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中文會話共構現象之研究

Co-construction in Mandarin Conversation

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摘要

本論文探討中文會話共構現象。「共構」一詞泛指任何兩方共同合作完成之活動，在會話中，「共構」特指說話者尚未結束之語句由聽話者加以補足完成之現象。本研究以中文語料庫為基礎，自語料庫隨機抽取六十筆共構之對話，從語法及語用的角度加以分析會話共構現象，既探究說話者未盡語句中產生啟後性之語法特徵與語法要素，亦討論雙方會話共構時共伴之互動特性。

本研究發現會話共構時，說話者未結束之語句可有兩種層次之語法啟後性：「範疇啟後性」與「子句啟後性」，兩者皆投射一個尚待完成的「子句」原形，補足語法要素方能使說話者未盡語句之語意與結構完整。其中，範疇啟後性投射出未盡語句即將出現之語法範疇，而子句啟後性則投射言談將至之謂語元素或子句元素，待補足後，方能使語句之語意與語法結構完整。本研究進一步分析在會話共構結構中顯現之中文特有的語法特徵。其中主題與謂語共構反映中文主題明顯性；說話者自由選擇子句連繫成分出現與否並促使話輪共構延伸則突顯中文子句可無連繫成分之特性；賓語或主要名詞的省略則顯現中文言談中已知之指涉詞可省略之特色，在在皆反映中文語言特殊性。

本研究從會話共構時雙方互動的情形得知：首先，說話者說話時遲疑抑或未顯現遲疑皆可能導致聽話者共構會話，然說話者常以句中停頓、最終音節拉長、詞語重複與語助詞顯露說話者語帶遲疑。語料庫中，說話者講話遲疑時常用之用語又以「那個」、「那種」、「一些」、「什麼」最為常見。再者，當聽話者共構對話時，聽話者通常立即共構說話者未盡之語句，鮮少遲疑。最後，當共構現象發生後，說話者多加以回應，表以贊同，又以回應詞「對」回應聽話者最為常見。整體而言，共構現象出現時，說話者給予正面回應是可預期之社會互動。

本研究結果支持 Thompson and Couper-Kuhlen (2005) 之論述，即認為子句為語法之根本、言談互動之單位，而語法由言談間自然浮現。

關鍵詞：共構、啟後性、子句、會話、社會互動

ABSTRACT

This study explores co-construction in Mandarin conversation. Co-construction can refer to any joint activity accomplished by two parties. In conversation, co-construction refers to the case where the unfinished utterance of the speaker is collaboratively completed by the listener. In the present study, 60 pieces of co-construction are randomly retrieved for analysis from a corpus of naturally occurring conversations in Mandarin. All the data are examined on their syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic aspects. The syntactic composition of co-construction, the projecting element in the speaker's unfinished turn, and the co-constructed element by the listener are analyzed from the view of projectability. In addition, the pragmatic features in each turn of conversation participants during co-construction are also investigated.

In our study, two levels of projectability are identified: categorical projection and clausal projection, both of which lead to clause completion. Categorical projection projects an upcoming grammatical category. Clausal projection is observed to make projection of an upcoming predicative format or an upcoming clause. Both types provide the listener with opportunities for co-construction. Particularly, we observe that topic prominence, the speaker's choice of not explicitly stating the linking element, and ellipsis, which are prominent features in Mandarin, are manifested in our data of co-construction.

Our investigation of the pragmatic features in each speech turn during co-construction shows that, firstly, co-construction may occur with or without the speaker showing hesitation. When the speaker shows hesitation in his unfinished utterance, hesitation is shown through pragmatic features such as pause, lengthening, word repetition, and hesitation expressions. Typical hesitation expressions observed

in this study are *nage*, *nazhong*, *yixie*, and *sheme*. Next, the listener mostly co-constructs the speaker's sentence immediately. Lastly, when co-construction occurs, the speaker tends to respond to the offered co-construction and show their agreement, especially through the deployment of agreement tokens. In general, co-construction may prefigure the speaker's agreement in the turn following co-construction.

Our study of co-construction in Mandarin conversation conforms to Thompson and Couper-Kuhlen (2005) that speakers show clause orientation in conversation and that grammar is interactionally organized.

Keyword: co-construction; projectability; clause; conversation; social interaction

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ASSOC	associative <i>de</i> (的)
BA	<i>ba</i> (把)
C/F	copula/ focus marker <i>shi</i> (是)
CL	classifier
COM	complementizer <i>shuo</i> (說)
CRS	current relevant state <i>le</i> (了)
DU	durative aspect marker <i>zai, zhe</i> (在，著)
GEN	genitive <i>de</i> (的)
LK	linking adverb <i>jiu</i> (就)
NEG	negative marker
NOM	nominalizer <i>de</i> (的)
MAS	manner adverb suffix <i>de</i>
PF	perfective aspect <i>le</i> (了)
PN	person/ place name/ proper noun
PT	particle

LIST OF TRANSCRIPTION NOTATIONS

Speaker

:	speaker identity; the start of the turn
[]	speech overlap

Unit

{carriage return}	intonation unit
--	truncated intonation unit
-	truncated word
{space}	word

Transitional continuity

,	continuing
.	final intonation
?	appeal intonation
!	animated tone

Pause

..	short pause
...	medium pause
... (N)	long pause
(0)	latching

Lengthening

=	lengthening
---	-------------

Laughter

@	laughter
---	----------

Vocal quality

<@ @>	laugh quality
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Special notation

<T T>	code switching from Mandarin to Taiwanese
<E E>	code switching from Mandarin to English
<J J>	code switching from Mandarin to Japanese
>	utterance where co-construction or the issue is under discussion

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Motivation and Goals

Communication is one of the most important social activities for people in daily life. In conversation, people communicate with each other by articulating their ideas and thoughts turn by turn. Generally, speaker change occurs at the completion of the utterance intended by the first speaker. Then, the next speaker takes over the floor and carries on the conversation (Sacks et al. 1974). However, there are occasions where the listener just comes in and completes the first speaker's utterance, as (1) illustrates:

- (1)> 1 B: 膽囊結石 最好的 處理 方式 還是 就 是,
dannangjieshi zuihaode chuli fangshi haishi jiu shi
gallstone best handle method still just C/F
'The best way to treat gallstones is'
- > 2 A: (0) 膽囊 拿 掉.
dannang na diao
gall bladder take off
'to remove the gall bladder.'
- 3 B: 對,
dui
right
'Right,'
- 4 把 膽囊 拿 掉.
ba dannang na diao
BA gall bladder take off
'remove the gall bladder.'

In (1), Speaker B's utterance is proceeding toward the subject complement of his sentence. Without waiting for the completion of Speaker B's utterance, Speaker A

just jumps in and completes Speaker B's speech with a complement. There are also occasions where the speaker cannot finish his own utterance due to difficulties in retrieving words or thoughts, and the listener jumps in and finishes the speaker's sentence, as (2) shows:

- (2) 1 A: 不曉得 是 不 是 他-
 buxiaode shi bu shi ta
 not-know yes NEG yes he
 'I don't know whether it's because he'
- 2 累了, 還是 有 點 不 專心,
 lei le haishi you dian bu zhuanxin
 tired CRS or have CL NEG concentrate
 'he was tired or he was inattentive'
- 3 他 已經 是 有 幾 次 都是 對不起 對不起,
 ta yijing shi you ji ci doushi duibuqi duibuqi
 he already C/F have several CL all sorry sorry
 'he had been saying sorry for several times'
- > 4 然後 就 是 再 問 那個-
 ranhou jiu shi zai wen nage
 then just C/F again ask that
 'and then asked'
- > 5 B: 布萊德雷.
 bulaidelei
 PN
 'asked Alan Bradley again.'

In (2), Speaker A cannot recall the name in time and hesitates with a hedge 那個 *nage* 'that'. Speaker B just fills in the proper name to complete Speaker A's sentence.

In both (1) and (2), the listener's utterance grammatically fits in the speaker's speech perfectly. This type of turn-taking is called "co-construction", "joint utterance production" or "co-participant completion", where a sentence is jointly

produced by conversational participants in conversation (e.g. Hayashi 1999, 2003; Helasvuoto 2004; Hopper and Thompson 2008; Lerner 1991, 1996; among others). Of interest here are what signals the listener to come in and complete the speaker's speech, and why the listener can syntactically, semantically, and pragmatically fill in with an appropriate linguistic element. Previous studies have investigated this phenomenon in English, Finnish, Japanese, and French (e.g. Chevalier and Clift 2008; Hayashi 1999, 2003; Helasvuoto 2004; Lerner 1991, 1996) and discussed the projecting elements of the speaker's utterance in co-construction. However, there were relatively few studies expounding this phenomenon in Mandarin conversation.

Based on previous research, this thesis aims to investigate co-construction in Mandarin conversation. We will analyze the syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic aspects of co-construction in Mandarin and offer an account of the composition of co-construction in Mandarin conversation from the point of view of projectability. Furthermore, we will probe into the interaction of the conversational participants to see whether there are language external factors to motivate co-construction in Mandarin.

1.2 Data and Methodology

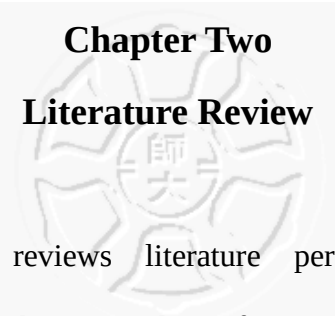
This study adopts a corpus-based approach to explore co-construction in Mandarin conversation. Data incorporated in the present study are collected from a corpus of 73 segments of Mandarin conversation with a total length of about 20 hours¹, mainly composed of face-to-face conversations and radio interviews. 60 pieces of data are randomly retrieved for analysis².

¹ I would like to thank Dr. Yung-O Biq for offering me the access to the data. I would also like to express my gratitude to the members of the research team for their contributions.

² In the corpus, there are more than 60 pieces of data of co-construction. We randomly choose 60 pieces from various segments in the database as a sampling pool for the present study.

1.3 Organization of the Thesis

The rest of this thesis is organized as follows. Chapter 2 will review previous literature related to co-construction. Chapter 3 presents the syntactic categories in the speaker's utterance which make projection of a possible turn completion for the listener as well as the co-constructed element contributed by the listener in Mandarin conversation. We will discuss two levels of projectability, categorical projection and clausal projection, in Mandarin. Chapter 4 analyzes the interaction of the speaker and the listener during co-construction. We will focus on the pragmatic features in the speaker's speech that projects a possible place for co-construction, in the reaction of the listener, and in the speaker's response to the listener's offered co-construction. Chapter 5 concludes this thesis with a summary of the findings and a discussion of possible directions for further research.



Chapter Two

Literature Review

The present chapter reviews literature pertaining to co-construction. Co-construction can be viewed as a product of interaction and grammar. On one hand, it is a joint activity which is collaboratively produced by participants in conversation, one of the most common social interactive activities in human society. On the other hand, co-construction is accomplished when an unfinished sentence is grammatically completed by another speaker during conversation. Co-construction is thus grammatically and interactionally intertwined. To address the issues in co-construction, we need to discuss the interplay of grammar and interaction first, as in Section 2.1. Then, Section 2.2 presents an overview of co-construction. Section 2.3 reviews studies on co-construction in languages other than Mandarin. The ending section, Section 2.4, closes this chapter with a summary.

2.1 Interplay of Grammar and Interaction

Co-construction occurs when the listener completes the speaker's incomplete sentence. That the listener's co-constructed element precisely fits into the syntactic composition of the speaker's unfinished utterance in co-construction suggests that the listener may be guided by the syntax of the speaker's unfinished utterance to the appropriate juncture for interposition and to the upcoming grammatical element for sentence co-completion during interaction. In other words, the projectability in the speaker's utterance facilitates the listener with a possible place for utterance co-completion and turn transition.

Meanwhile, turn-by-turn interaction provides an environment for the real-time emergence of the syntax of the sentence under construction and the co-production of

sentence subsequently. The occurrence of co-construction provides evidence that “grammar and social interaction organize one another” (Schegloff et al. 1996:36). Therefore, before we proceed with our discussion on co-construction, we will first review previous works on the interface of grammar and interaction, especially from the view of projectability (Section 2.1.1) and clause formation (Section 2.1.2).

2.1.1 Projectability

Projection, in a broad sense, refers to action through which “an individual action or part of it foreshadows another” (Auer 2005: 8). An action may project the next action and make it foreseeable in the following course. Such anticipation, as Iwasaki (2009: 226) put it, “is a key resource for coordinating human interaction”, yet it may be realized differently. Particularly, Auer’s (2005) discussion on projection in interaction and in grammar, paying special attention to interactional projection and syntactic projection in conversation, shows that interaction and grammar are closely interwoven by projectability.

Projection has been explored extensively in literature, such as in the research of social interaction, cognition, conversation analysis, or turn organization. As pointed out in Auer (2005), in social interaction, projection prefigures next activity or next movement for the participants to negotiate communication collaboratively (Streeck 1995). Cognitively, projection offers a frame of attention for the interlocutors, from maximal to minimal, along with the emergence of structures (Auer et al. 1999). Projection in conversation establishes formulaic pragmatic patterns such as pre-invitations or pre-announcements. In such pre-sequences or pre-s, projection prefigures an upcoming action in the next turn and thus forms sequential formats.

Projection also plays a significant role in turn organization. It projects turn transition place and makes turn completion predictable (Sacks et al. 1978). When

examined from the overall organization of conversation, projection foreshadows formulated patterns in each action type, which is regarded as “interactional projection” in Auer (2005). For instance, questions invite answers in the adjacency pair. Invitations project acceptance or declination in the next activity. On the other hand, projection on a local turn unit can be grammatical. In addition to interactional projection, turn-taking is made possible by projection with syntactic, semantic, or prosodic features. For example, sentential turn constructional units may project a possible turn completion for the listener. Grammatical projection also works at a lower level. Each linguistic segment is projected by the syntactic structures or phonological features of the prior talk. For instance, the use of the definite article *the* or *thee* phonologically projects an upcoming consonant-initial or vowel-initial word respectively.

Within conversation, interactional projection plays an important role in prefiguring the next interactive moves. As Auer (2005) proposes, this interactional projection is recognized by participants with their interactional knowledge. However, projection can also be grammatical, which is worked out by participants with their grammatical knowledge, particularly syntactic. Projection of this kind depends significantly on syntactic hierarchy and is regulated by “government, constituency, adjacency, and serialization” (Auer 2005: 27). For instance, in English a determiner projects a noun, and a preposition projects a noun/determiner phrase due to syntactic hierarchy. Projection is thus found to function in both interaction and syntax. Projection prefigures interaction, yet projection is organized by syntax. Auer (2005) argues that along with this intertwining relationship of interaction and grammar in projection, syntactic projection manifested through the course of real-time production offers an emergent perspective against the generative syntax view, in which only hierarchical structure is taken into consideration while the temporal

progression of linguistic structure is excluded.

Auer (2005) further proposes that interactional projection and syntactic projection are manifested similarly in the strength of projective force, pre-positioning, insertions, expansions, and abandoned/broken-off projections. In addition, his observations of the speaker's use of pre-posed syntactic units, side sequence, turn-extension, and abandoned projections, all of which are used for interactional purposes in conversation, show that interaction plays as an important role as syntax in structuring language, which again weakens the autonomous status of Universal Grammar. Meanwhile, as Auer indicates in his study, the dual functions of vocatives as response projection and as simply an addressing term, and grammaticalization where conversational patterns are grammaticalized into syntactic patterns such as the sequential conditional *if* in German also render support to the importance of interaction.

Auer (2005) provides a thorough discussion on the projection in interaction and in grammar. He first expounds the function and the realization of projection from various perspectives and goes further to examine the interactional and syntactic projection in conversation. With the observation of certain turn sequence types and grammatical mechanisms in conversation, he argues that syntax is interwoven with interaction by projectability and is a result of accumulated and regulated projection in talk-in-interaction.

2.1.2 Clause-oriented Interaction

Thompson and Couper-Kuhlen (2005) provide another perspective of the interface of grammar and interaction. Their cross-linguistic research on Japanese and English argues that “clause is a locus of interaction” (Thompson & Couper-Kuhlen 2005: 481) in everyday conversation. That is, the clause is one of

the most frequent formats which speakers orient to the projection for the next activity in communication (Thompson & Couper-Kuhlen 2005). Yet the way clauses offer projection may vary cross-linguistically.

As pointed out in Thompson and Couper-Kuhlen (2005), previous studies on grammar in interaction have three major findings. The first finding is that the existence of routinized patterns results from the need of action implementation by speakers. Speakers need a set of patterns to project actions in conversation. In this case, recurrent actions may accelerate the development of grammar. Secondly, grammar is a kind of shared knowledge between conversation participants since grammar is constructed and re-constructed along with the real time production of language. Thus, grammar is not fixed or autonomous in human mind. The third finding is that grammar should be seen as “procedural knowledge” (Bybee 2002: 111) which is accumulated by frequent repetition of formats in communication. Based on these findings, Thompson and Couper-Kuhlen explore how grammar is shaped by interaction with three interactional practices—next-turn onset, co-construction, and turn unit extension.

Thompson and Couper-Kuhlen’s study on next-turn onset shows that speakers tend to act on the completion of clause formats, the format that typically consists of a predicate followed by frequently co-occurring phrases. Due to the typological differences between English and Japanese, the clause formats in the two languages differ from each other. In English, the prototypical clause is a pronoun followed by a predicate with frequently co-occurring phrases such as objects, prepositional phrases, or adverbial phrases. Yet in Japanese, the subject and the object associated with the predicate can be dropped. There may be only the predicate forming the clause. Nevertheless, in the data of next-turn onset in both English and Japanese, the next turn tends to take place at the completion of a clause rather than anywhere else before the

completion.

From the data of joint utterance completion by participants, it is observed that speakers are also clause-oriented in co-constructing utterances. The listener either contributes the second clause of a multi-clause sentence or the last couple of words in a clause. Both types of contribution are to complete the utterance as a complete clause or a multi-clausal sentence.

The data of turn unit extension, i.e. the speaker's increment of turn constructional units, also renders support to the idea that speakers are clause-oriented, although the way they do turn extension may be cross-linguistically different. It is found that in English the incremental unit the speaker adds after the possible completion of a turn constructional unit is a recurrent pattern that may appear at the end of a single turn unit in other contexts. However, in Japanese the turn extension unit is often a noun phrase which is part of the prior clause, but did not appear previously. No matter how differently the strategy of turn extension is used in English and in Japanese, the extended turn is oriented to being a component of the clause.

In conclusion, Thompson and Couper-Kuhlen (2005) contend that grammar is interactionally organized and should be analyzed from an emergent perspective. Specifically, they propose that the most prominent format in grammar is the clause, which is manifested in the speaker's orientation to clause completion in interaction, though the details of clause completion may vary from language to language. Their proposal provides an analytic basis for the present examination of co-construction.

2.1.3 Interim Summary

In this section, we presented previous discussion on the interplay of grammar and interaction. The findings in previous research that interaction and grammar are

intricately organized by projectability and their intricacy is manifested in the formation of clausal formats by conversation participants suggest the importance of projectability and clause orientation in our discussion of co-construction, a product of interaction and grammar.

2.2 An Overview of Co-construction

Co-construction can be referred to as any joint activity accomplished by two parties. It is one kind of social action. Ever since the early 1970s, it has been widely explored in a number of research fields, as pointed out in Jacoby and Ochs (1995), such as child language studies, Soviet psychology, the Bakhtin Circle, ethnomethodology, conversation analysis, sociology, linguistic anthropology, and so forth. Different disciplines work on different realizations of co-construction, but all direct towards the core of human interaction.

In linguistic co-construction, as indicated in Jacoby and Ochs (1995), studies on child language have worked on the verbal co-construction and interpretation of utterances between children and their caregivers (e.g. Brown 1977; Ferguson 1964, 1977; Ochs 1982; Snow & Ferguson 1977). Co-construction is observed in the use of expansion, the interpretation of expressed proposition, and the foregrounding of a topic as a joint discourse focus (Jacoby & Ochs 1995; Ochs et al. 1979; Scollon 1976). Linguistic anthropologists study co-construction, such as the audience's co-authoring in story telling or gossip, to clarify the interacting relationship of the social/cultural ideologies, the language, and the interlocutor's participation (e.g. Haviland 1977; Heath, 1983; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984). Co-construction activities legitimize the social validity and rationality of the participants involved (M. Goodwin, 1990; Jacoby & Ochs 1995; Philips 1983; Shieffelin 1990).

In the field of conversation analysis, conversation analysts, from an

ethnomethodological view, have investigated language use in conversation and probed the interplay of interaction and grammar (Biq 2000). Treating conversation as a natural conventionalized social act, researchers investigate the interactional nature of naturally occurring conversation and elucidate the mechanism of turn-taking management in human interaction (e.g. Goodwin, 1981; Ochs et al. 1996; Sacks et al. 1974; Schegloff & Sacks 1973). Looking into the linguistic and paralinguistic features of the turns in talk-in-interaction, practitioners propose the concept that “grammar and social interaction organize one another” (Schegloff et al. 1996:36). Social interaction is mobilized in the operation of grammatical design. Grammar is not a merely self-constrained system but a moment-by-moment architecture manifested in social interaction as well as the resource for communication. In all practices of talk-in-interaction, co-construction where conversational participants collaboratively complete utterances is one of the interactional productions fruitful for the exploration of the interplay of conversation and grammar. Numerous studies have conducted to explicate the resources for co-construction and eventually the intricacies of language and human interaction.

2.3 Previous Studies on Co-construction

In earlier studies of conversation analysis, research focus was put on the organization of turn-taking and the “transition relevance place” (TRP) (Sacks et al. 1974). Traditionally, transition relevance place was regarded as a syntactic unit and was thought of as the possible completion of a turn and the possible site for speaker change (Biq 2000). However, in daily conversation there are instances where speaker change occurs at non-canonical TRPs. The on-going turn of the speaker may be completed by the listener during conversation, and co-construction occurs. Previous studies have examined this phenomenon and found that syntax plays a

significant role in the making of co-construction (e.g. Ford et al. 2003; Hayashi 1999, 2003; Lerner 1991, 1996; Lerner & Takagi 1999; Ono & Thompson 1995, among others). For a listener to co-construct utterances, grammatical clues, prosodic cues and social understanding are all necessary (Hopper & Thompson 2008). However, as Thompson and Couper-Kuhlen (2005:492) put it, “speakers are strongly clause-oriented in jointly constructing utterances.” A certain turn constructional unit in the speaker’s unfinished utterance must yield linguistic projectability for the listener to complete the speaker’s clause. Thus, linguistic projectability plays a crucial role (Hopper & Thompson 2008).

Based on previous discussion, we will focus on studies of particular relevance to the syntax of co-construction. We are going to review Lerner’s (1991, 1996) study on English co-construction in Section 2.3.1 and Section 2.3.2, Hayashi’s (1999) analysis of Japanese conversation in Section 2.3.3, Helasvuo’s (2004) observations of Finnish co-construction in Section 2.3.4, and Chevalier and Clift’s (2008) investigation of unfinished turns in French conversation in 2.3.5. Finally, we conclude this section with a short summary in Section 2.3.6.

2.3.1 Lerner (1991)

Focusing on the syntactic composition of co-construction, Lerner (1991) identifies several “compound turn-constructive units” (Compound TCUs) as resources for the participant to achieve co-construction in English conversation. He observes that “compound turn-constructive units” in the speaker’s turn can orient the recipient to the opportunity of turn-taking and completing the speaker’s sentence-in-progress. Compound turn-constructive units, such as *if*-clause or *when*-clause, serving as the preliminary component, projects the coming of the final component to complete the sentence. Speaker change is thus made available for the

next speaker at the end of the preliminary component of a compound turn-constructive unit by the syntactic and semantic features of the compound TCU. Lerner argues that such two-part formats in conversation are projectable resources for collaborative production of anticipatory completion.

Of particular relevance to the present study are the four major compound turn-constructive units Lerner points out in his study: (1) *If X-then Y*, (2) *When X-then Y*, (3) *X said-Y*, and (4) *Instead of X-Y*. Syntactically, these compound turn-constructive units make clausal projection, which projects an upcoming clause in the following speech. These turn-constructive units are presented in detail as follows.

If X-then Y logically presents a conditional relationship. The preliminary component *if X*, projecting the preliminary component completion and a compound construction format, orients the participant to the turn transition place after the completion of the first component for a possible place for co-completion, as in (3).

(3) *If X-then Y*

Rich: if you bring it intuh them

Carol: ih don't cost yuh nothing

(taken from Lerner 1991:445)

In (4), similar to (3), the “turn-initial compound format marker” *when* (Lerner 1991: 445) in the compound format *When X-then Y* projects a final component of the compound sentence. The listener is provided with an opportunity for a collaborative production.

(4) *When X-then Y*

Dan: when the group reconvenes in two weeks=

Roger: =they're gunna issue strait jackets

(taken from Lerner 1991:445)

The third compound constructional unit, the quotation structure *X said-Y*, is proposed by Lerner (1991:446) for three functions: (1) projection of an upcoming quote, (2) offer of a place for the upcoming quote, and (3) signal of the requirement of a quote. All in all, it creates space for an upcoming quote. In (5), Speaker B completes Speaker A's quotation with the quote "why don't you come over honey?"

(5) *X said-Y*

- A: I just wish I were gonna eat a turkey dinner someplace ahh, he, I wish that he'd say, he said, I have to be back around four, because our family is having something and I wish he'd say
- > B: why don't you come over honey?
- A: yeah

(taken from Lerner 1991:446)

Lastly, *Instead of*, as a turn-initial compound unit marker, projects a contrastive offer in the final component, as shown in (6).

(6) *Instead of X-Y*

- Ken: instead my grandmother offering him a drink, of beer she'll say
- Louise: wanna glassa milk?

(taken from Lerner 1991:450)

In this example, both the compound constructional units, *Instead of* and *X-said*, project a potential place for a final component upon its completion. The quotation marker *X-said* transforms the projected offer from *Instead of* into a reported offer, but it does not block the projectability of the compound constructional unit, *Instead of X-Y*. Rather, as Lerner argues, the quotation marker "places an additional constraint on the production of the projected component" (Lerner 1991:450).

With these four compound constructional units, Lerner provides a clear argument

on two-part formats as resources for co-construction. Projection is made available by two-part syntactic formats. There are also some other kinds of two-part formats that are revealed by discourse organization, such as list structure, prefaced agreement, or preformulated formats.

List structure, as pointed out by Lerner, is also a projectable feature in co-construction, which regularly has a three-part structure (i.e., three items) in its construction (Jefferson 1990; Sacks & Schegloff 1979). During the list construction, the possible place for co-completion is made available upon the completion of the second item. In a way, the list structure provides “a compound turn-constructive unit format” (Lerner 1991: 448) from a wider stretch of talk in conversation. Prefaced disagreement, like the word “well”, is also regarded as a projectable element because “the turn-initial component is typically followed by a disagreement, rather than agreement” (Lerner 1991: 449). Therefore, the prefaced component projects an upcoming component showing disagreement. Preformulated formats in the discourse can also serve as the pre-preliminary component, forecast the speaker’s course of speech, and create a possible turn completion place. Lerner’s discussion of list structure, prefaced disagreement, and preformulation shows that although co-construction is mainly projected by two-part syntactic formats, there are some occasions where the listener jointly completes the speaker’s utterance when he is signaled by the compound constructive units in the wider stretch of talk in conversation. In addition, story preface (Sacks 1974), pre-pres (Schegloff 1980), two-syllable names, contrastive-stressed formats, or question-answer pairs can also serve as two-part formats that provide a preliminary completion place for the anticipatory completion to begin and thus provide opportunities for co-construction.

In conclusion, Lerner (1991) explores two-part formats in conversation and identifies several compound constructive units in which the preliminary component

projects the final component for anticipatory completion, orienting the listener to possible junctures for co-construction of the projected units. Some of the two-part formats can be syntactic, such as the *if X-then Y* format, while some others can be interactionally constituted, such as prefaced disagreement. Lerner's detailed characterizations of the compound turn-constructive units undoubtedly throw light on the present study.

2.3.2 Lerner (1996)

In this study, Lerner (1996) first recapitulates his previous work (1991), further probes into the projectable features manifested in preliminary component completion of compound constructive units, and discusses the unprojected opportunities for co-participant completion during the progress of talk.

Lerner finds that "the junctures between the preliminary and final components of a compound TCU is a grammatically specifiable locus for anticipatory completion" (1996: 267), and this place provides opportunities for participant's co-construction of anticipatory completion of utterance-in-progress. In addition to the formal specification, Lerner also shows that speakers are oriented to grammatical practices, such as the form of compound TCUs, projectable TCU completion, and TCU progressivity, and are thus guided to possible co-construction for sentence completion.

In this study, Lerner's observation on the final item or two in the speaker's utterance suggests a "pre-completion" position and a possible place for co-construction. Two kinds of terminal item completion are observed: "choral co-production" where the terminal item was co-produced simultaneously as shown in (7), and "co-option" where the recipient produces the final item as in (8). The terminal item projection syntactically projects a smaller syntactic unit.

(7) Terminal item completion (choral co-production)

- 1 T: Greg can be Santa Claus.
- 2 M: Yeah, he's got the [beard!
- > 3 C: [beard!

(taken from Lerner 1996:256)

(8) Terminal item completion (co-option)

- 1 Tiny: Chief Jerruso and Vic are on their way to Haynes Boulevard now, and
- 2 they say you better have yer transperta:tion=
- > 3 Charlie: =ready,=
- 4 Tiny: =alerted 'hh

(taken from Lerner 1996:256)

It is for sure that projectable features in the speaker's utterance can make available opportunities for anticipatory completion. Nonetheless, some non-projectable features, which are supposed to retard the progressivity of the utterance-in-progress, may orient the listeners to continuing the progressivity of turn constructional units (Lerner 1996). They do not forecast preliminary component completion, but they still provide the listeners with places for co-construction. These non-projectable features accompanying unprojected opportunities for entering another speaker's turn are discussed as follows.

According to Lerner (1996), each turn at talk features "progressivity". Each turn at talk continues beat by beat and heads toward a "recognizable TCU completion", showing "serial adjacency". Meanwhile, each turn at talk makes word-by-word progress toward completion, showing "sequential adjacency". Any disruption of progressivity of talk, either interrupting serial adjacency or delaying sequential adjacency or both, provides, by Lerner's definition, "opportunistic completion" for another speaker. For example, laugh tokens such as between-word

laughter and in-speech laugh token can retard serial adjacency of utterance, placing the next word on hold and thus creating an opportunistic place for speaker change. Intra-turn silence, treated as a pause within a turn by Sacks et al. (1974) and Schegloff (1979), is observed to provide the listener with an opportunity to complete the turn constructional unit and to continue the progressivity of talk.

Word searches, showing the speaker's attempt to continue his speech, is also a kind of disruption retarding the sequential progressivity of the utterance-in-progress, which theoretically does not project a possible completion of a TCU. Nevertheless, word searches, an action showing the speaker's incontinuity, provides a possible place for joint production. Word cut-offs, which the speaker uses "to replace a word, to recast a turn-in-progress or to initiate self-repair" (Lerner 1996; 263), project a replacement to be needed and thus a possible place for turn completion. Lastly, word repetition, which shows the speaker's hesitation, also provides the listener with possible co-construction.

All these non-projectable features, as Lerner addresses, can occur in combination to extend "an unprojected opportunity for entry." In addition to the observation of these non-projectable features at work, Lerner stresses that the opportunities for co-construction facilitated by these non-projectable features and those projected by projectable features are not "mutually exclusive." Disruption of progressivity may co-occur with the preliminary component completion.

To sum up, Lerner (2006) provides a detailed discussion of the projectable features availing listeners with opportunities for co-construction as well as the disruptive features of progressivity which may provide the listener with places and possibilities of co-construction. Co-construction takes places owing to the participant's orientation to progressivity of turn at talk, the form of compound constructional units, and projectability of turn constructional unit completion. These

features and the participant's orientation will be discussed in our investigation of Mandarin co-construction later.

2.3.3 Hayashi (1999)

Advancing from Lerner's (1991, 1996) study, Hayashi (1999) studies co-construction in Japanese conversation. He argues that Japanese co-construction is similar to that in English in that the syntax still plays a major role in projection. However, two-part formats such as compound TCU may not be as prominent in Japanese as those in English. Instead, terminal item completion frequently occurs in co-participant completion due to the inflectional nature of Japanese. Non-projectable features also furnish the speaker with possible turn completion.

2.3.4 Helasvuo (2004)

Helasvuo (2004) conducts research on Finnish co-construction. Different from Lerner's compound constructional projection, Helasvuo specifically focuses on the co-construction within one clause. In her study, four types of in-clause co-construction are identified: (1) nominal predication, (2) copula construction, (3) noun phrase construction, and (4) lexical construction. She argues that co-construction can occur at different syntactic levels within a clause, from lexical to predicative.

Helasvuo (2004) examines co-construction in conversation in Finnish based on the syntactic structures and their functions. While Lerner (1991) proposes four clausal projections in compound sentences, Helasvuo identifies lexical projection and categorical projection within a clause. She discusses four types of co-construction: (1) co-constructing a predication, (2) co-constructing an assessment, (3) co-constructing a characterizing phrase, and (4) co-constructing a lexical unit. Her

findings suggest that the co-completion of a clause is “controlled by the emerging unit as a whole” (Helasvuo 2004).

In the first type of co-construction in Helasvuo (2004), conversation participants co-construct a predication. The preliminary part of a clause, composed of a subject and a transitive predicate verb, projects an object or a locative adjunct. This type can be regarded as a categorical projection for the final part it projects belongs to a nominal category.

The second type is concerned with the copula construction. The preliminary part of the clause containing the subject and the copula projects an upcoming noun phrase or an adjective. Since the projected final part belongs to a nominal category or adjectival category, this type of co-construction is also accomplished based on categorical projection.

In the third type of co-construction, participants collaboratively construct a noun phrase. The adjective or the noun in the preliminary part projects a noun phrase in the following of the speech, which can also be categorized as a type of categorical projection.

In the last type, participants co-construct a lexical unit, a compound noun. Due to the inflectional nature of Finnish, the first part of a compound noun should be inflected with the nominative case or the genitive case. The final part of the compound takes the proper case suffix for the clause. To make the co-construction successful, the recipient must fill in an element with appropriate case marking.

In short, Helasvuo’s (2004) examination of co-construction within one clause in Finnish conversation shows that co-construction occurs at different syntactic levels, providing another possible research framework from Lerner’s study.

2.3.5 Chevalier and Clift (2008)

Chevalier and Clift (2008) study the unfinished turns in French conversation, focusing on the listener's response to the unfinished turns. They have also identified projectability and action projection that are the major resources for the listener in interpreting the unfinished utterance. Meanwhile, they find from the listener's response that the listener shows a clear understanding of how the unfinished turn is unfolding in spite of their syntactic incompleteness. Nevertheless, even though the unfinished turn may make syntactic projection and provide a grammatical juncture for the listener to complete the sentence, the unfinished turn is not always completed. Instead, the listener may issue an appropriate response to the unfinished utterance concerning action projection at play in the wider stretch of talk.

2.3.6 Interim Summary

In this section, we have reviewed studies on co-construction in several other languages than Mandarin. Lerner's (1991, 1996) observations of projected features in two-part formats and compound constructional units as well as non-projectable features manifested in the progression of turn at talk explicate the resources listeners obtain during the production of co-construction. Hayashi's (1999) findings of Japanese co-construction, on one hand, conforms Lerner's analysis, and provides a cross-linguistic perspective that language specific features also operate in co-construction, on the other. Helasvuo's (2004) analysis of Finnish co-construction at the clausal level supplements to Lerner's study that co-construction occurs at different levels within a clause. The French study by Chevalier and Clift (2008) reassures that projectability and action projection in incomplete sentences are resources for listeners in interpreting unfinished turns.

2.4 Summary

In this chapter, we have reviewed previous works on the interplay of grammar and interaction, presented a brief overview of co-construction, and reviewed previous studies on co-construction. Previous research have shown that syntax plays an important role in co-construction as social interaction, and that co-construction, examined in different languages and over different scopes, can be actualized at different syntactic levels or accompanied by various non-projectable features. Based on previous research, the present study aims to investigate how utterance co-production is achieved by participants and what kind of projection is at work in Mandarin conversation. In the following chapter, we will first analyze the syntactic composition of Mandarin co-construction from the projecting element in the unfinished turn as well as the co-constructed element contributed by the listener. Meanwhile, we will probe into the form of co-construction to investigate at which syntactic level Mandarin co-construction is accomplished and what grammatical features of Mandarin are profiled in Mandarin co-construction.

Chapter Three

Projectability in Co-construction

This chapter discusses our analysis of co-construction in Mandarin conversation. As suggested in previous studies, grammatical projectability plays a major role in participants' joint utterance completion. Our analysis will be presented from the point of view of syntactic projectability. In Section 3.1 and Section 3.2, we will investigate the syntactic categories in the speaker's unfinished utterance which make projection of a possible place for co-construction for the listener in conversation, and the co-constructed element contributed by the listener. In Section 3.3, we will expound the linguistic features of Mandarin that are manifested in our data of co-construction. Section 3.4 summarizes this chapter.

Based on the syntactic features of the projected categories in the unfinished utterance and the co-constructed element in our data, syntactic projectability can be categorized into two types: categorical projection and clausal projection. By categorical projection, we intend to categorize syntactic projection of an upcoming syntactic category. The projected element that the listener co-constructs belongs to a certain type of syntactic category, which features the most syntactic limitation. The fulfillment of this category syntactically, semantically, and pragmatically completes the speaker's utterance.

Under clausal projection are the cases in which the projecting elements make projection of an upcoming predicative format to make a clause complete or project an upcoming clausal format to complete the utterance as a complete clause or as a multi-clausal sentence. Both types of projecting elements project various types of predicative or clausal formats in the following speech, featuring more syntactic flexibility.

The two types of projection, categorical projection and clausal projection, are presented respectively in Section 3.1 and Section 3.2 below.

3.1 Categorical Projection in Co-construction

In this section, we discuss examples illustrating categorical projection. Data under this category are those co-constructions where the syntactic element in the speaker's unfinished utterance projects an upcoming syntactic category, providing the listener with space for co-construction. The projecting elements identified in our data are: (1) modifying phrases, (2) associative phrases, (3) classifier phrases, (4) nominal connectives, (5) adverbs, (6) auxiliary verbs, (7) coverbs, (8) serial verb construction, (9) pivotal construction, (10) the verb *you*, (11) verbs, (12) comparative construction, and (13) the *yue...yue...* (越...越...) construction, all of which project certain types of syntactic categories in the following course of speech for clause completion.

3.1.1 Modifying Phrases

From 3.1.1 to 3.1.3, the phrases projecting the head noun in a noun phrase are presented. In Mandarin, a noun phrase can consist of at least a noun/pronoun or a noun with optional elements, all of which “must occur in front of that noun” (Li & Thompson 1981:104). The elements preceding the head noun can be (1) classifiers/measure phrases, (2) associative phrases, and (3) modifying phrases (Li & Thompson 1981:104). All of these elements, which project an upcoming head noun phrase in the course of speech, are identified in the data. In the following, 3.1.1-3.1.3 will discuss modifying phrases, associative phrases, and classifier phrases in Mandarin co-construction respectively.

As indicated in Li and Thompson (1981), a modifying phrase can be “either a

relative clause or attributive adjective” (1981:116). Both relative clauses and attributive adjectives are observed in our data. They project an upcoming nominal category in co-construction. The instantiations are discussed in 3.1.1.1 and 3.1.1.2 in turn.

3.1.1.1 Attributive Adjectives

In (9), the conversation participants are talking about the manifestation of human conceptualization in linguistic expressions. The word 多 *duo* ‘many’ at line 6, identified as a monosyllabic adjective in Liu et al. (1996), functions as an attributive adjective, projecting an upcoming noun phrase and a possible turn completion place. Thus, when Speaker A hears the adjective, 多 *duo* ‘many’, in 很多 *hen duo* ‘many’, he furnishes the possible turn completion with a noun phrase, 形容詞 *xingrongci* ‘adjective’.

- (9) 1 B: [為什麼 是 減 掉.
 weisheme shi jian diao
 why C/F deduct drop
 ‘why we say ‘jiandiao’ ’
- 2 A: 對啊.
 dui a
 right
 ‘Yeah.’
- 3 B: [而 不 是--
 er bu shi
 and NEG C/F
 ‘but not...’
- 4 而 不 是 減 起來.
 er bu shi jian qilai
 and NEG C/F deduct up
 ‘but not ‘jianqilai’ ’
- 5 對.

- dui
 right
 ‘You’re right.’
- > 6 他就說我們的語言裡面其實已經用了很多
 ta jiu shuo women de yuyan limian qishi yijing yong le henduo
 he just say we GEN language inside actually already use PF many
 ‘He said that in our language actually we’ve been using a lot of’
- 7 [譬喻 法.
 piyu fa
 metaphor method
 ‘metaphors.’
- > 8 A: [形容 詞 嗎?
 xingrong ci ma
 describe term PT
 ‘Adjectives?’

3.1.1.2 Relative Clauses

In Chinese, relative clauses are a kind of nominalized clause, serving to modify the following head noun and to clarify the reference of the head noun (Li & Thompson 1981). A relative clause with the nominalizer 的 *de* may project the upcoming head noun for an anticipatory completion. In (10), the conversation participants are talking about how patients choose their doctors in the hospitals. When Speaker A hears the relative clause, 剛進去的 *gang jinqu de*, he produces a noun phrase, 菜鳥醫生 *cainiao yisheng*, to complete the prior speaker’s sentence:

- (10) 1 B: 你當然可以選擇有經驗有知識的醫生
 ni dangran keyi xuanze you jingyan you zhishi de yisheng
 you of course can choose have experience have knowledge NOM doctor
 那你-,
 na ni
 that you
 ‘Of course you can choose a doctor who is rich in experience and knowledge. Then,’

- 2 看 運氣 的 成分 就 減少 了.
kan yunqi de chengfen jiu jianshao le
see chance ASSOC component then decrease CRS
‘the less it would be decided by chance.’
- 3 A: 嗯 哼.
en heng
PT PT
‘Right.’
- > 4 B: 還 有 你 如 果 選 擇 經 驗 不 足 然 後 <E knowledge E>
hai you ni ruguo xuanze jingyan bu zu ranhou knowledge
even have you if choose experience NEG enough then knowledge
又 不 夠 像 我 們 這 種 剛 進 去 的.
you bu gou xiang women zhe zhong gang jinqu de
again NEG enough like we this CL just enter NOM
‘And if you choose an inexperienced doctor with poor knowledge, like one
of us who just came here.’
- > 5 A: (0)菜 鳥 醫 生.
cainiao yisheng
rookie doctor
‘A rookie doctor.’
- 6 B: 對, 那 你,
dui na ni
yes then you
‘Yes, then you’

3.1.2 Associative Phrases

Associative phrases, denoting association/connection or possession, links two noun phrases with the noun phrase preceding the particle 的 *de* being the modifier and the noun phrase following being the modified (Li & Thompson 1981). The associative phrase projects the upcoming associated or connected noun phrase. In the following example, the conversation participants are talking about a girl in a TV show. When Speaker B in (11) utters the phrase TVBS 的 *TVBS de*, the listener is led to utter an associated noun to complete the clause.

- (11) 1 A: 胖 胖 的 一 個 女 生.
 pang pang de yi ge nusheng
 obese obese NOM one CL girl
 ‘A heavy girl.’
- 2 B: 對, 然後 她 就 上 那 個 <E Hello E> 各位 觀眾 啊,
 dui ranhou ta jiu shang na ge Hello gewei guanzhong a
 yes then she just appear that CL PN PT
 ‘Yes, and she went on that ‘Hello! Every Audience!’ show’
- 3 然後,
 ranhou
 then
 ‘and’
- > 4 因為 <E Hello E> 各位 觀眾 是 <E TVBS E> 的-
 yinwei Hello gewei guanzhong shi TVBS de
 because PN CF TVBS ASSOC
 ‘because ‘Hello! Every Audience!’ is in the TVBS’
- > 5 A: 體系.
 tixi
 system
 ‘system.’
- 6 B: 對, 就 是 他 們 的 節 目.
 dui jiu shi tamen de jiemu
 yes just C/F their ASSOC program
 ‘Yes. That’s their show.’

3.1.3 Classifier Phrases

The third type of element occurring in front of the noun is classifier phrases. When a classifier is uttered in the final position of an unfinished turn, it also calls for a noun phrase for clause completion, as shown in (12). In (12), 種 *zhong* ‘kind; sort’ in 一種 *yi zhong* ‘one kind’ as a classifier indicates that the following unit should be a nominal category. Therefore, when the listener hears the classifier, he or she would naturally fill in a nominal phrase, as shown at line 9.

- (12) 1 A: 直系 的 親屬 就 不 能 有,
zhixi de qinshu jiu bu neng you
lineal NOM kinsfolk just NEG can have
'Lineal relatives are excluded'
- 2 減免 的 事情.
jianmian de shiqing
reduce NOM matter
'from the reduction'
- 3 B: [嗯.
en
PT
'Mmm.')
- 4 A: [我 爸爸 就 非常 生氣 啊.
wo baba jiu feichang shengqi a
I father then extremely angry FP
'My dad was mad at this'
- 5 因為 我 爸爸 很 在意 這 種 東西.
yinwei wo baba hen zaiyi zhe zhong dongxi
because I father very concern this CL thing
'because my dad really cared about this very much'
- > 6 他 認為 是 一 種,
ta renwei shi yi zhong
he consider C/F one CL
'He thought it was a kind of'
- 7 B: 嗯.
en
PT
'Mmm.')
- 8 A: 一 種,
yi zhong
one CL
'kind of'
- > 9 B: <J kimochi J> 的 問題.
< J kimochi J> de wenti
feeling NOM question
'a matter of feel.'
- 10 A: 對.

dui
yes
'That's right.'

The above three types of elements project a head noun and avail the listener with a possible co-construction of a noun phrase. Such kind of grammatical projection is also observed in Helasvuori (2004). However, Finnish co-construction of a noun phrase differs from that in Mandarin in that the modifier as a preliminary part projects specific grammatical case and number of the head noun in Finnish, while in Mandarin the modifier does not cast any inflectional marking of the head.

3.1.4 Nominal Connectives

Grammatically, connectives link two equivalent linguistic units. In our data, connectives such as 跟 *gen* and 或者是 *huozheshi*, meaning “and” and “or” respectively, project a nominal category since the linguistic unit prior to these connectives is nominal. In (13), the conversation participants are talking about the graduate institutes of translation in Taiwan. At line 6, the noun 輔大 *fuda* ‘Fu Jen Catholic University’ completes the coordination:

- (13) 1 A: 翻譯 是 最 難 考 的 好不好,
fanyi shi zui nan kao de haobuhao
translation C/F most difficult examine NOM good-NEG-good
'The Graduate Institute of Translation is the most difficult to get in, OK?'
- 2 而且 只 有 兩 間 e!
erqie zhi you liang jian e
and only have two CL PT
'and there are only two schools with this institute!'
- 3 就 是 師大 跟,
jiu shi shida gen
just C/F NTNU and

- ‘That is, National Taiwan Normal University and’
- 4 B: 噢,
ou
PT
‘Oh’
- 5 跟 那個,
gen nage
and that
‘and that’
- > 6 A: 師大 跟 [輔仁.
shida gen [fu ren
NTNU and FJU
‘NTNU and Fu Jen University.’
- > 7 B: [輔大.
fu da
FJU
‘Fu Jen University.’
- 8 A: 對,
dui
right
‘Yes.’

The connective 跟 *gen* in Speaker A’s sequence projects an upcoming nominal category. On his first try, Speaker B fails to fill in the word but only a hedge 那個 *nage*. In the following turn, Speaker A finishes the coordination and Speaker B co-constructs simultaneously with the right noun phrase, 輔大 *fuda*.

3.1.5 Adverbs

Unlike the linguistic elements discussed above that project an upcoming nominal category, adverbs modify verbs and adjectives and thus project their occurrence in the following course of speech. If a speaker utters an adverbial unit at the end of an utterance, the unit will be followed by verbs in the co-construction turn. In our data, the adverbs 太 *tai* ‘too’, 非常的 *fechangde* ‘extremely’, and 就 *jiu* ‘just; then’ are

found to make such a projection in co-construction. This phenomenon is illustrated in the following data.

In (14), the conversation participants are talking about a restaurant. When Speaker A hesitates at the adverbial unit 太 *tai* ‘too’ denoting degree, which projects an upcoming verbal category for clause completion, Speaker B co-constructs Speaker A’s speech with a verb-object compound 有錢 *youqian* at line 7, which corresponds to Speaker A’s intended meaning.

- (14) 1 B: 然後 那個 XXX 的 人 也 越來越多,
 ranhou nage XXX de ren ye yuelaiyueduo
 then that PN ASSOC person also more-and-more
 ‘There are more and more XXX restaurants’
- 2 都是 為 我們 這邊 的 人 而 開 的.
 dou shi wei women zhebian de ren er kai de
 all C/F for we here NOM person and open NOM
 ‘all set up for the people from (Taiwan).’
- 3 A: 哦!
 o
 PT
 ‘Oh!’
- 4 B: e 真的 很 多 e, 真的 很 多.
 e zhende hen duo e zhende hen duo
 PT really very much PT really very much
 ‘There really are a lot, quite a lot.’
- 5 A: 真的 喔!
 zhende o
 really PT
 ‘Really.’
- > 6 那 我 會 覺得 東方 人 真 是 太-.=
 na wo hui juede dongfang ren zhen shi tai
 that I will feel oriental person really C/F too
 ‘Well, I think Oriental people are really too’
- > 7 B: =太 有 錢 了 是 吧!=
 tai you qian le shi ba

too have money CRS yes PT

‘too wealthy, right?’

8 A: =對 呀! <T 錢：錢：壓 腳 目, 淹 淹 腳 目 T>.

dui ya qian qian ya jiao mu yan yan jiao mu

right PT money money crush foot toe flood flood foot toe

‘Right. Everyone is overwhelmed by money.’

In (15), speakers are talking about the strict government in a certain country. Speaker B’s unfinished speech provides an opportunity for co-participant completion by the final adverbial phrase 非常的 *fechangde* ‘extremely’. Speaker A’s continuation with a four-character phrase, 井然有序 *jingranyouxu*, serves as the stative verb to complete Speaker B’s sentence syntactically and pragmatically.

(15) 1 B: XXX 我 後來 想 想 其實 我 覺得

XXX wo houlai xiang xiang qishi wo juede

PN I later think think actually I feel

跟 我們 台灣 差不多.

gen women taiwan chabuduo

and we Taiwan almost

‘I think XXX is just like Taiwan.’

2 A: 差不多:?

chabuduo

about-the-same

‘Just like Taiwan?’

3 B: 他們 是 因為 他們 嚴厲.

tamen shi yinwei tamen yanli

they C/F because they strict

‘That’s because they are strict.’

4 A: =對 啊!

dui a

right PT

‘Exactly.’

5 [他們 嚴刑峻法 來 管.

tamen yanxingjunfa lai guan

they draconian law come govern

- ‘They govern (their people) with severe law’
- 6 B: [他們 管,
tamen guan
they govern
‘They govern (strictly)’
- > 7 所以 他們 才 能 夠 可以 好像 跟 你
suoyi tamen cai neng gou keyi haoxiang gen ni
so they only can enough able seem and you
維持 說 非常的.=
weichi shuo feichangde
maintain COM extremely
‘so they can maintain a highly’
- > 8 A: = 井然有序 [做 什麼 事情 都 很 有 秩序.
jingranyouxu zuo sheme shiqing dou hen you zhixu
eutaxy do what event all very have order
‘orderly fashion. (They) Do everything orderly.’

The following example (16), which also manifests the projection of an adverb of an upcoming stative verb, presents a more complicated case. The adverbial phrase, 非常的 *feichangde* ‘extremely’, is embedded in the composite construction 一副...的樣子 *yifu...de yangzi*. The adverb is followed by the hedge 那種 *nazhong*, which signals that Speaker A has not found a proper stative verb to describe the person mentioned. At this time, Speaker B interposes with a stative verb, 強勢 *qiangshi* ‘dominant’, to complete the modifying relationship between the adverbial phrase and the stative verb. However, with an urge to complete the composite construction he started at line 2, 一副...的樣子 *yifu...de yangzi*, Speaker A picks up Speaker B’s co-constructed part and adds the latter part of the composite construction, rendering 強勢的樣子 *qiangshi de yangzi*. Such phenomenon strongly manifests the speaker’s orientation to clause completion, as contended by Thompson and Couper-Kuhlen (2005).

- (16) 1 A: 他 覺得 好像 XXX 就 是,
 ta juede haoxiang XXX jiu shi
 he feel seem PN just C/F
 ‘He thinks XXX is just’
- > 2 反正 就 是 一 副 非常 的 那種,
 fanzheng jiu shi yi fu feichangde nazhong
 anyway just C/F one CL extremely that
 ‘anyway, she seems very’
- > 3 B: 強勢.
 qiangshi
 dominant
 ‘dominant.’
- 4 A: 強勢 的 樣子,
 qiangshi de yangzi
 dominant NOM appearance
 ‘Just dominant.’
- 5 對 對 對 對.
 dui dui dui dui
 right right right right
 ‘Right on.’

As an adverb, 就 *jiu* can modify verbs when meaning “immediately” or “simply”. In (17), Speaker A first talks about the situation at line 2. When A continues to utter the sentence 那我明天不就剛好就 *na wo mingtian bu jiu ganghao jiu* at line 3, 就 *jiu* in Speaker A’s utterance projects a verbal category. When 就 *jiu* is uttered, Speaker B immediately fills in a verbal predicate, 順延 *shunyan* ‘postpone’, to complete Speaker A’s sentence.

- (17) 1 A: 明天 星期三 嘛,
 mingtian xingqisan ma
 tomorrow Wednesday PT
 ‘Tomorrow is Wednesday.’
- 2 那 我 本來 那 一 個 要 在 公司 替 同事
 na wo benlai na yi ge yao zai gongsi ti tongshi

that I originally that one CL want in company for colleague

上課 是 星期二 啊,

shangke shi xingqier a

lecture C/F Tuesday PT

‘Well, it is Tuesday that I should give a lecture for my colleagues in my company.’

3 B: 嗯.

en

PT

‘I see’

4 A: 那 我 明天 不 就 剛好,

na wo mingtian bu jiu ganghao

that I tomorrow NEG then just

‘Well, then tomorrow I just have to’

> 5 就...

jiu

then

‘just’

> 6 B: (0)順延.

shunyan

postpone

‘put it off.’

3.1.6 Auxiliary Verbs

Auxiliary verbs syntactically precede a verb phrase. In (18), Speaker A utters a sentence in which a subject is followed by an auxiliary verb, 應該 *yinggai* ‘should’. This auxiliary verb projects an upcoming verb phrase. Speaker B interposes into Speaker A’s turn-in-progress with a stative phrase, 比較好 *bijiaohao* ‘better’ and completes Speaker A’s speech.

- (18) 1 B: 後來 他 說 他 這 一 次 會 細 心 的 <E proof read E>,
houlai ta shuo ta zhe yi ci hui xixin de proof read
later he say he this one CL will careful MAS proof read
‘Later he said that this time he would proof read carefully.’

- 2 所以,
 suoyi
 so
 ‘So,’
- 3 <E Supposedly E>,
 supposedly
 ‘supposedly’
- 4 這 一 次,
 zhe yi ci
 this one CL
 ‘this time’
- > 5 A: 兩 個 應 該
 liang ge yinggai
 two CL should
 ‘two should be’
- > 6 B: (0)應 該 比 較 好.
 yinggai bijiaohao
 should better
 ‘should be better.’

3.1.7 Coverbs

Coverbs are typically used to introduce a noun phrase and the combination precedes the main verb of the clause. In this category, two coverbs, 把 *ba* and 從 *cong* ‘from’, are identified in our data.

The coverb, 把 *ba*, precedes the direct object and indicates the disposal of the direct object (Li & Thompson 1981). In (19), Speaker B is saying that the convenience of technology can benefit the relationship between a couple. When Speaker B uses the 把 *ba* construction to introduce the direct object, 雙方 *shuangfang* ‘both sides’, Speaker A immediately fills in another direct object, 距離 *juli* ‘distance’, as well as the verb, 拉近 *lajin* ‘draw close’, to complete the sentence. Compared to Speaker B’s continuing speech, Speaker A’s offer is apparently what Speaker B intended to convey.

- (19) 1 B: 因為 現在 的 電,
 yinwei xianzai de dian
 because now NOM electric
 ‘Because nowadays the telephone’
- 2 像 是 電話 有 沒有,
 xiang shi dianhua you mei you
 like C/F telephone have NEG have
 ‘telephones, right’
- 3 都 很 非,
 dou hen fei
 all very NEG
 ‘are all very’
- 4 非常的 便利.
 feichangde bianli.
 extremely convenient
 ‘very handy.’
- 5 A: 嗯.
 en
 PT
 ‘Hum.’
- 6 B: 不妨 說,
 bufang shuo
 may-as-well say
 ‘You may want to’
- > 7 利用 這 個 便利, 能 夠 把 雙方
 liyong zhe ge bianli neng gou ba shuangfang
 utilize this CL convenience can enough BA both
 ‘with this convenient invention, to make both’
- > 8 A: [把 距離 拉 近]
 ba juli la jin
 BA distance pull close
 ‘drawn closer.’
- 9 B: [這 個 夫妻 的 感情 距離 拉 近]
 zhe ge fuqi de ganqing juli la jin
 this CL couple NOM relationship distance pull close
 ‘to shorten the distance between the two.’

從 *cong* ‘from’ as a coverb projects the noun phrase and the main verb of the clause. In (20), it is observed that a sequence ending with 從 *cong* ‘from’ projects an upcoming nominal phrase and a verb. Therefore, when Speaker B utters 從 *cong* ‘from’, Speaker A spontaneously fills in the noun phrase, 月租費 *yuezufei* ‘monthly fee’ and the verb 賺 *zhuan* ‘profit’. Speaker A successfully completes Speaker B’s sequence for Speaker A and Speaker B utter exactly the same words at the same time.

- (20) 1 A: 它的計費方式怪怪的,
 ta de jifei fangshi guai guai de
 it GEN charging method strange strange NOM
 ‘Its way of charging is strange.’
- 2 好像你打不到30秒也算30秒的錢,
 haoxiang ni da bu dao 30 miao ye suan 30 miao de qian
 seem you dial NEG to 30 second also count 30 second NOM money
 ‘It seems that if you make a call for less than 30 seconds, you still have to pay 30 seconds’ worth of money.’
- 3 B: 怪不得它們 o
 guaibude tamen o
 no-wonder they PT
 ‘No wonder they’
- 4 把手機價格拉的那麼低,
 ba shouji jiage la de name di
 BA cellphone price pull MAS that low
 ‘price their cell phones so cheaply.’
- > 5 原來是想從... [月租費賺!
 yuanlai shi xiang cong yue zu fei zhuan
 actually C/F think from month rent fee gain
 ‘and make it back... through the monthly fee.’
- > 6 A: [月租費賺!
 yue zu fei zhuan
 month rent fee gain
 ‘through the monthly fee.’

It is worth noting that the coverb 從 *cong* ‘from’ projects two upcoming syntactic

categories, i.e. the NP and the verb. Speaker A's co-construction completes both the two categories and the clause as a whole, which again supports Thompson and Couper-Kuhlen (2005) that speakers are oriented to clause completion.

Another example involving the coverb 從 *cong* 'from' consists of the 從...開始 *cong...kaishi* 'starting from' construction, as (21) shows:

- (21) 1 A: 你 有 發現 到 自己 喜歡,
 ni you faxian dao ziji xihuan
 you have discover to oneself like
 'You have found what you like'
 2 就是 喜歡 的 地方 這樣子.=
 jiushi xihuan de defang zheyangzi
 just like NOM place like-this
 'the things that you really like.'
 3 B: =對 啊!
 dui a
 yes PT
 'Right.'
 > 4 我 好像 從 很 小 開始 [就,
 wo haoxiang cong hen xiao kaishi [jiu
 I seem from very little begin LK
 'Ever since I was a little kid, it seems that I'
 > 5 A: [就 喜歡 看 書.=
 jiu xihuan kan shu
 LK like read book
 'I've just been enjoying reading.'
 6 B: 對 對 對!
 dui dui dui
 right right right
 'You're right.'

As we discussed above, 從 *cong* 'from' projects a noun and a main verb. In this example, a traditional analysis would regard 開始 *kaishi* 'start' as the main verb of the clause. However, Tao and Tao (2009) argue that 開始 *kaishi* 'start' in the 從

cong ‘from’ construction should be considered as a postposition rather than a verb. In their corpus-based research, Tao and Tao propose that 從...開始 *cong...kaishi* ‘starting from’ is becoming a construction, presenting a time frame and indicating a specific starting point. Therefore, in (21), when Speaker B utters a clause 我好像從很小開始 *wo haoxiang cong hen xiao kaishi*, in which 從...開始 *cong...kaishi* ‘starting from’ projects an action that has a start point, Speaker A then completes Speaker B’s speech with a verbal predicate 就喜歡看書 *jiu xihuan kan shu*. 就 *jiu* ‘just’ links backwardly to the previous time frame and completes the sentence.

3.1.8 Serial Verb Construction

Serial verb construction refers to sentences containing two or more parallel verb phrases or verbal clauses without any marking (Li & Thompson 1981). As proposed in Li and Thompson (1981), there are four types of serial verb construction: (1) construction conveying two or more separate events, (2) one verbal element serving as the subject or direct object of another verb, (3) pivotal construction, and (4) descriptive clauses (1981:594). In our data, we observed instantiations of co-construction where participants co-produce a serial verb construction of two or more separate events as well as pivotal construction. The instantiation of the serial verb construction of two or more separate events is discussed as follows.

In the following example (22), Speaker B suggests that Speaker A should go to the exhibition and take a look at the works. Upon Speaker B’s production of a directional verb 去 *qu* ‘go’, Speaker A simultaneously repeats the verb and adds a verb reduplication, 看看 *kankan* ‘see’, which co-constructs a serial verb construction to describe two separate events.

- (22) 1 B: 對 啊!
 dui a
 right PT
 ‘Right.’
- 2 我 覺得 很 不錯 啊!
 wo juede hen bucuo a
 I feel very nice PT
 ‘I think it’s nice’
- > 3 你 可以 去-,
 ni keyi qu
 you can go
 ‘You can go’
- 4 [看-
 kan
 see
 ‘look’
- > 5 A: [去 看 看!
 qu kan kan
 go see see
 ‘take a look’
- 6 B: 對 啊!
 dui a
 right PT
 ‘Right.’

3.1.9 Pivotal Construction

Pivotal construction, another type of serial verb construction, refers to a structure where a noun phrase serves as the direct object of the first verb and the subject of the second verb at the same time (Li & Thompson 1981). In (23), the pronoun 他們 *tamen* ‘they’ is the direct object of the verb, 叫 *jiao* ‘call’. It also serves as the subject of the following verb, 放 *fang* ‘broadcast’. Speaker B’s production of 叫他們 *jiao tamen* projects an upcoming verb for a possible turn completion. Speaker A furnishes the clause with a verb, 放 *fang* ‘broadcast’.

- (23) 1 B: 對對對他說剛開始他唱片公司都會送那一個-
 dui dui dui ta shuo gang kaishi ta changpian gongsi douhui song na yi ge
 right right right he say just begin he record firm all will send that one CL
 ‘Right. He said in the beginning his music company sent the’
- 2 送帶子去電台給他們聽,
 song daizi qu diantai gei tamen ting
 send cassette go radio-station give they listen
 ‘gave the demo cassette to the radio station for them to listen’
- 3 A: huh2.
 PT
 ‘Hum.’
- > 4 B: 然後叫他們-
 ranhou jiao tamen
 then ask they
 ‘and then asked them’
- > 5 A: (0)放.
 fang
 play
 ‘to broadcast it.’
- 6 B: 對對會放.
 dui dui hui fang
 right right will play
 ‘Right. They would broadcast it.’

3.1.10 The Verb *You* 有

The word, 有 *you*, could mean “have” or “exist” in Mandarin. When 有 *you* means “have”, it marks possession, requiring an entity to be possessed. Here in (24), Speaker A and Speaker B are talking about what action people should take when an earthquake hits. In the previous discourse, Speaker A suggests that one should run to the top of the building if one’s location is closer to it. He further argues that one should have a sense of crisis. However, Speaker A does not successfully elaborate on his idea. Therefore, he embarks on word searches and utters some discourse hedges such as 一些 *yixie* ‘some’, 那個 *nage* ‘that’, and 什麼 *sheme* ‘what’

following 有 *you* in his speech before he re-starts with 我覺得 *wo juede* at line 2.

At this point, Speaker B comes in and completes Speaker A's speech with a noun phrase 危機意識 *weiji yishi* 'a sense of crisis' at line 4.

(24)> 1 A: 我 覺得 應該 要 有 一些 那個 什麼—,
wo juede yinggai yao you yixie nage sheme
I fell should want have some that what
'I think they should have some'

2 我 覺得,
wo juede
I feel
'I think'

3 [台灣 是,
Taiwan shi
Taiwan C/F
'for Taiwanese people']

> 4 B: [危機 意識.
weiji yishi
crisis sense
'a sense of crisis']

5 A: 對 啊!
dui a
right PT
'Right.'

6 台灣 是 地震 帶,
Taiwan shi dizhen dai
Taiwan C/F earthquake zone
'since Taiwan is in the seismic zone.'

7 可是 這次 大家 還是 一樣,
keshi zheci dajia haishi yiyang
yet this-time everyone still same
'but this time it hit too unexpectedly'

8 措手不及.
cuoshoubuji
unaware-and-unprepared
'leaving everyone unaware and unprepared.'

When 有 means “exist”, it typically projects an upcoming noun phrase. This function is observed in (25). In this excerpt, Speaker B is trying to relate a speech he recently saw to the one back in his undergraduate years.

- (25) 1 B: 然後 我 就 覺得 說 e,
 ranhou wo jiu juede shuo e
 then I just feel COM PT
 ‘And I think’
 2 好像 不錯 耶!
 haoxiang bucuo ye
 seem not-bad PT
 ‘it sounds good’
 3 那個 標題 我 忘記 了!
 nage biaoti wo wangji le
 that title I forget CRS
 ‘I forgot the topic’
 4 就是- 大三 的時候,
 jiushi dasan deshihou
 just junior-year period
 ‘just as in my third year’
 > 5 有 [那個-
 you nage-
 have that
 ‘there was a’
 > 6 A: [有 演講 [是不是?
 you yanjiang [shibushi
 have speech yes NEG yes
 ‘a speech, right?’

Speaker B recalls that there was a speech in his third year in college. He utters the existential 有 *you* in order to present the noun phrase at line 5. However, he has difficulties in retrieving the noun phrase and hesitates with the hedge 那個 *nage* ‘that’. Speaker A tries to help Speaker B to complete his sequence, so at line 6

Speaker A repeats the verb 有 *you* and fills in the noun phrase 演講 *yanjiang* ‘speech’ along with a tag question.

有 *you* prototypically means “have” or “exist”. However, under the influence of Min, 有 *you* could function as a modal and take verbal predicates in Taiwanese Mandarin. In this case, 有 *you* marks experience or the perfective aspect of a verb.

- (26) 1 B: 我 就 覺得 說 e 我 應該 去 義大利 看 看,
 wo jiu juede shuo e wo yinggai qu yidali kan kan
 I just feel COM e I should go Italy see see
 ‘I just feel that I should take a trip to Italy and look around’
- 2 尤其 你 記 不 記得 以前,
 youqi ni ji bu jide yiqian
 especially you remember NEG remember before
 ‘in particular, do you remember previously’
- 3 那個 欸,
 nage en
 that PT
 ‘that’
- > 4 <E Discovery E>有 一陣子 有 [播 一個 節目,
 Discovery you yizhenzi you [bo yi ge jiemu
 PN have a-while have broadcast one CL program
 ‘There was a show on Discovery’
- > 5 A: [義大利 廚房
 yidali chufang
 PN
 ‘Italian Kitchen.’
- 6 B: 對, 義大利 廚房,
 dui yidali chufang
 right PN
 ‘You’re right. It was Italian Kitchen.’

Here we find an interesting piece of data showing the structural and semantic ambiguity of 有 *you*. Speaker B originally utters a sentence in which 有 *you* functions as a perfective marker. Speaker B intends to utter a verb phrase 播一個節

目 *bo yi ge jiemu*, but Speaker A interposes Speaker B's utterance with a noun phrase. Obviously, Speaker A interprets this auxiliary 有 *you* as a verb meaning "have", which is different from Speaker B's intended perfective meaning. Even though they use 有 *you* differently, they elaborate on the same idea. Therefore, Speaker B responds with an agreement token 對 *dui* 'yes' and repeats Speaker A's co-constructed noun phrase to show his agreement.

3.1.11 The Copula Verb *Shi* 是

是 *shi* is a copula verb that links the subject and the complement. The complement following 是 *shi* can be nominal, adjectival or verbal. In our data, 是 *shi* is found to project an upcoming verbal complement. In (1), which we have shown in Chapter 1, Speaker B is uttering a sentence starting as "The best way to deal with gall bladder stones is..." When Speaker A hears the copula verb, 是 *shi*, he immediately completes Speaker B's sentence with a verbal complement, 膽囊拿掉 *dannang na diao*, with the object preposed to the left of the verb. Speaker B shows his agreement and repeats Speaker A's words in the following turn with the object-preposing 把 construction to confirm Speaker A's completion.

- (1)> 1 B: 膽囊結石 最好的 處理 方式 還是 就是,
 dannangjieshi zuihaode chuli fangshi haishi jiu shi
 gallstone best handle method still just C/F
 'The best way to treat gallstones is'
 > 2 A: (0)膽囊 拿 掉.
 dannang na diao
 gall bladder take off
 'to remove the gall bladder.'
 3 B: 對,
 dui
 right

- ‘Right.’
- 4 把 膽囊 拿 掉.
 ba dannang na diao
 BA gall bladder take off
 ‘remove the gall bladder.’

3.1.12 Verbs

Verbs can be classified according to the number of objects they take. According to Li and Thompson (1981), verbs in Mandarin can largely be divided into three types: (1) intransitive verbs, (2) transitive verbs, and (3) ditransitive verbs (1981: 141). Intransitive verbs have no objects, while transitive verbs have one object and ditransitive verbs have two. In our data, no data of co-construction projected by intransitive verbs are found. Since intransitive verbs do not project an upcoming syntactic category, the listener would not be provided with an opportunity for clause completion. All the data of co-construction projected by verbs are found to be concerned with transitive verbs or ditransitive verbs, which project one or more upcoming objects. In the subsequent sections, we will take the verbs 得 *de* ‘obtain’ and 說 *sho* ‘say’ for the discussion of transitive verbs, and the verb 考 *kao* ‘examine’ for the discussion of ditransitive verbs.

3.1.12.1 Transitive Verbs

得 *de* ‘obtain’ is a transitive verb projecting a noun phrase as an object. In (27), Speaker B utters a verbal compound 得過 *de guo* ‘have obtained’, which projects an object in the following course of speech. Speaker A offers a compound noun 金曲獎 *jinqujiang* ‘Golden Melody Awards’, the title of the prize, as the object.

- (27) 1 B: 其實 XXX 是 有 得 過 獎 的 而且-
 qishi XXX shi you de guo jiang de erqie

- actually PN C/F have win pass prize NOM besides
 ‘Actually XXX did receive prizes and’
- 2 之前 XXX 不 是 還 有 得-
 zhiqian XXX bu shi hai you de
 before PN NEG C/F still have win
 ‘just now XXX has received’
- > 3 得 過
 de guo
 win pass
 ‘received’
- > 4 A: (0)金曲獎,
 jinqujiang
 Golden Melody Awards
 ‘the Golden Melody Awards’
- 5 B: 對 啊 還 有 國 外 的 MTV,
 dui a hai you guowai de MTV
 right PT even have overseas ASSOC PN
 ‘Right, and also from MTV’
- 6 那個 什麼
 nage sheme
 that what
 ‘that’
- 7 華語 創作 獎
 huayu chuangzuo jiang
 Mandarin compose prize
 ‘the Best Mandarin Composer Award.’

Another instantiation illustrating the projectability of transitive verbs is the verb 說 *shuo* ‘say’. As a transitive verb, 說 *shuo* ‘say’ usually projects an object. As discussed in Chapter 2, verbs of saying are treated in Lerner (1996) as a quotation marker, serving as the preliminary component in the compound turn-constructural format *X said-Y* and projecting an upcoming clausal object. In Mandarin, such quotation usage of 說 *shuo* ‘say’ is also found to make projection of an upcoming clausal object, as in (28). Upon Speaker B’s production of the verb 說 *shuo* ‘say’,

Speaker A co-produces a clause as the object.

- (28) 1 B: <@停 停 走 走@>,
ting ting zou zou
stop stop walk walk
'We stopped for a while and then walked a while'
- 2 @,
> 3 我們 就 接著 說 [我們 昨 晚 沒 睡]
women jiu jiezhe shuo women zuo wan mei shui
we then following say we yesterday night NEG sleep
'We then said, 'We didn't sleep last night''
- > 4 A: [我們 昨 晚 沒 睡] XXX
women zuowan mei shui XXX
we yesterday night NEG sleep PN
'We didn't sleep last night.'
- 那 一 天 又 跟 我 講,
na yi tian you gen wo jiang
that one day again with I talk
'When XXX talked with me that day'
- 5 我 就 跟 他 講 這個,
wo jiu gen ta jiang zhege
I just with he say this
'I just told him this.'

3.1.12.2 Ditransitive Verbs

The verb 考 *kao* 'examine' can be transitive or ditransitive. In (29), the conversation participants are talking about the entrance exam of graduate schools. Speaker A's production of the verb 考 *kao* 'examine' followed by an indirect object 你 *ni* 'you' projects the ditransitive nature of the verb. The direct object may follow up subsequently, but instead the speaker utters a hedge, 那個 *nage* 'that'. Thus, B completes A's speech by offering a noun, 英文 *yinwen* 'English', as the direct object of the verb.

- (29) 1 A: 一般 生 錄取 九 名.
yiban sheng luqu jiu ming
ordinary student recruit nine CL
‘They recruit nine full-time students.’
- 2 它 考 的 部份 就 是 考,
ta kao de bufen jiu shi kao
it test NOM portion just C/F test
‘Regarding the exams, they have’
- > 3 筆試 就 是 考 你 那個—
bishi jiushi kao ni nage
written-test just test you that
‘The written exams include’
- > 4 B: 英文.
yingwen
English
‘English.’
- 5 A: 共同 科 是 國文.
gongtong ke shi guowen
common subject C/F Chinese
‘The common subject is Chinese.’

In this section, we discussed projection made by transitive verbs and ditransitive verbs in co-construction. Transitive verbs in an unfinished utterance project the upcoming object for possible co-construction. Particularly, we investigated the quotation usage of the transitive verb 說 *shuo* ‘say’, which is similar to the two-part format *X said-Y* in Lerner’s (1991) study. As for ditransitive verbs, our example shows that the speaker’s utterance of the verb together with the indirect object projects the direct object for possible co-construction.

3.1.13 Comparative Construction

According to Li and Thompson (1981), comparative construction generally consists of four elements: (1) the subject or the topic, (2) the comparison word, (3) the

comparison base which the subject or the topic is compared with, and (4) the predicate indicating the dimension of the comparison. Such construction is observed in Speaker A's unfinished turn, as in (30).

- (30) 1 A: 如果 說 一旦 你 就是 過 了那個 關鍵 期 的 話,
 ruguo shuo yidan ni jiushi guo le nage guanjian qi de hua
 if COM once you just pass PF that critical period NOM utterance
 'If you have passed the critical period'
- 2 長大 之後 譬如 說 你 大概
 zhangda zhihou piru shuo ni dagai
 grow-up after for-example COM you rough
 十 幾 歲 再 來 學 的 話,
 shi ji sui zai lai xue de hua
 ten some age again come learn NOM utterance
 'If you learned in your teens'
- > 3 可能 就 沒有 人家 就是 從 小 從 小 開始 學
 keneng jiu meiyou renjia jiushi cong xiao cong xiao kaishi xue
 probably just NEG someone-else just from little from little begin study
 那樣子 的 那種.
 nayangzi de nazhong
 that NOM that-kind
 'compared with those who started learning since they were little kids'
- > 4 B: 有效 吧!=
 youxiao ba
 effective PT
 'you might not learn it that effectively.'
- 5 A: =對 對 對!
 dui dui dui
 right right right
 'Right.'
- 6 有效 那樣子.=
 youxiao nayangzi
 effective like-that
 'Not so effective.'

In (30), Speaker A first utters (1) the topic which is a clause indicating a hypothetical

situation, 譬如說你大概十幾歲再來學的話, (2) the comparison word 沒有, followed by (3) the comparison base object which the topic is compared with, 人家就是從很小很小開始學那樣子的那種. In other words, Speaker A intends to convey the proposition with (1) the topic 你十幾歲學, (2) the comparison word 沒有, and (3) the comparison base 人家從小學, with the dimension of the comparison yet to come before clause completion. The structure Speaker A uses projects an upcoming predicate which indicates the dimension of the comparison. Speaker B thus completes A's utterance with a verbal predicate, 有效 *youxiao*, showing the result of the dimension.

It is worth noting that after Speaker B's co-construction Speaker A utters the discourse boundary marker 那樣子 *nayangzi* 'like that' following the repetition of the verbal predicate 有效 *youxiao*, showing the clause boundary of Speaker A's prior utterance at line 3. This again renders evidence to speaker's clause-orientation in conversation proposed in Thompson and Couper-Kuhlen (2005).

3.1.14 The *Yue...yue... Construction* (越...越...)

The 越...越... *yue...yue...* construction coordinates two verb phrases, two adjectival phrases, or one verb phrase and one adjectival phrase (Liu et al. 1996). In (31), Speaker B follows on Speaker A's idea that girls in less clothing earn more money. Furthermore, Speaker B would like to point out that girls with less clothing could also have more chances to hang out with rich men by extending the *yue...yue...* construction. However, Speaker B does not give a precise description of the sort of rich men but utters a hedge, 那個 *nage* 'that', in the construction. Speaker A makes Speaker B's utterance semantically complete by filling in the adjective 高級 *gaoji* 'high class' as the component of the extended 越...越... *yue...yue...* construction.

- (31) 1 A: 拜託,
baituo
request
'Come on!'
- 2 跟 人家 出來 的 女孩子,
gen renjia chulai de nuhaizi
with someone hang-out NOM girl
'Those girls who hang out with those men'
- 3 什麼 穿 得 越 少 錢 越 多.
sheme chuan de yue shao qian yue duo
what wear MAS more few money more many
'not just earn a lot of money when they are in sexy clothing'
- 4 B: 啊,
PT
'Hum'
- > 5 她 吊 的 凱子 越,
ta diao de kaizi yue
she hook NOM fool more
'The guy she hangs out with is'
- > 6 越 那個.
yue nage
more that
'of much'
- 7 A: 越 高級,
yue gaoji
more high-level
'of higher status.'

3.1.15 Interim Summary

In Section 3.1, we discussed co-construction accomplished on categorical projection. We identified 14 projecting categories and observed that these syntactic components in the speaker's unfinished utterance (1) project one or two certain types of upcoming syntactic categories and (2) provide the listener with opportunities for co-construction for clause completion.

3.2 Clausal Projection

In the previous section, we discussed projection on a categorical level, i.e., the syntactic element in the speaker's utterance projects another syntactic category in the upcoming speech. In this section, we move on to investigate the syntactic elements projecting an upcoming clausal format for clausal completion. Five types of projecting elements are identified, i.e. the subject-predicate structure, the *shi...de* (是...的) construction, the topic chain, the linking elements, and the topic-comment structure. In particular, co-construction accomplished on the subject-predicate structure, the *shi...de* (是...的) construction, and the topic chain is projected for an upcoming predicative format to make the speaker's utterance a complete clause. The linking elements and the topic-comment structure make projection of an upcoming clausal format to make the speaker's utterance complete as a multi-clausal format. In the following, we will discuss these types of co-construction respectively.

3.2.1 Subject-Predicate Structure

The basic grammatical elements of a sentence in Mandarin are the subject and the predicate with the subject preceding the predicate. In our data, we observe that the listener co-constructs the speaker's utterance with a proper predicate once he hears the subject uttered by the speaker.

In (32), one conversation participant is talking about her overhearing of a conversation between two girls in the restroom after a movie. At line 4, 結果 *jieguo* 'consequently' is a sentential adverb, which is used by Speaker B to summarize Speaker A's speech, serving interactional function. What yields projection is the subject 她 *ta* 'she' in Speaker B's clause, which projects a predicate before possible clausal completion. When Speaker B utters the subject, 她 *ta* 'she', Speaker A repeats it with the predicate, thus rendering a complete clause, 她根本就沒有在看

ta genben jiu mei you zai kan. She follows up with a discourse marker 好不好 *haobuhao*.

- (32) 1 A: 然後,
 ranhou
 then
 ‘and’
- 2 那個 女生 就 講 說:
 nage nusheng jiu jiang shuo
 that girl just say COM
 ‘that girl asked’
- 3 e 後來 上 送 張艾嘉 上 飛機 的 那個 是 誰@
 e houlai shang song zhangaijia shang feiji de nage shi shei
 PT later up see-off PN embark jet NOM that C/F who
 ‘Who was the guy that saw Sylvia Chang off?’
- > 4 B: 結果 她 [沒 有 看 喔?
 jieguo ta mei you kan o
 result she NEG have see PT
 ‘So, she didn’t see that?’
- > 5 A: [她 根本 就 沒 有 在 看 好不好!
 ta genben jiu mei you zai kan haobuhao
 she basically just NEG have see good-NEG-good
 ‘Come on, she didn’t watch it carefully.’
- 11 演 這麼 明白 [就 金城武 啊!
 yan zheme mingbai jiu jinchengwu a
 act this obvious just PN PT
 ‘It was so obvious. It was Takeshi Kaneshiro.’

In (33), when Speaker B utters the subject 我 *wo* ‘I’, Speaker A spontaneously supplements the predicate of the sentence. Speaker B in a way only utters the subject of his sentence, but Speaker A completes the predicate of Speaker B’s sentence. If we look at the overlap of Speaker B’s and Speaker A’s sentences, we can find that Speaker A’s predicate is not exactly what Speaker B says. However, Speaker B still responds with the agreement tokens, 對對對 *dui dui dui*, in the next

turn.

- (33) 1 B: 我 覺得-,
wo juede
I feel
'I think'
- 2 就是 看 書 的 話 可以 更 快樂 這樣!
jiushi kan shu de hua keyi geng kuaile zheyang
just read book NOM utterance can more happy like-this
'reading makes me happier'
- 3 就是 可以 調劑 生活 嘛!
jiushi keyi tiaoji shenghuo ma
just can blend life PT
'Well, it's just a way to enliven my life'
- 4 不然 每 天 都 做 問卷,
buran mei tian dou zuo wenjuan
not-so every day all do questionnaire
'Otherwise, if I work on the questionnaire every day'
- > 5 我 [只 會
wo [zhi hui
I only will
'I'll'
- > 6 A: [都 重複 一樣 的 生活
dou zhongfu yiyang de shenghuo
all repeat same NOM life
'I'll live a life that is the same every day.'
- 7 B: 對 [對 對!
dui [dui dui
right right right
'Right. Exactly.'

The following example (34) is another instance showing that co-construction can be semantically and pragmatically constructed. Speaker B utters the subject of the sentence, 功力 *gongli* 'skill', a word which can take any form of predicate. Based on his semantic knowledge, Speaker A spontaneously furnishes a verbal predicate 大

增 *da zeng* to produce an idiomatic expression in Mandarin.

- (34) 1 B: 古典 音樂 都 都 一竅不通 啊 但是,
gudian yinyue dou dou yiqiaobutong a danshi
classical music all all know-nothing-about PT but
'She knew nothing about classical music but'
- 2 她 又-
ta you
she again
'she'
- 3 聽 的 時間 蠻 久 的,
ting de shijian man jiu de
listen NOM time quite long NOM
'she listened to it for quite a long time'
- 4 對 啊 長 時間 這樣 聽 下來,
dui a zhang shijian zheyang ting xialai,
right PT long time like-this listen down
'Yeah, after a long time, her'
- > 5 功力-
gongli
skill
'Her skills/ knowledge'
- > 6 A: (0)大 增.
da zeng
huge improve
'increased significantly.'

In this section, we discussed three instantiations of subject-predicate co-construction. The data showed that the subject of the clause makes clausal projection, casting a predicate for possible clausal completion. The projectability of the subject avails the listener with the opportunity of co-construction.

3.2.2 The *Shi...de* Construction (是...的)

The 是...的 *shi...de* construction usually frames the predicate in a clause. In

their analysis of the composition and the function of the 是...的 *shi...de* construction, Liu et al. (1996) proposes two major types of *shi...de* construction. The first type of *shi...de* construction consists of a verb phrase only or a combination of a subject and a verbal predicate. It serves not to emphasize the verb but to highlight the related aspects of the verb, such as the agent, the location, the time, and so forth. The second type of *shi...de* construction is often used to express the speaker's stance or opinion. This type of *shi...de* construction typically consists of a verb followed by a complement, an auxiliary verb followed by a verb, or an adjectival phrase, all of which serve as the predicate in the clause. Both types of *shi...de* construction are observed in our data, as shown respectively in the following examples.

The first type of *shi...de* construction is illustrated in the following example (35). In (35), Speaker A tries to explain why he sent the Christmas card to a girl first and Speaker B co-constructs Speaker A's utterance with the remaining by completing the *shi...de* construction containing a subject, 她 *ta* 'she', and a predicate, 先送 *xian song*. As the co-construction shows, the *shi...de* construction is uttered to focus on the agent showing contrastive function (Li & Thompson 1981).

- (35) 1 A: 然後 前 幾 天 收 到 她 一 張,
 ranhou qian ji tian shou dao ta yi zhang
 then previous several day receive she one CL
 'Few days ago, I received her'
 2 聖誕節 卡片.
 shengdanjie kapian.
 Christmas card
 'Christmas card.'
 3 C: 他 先 送 給 人 的.
 ta xian song gei ren de
 he first send give person NOM
 'He sent her one first.'
 4 B: 唉 哟,

- ai yao
PT PT
'Oh?'
- 5 你 先 送 的 哟.
ni xian song de yao
you first send NOM PT
'You sent her first?'
- > 6 A: 因為 去年 是.
yinwei qunian shi
because last-year C/F
'Because last year it was'
- > 7 B: 她 先 送 的.
ta xian song de
she first send NOM
'she that sent one to me first.'

The *shi...de* construction in (36) illustrates a more complicated co-construction which involves omission of inference.

- (36) 1 A: (0)因為 咖啡 這 種 東西 喔,
yinwei kafei zhe zhong dongxi o
because coffee this CL object PT
'Because coffee'
- 2 它 是 一 種 很 深 的 學問 耶,
ta shi yi zhong hen shen de xuewen ye
it is one CL very deep NOM knowledge PT
'It's an intricate art'
- 3 真的, 那個 不 是 說,
zhende nage bu shi shuo
really that NEG C/F COM
'Really, it's not'
- > 4 (0.9) [不 是 說,
bu shi shuo
NEG C/F COM
'not something']
- > 5 B: [三 天 兩 天.

- san tian liang tian
three day two day
'that one can learn (/master) in a short period of time'
- 6 A: 沒 錯, 你-
mei cuo ni
NEG wrong you
'Exactly, if you'
- 7 真的 要 下 功夫 的 話, 最少 你 也 要-
zhende yao xiagongfu de hua zuishao ni ye yao-
really want put-in-effort NOM utterance at-least you also want
'if you work hard, it would take you at least'
- 8 [你 也 要 三 五 年 啦!
ni ye yao san wu nian la
you also want three five year PT
'a couple of years.'

In (36), Speaker A is saying that it may take someone a long long time to master the making of coffee. Therefore, Speaker A intends that the making of coffee cannot be well understood within a few days, using the *shi...de* construction to express his stance. The sentence uttered consists of the subject 那個 *nage* 'that' (i.e., coffee making), the negation marker 不 *bu*, the copula verb 是 *shi*, and a complementizer, 說 *shuo*. Speaker B co-constructs this construction with a noun phrase, 三天兩天 *san tian liang tian*, which is short for the clause, 不是(說)三天兩天就能學會的 *bu shi (shuo) san tian liang tian jiu neng xue hui de* 'It cannot be mastered within a very short period of time'. In other words, Speaker B furnishes the *shi...de* construction with the time phrase which expresses the key idea Speaker A is trying to make. The linking adverb 就 *jiu*, the auxiliary verb 能 *neng*, the verb compound 學會 *xuohui* and the final *de* are not verbally expressed, but apparently the omission of the inferred event did not block the communication as Speaker A agrees with Speaker B at line 6.

3.2.3 Topic Chain

The topic-comment structure is prominent in Mandarin (Li & Thompson 1981). In a Mandarin clause, the clause-initial element can refer to the topic (thus definite) that has been mentioned and the rest of the clause is “about” that topic. The topic in a topic-comment structure does not have to be tied to the predicate in the “comment” in any major semantic relationship such as being the agent of the predicate since the comment can consist of a full subject-predicate clause on its own. Meanwhile, sometimes the real subject can even be dropped in the comment, which would be ungrammatical in subject-predicate languages such as English.

Topic can also be a discourse element. As discussed in Li and Thompson (1981), topic as a discourse element can (1) relate the utterance in progress to the previous context, (2) introduce a subtopic, (3) reintroduce a topic that has previously mentioned but dropped, or (4) show a contrastive relationship with the following material. Meanwhile, once the topic is established in the discourse, the following context or utterances are supposed to build upon this topic. In this case, the following sentences may occur without the topic since the topic can be understood from the communicative context (Li & Thompson 1981), thereby forming a “topic chain”, where the referent of the noun phrase mentioned in the first clause may become unspecified in the following sentences. Owing to this feature, the topic-chained projection is quite different from the subject-predicate projection discussed in 3.2.1.

The following example is an instance where co-construction is projected by the topic chain in discourse. In (37), Speaker A is talking about a girl who still suffered from her last romantic relationship subconsciously. The topic of the conversation is the girl, which forecasts the context of the following sentences. When Speaker A utters the subtopic 潛意識裡面 *qianyishi limian* (followed by an adverb 還是

haishi), it projects an upcoming comment for clausal completion. Speaker B completes the comment of the sentence with a verbal predicate, 還在受苦 *haizai shouku*. The subject (i.e., the experiencer) of the predicate 還在受苦 *haizai shouku*, 她 *ta* ‘she’, is omitted.

- (37) 1 A: 因為 妳 就是 女 女生 腦海子 裡面
 yinwei ni jiushi nu nusheng naohaizi limian
 because you just girl girl mind inside
 一直 會 想 說 我 要 過 得 比 他 好,
 yizhi hui xiang shuo wo yao guo de bi ta hao
 always will think COM I want live MAS compare he good
 ‘Because deep inside this girl’s mind, she kept thinking, ‘I want to live a better life than he does.’
- 2 我 要 活 給 他 看 其實,
 wo yao huo gei ta kan qishi
 I want live give he see actually
 ‘I want to show him’ but in fact’
- > 3 潛意識 裡面 還是 [還 在-
 qianyishi limian haishi [hai zai-
 subconsciousness inside still still DU
 ‘subconsciously she was still’
- > 4 B: [還 在 受 苦.
 hai zai shou ku
 still DU suffer bitterness
 ‘still suffering.’
- 5 A: 對 對.
 dui dui.
 right right
 ‘Exactly.’

Compared the data in 3.2.3 with those in 3.2.1, we can see that the topic-chain co-construction differs from the subject-predicate co-construction in (1) that the subject not only projects an upcoming predicate but also casts a semantic relationship with the predicate in subject-predicate co-construction, and (2) that the topic, or the

subtopic in the topic chain, projects the comment about the topic, but the (sub-)topic does not have to be the grammatical subject of the co-constructed comment/predicate.

So far, we have analyzed the subject-predicate co-construction, the *shi...de* (是...的) construction and the topic-chain co-construction. The occurrence of the subject and the copula 是 *shi* projects an upcoming predicate. The occurrence of the topic projects an upcoming comment. The projection in these types makes co-construction possible for clausal completion.

In what follows we will present data of co-construction where the syntactic component of the speaker's unfinished turn projects completion for a multi-clausal format, i.e., the syntactic component projects an upcoming clause for clausal combination and forms a multi-clausal sentence.

3.2.4 Linking Elements

In Mandarin, clause combination can be marked with linguistic elements that signal dependence of the clause on another clause. These elements, according to Li and Thompson's (1981) classification, are referred to as linking elements, serving forward linking function or backward linking function in terms of their directionality. When two clauses are combined with a forward linking element, the meaning of the first clause containing the linking element is dependent on the following clause. The element links the first clause to the upcoming clause to make the prior sentence semantically complete, and thus the combination of the two clauses forms a complete sentence. For instance, linking elements such as ...的話 ...*de hua* or ...的時候 ...*de shihou* serve forward linking function. On the other hand, when the element is backward linking, it links the clause to the previous clause so as to complete the meaning. Linking elements such as 可是 *keshi* 'but' or 不過 *buguo* 'but' are of this kind. These elements link the clause they initiate to the prior clause, forming a

complete sentence (Li & Thompson 1981).

In our data, co-construction is found to occur either with forward linking elements or backward linking elements. The occurrence of these elements projects an upcoming clause for the two clauses to be combined into a complete sentence. Upon this point, the listener is furnished with an opportunity for co-constructing the speaker's speech with a clause.

3.2.4.1 Backward Linking

We observe co-construction with three kinds of backward linking elements, i.e. 但是 *danshi* 'but', 因為 *yinwei* 'because', and 結果 *jieguo* 'consequently', in our data. Their occurrence projects an upcoming clause to make the prior clause semantically complete. The prior clause and the projected clause together form a complete sentence. In what follows is the discussion of these backward linking elements.

3.2.4.1.1 *Danshi* 但是

The connective 但是 *danshi* 'but' is used to connect two clauses and shows an adversary relationship of the two. In (38), Speaker B is saying that many nurses or doctors would emotionally involve themselves too much in patients' condition. When Speaker B utters the connective 但是 *danshi*, Speaker A spontaneously supplements the next clause 對他也沒有幫助 *dui ta ye mei you bangzhu*, saying that medical staff's emotional involvement is of no help to patients. Speaker B agrees with Speaker A by repeating Speaker A's words, 沒有幫助 *mei you bangzhu*, with the subject understood and omitted and offering further elaboration afterwards.

- (38) 1 B: 很 多 人 像 護 理 人 員 或 是 醫 生
 hen duo ren xiang huli ren yuan huoshi yisheng
 very many person like nursing staff or doctor
 很 多 人 都 會 陷 入 那 種,
 hen duo ren dou hui xian ru nazhong
 very many person all will sink in that
 ‘A lot of people such as the medical staff or doctors would fall into’
- 2 就 是 你 會 替 他 感 到 很 難 過
 jiushi ni hui ti ta gan dao hen nanguo
 just you will replace he feel very depressed
 的 那 種 情 緒 上 的,
 de nazhong qingxu shang de
 NOM that emotion above NOM
 ‘the mood that makes you feel sorry for them’
- > 3 但 是,
 danshi
 but
 ‘but’
- > 4 A: (0)對 他 也 沒 有 幫 助.
 dui ta ye mei you bangzhu
 to he also NEG have help
 ‘it does no good to him.’
- 5 B: (0)沒 有 幫 助 而 且 你 陷 入 那 種 情 緒
 mei you bangzhu erqie ni xian ru nazhong qingxu
 NEG have help and you sink in that emotion
 久 了 以 後 也 不 好.
 jiu le yihou ye bu hao
 long CRS after also NEG good
 ‘Not only is it not helping, once you’re in it, it’s also bad for you.’

3.2.4.1.2 Yinwei 因為

The connective 因為 *yinwei* ‘because’, as a backward linking element, is used to introduce a clause indicating the cause of a certain event. Thus, it projects an upcoming clause in speech elaborating on the cause. In the following data, it is observed that the listener furnishes the speaker’s unfinished sentence with a clause

upon hearing the connective 因為 *yinwei* at the final position of the speaker's unfinished utterance. The example is shown in (39).

- (39) 1 A: 說 實在 的,
shuo shizai de
say actual NOM
'Seriously,'
- 2 其實 我 覺得 自己 根本 不 是 很 需要 手機 耶!
qishi wo juede ziji genben bu shi hen xuyao shouji ye
actually I feel oneself basically NEG C/F very need cellphone PT
'I don't think I really need a cell phone.'
- 3 B: 為什麼?
weisheme
why
'Why?'
- 4 那 你 還 買?
na ni hai mai
that you still buy
'then why did you buy it?'
- > 5 A: 我 想 可能 是 因為,
wo xiang keneng shi yinwei
I think maybe C/F because
'I think it's because'
- > 6 B: =因為 大家 都 有 對 不 對?
yinwei dajia dou you dui bu dui
because everyone all have right NEG right
'it's because everyone has one, right?'

3.2.4.1.3 *Jieguo* 結果

Lastly, the connective, 結果 *jieguo* 'consequently', projects an upcoming clause indicating the result. In (40), when Speaker A utters 結果 *jieguo*, Speaker B immediately fills in a clause, 還是沒去 *haishi meiqu*, to state the result of the event being talked about.

- (40) 1 A: 那 是 我 提 議 說 要 去 看 的,
na shi wo tiyi shuo yao qu kan de
that C/F I propose COM want go see NOM
‘that’s my idea that we should go see it’
- > 2 結果.
jieguo
result
‘in the end,’
- > 3 B: (0)還是 沒 去 a.
haishi mei qu a
still NEG go PT
‘you didn’t make it.’
- 4 A: 對 a,
dui a
right PT
‘You’re right.’

3.2.4.2 Forward Linking

The connectives, 但是 *danshi*, 因為 *yinwei*, and 結果 *jieguo* as discussed above, serve backward linking function to link the projected clause to the prior clause and make a complete sentence. Now, we will introduce instances where forward linking elements make projection of an upcoming clause for possible co-construction. The forward linking elements identified in our data are ...的時候...*de shihou* and ...之後 ...*zhihou*, as discussed below.

3.2.4.2.1 ...*de shihou* ...的時候

In (41), *de shihou* serves as a forward linking element. When the speaker utters a clause containing *de shihou*, the clause presents a time point, projecting a clause and signaling that another clause is needed to make the meaning complete. The listener immediately fills in a clause, 就沒有了 *jiu me you le*, to make the sentence complete with the subject, the tape, understood and omitted.

- (41) 1 J: 那 我 又 去 買 60 分鐘,
na wo you qu mai 60 fenzhong
that I again go buy sixty minute
'I bought a cassette of 60 minutes'
- 2 然後 要 錄 的時候,
ranhou yao lu deshihou
then want record period
'and when we were recording,'
- 3 發現 60 分鐘 錄 到 一半,
faxian 60 fenzhong lu dao yiban
find sixty minute record half
'we found that in the middle'
- > 4 大家 進入 狀況 的時候.
dajia jinru zhuangkuang deshihou
everyone enter situation
'when everyone was quite into it,'
- > 5 B: (0)就 沒 有 了.
jiu mei you le
LK NEG have PF
'the cassette was full.'
- 6 J: (0)對,
dui
right
'Right.'
- 7 然後 我 又 跑 去 買 120 分鐘 的.
ranhou wo you pao qu mai 120 fenzhong de.
then I again run go buy one-hundred-and-twenty minute NOM
'And I bought another one of 120 minutes.'

3.2.4.2.2 ...*zhihou* ...之後

之後 *zhihou* in (42) also serves as a forward linking element. When the speaker utters 之後 *zhihou*, a temporal span or a causal sequence is established, and a clause is projected to make the meaning complete. In (42), when the speaker utters 之後 *zhihou*, the listener furnishes the speaker's sentence with a clausal format 就到外面

磨練 *jiu dao waimian molian*, with the subject, the students, understood and omitted, immediately.

- (42) 1 A: 可是 學生 出來,
 keshi xuesheng chulai
 yet student come-out
 ‘But after the students graduate,’
 2 也 沒 幾 個 有 成就 的 a,
 ye mei ji ge you chengjiu de a
 also NEG several CL have achievement NOM PT
 ‘few of them are successful.’
 > 3 拿 了 碩士 學位 之後
 na le shuoshi xuewei zhihou
 obtain PF master degree after
 ‘After they get their MA degree,’
 > 4 B: (0)就 到 外面 磨練@,
 jiu dao waimian molian
 LK arrive outside hone
 ‘they leave the campus for further challenges’
 5 到 社會 是 一 個 大 染 缸 啊,
 dao shehui shi yi ge da ran gang a
 arrive society C/F one CL big dye vat PT
 ‘The real society they go into is just like a big dye vat’
 6 A: 對 a,
 dui a
 right PT
 ‘Right.’

3.2.4.3 Interim Summary

In this section, we have identified co-constructions with forward linking elements and backward linking elements. Basically, these two types of co-constructions can be categorized as what Lerner (1991) called “two-component formats” of which the preliminary component projects the final component. Our data of co-construction projected by the forward linking elements (i.e., 的時候

deshihou and 之後 *zhihou*) are similar to the projecting elements in the two-component formats that Lerner identifies in English co-construction (i.e., *If X-then Y* and *When X-then Y*), which are more forward-linking oriented. In this kind of two-part format, the projecting element occurs in the preliminary component and makes projection of the upcoming component. However, co-construction projected by the backward linking elements function differently. The backward linking element occurs in the initial position of the final component and makes clausal projection to make the clause complete first so as to link backwardly to form a two-part format.

3.2.5 Topic-Comment Structure

As discussed in 3.2.3, topic as a discourse element may be followed by sentences which may occur without the topic since the topic has already been mentioned or can be understood from the communicative context. With respect to this feature, these sentences can be regarded as the comment to the topic. In the following example, we observe an instance of co-construction accomplished upon such topic-comment organization where the topic of the co-constructed clause is understood from the previous context and is thus unspecified.

In (43), Speaker A is talking about the hardship of running a café. Speaker A's clause at line 3, 你還還要下去做 *ni hai hai yao xiaqu zuo*, can function as a topic, referring to the situation, and thus projects following comments related to the topic in focus. At this time, Speaker B co-constructs Speaker A's clause with a comment, 太累了 *tai lei le*, and forms a sentence with 你還還要下去做 *ni hai hai yao xiaqu zuo* being the topic and 太累了 *tai lei le* being the comment. The subject, 你 *ni* 'you', becomes unspecified and is understood from the context.

- (43) 1 A: 這樣 站 著 看 他們 欣賞 他們 怎麼 做,
 zheyang zhan zhe kan tamen xinshang tamen zenme zuo
 like-this stand DU see they appreciate they how do
 ‘If you stand right here looking at them and appreciate how they do it’
- 2 這 就 已經 夠 迷人 了,
 zhe jiu yijing gou miren le
 this just already enough attractive CRS
 ‘it’s attractive enough.’
- > 3 你 還 還 要 下去 做,
 ni hai hai yao xiaqu zuo
 you even even want down do
 ‘And now you want to go ahead for it’
- 4 [跳 回 去 做,
 tiao hui qu zuo
 jump back go do
 ‘go for it again’
- > 5 B: [太 累 了!
 tai lei le
 too tiring CRS
 ‘It’s too tiring for you’
- 6 A: <T 太 過 辛苦 T>,
 tai guo xinku
 too over painstaking
 ‘It’s painstaking for you.’

We have discussed clausal projection from the linking elements, backward linking elements (i.e., 但是 *danshi*, 因為 *yinwei*, and 結果 *jieguo*), and forward linking elements (i.e., ...的時候 *...de shihou* and ...之後 *...zhihou*). We have also analyzed topic-comment co-construction. Different from the elements projecting a category or a predicative format, these syntactic elements in the speaker’s unfinished utterance in this type of co-construction project an upcoming clause and provide the listener with an opportunity for clause combining for a multi-clausal format.

3.2.6 Interim Summary

In this section, we presented 5 types of clausal projection, i.e. the subject-predicate structure, the *shi...de* (是...的) construction, the topic chain, the linking elements, and the topic-comment structure. In these types of co-construction, the projecting element in the speaker's unfinished utterance projects an upcoming predicative format or a clausal format for clause completion. Different from those projecting categories categorized under categorical projection which project the upcoming grammatical category, a limited type of grammatical category, the projecting elements in this section project an upcoming element of more syntactic flexibility. For example, the projected predicative format can be either verbal or nominal. Not until the listener co-constructs a grammatical element can one know the grammatical category of the element projected.

In Section 3.1 and Section 3.2, we have presented our analysis of the syntactic projection in co-construction. We have analyzed the syntactic element(s) of the speaker's unfinished utterance which makes projection of the upcoming syntactic element before possible clause completion and provides the listener with opportunities for co-construction. It is observed (1) that all the co-constructions are accomplished so as to make a clause/sentence complete, which supports Thompson and Couper-Kuhlen (2005) that speakers are oriented to clause completion in conversation, and (2) the syntactic projection in the speaker's utterance works at different syntactic levels, ranging from the categorical to the clausal.

3.3 Discussion

In Section 3.1 and Section 3.2, we analyzed the syntactic element in the speaker's unfinished turn which makes syntactic projection for possible clause completion availing the listener with an opportunity of co-construction. We

observed that all the co-constructions are oriented to clause/multi-clause completion. As suggested in Thompson and Couper-Kuhlen (2005), the way clauses offer projection may vary cross-linguistically. Different projections may result in different types of co-construction. Therefore, in this section, we would like to discuss the types of co-construction which are accomplished due to the typological features prominent in Mandarin. In the following discussion, we are going to expound on three features salient in the making of Mandarin co-construction in our data: (1) topic prominence, (2) choice of not explicitly stating the linking element, and (3) ellipsis.

3.3.1 Topic Prominence

Topic prominence is one of the salient features of Mandarin sentence structure which “sets Mandarin apart from many other languages” (Li & Thompson 1981:15). In our data, we observe the topic-comment co-construction and the topic-chain co-construction, in both of which the topic makes projection of the following context or structure, and the listener is found to co-construct accordingly.

As discussed in (37) in Section 3.2.3, the topic projects an upcoming comment before possible turn completion. The topic of the conversation is the girl, which is assumed by the speaker that the listener has already had knowledge of. Furthermore, the topic introduces the subtopic 潛意識 *qianyishi* ‘subconsciousness’. The subtopic 潛意識 *qianyishi*, serving as the topic of the utterance 潛意識裡面還是 *qianyishi limian haishi*, forecasts a comment to come before utterance completion. Then, Speaker B co-constructs the comment 還在受苦 *hai zai shou ku* of the clause at line 3. It is worth noting that it is the girl that is still suffering, yet the subject “the girl” is dropped in this sentence, which also manifests the topic-prominent feature of Mandarin that the subject, when understood, can be omitted.

- (37) 1 A: 因為 妳 就是 女 女生 腦海子 裡面
 yinwei ni jiushi nu nusheng naohaizi limian
 because you just girl girl mind inside
 一直 會 想 說 我 要 過 得 比 他 好,
 yizhi hui xiang shuo wo yao guo de bi ta hao
 always will think COM I want live MAS compare he good
 ‘Because deep inside this girl’s mind, she kept thinking, ‘I want to live a
 better life than he does.’
- 2 我 要 活 給 他 看 其實,
 wo yao huo gei ta kan qishi
 I want live give he see actually
 ‘I want to show him’ but in fact’
- > 3 潛意識 裡面 還是 [還 在-
 qianyishi limian haishi [hai zai-
 subconsciousness inside still still DU
 ‘subconsciously she was still’
- > 4 B: [還 在 受 苦.
 hai zai shou ku
 still DU suffer bitterness
 ‘still suffering.’

The example (43) discussed in 3.2.5 also provides evidence for topic prominence in Mandarin. In this example, co-construction is accomplished based on the topic comment structure. The listener can co-construct the speaker’s utterance with the topic of the clause unspecified due to topic-prominence in Mandarin.

- (43) 1 A: 這樣 站 著 看 他們 欣賞 他們 怎麼 做,
 zheyang zhan zhe kan tamen xinshang tamen zenme zuo
 like-this stand DU see they appreciate they how do
 ‘If you stand right here looking at them and appreciate how they do it’
- 2 這 就 已經 夠 迷 人 了,
 zhe jiu yijing gou miren le
 this just already enough attractive CRS
 ‘it’s attractive enough.’

- > 3 你 還 還 要 下 去 做,
 ni hai hai yao xiaqu zuo
 you even even want down do
 ‘And now you want to go ahead for it’
- 4 [跳 回 去 做,
 tiao hui qu zuo
 jump back go do
 ‘go for it again’
- > 5 B: [太 累 了!
 tai lei le
 too tiring CRS
 ‘It’s too tiring for you.’
- 6 A: <T 太 過 辛 苦 T>,
 tai guo xinku
 too over painstaking
 ‘It’s painstaking for you.’

Finally, the prominence of topic is shown through the listener’s co-constructed predication followed by 就是 *jiushi* in the following example. In (44), Speaker B states that “I just paid by credit card twice” (line 1). His proposition (starting at line 2) is actually truncated by several tokens of 就是 *jiushi* (lines 3 and 4 and 6) and a clause, 這這要怎麼講啊 *zhe zhe yao zenyang jiang a* (line 5). However, when Speaker A hears Speaker B’s hesitation in his search for the right words, Speaker A furnishes Speaker B’s utterance with a verbal predicate, 負責付錢 *fuze fuqian*. When examined from the context, the entire predicate, 就是負責付錢 *jiushi fuze fuqian*, is linked to the statement in line 1, 我完全只是負責刷兩次卡而已 *wo wanquan zhi shi fuze shua liang ci ka eryi*, as both statements are about the same topic, “paying (money).” Yet the subject of this predicate, which is understood as “I” referring to Speaker B, is dropped, which is acceptable in Mandarin grammar.

- (44) 1 B: 我 完全 只是 負責 刷 兩 次 卡 而已,
 wo wanquan zhi shi fuze shua liang ci ka eryi
 I completely merely responsible swipe two CL card only
 'I was just responsible for paying twice by credit card'
- 2 那 我 想 講 說,
 na wo xiang jiang shuo
 that I want talk say
 'what I was thinking was'
- > 3 就是,
 jiushi
 just
 'just'
- 4 就是,
 jiushi
 just
 'just'
- 5 這 這 要 怎樣 講 啊,
 zhe zhe yao zenyang jiang a
 this this want how talk PT
 'how should I put it'
- 6 就是,
 jiushi
 just
 'just'
- > 7 A: [負責 付 錢.@@
 fuze fu qian
 responsible pay money
 'to pay for it'
- 8 B: [圖 個 方便 啊,
 tu ge fangbian a
 covet CL convenience PT
 'for convenience's sake'
- 9 對 啊 對 啊,
 dui a dui a
 right PT right PT
 'Right.'

3.3.2 Choice of not Explicitly Stating the Linking Element

As discussed in Chapter 2, previous studies have found that a possible complete turn may be continued by the listener with increments. The increment, a.k.a. turn extension, can be regarded as “an element of talk added to TCU and a turn which re-occasion possible completion” (Schegloff 1996) or, by Thompson and Couper-Kuhlen’s (2005) definition, “syntactically dependent material placed after the possible end of a turn constructional unit.” It can also be treated as a “non-main-clause continuation” after a possible point of turn completion (Ford et al. 2002). All in all, the researchers all point out the syntactic dependency of this increment, which thereby creates a possibility of turn extension. It has been observed that turn extension is cross-linguistically common though the grammatical strategy used by the listeners may differ from language to language (Thompson & Couper-Kuhlen 2005). In our data, turn extension is identified where the place of co-construction is projected by non-overt linking elements, as in (45).

In Mandarin, sentence linking can be operated without the linking element overtly expressed. It can occur “simply by virtue of the speaker’s intention” that the prior clause is related to the second clause (Li & Thompson 1981). In (45), Speaker A is talking about a singer. Toward the end of Speaker A’s first turn, he says the singer died, “連封面都還沒有照就-忽然就死掉了” (line 3 and 4). Speaker A supplements a post-positioned causal clause 心臟病發 *xinzang bing fa* (line 5) to indicate the cause of the singer’s death. The cause at line 5 was stated without any overt forward linking element. Nevertheless, Speaker B just explicates the consequence with the verbal predicate 就死掉了 *jiu sidiao le* (line 6) to extend Speaker A’s clause, 心臟病發 *xinzang bing fa*, with the adverb 就 *jiu* linking backwardly to Speaker A’s clause, and creates a new “cause-consequence” construction in which the cause is pre-posed vis-a-vis the consequence.

- (45) 1 A: 他 應該 是 飛碟 唱片 的 歌手,
 ta yinggai shi feidie changpian de geshou
 he should C/F UFO record ASSOC singer
 ‘He should be one singer of the UFO Music’
- 2 可是 他 那 時候 出 唱片,
 keshi ta na shihou chu changpian
 yet he that time release record
 ‘But at the time when he was releasing his album,’
- 3 連 封面 都 還 沒 有 照 就-
 lian fengmian dou hai mei you zhao jiu
 even cover all even NEG have shoot LK
 ‘not even shooting for the cover of his album,’
- 4 忽然 就 死掉 了.
 huran jiu sidiao le
 suddenly just die CRS
 ‘he died suddenly’
- > 5 心臟 病 發
 xinzang bing fa
 hear disease occur
 ‘out of heart attack’
- > 6 B: 就 死掉 了,
 jiu sidiao le
 LK die CRS
 ‘He just died.’
- 7 A: 對,
 dui
 right
 ‘Yeah.’

3.3.3 Ellipsis

In Mandarin, noun phrases which can be inferred or recoverable from the communicative context can be “unspecified” (Li & Thompson 1981) or elided. In (46), Speaker A is talking about some supernatural phenomenon. He utters a verb compound, 拍到 *pai dao* (line 2), which projects an upcoming object. As the

object (a human figure according to the prior discourse) is understood, it can be omitted. Yet, Speaker B still repeats A's final syntactic chunk and fills in the object. Speaker B's use of a pronoun rather than a full noun phrase can be understood owing to human nature that people tend to avoid mentioning the supernatural. As can be seen in the following turn, Speaker A shows his agreement and further specifies the referent of the pronoun (line 5).

- (46) 1 A: 然後 就 我們 有 拍照,
 ranhou jiu women you paizhao
 then just we have take-pictures
 ‘We took pictures’
 > 2 然後 聽說 裡面 有 某 張 照片 好像 有 拍 到,
 ranhou ting shuo limian you mou zhang zhaopian haoxiang you pai dao
 then hear say inside have certain CL photo seem have shoot arrive
 ‘and they said that in one of the pictures, it seems that they captured’
 3 B: 拍 到 她,
 pai dao ta
 shoot arrive she
 ‘captured her.’
 > 4 A: 對,
 dui
 right
 ‘Yes.’
 5 拍 到 靈異 的 東西.
 pai dao lingyi de dongxi.
 shoot supernatural NOM object
 ‘They captured something supernatural.’

The noun phrase modified by a ...的 (–*de*) phrase can also be unspecified if the noun phrase is self-explanatory or it can be understood from the previous context (Liu et al. 1996). In the following example (10), the head noun phrase modified by the relative clause, 剛進去的 *gang jinqu de*, can be understood from the previous

context that it refers to young doctors (lines 4). Therefore, the head noun can be omitted. Nevertheless, the listener offers the noun phrase 菜鳥醫生 *cainiao yisheng* (at line 5) to recover the noun in the head noun position. Thus, this example presents an ambiguous case. It can be viewed as an example of co-construction (as Speaker A's interpretation), but it can also be viewed as an increment on a complete turn (turn extension) given the head noun omission in Chinese.

- (10) 1 B: 你 當然 可以 選擇 有 經驗 有 知識 的 醫生
 ni dangran keyi xuanze you jingyan you zhishi de yisheng
 you of course can choose have experience have knowledge NOM doctor
 那 你-,
 na ni
 that you
 'Of course you can choose a doctor who is rich in experience and knowledge. Then,'
- 2 看 運氣 的 成分 就 減少 了。
 kan yunqi de chufen jiu jianshao le
 see chance ASSOC component then decrease FP
 'the less it would be decided by chance.'
- 3 A: 嗯 哼。
 en heng
 PT PT
 'Right.'
- > 4 B: 還 有 你 如果 選擇 經驗 不 足 然後 <E knowledge E>
 hai you ni ruguo xuanze jingyan bu zu ranhou knowledge
 even have you if choose experience NEG enough then knowledge
 又 不 夠 像 我們 這種 剛 進去 的。
 you bu gou xiang women zhe zhong gang jinqu de
 again NEG enough like we this CL just enter NOM
 'And if you choose an inexperienced doctor with poor knowledge, like one of us who just came here'
- > 5 A: (0)菜鳥 醫生。
 cainiao yisheng
 rookie doctor
 'A rookie doctor.'

3.3.4 Interim Summary

In this section, we discussed three prominent features in Mandarin which also contributes to co-construction in our data. The first feature is topic prominence of Mandarin. Due to this feature, the opportunity for co-construction is made available by the topic-comment structure and the topic chain. The second feature is the choice of not explicitly providing a linking element in Chinese. The listener infers the speaker's intention in the previous clause and adds an increment or a clause to extend the speaker's turn. The listener's co-construction may turn into a case of turn extension due to the ambiguity arising from whether the prior speaker's clause is interpreted as forwardly or backwardly linked. Finally, the noun phrases in the object position or in the head noun position modified by a *-de* phrase/clause can be omitted if it is understood from the context. However, the element preceding the omitted noun phrase (i.e., the verb or the modifier) still makes the projection for the unsaid element. This creates an opportunity for co-construction.

3.4 Summary

In this chapter, we have presented our analysis of the types of syntactic projection from the projecting elements in the unfinished turn in Mandarin co-construction.

The syntactic projection identified in our data ranges from categorical projection to clausal projection, both of which call for clause completion. Our findings support Thompson and Couper-Kuhlen (2005) that speakers are clause-oriented when they work on co-construction in conversational interaction.

We have also discussed how some specific features in Chinese grammar interact with construction. Topic prominence, the choice of not explicitly providing a linking element, and ellipsis are the three features as identified.

Chapter Four

Interaction in Co-construction

In this chapter, we attempt to investigate the interaction of the conversation participants during co-construction. As discussed in Chapter 2, projectable features provide the listener with turn relevance place to complete the speaker's utterance-in-progress. Nevertheless, features such as silence, laugh tokens, word searches, or word repetition in the speaker's speech have been found to make orientation to progressional continuation of turn constructional units and thus furnish the listeners with opportunities of co-completion. We have investigated syntactic projectable units in Chapter 3. In this chapter, on the one hand, we aim to examine the occurrence and types of features which may expedite the presence of co-construction in Mandarin conversation. On the other hand, as co-construction is accomplished through the interaction between conversation participants, we would also like to expand our examination to the level of the overall turn organization and explore other pragmatic features occurring along with the speaker's unfinished turn, the listener's co-construction, and the first speaker's response to the offered co-construction. With such analysis, we wish to give a systematic account for the participants' interaction during co-construction.

This chapter consists of four sections. In section 4.1, we focus on the pragmatic features in the speaker's unfinished speech which offer the opportunity of co-completion for the listener. Section 4.2 discusses the pragmatic features co-occurring with the listener's co-construction. Section 4.3 examines the speaker's response to the listener's co-construction. Finally, Section 4.4 summarizes this chapter.

4.1 Co-construction Concerning the Speaker's Progressivity of Turn

As discussed in Chapter 3, co-construction occurs when the linguistic unit makes projection of the upcoming grammatical element and furnishes the listener with a place of co-construction. The listener syntactically, semantically, and pragmatically completes the speaker's unfinished utterance with an element of the projected grammatical category so as to make a complete clause. In addition to the observations of the projecting categories and the clause-oriented nature of co-construction in Mandarin, we also notice that the occurrence of co-construction is related to the speaker's progressivity of turn. Some data show that the listener just interposes right at the projected turn completion place and completes the speaker's utterance-in-progress, while some show that the listener jumps in to complete the speaker's unfinished sentence when the speaker's utterance is halted, showing hesitation. The speaker's hesitation is manifested through pragmatic features such as pause, lengthening, word repetition, or hesitation expressions, which provide what Lerner (1996) calls "unprojected" opportunities for completion by the listener.

Table 1. Distribution of the pragmatic feature in the speaker's unfinished turn

Type	Token	Percentage
Co-construction without the speaker's hesitation	33	55%
Co-construction with the speaker's hesitation	27	45%
Total	60	100%

As Table 1 illustrates, statistically, it is observed that co-construction without the speaker's hesitation takes up 55% (33 tokens) of the data, while 45% (27 tokens) of the instances are constituted by co-construction occurring along with the speaker's hesitation. The frequency of these two types is roughly equal, which suggests that

the features will not enhance the possibility of motivating the listener to co-complete the speaker's unfinished turn.

In the following sections, we investigate these two types of co-construction in terms of speaker's progressivity of turn in detail. 4.1.1 shows co-construction without the speaker's hesitation, and 4.1.2 analyzes the instantiations of co-construction where the speaker shows hesitation in his unfinished utterance. In Section 4.1.2, we discuss the various kinds of realizations of the speaker's hesitation in his proceeding utterance. 4.1.3 is the summary of this section.

4.1.1 Co-construction without the Speaker's Hesitation

In this section, we show co-constructions where the speaker does not reveal any hesitation in the progress of his utterance. In this type of co-construction, the speaker's progressivity of turn is successfully and steadily forwarded toward the possible turn completion. Nonetheless, the listener interposes and co-constructs the speaker's turn. The projecting category of this type of co-construction is generally found to fall toward the end of the speaker's utterance, which is similar to "terminal item completion" in Lerner (1996) and Hayashi (1999).

In (47), Speaker B immediately completes the nominal predicate, 柱子 *zhuzi* 'column', of Speaker A's clause right after Speaker A utters the copula verb 是 *shi*.

- (47) 1 A: 這 是 什麼,
zhe shi sheme
this C/F what
'What is this?'
- 2 這 是 看 每 一 個 角度,
zhe shi kan mei yi ge jiaodu
this C/F see every one CL angle
'this is used to adjust the angle'

- 3 那個 是 這樣 嗎?
 nage shi zheyang ma
 that C/F this PT
 ‘Is that like this?’
- 4 對,
 dui
 right
 ‘right’
- 5 應該 是 這樣子 啦.
 yinggai shi zheyangzi la
 should C/F this PT
 ‘It should be like this.’
- > 6 所以, 這個 是.
 suoyi zhege shi
 so this C/F
 ‘So, this is’
- 7 B: [柱子]
 zhuzi
 column
 ‘a column.’

The following example, presenting Lerner’s “choral co-production” (1996: 256), is another instance where the speaker shows no hesitation in his utterance, but the listener spontaneously co-constructs the speaker’s clause. In (28), Speaker A co-produces Speaker B’s clausal object, 我們昨晚沒睡 *women zuo wan mei shui*.

- (28) 1 B: <@停 停 走 走@>,
 ting ting zou zou
 stop stop walk walk
 ‘We stopped for a while and then walked a while’
- 2 @,
 @,
- > 3 我們 就 接著 說 [我們 昨 晚 沒 睡]
 women jiu jiezhe shuo women zuo wan mei shui
 we then following say we yesterday night NEG sleep
 ‘We then said, ‘We didn’t sleep last night.’ ’

- > 4 A: [我們 昨 晚 沒 睡] XXX
 women zuo wan mei shui XXX
 we yesterday night NEG sleep PN
 ‘We didn’t sleep last night.’
- 那 一 天 又 跟 我 講,
 na yi tian you gen wo jiang
 that one day again with I talk
 ‘When XXX talked with me that day’
- 5 我 就 跟 他 講 這個,
 wo jiu gen ta jiang zhege
 I just with he say this
 ‘I just told him this.’

In (48), an instance of Lerner’s “co-option” (1996:256), the speaker is heading toward the completion of his own utterance; however, the terminal item, i.e. the head noun of this clause, is co-opted by the interposing listener with the noun phrase, 心事 *xinshi*.

- (48) 1 B: 就 是 在 一 個 錄 音 室 裡,
 jiushi zai yi ge luyin shi li
 just in one CL record room inside
 ‘It’s just like in a recording studio’
- 2 可 能 只 有 你,
 keneng zhi you ni
 possible only have you
 ‘there’s maybe only you’
- 3 然 後 跟 一,
 ranhou gen yi
 then and one
 ‘and one’
- 4 幾 個 音 控 師,
 ji ge yin kong shi
 several CL sound control master
 ‘and several sound engineers’
- 5 或 [者 是-

- huozhe shi
 or C/F
 ‘or’
- 6 A: [嗯 嗯 嗯!
 en en en
 PT PT PT
 ‘Yeah. Yeah. Right.’
- 7 B: 對!
 dui
 right
 ‘Yeah.’
- > 8 然後 就 坐 在 那 邊 跟 一 群 你 看 不 到 的
 ranhou jiu zuo zai naban gen yi qun ni kan bu dao de
 then just sit in there with one CL you see NEG arrive ASSOC
 人 分 享 你 的 [生
 ren fenxiang ni de [sheng
 person share you GEN live
 ‘and then you just sit there sharing your life with people you won’t see.’
- > 9 A: [心 事=
 xin shi
 mind matter
 ‘your secrets.’
- 10 B: =你 的 生 活!
 ni de shenghuo
 you GEN life
 ‘your life!’

With these instantiations of co-construction, we demonstrate the type of co-construction where the speaker’s progressivity of turn is maintained yet the listener still interposes and co-constructs the speaker’s utterance. In the next section, we will turn to data of co-construction where the speaker’s progressivity of turn is halted with pragmatic features. Specifically, we will discuss the features manifesting the speaker’s hesitation.

4.1.2 Co-construction with the Speaker's Hesitation

Co-construction may occur though the progressivity of the turn toward possible completion is successfully maintained by the speaker, as discussed in 4.1.1. There are times when the speaker hesitates, and the progressivity of turn is halted, thereby projecting a possibility of co-completion. In this type of co-construction, pragmatic features such as pauses, lengthening, repetition, or hesitation hedges may emerge at the end of the utterance, signaling the speaker's hesitation. At this moment, the listener is often furnished with an opportunity, an "unprojected opportunity" in Lerner's (1996) analysis, of co-constructing the speaker's utterance so as to make the speaker's clause complete.

In our data, we find that the speaker's hesitation is manifested through the speaker's deployment of pauses, lengthening of the final word, word repetition, and the use of hesitation expressions, which we introduce respectively in the following sections.

4.1.2.1 Pause

When Lerner (1996:260) discusses intra-turn silence, he treats intra-turn silence as speaker's pause, which provides the listener with an opportunity of co-construction. Such type of pause is also identified in our data. It is a signal which shows the speaker's hesitation. When the listener notices it, he often co-constructs the speaker's utterance, as in (36). In (36), Speaker A pauses for 0.9 second after his production of 不是說 *bushishuo*. Noticing the pause, Speaker B co-constructs Speaker A's utterance with the phrase, 三天兩天 *san tian liang tian*.

- (36) 1 A: (0)因為 咖啡 這 種 東西 喔,
yinwei kafei zhe zhong dongxi o

- because coffee this CL object PT
 ‘Because coffee’
- 2 它 是 一 種 很 深 的 學 問 耶,
 ta shi yi zhong hen shen de xuewen ye
 it is one CL very deep NOM knowledge PT
 ‘it’s an intricate art’
- 3 真的, 那個 不 是 說,
 zhende nage bu shi shuo
 really that NEG C/F COM
 ‘Really, it’s not’
- > 4 (0.9) [不 是 說,
 bu shi shuo
 NEG C/F COM
 ‘not something’
- 5 B: [三 天 兩 天.
 san tian liang tian
 three day two day
 ‘something that one can learn in a short period of time’
- 6 A: 沒 錯, 你-
 mei cuo ni
 NEG wrong you
 ‘Exactly, if you’
- 7 真的 要 下 功 夫 的 話, 最 少 你 也 要-
 zhende yao xiagongfu de hua zuishao ni ye yao-
 really want put-in -effort NOM utterance at-least you also want
 ‘If you work hard, it would take you at least’
- 8 [你 也 要 三 五 年 啦!
 ni ye yao san wu nian la
 you also want three five year PT
 ‘a couple of years.’

4.1.2.2 Lengthening

Likewise, lengthening of the final element, which also shows the speaker’s hesitation, is observed to furnish the listener with an opportunity of co-construction. Once noticing the speaker’s lengthening of the final element, the listener often fills in an appropriate linguistic element to complete the speaker’s sentence. This

phenomenon is illustrated in (14).

- (14) 1 B: 然後 那個 XXX 的 人 也 越來越多,
ranhou nage XXX de ren ye yuelaiyueduo
then that PN ASSOC person also more-and-more
'There are more and more XXX restaurants'
- 2 都是 為 我們 這邊 的 人 而 開 的.
dou shi wei women zhebian de ren er kai de
all C/F for we here NOM person and open NOM
'all set up for the people from (Taiwan).'
- 3 A: 哦!
o
PT
'Oh!'
- 4 B: e 真的 很 多 e, 真的 很 多.
e zhende hen duo e zhende hen duo
PT really very much PT really very much
'There really are a lot, quite a lot.'
- 5 A: 真的 喔!
zhende o
really
'Really.'
- > 6 那 我 會 覺得 東方 人 真 是 太-.=
na wo hui jue de dongfang ren zhen shi tai
that I will feel oriental person really C/F too
'Well, I think Oriental people are really too'
- 7 B: =太 有 錢 了 是 吧!=
tai you qian le shi ba
too have money CRS yes PT
'too wealthy, right?'
- 8 A: =對呀! <T 錢: 錢: 壓 腳 目, 淹 淹 腳 目 T>.
dui ya qian qian ya jiao mu yan yan jiao mu
right PT money money crush foot toe flood flood foot toe
'Right. Everyone is overwhelmed by money.'

In (14), Speaker A's lengthening of the final item, i.e. the adverb 太 *tai* 'too', shows

that he is trying to characterize Oriental people, but he cannot find a proper word yet. Consequently, Speaker B completes Speaker A's utterance by filling in a stative verb, 有錢 *you qian*.

4.1.2.3 Word Repetition

Word repetition has been characterized in Lerner (1996). By repeating words, the speaker may sacrifice sequential adjacency yet maintain serial adjacency of the progressivity of turn (Lerner 1996). Pragmatically, when the speaker begins word repetition, he may be hesitating on what is about to say next. In this case, the listener is furnished with an opportunity of co-constructing the rest of the speaker's utterance.

In (24), Speaker A is trying to say that people on this island should have a sense of crisis, but Speaker A fails to utter it. In addition to the hesitation expressions and the lengthening of the final word, Speaker A repeats the syntactic chunk, 我覺得 *wo juede*. Speaker B senses this repetition and simultaneously completes Speaker A's sentence with the element projected in Speaker A's utterance.

- (24) 1 A: =對 啊!
 dui a
 right PT
 'Just right.'
- 2 我 覺得 應該 要 有 一些 那個 什麼—,
 wo juede yinggai yao you yixie nage sheme
 I fell should want have some that what
 'I think they should have some'
- > 3 我 覺得,
 wo juede
 I feel
 'I think'
- 4 [台灣 是,

- Taiwan shi
 Taiwan C/F
 ‘for Taiwanese people’
- 5 B: [危機 意識.
 weiji yishi
 crisis sense
 ‘a sense of crisis.’

4.1.2.1 through 4.1.2.3 present the discussion of pause, lengthening, and word repetition. Next, we will discuss the last feature identified in our data, hesitation expressions.

4.1.2.4 Hesitation Expressions

In this section, we analyze co-construction where the speaker’s progressivity of turn is halted with hesitation expressions. During conversation, co-construction may occur when the speaker utters some hesitation expressions toward the possible completion of his utterance. Once noticing the speaker’s hesitation, the listener often co-constructs the speaker’s sentence with the linguistic element projected. Typical hesitation expressions found in our data are 那個 *nage*, 那種 *nazhong*, 一些 *yixie*, and 什麼 *sheme*. These hesitation expressions may occur alone or string in series in the speaker’s unfinished utterance. The distribution of each hesitation expression is illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2. Types of hesitation expressions in the speaker’s unfinished turn

Type of Hesitation Expression	Token	Percentage
那個 <i>nage</i>	4	44%
那種 <i>nazhong</i>	4	44%
一些+那個+什麼 <i>yixie nage sheme</i>	1	12%
Total	9	100%

As shown in Table 2, the frequency of 那個 *nage* is equal to that of 那種 *nazhong*, both of which constitute most of the occurrence of hesitation expressions. One piece of data is identified featuring a combination of hesitation expressions. In what follows is our discussion of each hesitation expression.

4.1.2.4.1 *Nage* 那個

Previous studies have pointed out that Chinese demonstratives have developed discourse pragmatic functions (Huang 1999; Tao 1994). Huang (1999) identifies eight discourse-pragmatic functions. In particular, 那個 *nage*, as Huang proposes, functions as a pause marker and marks “specific lexical retrieval difficulty” (Huang 1999:88). In our data, there are 4 pieces of data featuring the hesitation expression, 那個 *nage*, in the end of the speaker’s utterance, which reveals the speaker’s hesitation. For example:

- (49) 1 A: 但是 她 是 一 位,
 danshi ta shi yi wei
 but she C/F one CL
 ‘But she is a’
 2 一 個 老 闆.
 yi ge laoban.
 one CL boss
 ‘a boss.’
 3 B: 楊 老 師?
 yang laoshi
 Yang teacher
 ‘Miss Yang?’
 4 A: 對.
 dui
 right
 ‘Yes.’
 5 然 後 陳 老 師 曾 經 是,

- ranhou chen laoshi cengjing shi
 then Chen teacher once C/F
 ‘and then Mr. Chen once was’
- 6 她的,
 ta de
 she GEN
 ‘her’
- > 7 那個,
 nage
 that
 ‘that’
- 8 B: [下 屬.
 xia shu
 down belong
 ‘her subordinate.’
- 9 A: [職 員.
 zhi yuan
 job person
 ‘her employee.’
- 10 下 屬.
 xia shu
 down belong
 ‘her subordinate.’

In (49), the hesitation word, 那個 *nage*, at the end of A’s turn shows A’s lexical retrieval difficulty.

4.1.2.4.2 *Nazhong* 那種

那 *na* ‘that’, as a demonstrative, has grammaticalized to be a definite determiner (Biq 2007; Huang 1999). 那種 *nazhong*, as Biq (2007) argues, has lexicalized, and its meaning has grammaticalized to a stance marker showing the speaker’s uncertainty. There are 4 pieces of data with 那種 *nazhong* at the end of the speaker’s sentence, revealing their hesitation.

- (30) 1 A: 如果 說 一旦 你 就是 過 了那個 關鍵 期 的 話,
 ruguo shuo yidan ni jiushi guo le nage guanjian qi de hua
 if COM once you just pass PF that critical period NOM utterance
 ‘If you have passed the critical period’
- 2 長大 之後 譬如 說 你 大概
 zhangda zhihou piru shuo ni dagai
 grow-up after for-example COM you rough
 十 幾 歲 再 來 學 的 話,
 shi ji sui zai lai xue de hua
 ten some age again come learn NOM utterance
 ‘If you learned in your teens’
- > 3 可能 就 沒有 人家 就是 從 小 從 小 開始 學
 keneng jiu meiyou renjia jiushi cong xiao cong xiao kaishi xue
 probably just NEG someone-else just from little from little begin study
 那樣子 的 那種.
 nayangzi de nazhong.
 that NOM that-kind
 ‘compared with those who started learning since they were little kids’
- 4 B: 有效 吧! =
 youxiao ba
 effective PT
 ‘you might not learn it that effectively.’
- 5 A: =對 對 對!
 dui dui dui
 right right right
 ‘Right.’

In (30), the comparative construction in Speaker A’s utterance projects an upcoming adjectival predicate to show the dimension of the comparison. The word, 那種 *nazhong*, at the end of Speaker A’s sentence shows Speaker A’s hesitation.

4.1.2.4.3 *Yixie* 一些

There is only 1 piece of data containing the hesitation expression, 一些 *yixie*, at

the end of the speaker's sentence. 一些 *yixie* as a measure word refers to the notion of "more than one". It often co-occurs with general nouns (Biq 2007). Due to the under-specified meaning of 一些 *yixie*, it is often deployed as a hesitation expression showing uncertainty, as observed in (24).

- (24) 1 A: =對 啊!
 dui a
 right PT
 'Just right.'
- > 2 我 覺得 應該 要 有 一些 那個 什麼—,
 wo juede yinggai yao you yixie nage sheme
 I fell should want have some that what
 'I think they should have some'
- 3 我 覺得,
 wo juede
 I feel
 'I think'
- 4 [台灣 是,
 taiwan shi
 Taiwan C/F
 'for Taiwanese people'
- > 5 B: [危機 意識.
 weiji yishi
 crisis sense
 'a sense of crisis'
- 6 A: 對 啊!
 dui a
 right PT
 'Right.'

In (24), Speaker A repeats the syntactic chunk, 我覺得 *wo juede*, utters a series of hesitation expressions, 一些 *yixie*, 那個 *nage*, and 什麼 *sheme*, and lengthens the final item 什麼 *sheme*, all of which in combination shows the halt of the progressivity of turn and extends an "unprojected opportunity" (Lerner 1996).

4.1.2.4.4 *Sheme* 什麼

As shown above in (24), 什麼 *sheme* functions as an “interactional hedge” (Biq 1990), and it also shows A’s hesitation. If we examine this 什麼 *sheme* along with the co-occurring item 那個 *nage*, we can see that 那個 *nage* and 什麼 *sheme* together just form a pause marker for conceptual planning identified by Huang (1999) and create the “extended unprojected opportunity” in Lerner (1996).

4.1.2.4.5 Interim Summary

This section is a discussion of the various hesitation expressions deployed by the speaker in his utterance. The hesitation expressions observed in Mandarin co-construction are 那個 *nage*, 那種 *nazhong*, 一些 *yixie*, and 什麼 *sheme*. They may occur alone or string in series in the speaker’s unfinished utterance. Their occurrence displays the halt of the speaker’s progressivity of turn and the speaker’s hesitation.

4.1.3 Summary

In Section 4.1, we presented our examination of some of the pragmatic features found in the speaker’s unfinished turn in co-construction, i.e. the speaker’s pause, lengthening of the final item, word repetition, and hesitation expressions. Co-construction, especially terminal item completion, may occur without these features manifested in the speaker’s unfinished turn. However, when these pragmatic features occur in the speakers’ unfinished turn, they all indicate the speaker’s hesitation and the halt of the speaker’s progressivity of turn. The occurrence of these features may invite the listener to co-construct the speaker’s unfinished turn, but statistically there is no evidence showing that the presence of

these features will enhance the possibility of the listener's co-construction.

4.2 Pragmatic Features Co-occurring with the Listener's Co-construction

In the previous section, we focused on the progressivity and the pragmatic features of the first speaker's turn. Now, we will move on to the listener's turn of co-construction.

In this section, we examine the pragmatic features accompanying the listener's co-construction. Most of the time the listener simply fills in the element to co-construct the speaker's sentences. However, the listener sometimes, out of uncertainty, shows their hesitation in the co-construction, as illustrated in Table 3.

Table 3. Distribution of the pragmatic features in the listener's co-construction

The Listener's Co-construction	Token	Percentage
Co-construction without hesitation	56	93%
Co-construction with hesitation	4	7%
Totality	60	100%

As indicated in Table 3, only 4 instances show the listener's hesitation during co-construction. To be specific, their hesitation is shown through the use of the final particle 吧 *ba*, the interrogative particle 嗎 *ma*, and the question tag, which will be discussed in 4.2.2.

The following sections, 4.2.1 and 4.2.2, will demonstrate the listener's co-construction without hesitation and co-construction with hesitation respectively.

4.2.1 The Listener's Co-construction without Hesitation

In our data, most of the time the listener simply fills in the linguistic element to co-construct the speaker's sentence, such as shown in (50):

- (50) 1 A: 我們 今天 講話 也 沒 什麼 意義.
 women jintian jianghua ye mei sheme yiyi
 we today converse also NEG what meaning
 'The conversation we had today was quite meaningless.'
- 2 B: 沒 什麼 意義.
 mei sheme yiyi
 NEG what meaning
 'Absurd.'
- 3 A: 對 a,
 dui a
 right PT
 'Right.'
- 4 錄 起來 也.
 lu qilai ye
 record rise also
 'If we were to record it'
- > 5 B: (0)不 好 笑.
 bu hao xiao
 NEG good laugh
 'it wouldn't be funny.'

As can be observed from the transcription in (50), Speaker B co-constructs Speaker A's sentence right after Speaker A's sentence heads toward the item 也 *ye* 'also'.

4.2.2 The Listener's Co-construction with Hesitation

Nearly all of the data show that the listener co-constructs the speaker's sentence immediately and without hesitation. However, there are 4 examples in which the listener hesitates when he co-constructs the speaker's speech. The listener's uncertainty is shown through his use of the final particle 吧 *ba*, the interrogative particle 嗎 *ma*, and the question tag.

In the following example, (30), the listener shows his hesitation through the use

of the final particle 吧 *ba*, a particle which shows the listener's conjecture.

- (30) 1 A: 如果 說 一旦 你 就是 過 了那個 關鍵 期 的 話,
ruguo shuo yidan ni jiushi guo le nage guanjian qi de hua
if COM once you just pass PF that critical period NOM utterance
'If you have passed the critical period'
- 2 長大 之後 譬如 說 你 大概
zhangda zhihou piru shuo ni dagai
grow-up after for-example COM you rough
十 幾 歲 再 來 學 的 話,
shi ji sui zai lai xue de hua
ten some age again come learn NOM utterance
'If you learned in your teens'
- 3 可能 就 沒有 人家 就是 從 小 從 小 開始 學
keneng jiu meiyou renjia jiushi cong xiao cong xiao kaishi xue
probably just NEG someone-else just from little from little begin study
那樣子 的 那種.
nayangzi de nazhong.
that NOM that-kind
'compared with those who started learning since they were little kids'
- 4 B: 有效 吧!=
youxiao ba
effective PT
'you might not learn it that effectively.'
- > 5 A: =對 對 對!
dui dui dui
right right right
'Right.'
- 6 有效 那樣子.=
youxiao nayangzi
effective like-that
'Not so effective.'

In (9), the adjective phrase, 很多 *henduo*, in Speaker B's sentence projects an upcoming noun phrase. Speaker A co-constructs Speaker B's sentence with the noun phrase, 形容詞 *xing rong ci*. However, Speaker A is not so sure about his guess, so

he follows up with the interrogative particle, 嗎 *ma*.

- (9)> 1 B: 他 就 說 我 們 的 語 言 裡 面 其 實 已 經 用 了 很 多
ta jiu shuo women de yuyan limian qishi yijing yong le henduo
he just say we GEN language inside actually already use PF many
'He said that in our language actually we've been using a lot of'
- 2 [譬 喻 法.
piyu fa
metaphor method
'Metaphors.'
- > 3 A: [形 容 詞 嗎?
xingrong ci ma
describe term PT
'adjectives?'

Such an action is similar to the “try-marked” guess (Sacks and Schegloff 1979) in Lerner (1996) in which the listener makes a confirmable guess for the speaker's word search candidate. Yet in the example below, Speaker B does not embark on word searches, and Speaker A just interposes and makes a guess.

In (25), the verb 有 *you* in Speaker B's utterance projects an upcoming noun phrase. Speaker A co-constructs Speaker B's sentence by repeating the verb 有 *you* and filling in the noun phrase 演講 *yanjiang*. However, Speaker A is not certain about his response, so he adds a tag question 是不是 *shibushi* for confirmation as below.

- (25) 1 B: 像 我 之 前 在 學 校 看 到 一 個 演 講,
xiang wo zhiqian zai xuexiao kan dao yi ge yanjiang
resemble I before in school see arrive one CL speech
'I've seen a notice of speech on campus'
- 2 就 是 類 似 講 人 生 的 ,
jiushi leisi jiang rensheng de
just similar talk life NOM

- ‘it was about life’
- 3 A: 嗯 哼
PT PT
‘yeah?’
- 4 B: 道理 那 一 類 的,
daoli na yi lei de
reason that one CL NOM
‘lessons, something like that.’
- 5 然後 我 就 覺得 說 e,
ranhou wo jiu juede shuo e
then I just feel say PT
‘and I think’
- 6 好像 不錯 耶!
haoxiang bucuo ye
seem not-bad PT
‘it sounds good’
- 7 那個 標題 我 忘記 了!
nage biaoti wo wangji le
that title I forget CRS
‘I forgot the topic’
- 8 就是- 大三 的時候,
jiushi dasan deshijhou
just junior-year period
‘just as in my third year’
- > 9 有 [那個-
you nage-
have that
‘there was a’
- > 10 A: [有 演講 [是不是?
you yanjiang [shibushi
have speech yes NEG yes
‘a speech, right?’
- 11 B: [對!
dui
right
‘Right.’

4.2.3 Interim Summary

In this section, we have discussed the pragmatic features accompanying the listener's co-construction. Almost all of the data show that the listener co-produces the speaker's speech without hesitation. Only 4 examples suggest that the listener shows an uncertain stance on his co-construction.

In 4.1 and 4.2, we have examined pragmatic features co-occurring with the speaker's turn and the listener's offered co-construction. So far, co-construction is formally accomplished. However, we observe that after the listener's co-construction, the speaker tends to make a response to the listener's co-construction in the next turn. Therefore, in the next section, we are going to probe into the third turn, i.e. the first speaker's second turn in which the speaker responds to the offered co-construction.

4.3 The Speaker's Response to Co-construction

In this section, we turn to the speaker's response to co-construction. We will discuss how the speaker responds to the listener in the following turn once the listener fills in the projected linguistic element and completes the speaker's sentence. Generally, the speaker responds to the listener's co-construction with agreement though their strategies may differ. Yet, there are occasions where the speaker is not able to make response due to turn-taking. In the following, we will first show cases where there is no response from the speaker since the speaker does not get the conversation floor back (4.3.1). Next, we analyze the speaker's response and the various strategies he uses to show his agreement to the listener's co-construction (4.3.2). Finally, we provide a summary in 4.3.3.

4.3.1 No Turn-taking: No Response from the Speaker

Generally, after the listener co-constructs the speaker's unfinished turn, the conversation floor turns back to the speaker. However, there are occasions where the speaker is not able to make any response due to turn-taking. The distribution of the turn-taking of our data is shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Distribution of the conversation floor after co-construction

The Turn Following Co-construction	Token	Percentage
The speaker (takes over the turn)	52	87%
The listener (holds the turn)	8	13%
Totality	60	100%

As shown in Table 4, the turn after co-construction turns over to the speaker in most of the data. Only 13% (8 tokens) of the data show that the listener holds the turn and continues with his own speech. The speaker is unable to comment on the listener's co-construction. In this regard, co-construction becomes a conversational strategy of floor-taking by the listener, as illustrated in (31).

- (31) 1 A: 拜託,
baituo
request
'Come on'
2 跟 人家 出來 的 女孩子,
gen renjia chulai de nuhaizi
with someone hang-out NOM girl
'Those girls who hang out with those men'
3 什麼 穿 得 越 少 錢 越 多.
sheme chuan de yue shao qian yue duo
what wear MAS more few money more more
'not just earn a lot of money when they are in sexy clothing'
4 B: 啊,
PT

- ‘Yeah?’
- 5 她 吊 的 凱子 越,
ta diao de kaizi yue
she hook NOM fool more
‘The guy she hangs out with is’
- 6 越 那個.
yue nage.
more that
‘of much’
- 7 A: 越 高級,
yue gaoji
more high-level
‘of higher status.’
- > 8 你 看
ni kan
you see
‘Look’
- > 9 這邊 的 店
zhebian de dian
here ASSOC store
‘The stores here’
- > 10 像 那個 服裝 店 都 開 的 很 晚 hon.
xiang nage fuzhuang dian dou kai de hen wan hon
like that dress shop al open MAS very late PT
‘the stores, like the dress store there, close quite late.’

In (31), after Speaker A co-constructs Speaker B’s 越...越...(yue...yue...) construction, Speaker A carries on and starts a new topic. In this case, the listener just holds the conversation floor. The speaker has no space to respond to the listener’s co-construction.

4.3.2 Response from the Speaker

As aforementioned, after the listener co-constructs the speaker’s speech, the conversation floor mostly (87%; 52 tokens) turns back to the speaker. Such turn

shift suggests the major role of the speaker and the supporting role of the listener in co-construction since the listener serves to offer the co-constructed element to support the speaker's speech.

In the turn following co-construction, the speaker typically responds to the listener's co-construction. Only very few times the speaker carries on the conversation without any response to the co-construction. In our data, only 5 instances are found in which the speaker gets the turn yet moves on to a new topic without responding to the co-construction first. This can be demonstrated in the following instance, (50).

- (50) 1 A: 我們 今天 講話 也 沒 什麼 意義.
women jintian jianghua ye mei sheme yiyi
we today converse also NEG what meaning
'The conversation we had today was quite meaningless.'
- 2 B: 沒 什麼 意義.
mei sheme yiyi
NEG what meaning
'Absurd.'
- 3 A: 對 a,
dui a
right PT
'Right.'
- 4 錄 起來 也.
lu qilai ye
record rise also
'If we were to record it'
- 5 B: (0)不 好 笑.
bu hao xiao
NEG good laugh
'it wouldn't be funny.'
- > 6 A: 下 一 次 我們 講.
xia yi ci women jiang
down one CL we talk

‘Next time, we’ll talk’

- 7 B: (0)下次 我們 把 錄音機 拿 到 那個 我們 寢室,
xia ci women ba luyinji na dao nage women qinshi
next-time we BA recorder take to that we room
‘Next time, we will take the recorder to our room and do the recording’
- 8 你 就 知道 了,
ni jiu zhidao le
you then know PT
‘then you’ll see.’

After Speaker B co-constructs Speaker A’s speech, Speaker A takes the next turn but he moves on to a new topic. He does not respond to the co-construction made by Speaker B.

On the other hand, in the cases where the speaker responds to the listener in the next turn, nearly all of them agree with the listener’s co-constructed element. The speakers show their agreement with the listener in the next turn. Only one example is observed in which the speaker corrects the listener in the following turn. The example is shown as follows. In (51), Speaker A refutes Speaker B’s co-construction directly and provides reasons afterwards.

- (51) 1 B: 他 真的 很 好.
ta zhende hen hao
he really very nice
‘He’s really nice.’
- 2 你 是 顧忌 什麼 啦?
ni shi guji sheme la
you C/F scruple what PT
‘What are you scrupling about?’
- 3 怕 你 會 愛 上 他 嗎?
pa ni hui ai shang ta ma
fear you will love up he PT
‘Are you worried about falling in love with him?’
- 4 A: 不 是,

- bu shi
 NEG C/F
 'No'
- 5 我 怕 他,
 wo pa ta
 I fear he
 'I'm just afraid that he'
- 6 B: 他 會 愛 上 你,
 ta hui ai shang ni
 he will love up you
 'he will have a crush on you?'
- 7 [那 也 不 會.
 na ye bu hui
 that also NEG will
 'I don't think so.'
- > 8 A: [不 是 不 是
 bu shi bu shi
 NEG C/F NEG C/F
 'No. No.'
- > 9 我 怕 那個,
 wo pa nage
 I fear that
 'I'm just afraid that'
- > 10 (1.5) 不 熟 啊.
 bu sho a
 NEG familiar PT
 'I just don't know him well.'

46 pieces (77%) of our data show that the speakers show their agreement, a preferred second in assessment (Levinson 1983; Pomerantz 1984) in the turn following co-construction, which suggests that co-construction may prefigure the speaker's agreement in the following turn. The way the speakers show their agreement can be classified into 4 major types: (1) agreement with agreement tokens, (2) repetition, (3) repair, and (4) others. In what follows, we will discuss these types of agreement respectively.

4.3.2.1 The Speaker's Agreement with Agreement Tokens

The first type includes instances where the speaker shows their agreement with agreement tokens. After co-construction, the speaker may utter some agreement tokens to show his agreement. In our data, 37 pieces of data fall under this type. If further analyzed from the elements following the speaker's agreement tokens, it is observed that the speaker may paraphrase the listener's co-construction or repeat the listener's co-constructed element. Therefore, these instances can be subcategorized into (1) agreement with agreement tokens only, (2) agreement with agreement tokens followed by paraphrase, and (3) agreement with agreement tokens followed by repetition. The example that illustrates the first type, i.e. agreement with agreement tokens only, is shown as follows.

- (33) 1 B: 我 覺得-,
wo juede
I feel
'I think'
- 2 就是 看 書 的 話 可以 更 快樂 這樣!
jiushi kan shu de hua keyi geng kuaile zheyang
just read book NOM utterance can more happy like-this
'reading makes me happier'
- 3 就是 可以 調劑 生活 嘛!
jiushi keyi tiaoji shenghuo ma
just can blend life PT
'Well, it's just a way to enliven my life'
- 4 不然 每 天 都 做 問卷,
buran mei tian dou zuo wenjuan
not-so every day all do questionnaire
'Otherwise, if I work on the questionnaire every day'
- 5 我 [只 會
wo [zhi hui
I only will

- ‘I’ll’
- 6 A: [都 重複 一樣 的 生活
dou congfu yiyang de shenghuo
all repeat same NOM life
‘I’ll live a life that is the same every day.’
- > 7 B: 對 [對 對!
dui [dui dui
right right right
‘Right. Exactly.’
- 8 A: [重複 一樣 的,
congfu yiyang de
repeat same NOM
‘repeatedly the same’
- 9 B: 就 是-,
jiu shi
just C/F
‘That’s’

In (33), when Speaker A successfully co-constructs Speaker B’s utterance, Speaker B shows his agreement with agreement tokens 對對對 *dui dui dui* in the following turn.

Next, some data show that the speaker agrees with the listener first and then paraphrases or elaborates more on the topic in focus. In (46), Speaker A first agrees with Speaker B and then paraphrases Speaker B’s utterance.

- (46) 1 A: 然後 就 我們 有 拍照,
ranhou jiu women you paizhao
then just we have take-pictures
‘We took pictures’
- 2 然後 聽說 裡面 有 某 張 照片 好像 有 拍到,
ranhou ting shuo limian you mou zhang zhaopian haoxiang you pai dao
then hear say inside have certain CL photo seem have shoot
‘and they said that in one of the pictures, it seems that they captured’
- 3 B: 拍 到 她,

- pai dao ta
 shoot arrive she
 ‘captured her.’
- > 4 A: 對,
 dui
 right
 ‘Yes.’
- > 5 拍 到 靈異 的 東西.
 pai dao lingyi de dongxi
 shoot arrive supernatural NOM object
 ‘They captured something supernatural.’

Finally, some speakers may first agree with agreement tokens and then repeats Speaker B’s co-constructed element. Such phenomenon is shown in (30).

- (30) 1 A: 如果 說 一旦 你 就是 過 了那個 關鍵 期 的 話,
 ruguo shuo yidan ni jiushi guo le nage guanjian qi de hua
 if COM once you just pass PF that critical period NOM utterance
 ‘If you have passed the critical period’
- 2 長大 之後 譬如 說 你 大概
 zhangda zhihou piru shuo ni dagai
 grow-up after for-example COM you rough
 十幾歲再 來 學 的 話,
 shi ji sui zai lai xue de hua
 ten some age again come learn NOM utterance
 ‘If you learned in your teens’
- 3 可能 就 沒有 人家 就是 從小 從小 開始 學
 keneng jiu meiyou renjia jiushi cong xiao cong xiao kaishi xue
 probably just NEG someone-else just from little from little begin study
 那樣子 的 那種.
 nayangzi de nazhong
 that NOM that-kind
 ‘compared with those who started learning since they were little kids’
- 4 B: 有效 吧!=
 youxiao ba
 effective PT

‘you might not learn it that effectively.’

> 5 A: =對 對 對!

dui dui dui

right right right

‘Right.’

6 有效 那樣子.=

youxiao nayangzi

effective like-that

‘Not so effective.’

It is worth noting that most of the data of the speaker’s agreement with agreement tokens and repetition are found to be agreement tokens followed by repetition of the listener’s words, as in (30). However, in (16), the speaker repeats the listener’s utterance first and then utters the agreement token 對 *dui* to show his agreement.

(16) 1 A: 他 覺得 好像 XXX 就 是,

ta juede hoaxing XXX jiu shi

he feel seem PN just C/F

‘He thinks XXX is just’

2 反正 就 是 一 副 非常 的 那種,

fanzheng jiu shi yi fu feichangde nazhong

anyway just C/F one CL extremely that

‘anyway, she’s very’

3 B: 強勢.

qiangshi

dominant

‘dominant.’

> 4 A: 強勢 的 樣子,

qiangshi de yangzi

dominant NOM appearance

‘Just dominant.’

> 5 對 對 對 對.

dui dui dui dui

right right right right

‘Right on.’

This is because even though Speaker B completes the stative verb projected in the speaker’s utterance, the construction 一副...的樣子 *yifu...de yangzhi* in the speaker’s sentence is not completed yet. Therefore, the speaker appears to complete the construction he starts in his prior turn first and shows his agreement with Speaker B only afterwards, showing the speaker’s clause-oriented tendency.

In this section, we discussed the speaker’s agreement with agreement tokens. We observed that when the speaker agrees with the listener with agreement tokens, he may (1) agree only with agreement tokens such as 對 *dui*, (2) further elaborate on the topic in focus or paraphrase the listener’s co-construction after agreement tokens, or (3) repeat the listener’s co-construction after agreement tokens.

In the next section, we will turn to the second type of the speaker’s agreement. That is, the speaker does not show his agreement through the use of agreement tokens but just repeats the listener’s co-construction.

4.3.2.2 The Speaker’s Repetition

When the speaker responds to the listener’s co-construction, they usually show their agreement with agreement tokens. Another kind of response is also observed that after the speaker hears the listener’s utterance, the speaker repeats the listener’s words in the following turn without any agreement tokens. We have 4 instances of this kind. The following example illustrates this type of agreement:

- (49) 1 A: 但是 她是 一位,
danshi ta shi yi wei
but she C/F one CL
‘But she is a’
2 一個 老闆.

- yi ge laoban.
one CL boss
'a boss.'
- 3 B: 楊 老師?
yang laoshi
Yang teacher
'Miss Yang?'
- 4 A: 對.
dui
right
'Yes.'
- 5 然後 陳 老師 曾經 是,
ranhou chen laoshi cengjing shi
then Chen teacher once C/F
'and then Mr. Chen once was'
- 6 她 的,
ta de
she GEN
'her'
- > 7 那個,
nage
that
'that'
- 8 B: [下 屬.
xia shu
down belong
'her subordinate.'
- 9 A: [職 員.
zhiyuan
job person
'her employee.'
- 10 下 屬.
xia shu
down belong
'her subordinate.'

In (49), even though Speaker A utters 職員 *zhiyuan* at the same time when Speaker B utters 下屬 *xiashu*, Speaker A repeats Speaker B's word 下屬 *xiashu* when

Speaker A hears it, as a token of agreement. However, Speaker A does not use any agreement tokens here.

In the next section, we will discuss the third type of the speaker's agreement. In this type, the speaker repairs the listener's co-construction.

4.3.2.3 The Speaker's Repair

The listener's co-construction may not always be what the speaker intends to convey. The speaker may repair the listener's co-construction in the following turn. We have only 4 examples in our data. In the following example, even though the listener does not successfully co-construct the element intended by the speaker, the speaker does not show any disagreement or correct the listener. Instead, the speaker may just offer his intended utterance in the next turn, as in (52).

- (52) 1 B: 你 就 把 他 夾 起來.
ni jiu ba ta jia qilai
you then BA he clip rise
'You just clip it'
- 2 A: 用 什麼 夾?
yong sheme jia
with what clip
'clip with what?'
- 3 是 不 是 用 燒 的 把 他 燒.
shi bu shi yong shao de ba ta shao
yes-NEG-yes use burn NOM BA he burn
'Is it like burning? You just burn it'
- 4 B: 他們 有的 用 燒 的 同時 會 用 像,
tamen you de yong shao de tongshi hui yong xiang
they have NOM use burn NOM meanwhile will use like
'Some of them just burn it. Meanwhile they'
- 5 有 一 種 叫做 是 那 種,
you yi zhong jiaozuo shi na zhong
have one CL call C/F that CL

- ‘One kind of tool is called that’
- 6 A: (0)橡皮筋.
 xiangpijin
 rubber-band
 ‘rubber band.’
- > 7 B: 那 種 那 種 夾子,
 na zhong na zhong jiazi
 that CL that CL clamp
 ‘a kind of clamp’
- 8 就是 兩 塊 鐵 片 這樣 把 你 夾 起來
 jiushi liang kuai tie pian zheyang ba ni jia qilai
 just two piece iron slice like-this BA you clip rise
 ‘which just clips it with two pieces of iron sheets’.

4.3.2.4 Others

Finally, there is one example illustrating the intricacies in the speaker’s response to the listener’s co-construction. In this example, (19), the listener and the speaker utter roughly the same speech at the same time. Although their wordings are not exactly the same, they talk about the same idea. It may be because when Speaker B is uttering his part, Speaker B hears what Speaker A is saying. Speaker B then uses Speaker A’s words to complete his sentence, 能夠把雙方這個夫妻的感情距離拉近 *neng gou ba shuang fang ju li la ji*.

- (19) 1 B: 因為 現在 的 電,
 yinwei xianzai de dian
 because now NOM electric
 ‘Beucase nowadays the telephone’
- 2 像 是 電話 有 沒 有,
 xiang shi dianhua you mei you
 like C/F telephone have NEG have
 ‘telephones, right’
- 3 都 很 非,
 dou hen fei

- all very NEG
 ‘are all very’
- 4 非常的 便利.
 feichangde bianli
 extremely convenient
 ‘very handy.’
- 5 A: 嗯.
 PT
 ‘Hum.’
- 6 B: 不妨 說,
 bufang shuo
 may-as-well say
 ‘You may want to’
- 7 利用 這 個 便利, 能 夠 把 雙方
 liyong zhe ge bianli neng gou ba shuangfang
 utilize this CL convenience can enough BA both
 ‘with this convenient invention, to make both’
- > 8 A: [把 距離 拉 近]
 ba juli la ji
 BA distance pull close
 ‘drawn closer’
- > 9 B: [這 個 夫妻 的 感情 距離 拉 近]
 zhe ge fuqi de ganqing juli la jin
 this CL couple NOM relationship distance pull close
 ‘to shorten the distance between the two’
- 10 A: <E Ya E>.
 yes
 ‘Yeah.’

4.3.3 Interim Summary

In this section, we have focused on the first speaker’s response to the listener’s co-construction. Co-construction as a floor-taking strategy by the listener may suspend the turn transition and the first speaker will have no conversational space to respond to the co-construction. Nevertheless, most of the time the turn shifts back to the first speaker and the first speaker usually shows their agreement with the listener.

This suggests the different roles of the speaker and the listener during co-construction. The strategies of agreement deployed by the speaker in our data are mainly (1) showing agreement with agreement tokens, (2) showing agreement by repeating the listener's co-constructed element, and (3) showing agreement by repairing the listener's co-constructed element. In particular, the speakers tend to show their agreement with agreement tokens.

4.4 Summary

In this section, we have probed into the turn organization of conversation and examined the pragmatic features accompanying the speaker's unfinished utterance, the listener's co-construction, and the speaker's response to co-construction. It is observed that:

(1) In the speaker's unfinished utterance, the occurrence of co-construction is not directly related to the speaker's progressivity of turn. Co-construction can occur when the progressivity is successfully sustained by the speaker. On the other hand, when the progressivity is halted, showing speaker's hesitation through pragmatic features such as pause, lengthening of the final item, word repetition, and hesitation expressions, co-construction occurs as well. Yet the occurrence of these pragmatic features in the speaker's unfinished turn does not seem to cast any influence on the occurrence of the listener's co-construction.

(2) In the listener's turn of co-construction, most of the listeners co-construct the speaker's utterance without hesitation.

(3) In the turn following co-construction, the conversation floor generally goes back to the speaker. In this turn, the speaker usually displays their agreement with the listener's co-construction. The speaker shows their agreement through their deployment of agreement tokens, repetition of the listener's co-construction, or repair

of the listener's co-constructed element, but the most frequently used strategy is making a response with agreement tokens.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

In this study, we investigated co-construction in Mandarin conversation. We have discussed projectability of co-construction in Mandarin conversation, including the syntactic structure of the speaker's unfinished utterance and the co-constructed element of the listener's co-construction. We have also examined the interaction of the conversation participants in co-construction, focusing on the turn organization and the pragmatic features of the speaker and the listener during co-construction. In this concluding chapter, we will summarize the findings and propose directions for future research.

5.1 Summary of the Findings

The present study is a corpus-based investigation in pursuit of a systematic description of the syntax and the pragmatics of co-construction in Mandarin conversation. We first analyzed the projection of the unfinished utterance of the speaker based on the syntax of the unfinished sentence. We observed two levels of projection: categorical projection and clausal projection, both of which orient the participants to make a complete clause.

Co-construction categorized under categorical projection refers to cases in which the rightmost syntactic unit in the speaker's utterance projects a categorical syntactic element to make a clause complete. These syntactic units project only one or two possible upcoming syntactic categories or project limited types of syntactic constructions. In our data, we have identified syntactic units such as attributive adjectives, relative clauses, associative phrases, classifier phrases, and nominal connectives as ones which project an upcoming nominal category. Syntactic

categories such as adverbs, auxiliary verbs, and serial verb construction, which project an upcoming verbal category, are also observed. Coverbs and pivotal construction project a combination of a nominal category followed by a verbal category. The verb 有 *you*, under the influence of *Min*, projects either an upcoming nominal or a verbal complement. The copula 是 *shi* is found to project a verbal complement in our data. Transitive verbs and ditransitive verbs have been observed to project objects in co-construction. While these syntactic units project an upcoming syntactic category, constructional units such as the comparative construction and the *yue...yue...* (越...越...) construction project an upcoming unit for the construction to make the clause complete in co-construction.

Co-constructions accomplished based on clausal projection vividly demonstrate the clause-oriented nature of co-construction. Subject-predicate co-construction, the *shi...de* (是...的) construction, and topic-chained co-construction project an upcoming predicative format to make a complete clause. Co-construction based on the linking elements and the topic-comment structure project an upcoming clause to make a multi-clausal sentence. In particular, in addition to Lerner's two-part formats in which the preliminary component projects the final component, we identified different kinds of two-part formats, clauses with backward linking elements and clauses with non-overtly expressed elements. The projecting element (i.e. backward linking elements) may occur in the final component of a two-part format and project a clause to link backwardly to make a clause combining into a multi-clausal sentence. The non-overtly expressed linking elements, though not overtly expressed, still can project an upcoming clause to form a semantically completed sentence with the antecedent clause.

In addition to the analysis on the syntactic structure of the speaker's unfinished utterance and the co-constructed element contributed by the listener, we also

discussed the prominent linguistic features of Mandarin that are manifested in co-construction. Particularly, we focused on topic prominence, non-overtly expressed linking elements, and ellipsis. Topic prominence in Mandarin promotes the topic-comment co-construction and the topic-chain co-construction. Speakers' choice of not explicitly stating the linking elements expedite the occurrence of turn extension by the listener. The omission of the object or the head noun, due to the recoverable characteristic of noun phrases, provides the listener with a possible place of co-construction.

We have further examined the pragmatic features from the overall turn organization of co-construction, including those found in the speaker's utterance which project a possible turn exchange, in the reaction of the listener when offering co-construction, and in the speaker's response to the listener's offered co-construction.

In the speaker's turn, it is observed that the pragmatic features shown in the speaker's unfinished utterance include the speaker's pause, lengthening of the final item, word repetition, and hesitation expressions, all of which suggest the speaker's hesitation. Co-construction still occurs when the speaker's progressivity is not halted. Of this type of co-construction, the syntactic element in the speaker's utterance projects an upcoming grammatical element for the listener for possible co-construction, especially final item co-construction.

In the listener's co-construction turn, the data reveal that most of the time the listener co-constructs the speaker's speech immediately without doubt. Only very few times (i.e., 4 tokens of the data) some listeners show their hesitation with interrogative particles and question tags during their co-construction.

As for the speaker's response to the offered co-construction, we observed that the conversation floor usually returns to the speaker for response. In our data, the

speakers tend to show their agreement with the listener in the next turn. Most of the time, they agree with agreement tokens such as 對 *dui* ‘yes’. They may also respond with a repetition of the co-constructed element, or with repair of the listener’s utterance.

5.2 Implications of the Study

Previous studies have discussed co-construction in languages such as English, Finnish, Japanese or French as reviewed in chapter 2, but there have been relatively few studies touching upon this issue in Mandarin conversation. Our study of the Mandarin data suggests that syntax also plays an important role in Mandarin co-construction. In our data, we have found compound turn-constructional projection, terminal item projection, and some of the unprojectable features as discussed in Lerner (1991, 1996). Assessment co-construction, subject predication, and characterization co-construction in Helasvuo’s (2004) study also occur in Mandarin co-construction. Besides these co-construction, we have also identified a range of projecting categories in Mandarin, from categorical to clausal, both of which make projection for clause completion.

In addition, we have identified the topic-comment co-construction, the topic-chain co-construction, turn extension with non-overtly expressed linking elements and co-construction for elided referents, as co-construction types specific to Mandarin. Our findings show that co-construction manifests linguistic specificity. In our data, topic prominence, choice of not explicitly stating the linking element, and ellipsis, as prominent in Mandarin, are actualized in co-construction between conversation participants.

Our study also renders support for Thompson and Couper-Kuhlen’s (2005) observations that speakers are clause-oriented in communication and that grammar is

interactionally organized. In our data, all the co-constructions are produced to make a clause complete. Furthermore, co-construction accomplished with a categorical element, a constructional element and even with a clausal element also suggests that grammar is built moment by moment in interaction.

While previous studies on co-construction pay most attention to the local projecting elements in co-construction, we have further explored the interaction of conversational participants. We found that co-construction itself may prefigure the speaker's agreement in the next turn.

5.3 Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research

While the present study has discussed projectability and interaction in co-construction in Mandarin conversation, several issues are bypassed and remain to be explored.

First, the present study focused on the syntactic features and pragmatic features in the composition of co-construction, yet the prosody in the speaker's utterance also plays a decisive role. A thorough examination on the syntactic, pragmatic and prosodic features as a whole may give a more systematic picture of co-construction in Mandarin conversation.

Secondly, the present study provided an analysis of the pragmatic features accompanying the participants during co-construction, showing that the pragmatic features do not seem to motivate co-construction. However, a contrastive analysis of the pragmatic features in co-construction with those in turn sequences without co-construction is suggested to distinguish the function of the pragmatic features in conversation. Our analysis on the turn sequence of co-construction suggests the supporting role of the listener in co-construction. Nevertheless, a sociolinguistic research on co-construction, concerning issues such as gender or age, may be carried

out to thoroughly explore the social factors in the occurrence of co-construction.

Finally, the present study has identified turn extension in our data. However, it is perceivable that it requires further examination since, different from other kinds of co-construction where the listener fills in the projected element to complete the speaker's sentence, turn extension is built upon a complete sentence of the prior speaker. A more detailed analysis is needed to uncover the formation of turn extension.

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