8) instigates a (successful) move to close with an appreciation of the speaker's enjoyment of having spoken to the recipient: `oh well nice to talk to you` (L8). This occurs after a preceding assessment sequence (L1-5), and subsequently produced loud click and inbreath taken by Lesley (L7). The disjunctive post-click change in sequence in fragment 23 (L10), which occurs in overlap with Lesley's long and loud inbreath taken immediately after her production of `yep` and subsequent click (L9), also initiates a move to close, as it re-references the reason-for-call: `may I leave that one with you Lesley` (L10-11). This is evidenced by Ron's indexical one which does not refer back to the immediately preceding sequence but rather indexes again his request made in the initial part of the call (for Lesley's help in aiding a local couple who have recently lost their son in a road accident).[6]

Fragment 22: Holt.SO.88.1.11/protected/

```
01:    Van:   Oh: goo:d oh well well you're well (.)
02:           pr[otected one  w a y and ano]ther=
03:    Les:     [uhh huh huh huh huh .hhhh]
04:    Les:     mm[:
05:    Van:       [oh jolly goo:d
06:           (0.2)
07:    Les:   [⊙] .hh[hh
08: → Van:           [oh: well nice to talk to you h
09: →         [you do you want] to speak to you mother again
10:    Les:   [yes  a n d  you]
11:    Les:   yes thank you
```

Fragment 23: Holt.SO.88.(II).2.2/article/

```
01:    Ron    he was very much [uh- uhm: into the [pop scene
02:    Les:                    [hhhhhhhhhh        [.hhhhhh
03:    Les:   yes that's right and so was Vicky [hhhh
04:    Ron:                                     [mmm
05:           (0.2)
06:    Les:   .hh and Julie of course [hh
07:    Ron:                           [mm
08:           (0.5)
```

[6] Lesley also lost her daughter (Julie) in a road accident.

```
09:    Les:   yep (0.8) [⊙]  .hhhhhhhh [h h h h h h h h h h  ]
10: → Ron:                              [ may I leave that one ] with you
11: → Lesl[ey
12:    Les:       [yes certainly
```

It is important to point out that in both of the above fragments, the post-click new sequences are produced with phonetic properties typical of new sequence beginnings; notably high pitch and an increase in loudness relative to the preceding talk (Couper-Kuhlen 1998, 2001b, 2003, 2004b; Wichmann 2000; Goldberg 1978, 2004; Local & Walker 2005). However, these features, along with increases in tempo, have also previously been correlated with interruptive talk (French & Local 1983). Does this mean, then, that these new sequences are interruptive and thereby competitive, particularly as they are produced in overlap with the click-producer's inbreath? If they were, this would provide an account of their occurrence. It appears, however, that these turns are not interruptive, as in this location in sequence, the phonetic parameters of pitch and loudness are not observable as signalling and displaying interruptive talk. Evidence to support this claim is that after the non-click producer's new sequence initiation, the click-producers does not produce any overlapping competitive talk and they immediately accept the shifts in sequence. This suggests that the change in sequence implemented by the non-click producer was somehow licensed in this sequential location and indicates the variable relevance of phonetic parameters according to location in sequence (Local 2003). Moreover, it may not be inconsequential that in both of these fragments, the following shifts in sequence are moves towards conversation closure. Thus the click and loud inbreath piece may be a device which speakers can use in interactionally delicate environments in order to display that a shift in sequence is a relevant next activity which is open to either party. Further research is needed to examine differences between the organisation of post-click disjunctive sequence shifts by the click and the non-click producers.

An occasion in which the recipient of a click provides a disjunctive shift in sequence after the other speaker has produced a click and a following minimal closing token, and a subsequent gap has ensued (as in figure 4.9), is given in fragment 24. Notice that the speaker produces a turn-initial click (after a preceding gap (L6), takes a following inbreath and then produces *okay*: [⊙] .hh o:kay (L7). A gap then occurs in which neither participant proffers any topical talk (L8), after which the recipient of the preceding click-initiated turn produces a new and disjunctive sequence: I hope you

enjoyed looking at the book (L10). The new sequence undertaken in this turn is accepted by the recipient, as evidenced by Joyce's response in L12.

Fragment 24: Holt.2.12/inadvertent/

```
01:    Joy:    [I thought perhaps you'd left yours in: (.) in there
02:           inadvertentl[y
03:    Les:                [no She's left one in in case
04:           any[body got left  out ]
05:    Joy       [anybody hasn't got ]one
06:           (0.2)
07:    Joy:   [⊙] .hh o:kay
08:           (0.3)
09:    Joy:   r [i :g h t ]
10: → Les:     [I hope you ]enjoyed looking at the boo:k
11:           (0.2)
12:    Joy:   uh: I flicked through it very quickly: b[ut mind you]
```

Importantly, notice that Lesley's new sequence shift in fragment 24 (L10) is produced in overlap with the beginning of Joyce's right (L9). Moreover, Lesley's turn is produced with an increase in pitch, loudness and tempo relative to her preceding talk, each of which is maintained throughout the entirety of her turn. Such manipulations of parameters, exclusive of the increase in tempo, are typical of new sequences (see e.g. Couper-Kuhlen 1998, 2001b, 2003, 2004; Wichmann 2000; Goldberg 1978, 2004) and, inclusive of the tempo features, interruptive talk (French & Local 1983) - in this location, they appear to be used to index both of these actions: that is, a new and disjunctive sequence which is interruptive. Evidence to support this suggestion is found in Joyce's delayed response, as marked by the 0.2 second gap (L11), and her subsequent turn-initial production of the particle *uh* (L12), which suggests that Lesley's taking up of the turn at this point may have been sequentially 'misplaced' and therefore interruptive. This deviant case supports the suggestion that new sequences which are not produced by the click-producer are marked (see fragments 22 and 23 above), as it is the click-producer who routinely produces the following new sequence, unless the recipient does some interruptive work to obtain the floor. Note that this is the only instance in the NSI collection of the recipient of the click producing post-click *interruptive* talk in overlap with the click-producer's talk.

4.4.3 Simultaneous Move to New Sequence by Both Participants

There are occasions in the NSI click collection in which both parties-to-talk appear to initiate a move to a new sequence at the *same* time (see fragments 25 and 26): one party

produces a click and takes an immediately following loud inbreath (F25, L6; F26, L9) and the other overlaps these elements with a disjunctive non-click-initiated new sequence shift (F25, L7-8; F26, L10-11). Although it is impossible to evidence the suggestion that the click producer in these fragments is initiating a new sequence, given that they curtail their turn and the click-producer takes up the floor, the striking similarity in the sequential, interactional and phonetic design features of these environments suggests that they are. If this is the case, then it indicates that participants are sensitive to the sequential environments in which changes in sequence are valid actions, an indication which is further evidenced by the click-producers' acceptance of the new sequences (F25, L9; F26, 13) (note that the click turn is emboldened and italicised and the non-click-initiated sequence shift emboldened and initiated with an arrow in each fragment).[7] Further work is needed to establish why one speaker produces a click and the other does not.

Fragment 25: Holt.May.88.1.5/lousy/

```
01:    Rob:   but take this with a dollop of salt you kno::w I'm-I'm
02:           ba:sically quite happy but quite relieved it's the sheer
03:           organization and getting a:ll everything done in the da:y
04:           (.)
04:    Les:   yes: that's right=
05:    Rob:   =ye[s
06:    Les:      [yes ye[p [[⊙].h h h h h h]  [w e-]
07: → Rob:            [O [k a y what did]  [y o u] want to talk to me
08: →         abou(h)[t
09:    Les:          [uh: we:ll what I rang up about was uhm di- did you have
10:           anybody want a photogra:ph h
```

Fragment 26: SO.88.(II).2.4/plod/

```
01:    Les:   there's a marvellous shopping ar:cade with all sorts of
02:           marvellous shops off it .hhhh[h
03:    Dan:                               [oh: good=
04:    Les:   =so save your money
05:           (0.6)
06:    Dan:   oh: ri:ght .h[huh
07:    Les:               [hm:
08:           (0.4)
09:    Les:   [[⊙]. h h h h h h h ][ h h h h h h h h]
10: → Dan:   [yeah I know uh I'm:][I'm in dire need] of money at the moment
11: →        I'm doing my poor student bit
12:           (.)
13:    Les:   oh: yes
```

[7] Further evidence that the click-producer in fragment 25 is engaged in a sequence shift is found in her following talk as the phonetic properties of her curtailed *we-* (L6) are strikingly similar to those in *well* in her turn which is subsequently produced out of overlap (L9). Moreover, this turn provides Lesley's reason-for-call. This suggests that the post-click production of *we-* may have been the start of a *well*-prefaced reason-for-call.

4.4.4 Summary

This section has examined the orientations of the participants to NSI click turns. It has shown that in the NSI collection in this thesis, click-initiated new sequences are always accepted by the recipients. One deviant case was discussed in which the recipient of a click did not accept the new sequence it initiated, as they believed the new sequence was offering call closure and they had more to talk to produce; this case adds support to the argument that clicks initiate new sequences, as the recipient of the click oriented to the click-initiated unit as offering a new and disjunctive (closing implicative) sequence. This section also highlighted that although it is typically the click-producer who produces the following new sequence, there are also occasions in it is the recipient of the click who produces it. Some of these instances can be accounted for by the fact that the recipient's talk is produced in an interruptive fashion (which thereby indicates their awareness of it being sequentially misplaced), although there are also occasions where no such account is possible. Further research is needed in order to identify phonetic and interactional differences between the environments in which the click and the non-click producer proffer the subsequent change in sequence. Finally, this section has shown there are occasions in which participants appear to initiate a shift in sequence simultaneously, thus suggesting that parties-to-talk are sensitive to sequential boundaries in talk-in-interaction. In these instances, the recipient of the click, who produces the disjunctive shift in sequence, always maintains the turn and the click-producer curtails their talk. Again, further work is needed to establish why one speaker clicks and the other does not in these environments.

In the next section (4.5), the phonetic properties of the NSI click turns and their environments will be examined in order to identify whether they are produced with any systematic phonetic regularities which can be mapped onto the sequential and interactional organisation of the talk.

4.5 Phonetic Properties of NSI click turns

The NSI click turns and the environments in which they occur are frequently produced with a number of systematic and recurrent phonetic properties which are typical of sequence closure and new sequence initiation and which therefore serve to strengthen

the argument that clicks routinely preface new sequences of talk. As with the first closing turns (see chapter 3), these properties relate primarily to the parameters of pitch, voice quality, amplitude and 'articulatory segmental' features. In sum, the NSI click turns and their environments typically comprise the following phonetic characteristics:

- systematic patterns in their placement in the speaker's pitch ranges;
- orderly differences in their relative pitch spans;
- closure maintained between the offset of the pre-click sequence and the onset of the click in multi-unit, multi-action NSI click turns;
- upsteps in pitch between the offset of the pre-click sequence and the onset of the click-initiated new sequence;
- glottalisation in the onset of vowel-initiated first lexemes in the click-prefaced new sequence;
- an increase in loudness in the onset of the click-initiated new sequence relative to the offset of the pre-click sequence.

These characteristics are examined in 4.5.1 to 4.5.6 respectively. After, sections 4.5.7 and 4.5.8 present the routine occurrence of loud inbreaths and the particle *uhm* in the boundary between the pre-click and click-initiated new sequence.

4.5.1 Differences in Pitch Placement of Pre and Post Click Sequences

The first key and recurrent phonetic characteristic of NSI click turns and their environments is that the closing down of the sequence which precedes the click-initiated new sequence is typically produced with a low pitch and placed low in the speaker's pitch range relative to the pitch of the following click-prefaced new sequence. Conversely, the subsequent click-initiated new sequence is overwhelmingly produced with a much higher pitch and is located higher in the speakers' pitch range than the closing section of the pre-click sequence of talk. Such pitch characteristics have previously been found to be typical in the closing down and initiation of new sequences in talk-in-interaction and therefore add weight to the argument that NSI clicks are indeed situated in sequence boundaries (see e.g. Couper-Kuhlen 1998, 2001b, 2003, 2004b; Wichmann 2000; Local & Walker 2005).

In the fragments discussed in section 4.4 above, the differences in the placement of the pitch in the closing down of one sequence and the initiation of the click-prefaced new sequence are particularly salient in those NSI click turns which have an initial, minimal final closing token, such as *yep* or *mm* (see fragments 2, 7 and 15 and 19 above). Figure 4.10 below provides a pitch trace of the two-unit NSI click turn produced by Lesley in fragment 7 in which the first unit, comprised of *hm*, receipts and closes the preceding sequence and the second click-initiated unit (*okay well I'll tell Gordon*) instigates a new sequence. Observe in the pitch trace that the first unit is situated much lower in the speaker's pitch range relative to the following unit: the first unit has a pitch peak of 225 Hz which is located approximately only 10 semitones above Lesley's baseline whereas the second unit, which has the accentual accent on the verb *tell*, has a pitch peak of 434 Hz which is situated 22 semitones above her baseline (and 7 semitones from her maximum pitch height).

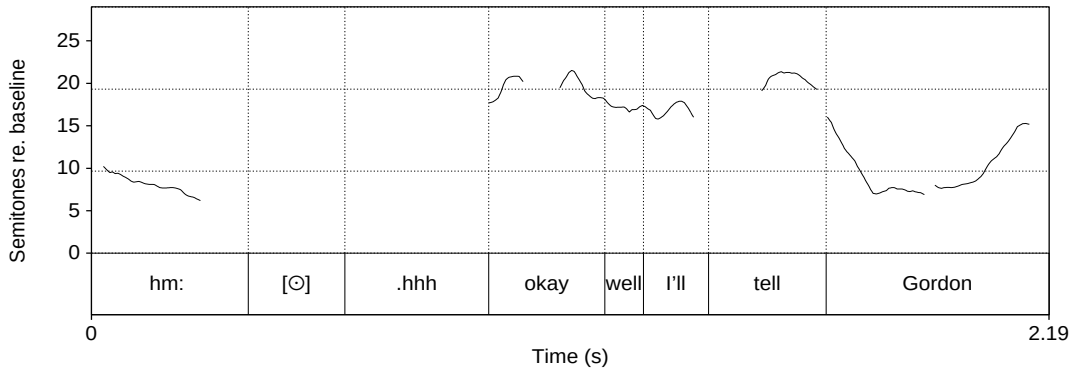

Figure 4.10: Pitch trace to show placements of pre and post click sequences (taken from Holt.SO.88.1.9/tell/)

4.5.2 Differences in Relative Pitch Spans of Pre and Post Click Sequences

A second recurrent phonetic property of NSI click turns is that the click-initiated new sequences are routinely produced with a much wider pitch span relative to that with which the closing down of the pre-click sequences are produced. In figure 4.10 above, for example, the first unit has a span of only four semitones whereas the second unit spans fifteen semitones. This difference in the relative pitch spans can also be seen in the pitch trace of the two-unit NSI click turn provided in figure 4.11 (produced by Lesley in fragment 19). Notice in 11 that the first unit, comprised of *yep*, has a fairly

narrow pitch span of 7 semitones relative to the second unit, composed of *how are you*, which has a much wider pitch span of 16 semitones.

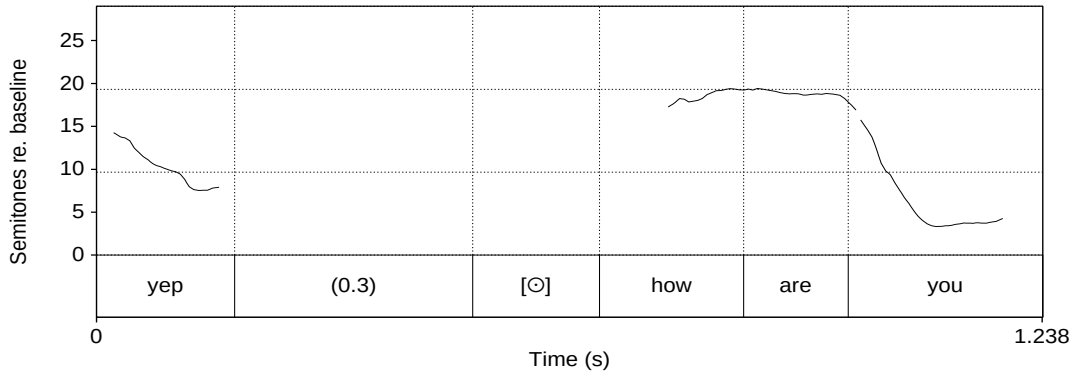

Figure 4.11: Pitch trace to show relative spans of pre and post click sequences (taken from Holt.SO.88.2.10/pin/)

Figure 4.12 provides a graph in which the differences between the relative pitch spans and the placement of the first and second units of the multi-unit NSI click turns discussed above can be seen. Observe that the first units (shown by the white bars) are consistently produced lower in the speaker's pitch range than the click-initiated second units (shown by the black lines), as they are always situated lower in the graph. Moreover, the first units always have a narrower pitch span than the following click-initiated unit.

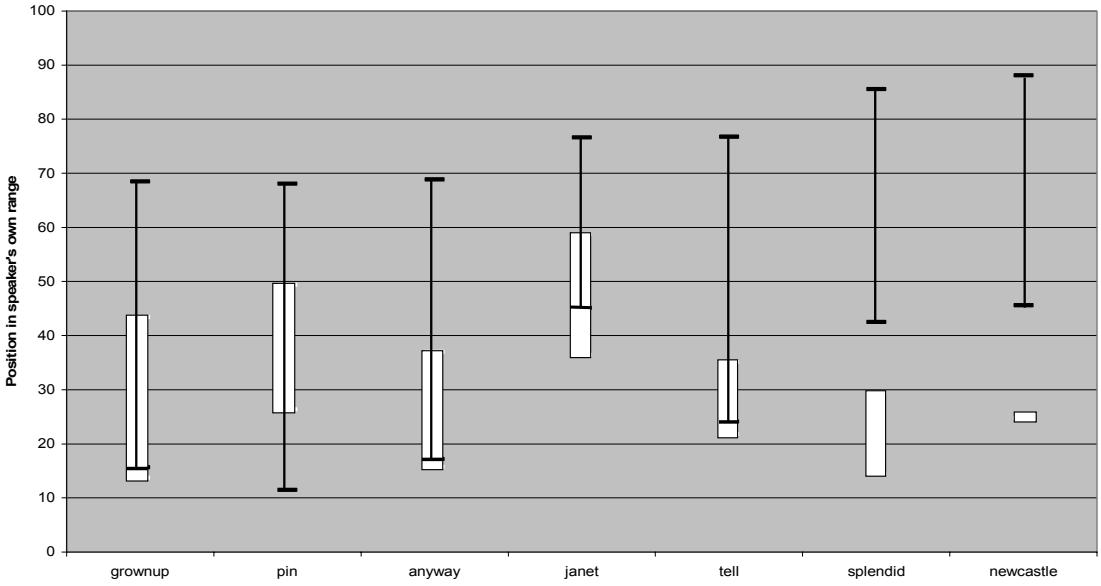

Figure 4.12: Graph to show relative pitch placements and spans of first and second units of multi-unit NSI click turns (pitch is expressed as a percentage where 0% represents the bottom of each speaker's individual range and 100% the top; the pitch spans of the first units are shown by a white bar spanning from their lowest to highest point and the spans of the second units are shown by a vertical black line: see 2.4.2 for more details)

Although the details regarding the organisation of the pitch have so far concerned only multi-unit NSI click turns comprised of a minimal first unit, it is important to point out that the above discussed patterns are also prominent in NSI click turns comprised of either only one or two units with a non-minimal first closing unit (rather than a minimal initial closing token). A case in point is provided in figures 4.13 and 4.14, which together comprise pitch traces of the click-initiated shift in sequence produced by Lesley in fragment 13. Note that two pitch traces have been presented in order to fully illustrate the differences in the pitch placement of Lesley's talk in the pre-click sequence and the click-initiated new sequence (the click-initiated new sequence is comprised of *right*). Recall that the sequence-closing figurative expression in this fragment (shown in figure 4.13) initiates a move towards sequence closure, which is accepted by the recipient (in overlap with Lesley's subsequent inbreath), after which a click-initiated new sequence is proffered by Lesley. It can be seen in figure 4.13 that Lesley's sequence-closing figurative expression (*I think perhaps uh he took it to heart*) is located relatively low in her pitch range, typically being situated no more than ten semitones above her baseline (228 Hz), and is produced with a relatively narrow pitch span of 6 semitones. In comparison, the pitch trace in figure 4.14 illustrates that after Lesley has terminated her figurative assessment (and produced the particle *uhm*), she then produces a click-prefaced sequence shift with *right*, which is located much higher in her pitch range (it reaches a pitch peak of 21 semitones above her baseline (409 Hz)) and has a wider pitch span of 11 semitones, relative to the preceding unit.

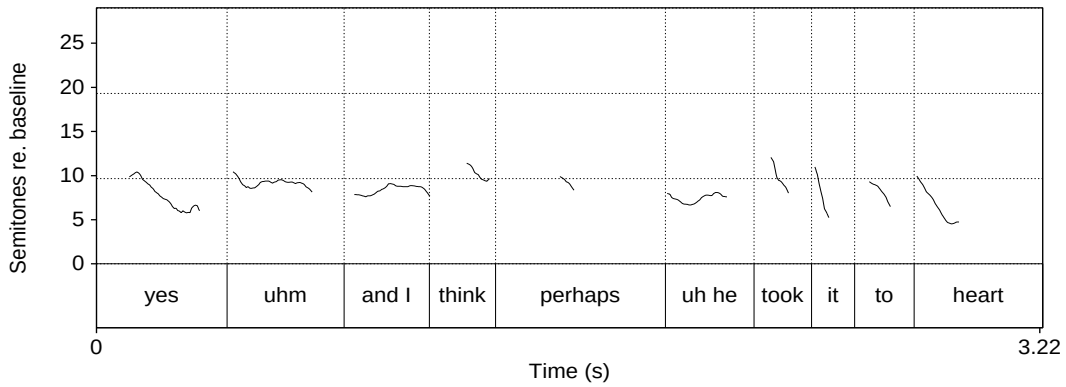

Figure 4.13: Pitch trace to show low placement of sequence-closing figurative expression (taken from Holt.SO.88.(II).2.4/drop/)

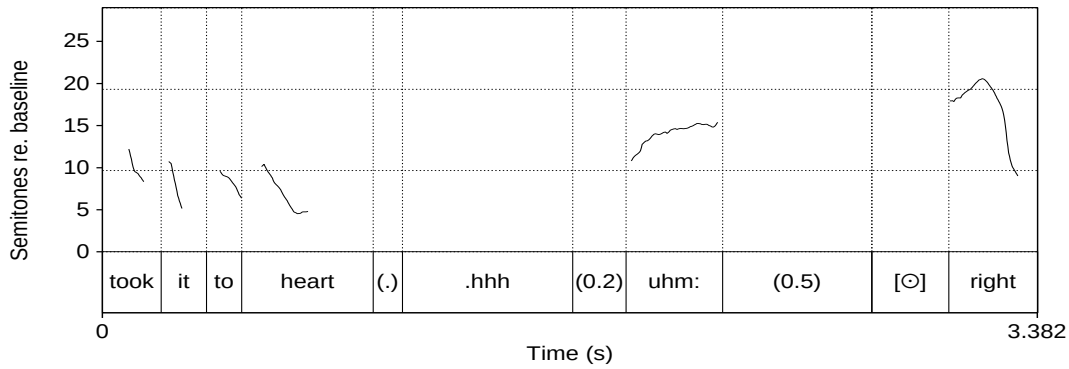

Figure 4.14: Pitch trace to show relative differences between placement of pre and post click talk (taken from Holt.SO.88.(II).2.4/drop/)

The organisation of pitch in the NSI environment presented in figures 4.13 and 4.14 above serves to illustrate that regardless of how many lexical items comprise the units which close down the pre-click sequences, these units are routinely produced with a much narrower pitch span—and are located lower in the speaker's pitch range—relative to the following click-initiated units. This suggests that the pitch placements and spans of the pre- and post-click turns are not determined by the number of lexical items in the turns but rather by the actions undertaken within them: the turns which embody the action of closing down the pre-click sequences are routinely produced with a low pitch and a narrow pitch span whereas the turns which initiate new and disjunctive click-initiated shifts in sequence are typically produced with a higher pitch and a much wider span.

4.5.3 Closure Maintained between Pre Click Sequence and Click in Multi-Unit NSI Click Turns

The third phonetic typicality identified across the NSI collection is that in turns which comprise multi-units, the final syllable of the first unit of the NSI click turn (which performs the action of closing down the preceding sequence) is routinely terminated with a portion of complete closure. This closure is then generally maintained between the offset of the preceding sequence, through a stretch of 'silence' (which, it should be noted, is not technically silence, as it is *not* a stretch of non-activity, see Local & Kelly 1986; Kelly & Local 1989b; Ogden 2001) until its release in the subsequent production of the click. It is therefore typical for the anterior release of the click to share the same

place of articulation with the preceding sequence-final closure (if these two components are produced by the same speaker).

In the data fragments discussed above (see 4.4), there are a number of NSI click turns which comprise multi-units and which have a portion of complete closure at the end of the first unit which is maintained until being released in the onset of the following click. The phonetic properties of these turns have been transcribed below. Observe that in most of the fragments, a gap typically ensues between the first unit and the click-initiated following unit which ranges in duration from 0.2 to a massive 1.2 seconds, the latter of which lasts beyond the 'standard maximum' of one second (Jefferson 1989). The recipients typically do not orient to these gaps as being a location in which speaker transition is a relevant action, as evidenced by their lack of talk (Sacks et al. 1974). Instead, they remain silent and the producer of the first unit routinely continues to produce the click-initiated following unit.[8] That the recipients routinely do not proffer talk in the gaps between the offset of the pre-click and following click-initiated sequence, in which closure is maintained, suggests that they orient to the closures as being indexical of the speaker having more talk to produce. This finding therefore aligns with the claim in the preceding chapter and in the literature that the maintenance of articulatory closures in talk-in-interaction can serve as an interactional resource for turn and speaker management (Local & Kelly 1986; Kelly & Local 1989b; Ogden 2001, 2003).

Fragment 2: [jiə̯p͡ʔˀ (0.2)⊙ ʔʌ̹kʰe̞̹ⁱ]

Fragment 7: [m̩:ˀ ⊙͡.hhh ʔə̯ˑkʰə]

Fragment 16: [hɑ̃:t̃mˀ (0.2) ⊙͡ ! ͡ .hhhh ʔə̯ˑi̯]

Fragment 17: [jɛ̯ə̯p͡ʔˀ (0.2) ⊙͡ .hhh ʔɐ̯ɪkʰɛ̯]

Fragment 18: [jɛ̯apˀ (0.2) ⊙͡ ! ͡.hhh ʔɛ̯n̩ɪwe̞̹ˡ]

Fragment 19: [jɛ̯apˀ m̥̩ (0.3) ⊙ haʊ̯wə̯juː]

Fragment 21: [jɐp̩t͡ʔ↓ˀ (1.2) ! sʷəˑu]

Fragment 23: [jiɒp͡ʔˀ (0.8) ⊙͡ .hhhhhhhh]

[8] The only instance in which this does not happen is in fragment 23, in which the recipient overlaps the click-producer's post-click inbreath to initiate a change in sequence. This fragment is, however, amenable to a deviant case analysis and further research is needed in order to establish how and why it differs from the other fragments.

It can be seen in the above transcriptions that, as with the F1 turns (see chapter 3), the first unit in the NSI click turns is overwhelmingly composed of the *yep* variant of *yes*. As these units serve the interactional function of closing down the preceding sequence of talk this finding furthers the claim that in certain sequential environments, *yep* can engage in interactional work, serving to bind sequences of talk. It can also be observed that several of the maintained closures occur with bilabiality (fragments 7 and 18-19) or bilabiality reinforced with glottality (fragments 2, 17 and 23) although there are two instances in which the closure is maintained with alveolarity together with either bilabiality (fragment 16) or glottality (fragment 21). Notice also that in many fragments, the clicks share their places of articulation with the placement of the oral closure at the end of the pre-click unit, although this is not always the case. There are some fragments, for example, in which there is an initial percussive bilabial release (which matches the closure at the end of the first unit) which is then followed by an alveolar click (see fragments 16 and 18). This therefore suggests that these clicks are not simply a by-product of the speakers opening their mouths, but are instead a mechanism which is under speaker control.

Figure 4.15 provides a wave form and a spectrogram of the multi-unit NSI click turn produced by Lesley in fragment 16 above ([hɑ̃ːtmˀ (0.2) ʘ͡ ǃ͡ .hhhh ʔə̤ˑi̤]. Observe in the figure that after the production of the first unit, comprised of *hahm*, there is a 0.2 second stretch in which neither party proffers any talk, as evidenced by the lack of energy in the wave form and spectrogram. However, throughout this 0.2 second 'silence', the speaker is maintaining their alveolar and bilabial closure from the offset of the preceding unit. These closures are then released by an initial percussive (transcribed as [ʘ] and a following loud bilabial click (which can be seen on the spectrogram (and wave form) as a short and sudden spike of high amplitude energy.

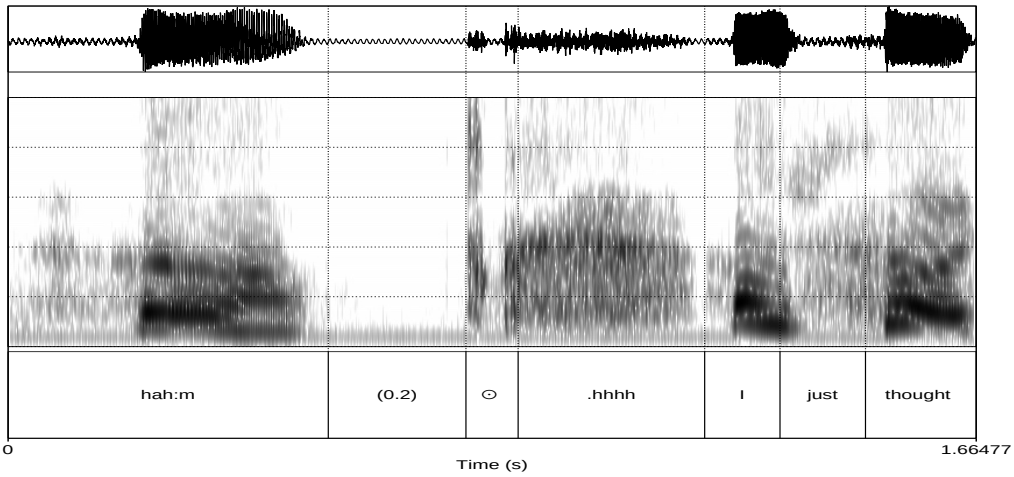

Figure 4.15: Wave form and spectrogram to show portion of 'silence' between offset of pre click and following click-initiated new sequence (taken from Holt.U.88.2.2/janet/)

4.5.4 Upstep in Pitch in Onset of Click-Initiated New Sequences

The fourth phonetic commonality observed across the NSI click turns is found in the onset of the click-initiated new sequences which are routinely produced with a marked upstep in pitch relative to the pitch offset of the preceding sequence of talk. This finding therefore corroborates the claim in the literature (and the preceding chapter) that the initiations of new sequences in talk-in-interaction are routinely marked out with high pitch (Couper-Kuhlen 1998, 2001b, 2004b). Moreover, these high pitch new sequence initiations function together with the high pitch accents typically found in new sequences of talk (see 4.5.1) to project from the outset of the unit that what follows is new and disjunctive to what came before (Couper-Kuhlen 2003: 122; Wichmann 2000: 24-34).

The occurrence of an upstep in pitch in the onset of a click-initiated new sequence can be seen in the pitch trace given in figure 4.16, which comprises the NSI click turn produced by Lesley in fragment 17 above. Observe that the first unit, composed of *yep*, is produced fairly low in the speaker's pitch range (7 semitones above their baseline) and with a relatively flat pitch contour. The onset of *okay* in the click-initiated following unit then occurs with a noticeable and dramatic reset in pitch, which is produced 18 semitones higher than the offset of the pre-click unit (from 188 - 518 Hz) and is located 25 semitones above the speaker's baseline, i.e. 4 semitones from their ceiling pitch point.

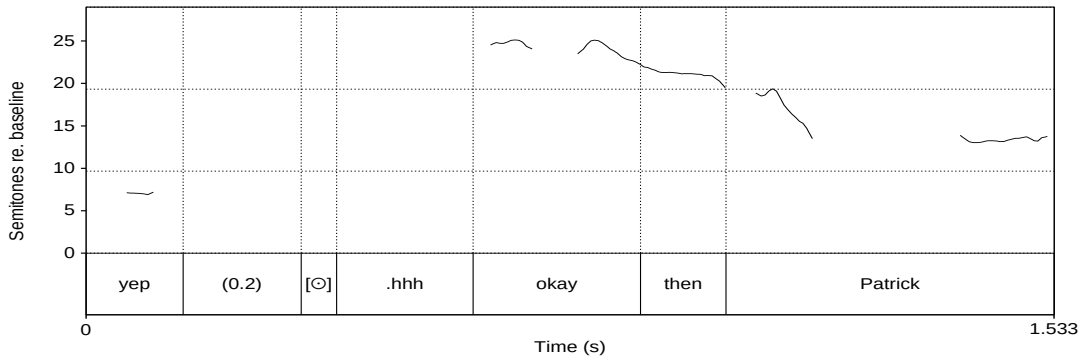

Figure 4.16: Pitch trace to show upstep in onset of click-initiated new sequence relative to offset of pre-click sequence (taken from Holt.SO.88.(II).1.7/Newcastle/)

Figure 4.17 provides a further illustration of the dramatic resetting of pitch which commonly occurs in the onset of the click-initiated new sequences. The pitch trace in 4.17 is taken from the NSI click sequence produced by Joyce in fragment 11 in which she closes down the preceding sequence with her assessment *no longer the little boy* and then initiates her click-prefaced new sequence with the lexeme *anyway*. Notice that her sequence-closing assessment is produced mid-low in her pitch range and has a pitch span of 7 semitones. The onset of her following click-initiated sequence is then produced with a dramatic upwards shift in pitch of 12 semitones relative to the offset of her preceding sequence (at the end of *boy*).

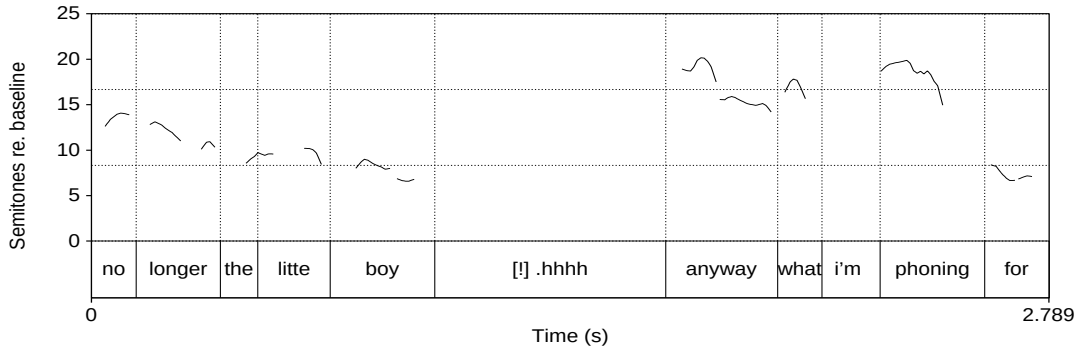

Figure 4.17: Pitch trace to show upstep in onset of click-initiated new sequence relative to offset of pre-click sequence (taken from Holt.2.12/grownup/)

The graph in figure 4.18 provides the upstep in pitch in the onset of the click-initiated new sequence relative to the offset of the preceding sequence for 18 of the 26 NSI click turns discussed above expressed as a percentage of each speaker's pitch range (note that not all of the relevant data could be gathered, as some of the pre-click sequences are produced in overlap or with a very low amplitude). Notice in figure 4.18 that there is consistently a dramatic resetting in pitch in the onset of the click-prefaced new sequence which ranges from between 25% to 70% of a speaker's range.

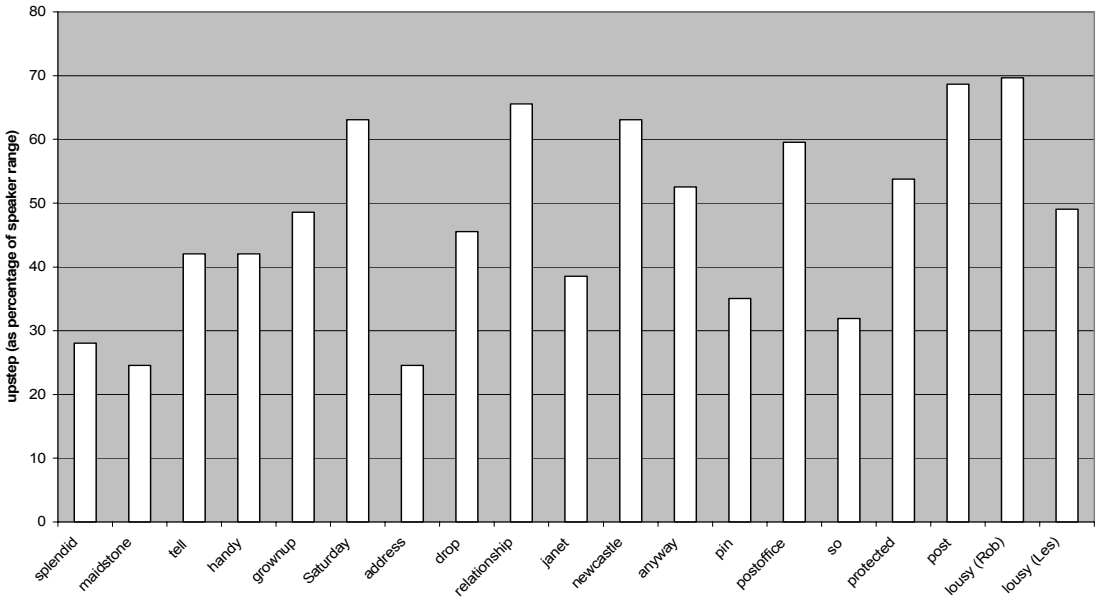

Figure 4.18: Graph to show upstep in pitch in onset of click-initiated new sequence relative to offset of preceding sequence (upsteps are calculated in semitones then expressed as a percentage of each speaker's individual pitch range)

It is important to point out that this resetting in pitch in the onset of the click-initiated new sequences also occurs even if the new sequence is produced by someone other than the click producer. The pitch trace in figure 4.19, for example, is of the pre-click sequence-closing assessment (*oh jolly good)* and subsequent new sequence initiation (*oh well nice to talk to you*) produced by Vanna in fragment 22 (see 4.4.2 above). Notice that even though Vanna does not produce the NSI click (and following inbreath), as shown by their being inserted between curly brackets in the pitch trace, her pre and post-click sequence talk are designed with the 'same' sequence-closing and sequence initiating phonetic characteristics as those discussed above. That is, her pre-click sequence assessment is produced mid-low in her range with a pitch span of 8 semitones whereas her post-click new sequence is situated higher in her pitch range and with a wider pitch span of 14 semitones. Moreover, the onset of this new post-click sequence is initiated with an upstep in pitch of 14 semitones, relative to the offset of the preceding sequence (at the end of *good*).

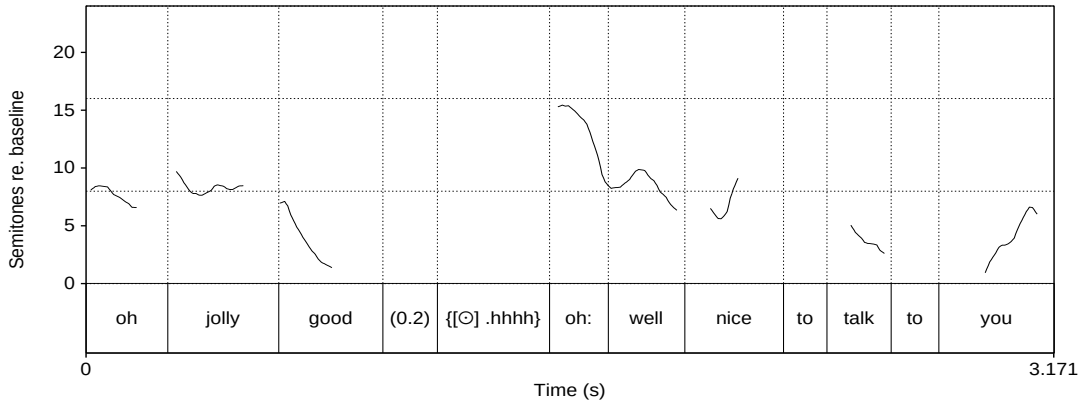

Figure 4.19: Pitch trace to show upstep in onset of post click sequence relative to offset of pre click sequence in environment where non-click producer initiates post click shift in sequence (from Holt.SO.88.1.11/protected/)

4.5.5 Glottalisation in Onset of Click-Initiated New Sequences

The fifth phonetic regularity observed in the NSI click collection is that the vocalically-initiated first lexical items in the click-initiated new sequences are consistently produced with 'glottalisation' i.e. a glottal stop, creaky voice or both. This initial portion of glottalisation can be seen in the phonetic transcriptions below of the fragments discussed above. Observe that in each fragment, the speaker always initiates their post-click talk with glottalisation. This finding therefore supports the claims in the preceding chapter and in the literature that glottalisation indexes phrasal boundaries in talk, as the onset of the stretch following the click comprises a new unit of talk (Dilley et al. 1996). However, this finding also furthers these previous claims, as the glottalisation not only initiates a new unit of talk but, as with the first closing turns, but it also prefaces new and disjunctive *sequence*. Thus, along with the pitch properties (see 4.5.1, 4.5.2 and 4.5.4) and the 'articulatory properties' (see 4.5.3), these glottality features serve to index sequence boundaries in talk-in-interaction.

Fragment 1: [!͡ .hhh ʔɛ̰n̰ɪwe]

Fragment 2: [jiə̄p͡ʔˀ (0.2)⊙ ʔʌ̹kʰe̹ⁱ]

Fragment 3: [⊙ ʔəː mˀ (0.4)ʔə̹juː]

Fragment 4: [⊙͡.hh ʔə̹ːm (.)ʔai]

Fragment 6: [hə̹lᵛə̹ᵘʔ .h ʔəː m (0.5)⊙ ʔaɪv]

Fragment 7: [m̩ːˀ ⊙͡ .hhh ʔə·kʰə]

Fragment 11: [bɔi̯ !͡.hhhh ʔɛn̪ɪweˈ]

Fragment 12: [⊙͡.hh ʔo̯ː raɪʔ]

Fragment 15: [⊙͡.hh ʔɛn̪ɪwɛː]

Fragment 16: [hɑ̃ːt̃mˈ (0.2) ⊙͡ !͡ .hhhh ʔə̯ːi̯]

Fragment 17: [jɛ̃ãp͡ʔˈ (0.2) ⊙͡ .hhh ʔa̯ɪkʰɛ̯]

Fragment 18: [jɛ̯ãpˈ (0.2) ⊙͡ !͡ .hhh ʔɛ̯n̪ɪwe̯ˈ]

Fragment 20: [!͡.hhh ʔɛn̪ɪweɪ]

Fragment 24: [⊙͡ .hh ʔəuːkʰeɪ]

Figure 4.20 provides a wave form and a spectrogram of the click-initiated new sequence produced by Lesley in fragment 18. Observe in this figure that Lesley produces an initial high amplitude bilabial percussive release, as can be seen by the initial high energy spikes, which is followed by an alveolar click. A relatively loud inbreath then follows (*.hhh*) after which the first lexical item of the new sequence is produced (*anyway*). Notice that the onset of this sequence-first lexeme is produced with an initial glottal stop, as evidenced by the abrupt onset of voicing in the wave form and spectrogram. The closure for this glottal stop is made in the final portion of the inbreath, as indexed by the abrupt lack of energy towards the end of the inbreath. Subsequently, some formants related to the following vocalic portion can be seen to perforate into the pre-glottal 'silence' in which the glottal closure is made and maintained momentarily before being released in the onset of *anyway*. After the glottal closure has been released in the onset of *anyway*, it is followed by a stretch of creaky voice, as can be seen in the vertical striations at the beginning of *anyway* which correspond to the irregularity of the vocal fold vibration.

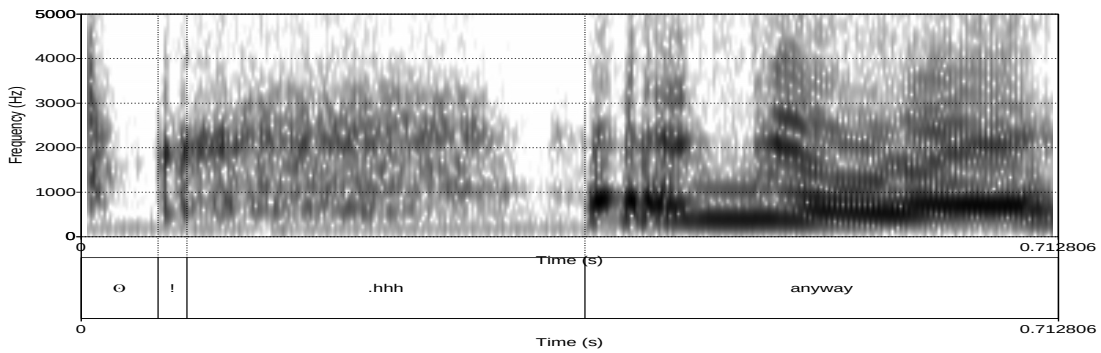

Figure 4.20: Wave form and spectrogram to show glottalisation in onset of first lexical of click-initiated new sequence (taken from Holt.SO.88.1.11/anyway/)

4.5.6 Increase in Loudness in Onset of Click-Initiated New Sequences

An additional regularity observed in the phonetic properties of the NSI click turns and their environments is that the click-initiated new sequences are regularly produced with an increase in loudness relative to the offset of the preceding sequence. This finding therefore corroborates the claims in the literature (and the preceding chapter) that speakers can use an increase in amplitude (along with a range of other phonetic parameters such as pitch and voice quality) to mark out new sequences in talk-in-interaction (Goldberg 1978, 2004; Drew & Holt 1998; Local & Walker 2005). It also serves to provide further evidence that the clicks are situated in the boundary between two different sequences of talk.

Although amplitude measurements of talk-in-interaction are fraught with difficulties (see chapter 2), some measurements of the amplitude shifts which occur in the above fragments are given in table 4.4 in order to provide a flavour of the types of shift which occur. Note that not all of the fragments have been included, as it is not always possible to measure the amplitude due to reasons such as, for example, overlapping talk. The initial four fragments examined in 4.3.1 (fragments 3 to 6), all of which comprise an opening section of the call, are also not included, as no differences in amplitude were observed between the pre and post-click sequence (thus suggesting that the phonetic organisation of sequence management may differ according to the structural location of the shift in the call).

Fragment Number	Offset of preceding sequence and onset of click-initiated new sequence	Number of Decibels in Upstep
1	76.6 – 79.0	2.4
2	60.7 – 65.5	4.8
7	74.6 - 76.4	1.8
8	64.3 - 77.1	2.8
9	63.5 – 69.5	6.0
10	73.0 – 74.8	1.8
11	63.5 – 65.6	2.1
12	62.4 – 69.8	7.4
13	71.2 – 76.7	5.5
16	72.4 – 75.4	3.0
17	74.0 – 76.1	2.1
18	72.2 – 77.3	5.1
19	72.6 – 75.8	3.2
20	71.5 – 75.4	3.9
21	64.7 – 70.1	5.4
24	63.1 – 67.9	4.8

Table 4.4: Number of decibels in upstep of click-initiated new sequence relative to offset of preceding sequence

A wave form and an intensity trace of the NSI click turn produced by Ilene in fragment 21 above is given in figure 4.21 below. In this figure the upstep in amplitude in the onset of the first lexical item (i.e. *so*) of the click-initiated sequence relative to the amplitude of the closing down of the preceding sequence (undertaken on *yah*) can be clearly seen. This shift in amplitude is particularly salient both auditorily and acoustically, measuring an upwards shift of around 6 decibels.

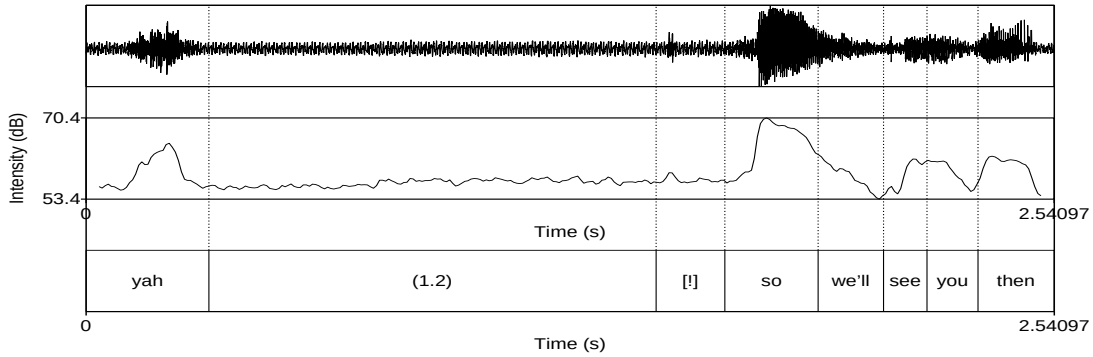

Figure 4.21: Wave form and intensity trace to show upstep in intensity of onset of click-initiated new sequence relative to preceding sequence (from Heritage II.2.3/so/)

It is important to point out that part of the explanation for the difference in amplitude between the units in the NSI click turn in figure 4.21 may also be due to the fact that Ilene's *yah*, which comprises her first unit and which functions to close down the preceding sequence of talk, is produced using a pulmonic *ingressive* airstream, i.e. she produces *yah* by 'speaking on an indrawn breath' (Laver 1994: 168). Moreover, this is (possibly) not the only instance in which the sequence which precedes the click-initiated turn is terminated by Ilene with speech which uses a pulmonic ingressive airflow: in fragment 9 above it is also possible that rather than Ilene taking an inbreath immediately before her alveolar click (as is shown), she may instead produce *yeah* on an ingressive airstream. Ingressive productions of *yes* have been previously mentioned as conveying 'an attitude of reluctant and slightly exasperated compliance with the exigent wishes or assertions of an insistent interlocutor', although the latter usage is said to be produced with [jɛ] on the ingressive airstream and the final fricative ([s]) on the egressive airstream (Laver 1994: 168). However, no empirical study has as yet mentioned or examined English talk-in-interaction using a pulmonic ingressive airstream mechanism. This is an area which may be ripe for research.

4.5.7 Loud Inbreaths in Click-Initiated New Sequences

Across the NSI click collection, it is typical for clicks to be released with the simultaneous initiation of an inbreath. When an inbreath is taken in this sequential location, it always occurs with a high amplitude and is typically relatively long. In this position, these inbreaths serve alongside the clicks and other prefatory discontinuity markers to further demarcate the sequence boundaries (see Local & Walker 2005 for a similar account of inbreaths in abrupt-joins).

Disjunctive inbreaths are taken in the release of the clicks in the following fragments discussed above: 1, 4, 7, 8, 12, 14-18, 20, 22-26. Figure 4.22 provides a wave form and a spectrogram of a bilabial click which is released in the onset of an inbreath (which is produced by Gordon and is not discussed above). Observe the energy spread diffusely at all the frequencies in the spectrogram which corresponds to the release of the bilabial click (Stevens 1998). This is followed by the non-affricated release of the velar closure. After, a stretch of high amplitude noise which contains formants can be seen. This noise corresponds to the inbreath.

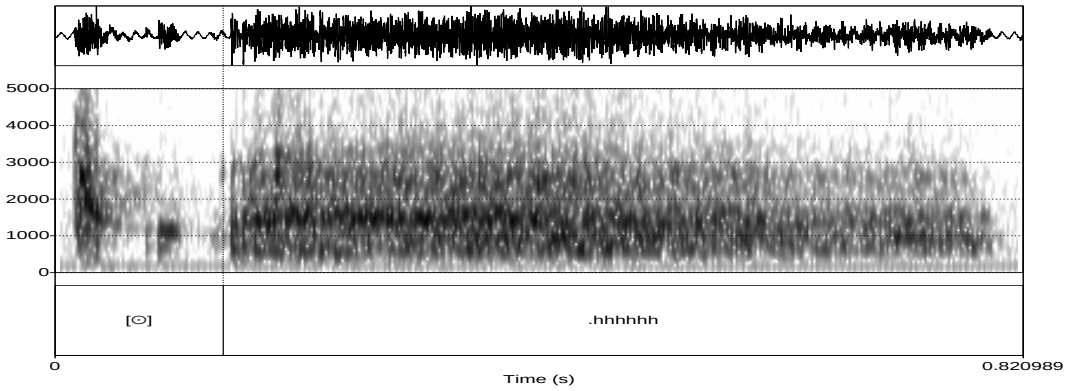

Figure 4.22: Wave form and spectrogram to show high amplitude inbreath after click (from Holt.U.88.1.8/home/)

4.5.8 Particle 'Uhm' in Click-Initiated New Sequences

There are many instances in the NSI click collection in which the particle *uhm* is produced in the boundary between the closing down of one sequence and the click-prefaced initiation of a new sequence (see fragments 3-6 and 13 above). These particles are particularly prevalent in call openings, as in fragments 3-6 above, which are partially repeated below; an additional instance is given in 27 below. Observe in 27 that

after Desmond's summons-answer response (L1), Lesley produces a greeting (*oh hello* L2), which comprises the first unit of the multi-unit NSI turn. After, she proffers the particle *uhm* (L2), produces a click-initiated inbreath and then begins a new sequence concerning her reason-for-call (L2-4).

Fragment 3 (partial repeat): Holt.SO.88.1.2/bath/

04: → Gor: [⊙] uh:m (0.4) are you going tonight

Fragment 4 (partial repeat): Holt.SO.88.1.9/tonight/

05: Gor: [!] .hh uh:m (.) I just phoned to find out about what's happening

Fragment 5 (partial repeat): Holt.SO.88.(II).1.7/Maidstone/

11:→ Les: .hhh uh:m [⊙̤] we're coming to Maidstone uh t: tomorrow

Fragment 6 (partial repeat): Holt.1988.U.1.4/hello/

04: → Gor: hello .h Uh:m (0.5) [⊙] I've been: (.) at a music workshop

Fragment 27: Holt.SO.1988.2.1/midland/

```
01:    Des:   good afternoon Barclay's Cast[le Carey
02:→   Les:                                [oh hello (0.2) uhm (.) [⊙] I'm not
03:→           very sure of (0.6) what I do if- if I: give my s- I deal with uh
04:→           Midland .hhh[hh
05:    Des:                [ye:s
```

Observe in the above fragments that the particle *uhm* can be produced after the click-prefaced initiation of the new sequence (as in 3 and 4), or after the closing down of the preceding sequence but before the following click-initiated new sequence (as in 5-6 and 27). In each instance, however, this particle occurs in the boundary between the two sequences of talk. Moreover, when this particle is produced in this location it is routinely uttered with particle-final lip closure, as in *uhm* rather than *uh*[9], and when it is

[9] There is, in fact, only one instance in which *uh* is produced; this is given below (taken from Holt.U.88.1.8/home/). Moreover, this is also the only instance in which a speaker produces an imperative concerning an upcoming change in sequence. This can be seen in Dana's turn in Line 5: thank you so much right carry on. The use of *uh* rather than *uhm* may therefore be related to these differences. Further research is needed.

```
01:    Gor:   .hhh young lad
02:           (0.7)
03:    Gor:   ((sniff))
04:           (0.4)
05:    Dan:   thank you so much right carry on
06:    Gor:   ⊙ .hhhhhh uh: I managed to get home in ti:me .hh for
07:           my music lesson at five .hh thirty .h[hhhh
08:    Dan:                                        [mm hm=
```

situated before the NSI clicks it is always produced as *uhm*. In other words, there are no instances in which the particle *uhm* is produced just as a long vowel (i.e. [əː]) without a final bilabial closure when it precedes an NSI click. This finding therefore supports the claim that the particle *uhm* is routinely situated at major phrasal boundaries, as it occurs in the boundary between two sequences of talk (Shriberg 1994; Swerts 1998; Clark & Fox Tree 2002).

In addition to the particle *uhm* frequently occurring with syllable/particle-final lip closure when produced in the boundary between the click-initiated new sequence and the preceding sequence, as in *uhm* not *uh*, it also occurs with a strikingly similar pitch design: it is typically produced with initial glottalisation, an upstep in pitch and amplitude relative to the preceding talk and a relatively flat pitch which is located in the middle of the speaker's pitch range. These features can be seen on the pitch trace in figure 4.23, and the wave form and spectrogram in figure 4.24 of Lesley's NSI click turn (and her preceding turn) which occurs in fragment 5. Observe in the pitch trace, the mid placement in Lesley's pitch range of the particle *uhm* and the relative flatness of the pitch. That the particle's pitch is placed in the middle of the speaker's range refutes the argument that 'filled pauses' are produced with a low fundamental frequency (Shriberg 2001). Notice in the wave form and spectrogram the occurrence of a dramatic stop in energy at the end of the inbreath, which coincides with the glottal closure being produced (which is released in the onset of the following *uhm* particle). This glottalisation on the particle *uhm*, its pitch placement and its location in the sequence all serve to index the disjunctiveness of the sequence juncture. These findings therefore indicate that in certain sequential locations, the particle *uhm* can undertake certain varied and specific interactional functions (see Jefferson 1974; Wright 2001, 2002a; and Local 2003 for other interactional accounts of *uh/m*).

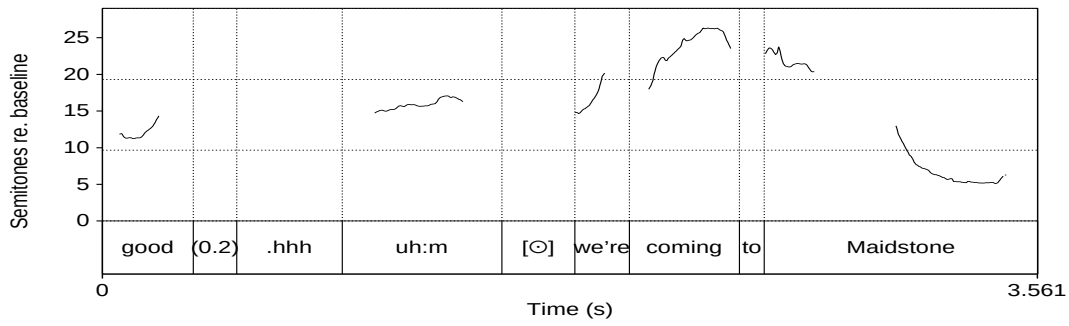

Figure 4.23: Pitch trace to show pitch design of particle 'uhm' (taken from Holt.SO.88.(II).1.7/Maidstone/)

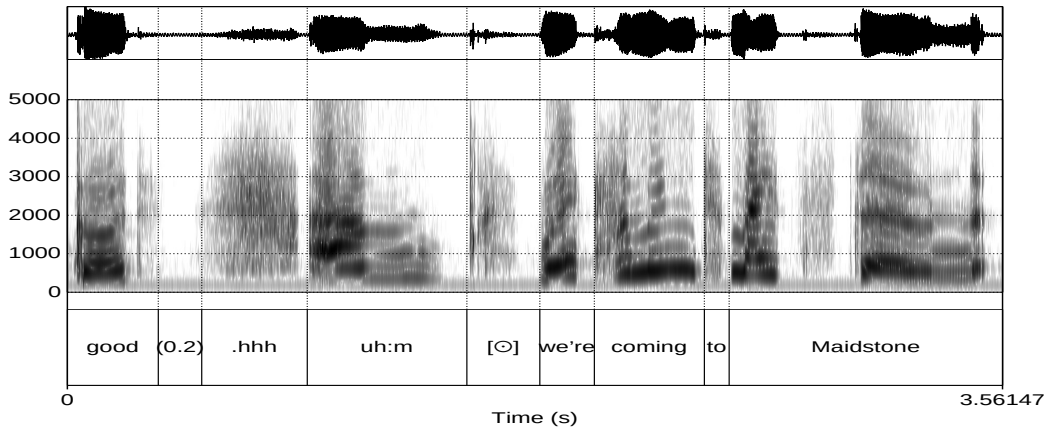

Figure 4.24: Wave form and spectrogram to show initial glottality in onset of particle 'uhm'

It could be argued that the fact the particle *uhm* commonly occurs immediately before the click, suggests that the occurrence of a click in this location is an artefact of the speaker opening their mouth/lips after they have been closed for the final portion of *uhm*. Two pieces of data serve to refute this suggestion and therefore add weight to the postulation that these *uhm* particles are deployed for interactional purposes. Firstly, observe in fragment 28 that after Lesley has produced her third-turn turn-initial greeting (*hello* L5), she then firstly produces a click, after which she proffers *uhm* (L5) (and then introduces the reason-for-call (L5-6)). That Lesley produces the click in this fragment *before uhm*, and does not produce one after, suggests that clicks are a product under speaker control.

Fragment 28: Holt.2.1/rectory/

```
01:     Fos:   rectory
02:            (0.7)
03:     Les:   oh hello it's Lesley Field here
04:     Fos:   hello Leslie
05:→    Les:   hello [!] uh:m: on Sunday I take it that is correct
06:            that there isn't a Sunday School
07:            (.)
08:     Fos:   that's right i[t's it's it's it there's no=
```

Additional evidence that the occurrence of clicks in the sequence boundaries is not accidental is found in fragment 30 (L5). Observe that Lesley closes down the opening sequence with her third-turn, turn-initial *hello* (L5). She then produces a click, takes an inbreath and then initiates her reason-for-call (L5-7). The particle *uhm* therefore does not occur in the sequence boundary although a click is still produced (this is also the case in the NSI click turns in fragments 1-2, 7-12, 14-27). Moreover, the final portion of the final closing token in fragment 18 has no oral closure before the production of the

click (as is also the case in the multi-unit NSI turns in fragments 9, 11, 21, and 29 above) thereby adding weight to the argument that clicks are not an articulatory consequence of speech but are instead a resource which speakers can draw on to manage the sequential and interactional design of their talk.

Fragment 29: Holt.2.3/husband/

```
01:    Mar:   one three five
02:           (.)
03:    Les:   oh hello it's um: Leslie Field he:re
04:    Mar:   oh hello:
05:    Les:→  hello [!].h I hope you don't mind me getting
06:           in but uh- we met your husband a little while
07:           ago at a Liberal meeting
08:    Mar:   yes
```

4.6 Summary and Discussion

This chapter has explored the hypothesis that in English talk-in-interaction, clicks engage in sequence management, functioning to index and demarcate new and disjunctive sequences of talk. To investigate this hypothesis, a form-first analysis was implemented in which all clicks were searched for and then subsequently examined for sameness in sequential distribution. The implementation of this analysis was therefore markedly different from that conducted in chapter 3 in which the latter collection was achieved by sameness in interactional function rather than linguistic form. Both approaches, however, have proved fruitful.

The clicks which comprise the NSI collection in this chapter all occur in sequence boundaries and served to mark out the following talk as being topically and sequentially disjunctive to what came before. These clicks can be velarically-initiated or non-velarically initiated although in every instance they use an ingressive airflow. They can also be produced with a range of anterior closures ranging from bilabial to postalveolar. In the NSI collection, however, the occurrence or not of a velar closure and the location of the anterior closure were not found to affect the sequential distribution or the interactional work undertaken by these clicks. This suggests that at certain locations in talk, non-velarically and velarically initiated clicks comprise terms in the same system.

The sequences which precede the NSI clicks were shown to be successfully and collaboratively closed down by a variety of interactional practices such as sequence-

closing assessments, figurative expressions and repetitions. In the post-click environments the new sequences were demonstrated as being typically marked out by the use of disjunctive markers such as *anyway* and *right*. The recipients of the NSI click turns were also shown to orient to the click-initiated shifts in sequence as being sequentially warranted, as they typically accepted the disjunctive shifts in sequence in their subsequent turn (or they themselves undertook a disjunctive sequence change in overlap with the NSI click). There are, however, a few deviant cases in the NSI collection in which the recipient of the click proffers the new sequence immediately after the speaker had produced an NSI click. In some instances, the non-click producer's new sequence is produced as interruptive talk although there are other occasions in which it is not. Providing an account of why the recipient of NSI clicks may proffer the subsequent change in sequence and the interactional implications and differences between these environments and those in which the click producer proffers the subsequent new sequence lies outside the scope of the current study. Further research is needed to account for these deviant cases.

As well as commonalities in their sequential and interactional properties, the NSI click turns were also found to share a number of remarkably consistent phonetic characteristics. The NSI click turns and their embedded contexts were frequently observed as having the following phonetic designs:

- systematic differences in the placement of the various components of the NSI click turns in the speakers' pitch ranges in that the closing down of the pre-click sequence is routinely produced lower in the speaker's pitch range relative to the higher placement of the click-initiated new sequence;
- orderly differences in the relative pitch spans of the units in the multi-unit NSI click turns, as the units which attend to the preceding talk and function to close it down are consistently produced with a much narrower pitch span relative to the following click-initiated new unit/sequence;
- maintenance of closure between the offset of the preceding sequence and the onset of the click in the multi-unit NSI turns;
- a noticeable upstep in pitch in the onset of the click-initiated new sequence relative to the offset of the pre-click sequence;

- glottalisation in the onset of the click-initiated new sequence when that sequence is prefaced with a vocalically-initiated lexical item;
- an increase in loudness in the onset of the click-initiated new sequence relative to the loudness of the offset of the pre-click sequence;
- the routine occurrence of high amplitude inbreaths undertaken simultaneously with the release of the click.

These various constellations of phonetic parameters function together in complex ways to further demarcate and bound the sequences which surround the click-initiated new sequences. They therefore provide further evidence to support the sequential, interactional and lexical evidence that the NSI clicks are undoubtedly situated in sequence boundaries and that in certain sequential locations in talk-in-interaction, clicks can function alongside various other components to index and manage its interactional structure.

To conclude: this study has demonstrated that the production of clicks in the initiation of new sequences is a resource which speakers employ routinely and systematically in order to phonetically demarcate their sequence boundaries in naturally-occurring talk-in-interaction. These findings therefore differ markedly to the claims in the literature that in English, clicks serve only a paralinguistic function, signalling various attitudinal and emotive states of the speaker. Instead, this study has shown that, in addition to any paralinguistic work that clicks may undertake, clicks can engage in sequence management.