



Parenthetical sequences

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Abstract

A speaker sometimes halts an ongoing turn constructional unit (TCU) before its completion, inserts a short parenthetical remark into it, and then returns to the halted TCU. A remarkable organizational feature of some of these parentheticals is that they are oriented to as something the recipient may respond to. As a consequence, a little sequence develops, which is managed within the borders of the ongoing turn. In the parenthetical sequence, the speaker informs the recipient metacommunicatively and in real time how to listen to the turn in progress.

In this paper, I look at the properties of this type of parenthetical and at the sequence that may develop out of it. In particular, I examine the construction and placement of the insert in the ongoing TCU, its prosody, the way the recipient responds to it, and how the speaker accomplishes the return. The analysis describes how linguistic structure is deployed as a resource for performing a subsidiary interactional activity in the course of the unit with the action it is supportive of.

Parenthetical sequences are a solution to a design problem. The device enables a speaker to reconcile the potentially contradictory requirements that the linearity of speech production poses to the speaker's orientation to recipient design.

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1. Introduction

In this paper, I examine the design, the placement and the function of parenthetical sequences in talk in interaction. Speakers sometimes insert a parenthetical remark into an ongoing utterance

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and a recipient may respond to this interpolation before the speaker continues the halted utterance. See the extract below¹:

Extract 1. Business phone call. The print shop owner has called his customer Inez. After having arranged when she will pick up a set of posters the next day, the caller goes on telling some bad news. Leendert is an employee of the print shop.

Caller: →₁ ik hoor van Leendert wel: (uhruh) ((*coughs*))
I heard from Leendert though

→₂ want ik zit- >ben niet,< thuis nouh,
because I am- am not at home now,
·h[h [(°onderweg.°)]
(on my way.)

Inez: →₃ [jah, da ho[or ik. HhH!]
yes, I can hear this. hhh ((laughing))

Caller: →₄ [maar:] e:h >dat 't rood wel wat< tegenviel,
but u:h that the red ((colour)) was actually a little disappointing,

Inez: [HhH!]
0.4
o:h.

In the first line of the transcript, the caller begins an utterance in a way that shows that the turn will unfold in a specifiable way. The quotative frame ‘*I heard from Leendert ...*’ projects the report of something the speaker’s colleague has told him (arrow 1). But before telling what he has heard from this colleague (arrow 4), the caller does something else (arrow 2). He accounts for the fact that he himself is not the source of the bad news he is about to tell by telling about his current situation. The speaker thus inserts another remark into the ongoing utterance. Schematically:

[*Quotative frame* [Inserted remark] *Quote*]

However, this is not the whole picture yet. Before the caller returns to the suspended utterance, the recipient responds to the inserted remark (arrow 3). The parenthetical and the response to it together make up a little sequence that is interactionally managed within the boundaries of an ongoing, still incomplete utterance. It is this incidental sequential practice – which Schegloff (2007:241) calls a *parenthetical sequence* – that is the subject of this article.

The analysis presented here is in line with an increasing body of research on the relation between social interaction and forms of language use.² A hallmark of this research is that it studies grammar as sets of practices that are rooted in and designed for language use in talk in

¹ See Appendix A for a description of the transcription conventions. Apart from the interpretative translation that is provided in italicized lines below the line with the original Dutch text, I will only give a lexically parallel, grammatically more precise interlinear translation when this is relevant for the point I want to make.

² See, for example, Fox (1987), Ford (1993), Ochs et al. (1996), Tanaka (1999), Selting and Couper-Kuhlen (2001), Sorjonen (2001), Ford et al. (2002), Hayashi (2003), Couper-Kuhlen and Ford (2004).

interaction (see Ford et al., 2003:119–123). It uses the conversation-analytic framework and methodology to study the use of linguistic forms as situated practices for the organization of talk in interaction.

Parenthetical sequences are at the interface of two levels of the organization of talk: turn taking and sequence organization. A central finding of conversation-analytic research is that participants orient to linguistic structure as a resource for the interactional management of turn transfer (Sacks et al., 1974). Languages such as English and Dutch allow for early recognition of the grammatical type a speaker uses to build the units out of which turns are constructed. In the course of its delivery in real time, the emergent structure of an ongoing *turn constructional unit* (henceforth TCU) projects possible turn trajectories, that is, ways in which the TCU-so-far may be continued by the speaker. Identification of the unit type enables the co-participant to anticipate the point at which the TCU underway may possibly be complete. Conversationists organize transition of speakership around such *possible completion points* (PCPs) of TCUs. In principle, no other participant should begin a new turn before current speaker has arrived at the first PCP of an ongoing TCU (see Jefferson, 1986; Schegloff, 2000).

The very same mechanisms that are used as a resource for achieving turn transfer around PCPs, are also deployed for accomplishing the insertion of a parenthetical into an ongoing TCU at a point at which the turn-so-far is still *incomplete*. The speaker exploits the projection of a specific type of turn trajectory for creating a secondary interactional space in which something else can be done and to which the recipient may respond before the return to the suspended TCU is made. See Fig. 1.

Participants exploit the emergent structure of a TCU as it is linearly unfolding in real time to create a secondary interactional space that is defined by the recognizable incompleteness of the turn-so-far. The placement of the parenthetical at a point at which the host TCU is still incomplete is constitutive for its analyzability as initiating a subsidiary activity. The parenthetical

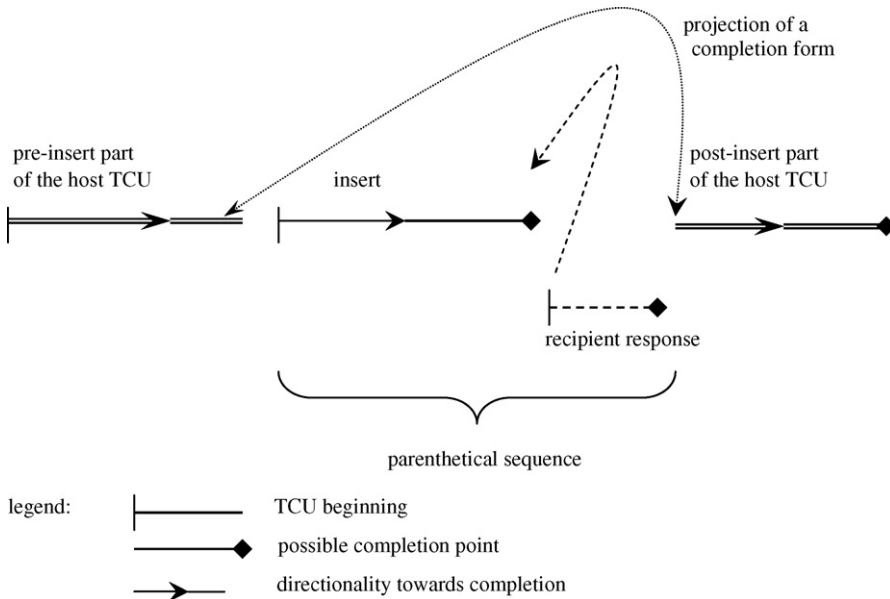


Fig. 1. Insertion of a parenthetical sequence into an ongoing TCU.

sequence is supportive of and subordinate to the action that is underway in the TCU it is inserted into, that is, it is subsidiary to its *host*. This property also marks out the space the recipient has for responding to the parenthetical. The environment in which the parenthetical is done thus shapes the kind of sequence that may develop out of it.

From an organizational perspective, two different kinds of parenthetical sequences can be discerned: (i) parenthetical sequences that are inserted *within* an ongoing TCU; (ii) parenthetical sequences that are inserted *between* TCUs in a multi-unit turn. The extract below offers an instance of the latter type. The speaker halts an ongoing story for the provision of background knowledge that is relevant for the story's understanding (arrow 1):

Extract 2. Telephone conversation between girlfriends. Natalie and Mariska are telling each other stories about their experiences as trainee teachers.

- Natalie: maar jAh die mensen die- die eh: >die 't dus wel (geleze heb), <
 but well the pupils who- who uh: who (did read it)
 kwam één meisje, (.) bij me. (.)
 one girl came, to me.
 had 'n zinnetje om te le:zeh,
 had a little sentence to read
 0.8
- ₁ zij is dislectisch.
 she is dyslexic.
 0.4
- Mariska: →₂ [oh ↓jah.
 oh yes.
- Natalie: [(zij) zei tegen mij JAh, (0.3)
 (she) said to me well,
 ik ga dit ↑echt niet le:zen hoor.
 I am really not going to read this for sure.
 driehonderd bladzijden in vier weken. (...)
 three hundred pages in four weeks (...) ((*story continues*))

The insert '*she is dyslexic*' is delivered as a next TCU in a multi-unit turn. It is placed at a point at which the preceding TCU is possibly complete ('*had a sentence to read*'). The activity implemented in the turn as a whole – a story telling – is not yet possibly complete at this point, however. Unlike the insert in extract 1, this parenthetical sequence does not develop within the borders of a single TCU, but it is placed *between* TCUs. The insert in extract 1 is analyzable as a parenthetical because the ongoing TCU is still incomplete. The insert in the telling is analyzable as a parenthetical because the story is not yet complete. Thus, the resources that are mobilized for accomplishing the insert's recognizability as a parenthetical are different. In this article, I shall focus on the first type of sequence, that is, parenthetical sequences that are inserted into an ongoing TCU.

A parenthetical sequence is a specific type of sequential practice. It occasions expansion of a single turn, but does not lead to sequence expansion. Schegloff (2007:237–244) discusses parenthetical sequences together with another type which he calls *incidental sequence*. An incidental sequence is initiated by within-turn practices such as a word search or the try-marked use of a reference form. Incidental sequences are occasioned by local, within-turn problems. They are dealt with within the boundaries of an ongoing turn and they do not have a bearing on the progress of the sequence as such.

Parenthetical sequences are “not prompted by signs of failure,” on the other hand. If anything, a parenthetical is “a prophylactic to pre-empt the possibility of failure” (Schegloff, 2007:241–242). Unlike incidental sequences, a parenthetical sequence may well have a bearing on the sequence. For example, in extract 1, the caller’s accounting for why he himself is not the source of the bad news he is about to tell may be relevant for the recipient’s understanding of the turn. The parenthetical sequence contributes to the outcome of the sequence in which it is inserted. It does not do so as a structurally occasioned part of the developing sequence, however.

The basic collection of data that is examined for this article is a set of 48 parenthetical sequences from talk in interaction in various sorts of situations (private and business phone calls, a tax inspection negotiation, meetings, various types of interviews and debates). The collection is assembled by selecting instances of parenthetical *sequences* that occur within the borders of a single TCU. The decision to focus on within-TCU parentheticals that get a response is heuristically motivated. Grammarians include very heterogeneous items in the category—appositives, non-restrictive relative clauses, epistemic disclaimers and other types of hedges, adverbial disjuncts and various types of self-repair initiation markers.³ Moreover, although a parenthetical may occur at various positions in and around clauses and sentences, I will limit myself to parentheticals occurring within TCUs that are not yet complete. By focusing on inserted parentheticals that get a response, I am able to put together a collection of cases that is selected on the basis of empirical, interactional criteria, and not primarily on the basis of criteria with respect to linguistic form. My starting point is the sequentiality of the action that a speaker is accomplishing by inserting a parenthetical into an ongoing TCU.

The basic question I will try to answer in this paper is how participants manage parenthetical sequences in the course of an ongoing TCU, and what kinds of practices and resources they use to accomplish this. This question can be split up by formulating it in terms of three different kinds of problems participants have to solve. First, how is *the initiation problem* solved? That is, how does a speaker signal the transition from the host unit to the inserted unit? Second, *the maintenance problem*: how does the speaker maintain the continued recognizability of the inserted TCU as an insert. Finally, how do the participants solve the *return problem*? That is, how and when does the speaker make the return to the host unit?

I will examine participant solutions to these problems by successively looking at the placement of parenthetical inserts, their design, their prosody, the ways recipients respond to parenthetical inserts and the ways speakers return to the host. In the concluding section, I will try to answer the question what participants in talk in interaction do – and why they do so – when accomplishing a parenthetical sequence within the borders of an ongoing TCU.

2. Insertion positions

Apart from some minor classes, I found two major types of insert positioning. One type consists of parentheticals that are constituted as an inserted TCU by exploitation of clausal grammatical structures or of more elementary constituent relationships. The parenthetical is inserted into an ongoing clause or phrase that is not yet complete. The other group concerns parentheticals that exploit the unit structure of so called *compound* TCUs. I will first characterize some types of insert placement in TCUs with a simple-clause design, and then discuss insertion placement in compound TCUs.

³ See, for example, Hoffmann (1998), Stoltenburg (2003), Grenoble (2004), Blakemore (2005), Thompson and Mulac (1991) or Biber et al. (1999).

right before—the abbreviation *K. B. youngsters* (“K. B.” stands for *Kinker-buurt*,⁴ which is the name of an old working class neighbourhood in Amsterdam):

Extract 4. Non-standardized research interview about the development of Amsterdam youth cultures.

- Piet: →₁ ·h terwijl je daarna:st de Ka: ↑BE: jongere (.)
whereas you there-next the K.B. youngsters
whereas in addition the K.B. youngsters
- ₂ °Kinker[buurt jong]ere° had,
Kinker- neighbourhood youngsters had
Kinkerbuurt youngsters were there,
- Intvr: [(°jeu:gd)]
 →₃ (°youth)
- Piet: ·Hh- die wel 's effen:- (0.3) meneer Olij: beloofden ·hh
who did PRT just- promise mister Olij
 dat wanneer die la:st had, ·h (.) van die hippie[esh ·h
that when he was having trouble with those hippies
- Intvr: [hu↑:h
- Piet: dan zouwe ze ze d'r wel effen uitrammeh.=
then they would PRT just ram them out of there.
- Intvr: =hm↓m.

The clarification ‘*Kinkerbuurt youngsters*’ (arrow 2) is inserted at a point at which the ongoing clause still has to get its grammatically projected final element, the finite part of the verb phrase. In Dutch, the operator – the finite part of the verb phrase carrying tense and modality – of subordinate clauses has to be placed in clause-final position (verb-last). This produces a very strong type of grammatical projection, and because of this the clause itself is analyzably incomplete as long as the operator has not been delivered yet.

When a parenthetical splits up an emerging syntactic structure, the unit that is put on hold is either the unit type that is guiding the design of the host TCU as a whole or a minor type of subunit. The projection of incompleteness may be occasioned either by exploitation of the overall structure of the clause, or by exploitation of structural expectations that are locally established at a lower level of grammatical structure. In extract 3, for example, the inserted TCU splits up a phrasal structure in a TCU with a clausal design. A speaker may also exploit structural relationships within a clause that itself is a part of a TCU with a more complex design. In extract 4, for example, the speaker inserts a parenthetical into a subordinate clause without affecting the emerging overall structure of the complex sentence it begins.

Inserts that exploit clausal or phrasal structure occur at positions in which a syntactically projected next element is still due. The TCU will remain recognizably incomplete as long as the speaker has not produced it. The insert is placed at a position at which the speaker has *maximum grammatical control* over the TCU’s projected trajectory (Schegloff, 1996a:92 ff.).

2.2. Insertion placement in compound TCUs

A *compound TCU* is a turn-constructional unit with a design that allows for its interactionally relevant segmentation into a preliminary component and a form that completes the unit

⁴ The name “*Kinker-buurt*” (extract 4) is a compound; “*buurt*” means ‘*neighbourhood*’.

(cf. Lerner, 1991, 1996). Examples of syntactic unit types that lend a TCU this kind of segmentable structure are sentences with a complex clausal structure,—e.g., sentence frames that announce the delivery of a quote (see extract 1), sentences that begin with a subordinate adverbial clause, sentences that begin with a frame projecting a *that*-complement, or *wh*-cleft sentences. In a TCU with an *if* . . . , *then* . . . format, for example, the initial adverbial clause is a preliminary TCU component that projects continuation with a specifiable type of second part,—the *then*-clause. After completion of the preliminary component, the TCU as a whole is still incomplete.

Compare the extract below. The desk employee begins a turn-constructional unit with a conditional adverbial clause (*if you go* . . . , arrow 1), thereby projecting that the ongoing TCU will be completed with a main clause that can do as the *then*-part (arrow 3):

Extract 5. Travel agency call.

- Desk: →₁ as je bijvoorbeeld naar Italië gaat [en:] je neemt
if you go for example to Italy and you take
- Mother: →₂ [ja,
yeah,
- Desk: gewoon 'n e:h 'n pendelrei↑:s,
just an u:h a shuttle trip,
 (. . .) ((2 lines left out, see below))
- Desk: →₃ hè dan: >zit daar natuurlijk ook< veel jongelui
you know then there are of course also many young people
 daartusse:h [↓natuurlijk hè=]
among them of course you know
- Mother: [ja : : h wel :]
yeah that's right
 =dus dat maakt nie uit
so this makes no difference

Note that almost immediately after the completion of the TCU's preliminary component, the recipient reacts with an acknowledgement token (*yeah*, arrow 2). Although the speaker has not yet arrived at a point at which the turn is possibly complete, the co-participant treats preliminary component completion as a place at which she too can say something—albeit for an action that is still compatible with the turn's continuation. A co-participant thus may interpose between the boundaries of an ongoing TCU without interrupting it. Some turn types appear to be *semi-permeable* (cf. Lerner, 1996). Co-participants may contribute to the progressivity of an ongoing TCU by the deployment of practices that are both responsive to what the current speaker is doing in the turn and attending to the not-yet-completed status of the ongoing TCU. For example, a recipient may display his organizational understanding that current speaker will continue through the use of an acknowledgement token – as in the extract above (see Schegloff, 1982; Jefferson, 1984) – or show agreement through anticipatorily completing the speaker's turn (see Lerner, 1991).

An important finding of Lerner's research is that a co-participant's conditional entry into the turn of another speaker is done at grammatically and/or pragmatically specifiable positions in the emergent structure of an ongoing TCU. One such position is the possible completion of a preliminary component in a compound TCU. The design of this type of TCU makes them semi-permeable for limited types of co-participant contributions.

Interestingly, parentheticals are frequently inserted into compound TCUs at the very same places that co-participants may treat as a position for conditional entry. Compare the full version of extract 5 below:

Extract 5 (full version). Travel agency call.

Desk: →₁ as je bijvoorbeeld naar Italië gaat [en:] je neemt
if you go for example to Italy and you take

Mother: [ja,]
yes,

Desk: →₂ gewoon 'n e:h 'n pEndelrei↑:s, (.)
just an u:h a shuttle trip,

	→ ₃ hè dus dat bet[<u>e</u> : k]ent *hh e:h 't vervoer heen en tru:g (0.3) <i>you know so this means hh u:h the transportation to and fro.</i>
Mother:	[j:ah,] <i>yeah,</i>
Desk:	en <u>daar</u> : e:h <u>accomoda</u> :tie >hetzij 'n appartement of< <i>and there u:h accommodation either an apartment or</i>
	→ ₄ ho↑t <u>e</u> l:, ·h[h <i>hotel,</i>
Mother: → ₅	[°jah, <i>yeah,</i>

Desk: →₆ hè dan: >zit daar natuulijk ook< veel jongelui daartusse:h
you know then there are of course also many young people among them

After the desk has completed an additional preliminary component (arrow 2), she does not continue with the projected *then*-part nor with another extension of the preliminary component. Instead, she announces with the clarification preface ‘*so this means*’ (arrow 3) that she is going to explain the meaning of something she has just said. When she is ready with the explanation, the speaker returns to the host TCU by recognizably starting the form that was projected in its first part (‘*if you go . . . and you take . . .*’ (arrows 1–2), . . . ‘*then there are . . .*’, arrow 6). The speaker thus has inserted another TCU into an ongoing compound TCU by placing it between its preliminary component and the form projectably completing it. Schematically:

[*if-part* [+ parenthetical] + *then-part*]

The fact that speakers treat the possible completion of the preliminary component of a compound TCU as a place that is suited for inserting another TCU is corroborative evidence for Lerner’s result that preliminary component completion is a systematic secondary site for the social organization of turn-taking.

Another major type of compound TCU in which speakers insert parentheticals are TCUs with post-predicate *that-complements*. This can be a construction type that is very similar to the quotative construction we have already seen in extract 1, for example, a sentence type that begins with a thought-report marker such as *I can imagine that . . .* (see extract 17 below). Extract 6 shows another type of *that-complement*, the comparative construction *so + gradable*

adjective + that ... The speaker is telling about a computer game that is *so advanced* that the killing of a character gets just as morbid as in reality. The predicative construction *so advanced* projects a continuation with a degree specification that will have the form of a *that-clause* (arrow 1). However, before delivering the projected component, the speaker inserts a clarification that explains why the game is so advanced (arrow 2):

Extract 6. Radio interview over the phone. Mr. Krol is chief editor of a respected gay magazine. He is interviewed about a new computer game in which the player has to kill characters that are identified as members of stigmatized groups.

- Intvr: jah. ik las over 't spel dat 't technisch
 yes. I read about the game that it is technically
 →₁ nu zs↑o: geavanceerd is, °t is dus 'n eh 'n 'n 'n
 so advanced now, it is you know an uh an an an
 →₂ 'n 'n: 'n: d:rie dEe: techniek, ° [·hHh e]e:h
 an an: an:: 3-D technic, u::h
- Krol: [jah, e:(hw-)]
 yes, u:(hw-)
- Intvr: →₃ dat 't (eh) do:deh zo mor- m- >net zo morbide wordt<
 that the (uh) killing becomes as mor- m- just as morbid
 als in de realitei:t.
 as in reality.

A TCU's compound structure may also be projected by lexico-pragmatic turn-design practices (see Lerner, 1991:447 ff.). The contrast structure (*weakly*) *agreeing concession + but-prefaced objection* is an example, and list structures are too. Both types of TCU-design allow the insertion of a parenthetical sequence. The extract below illustrates the embedding of a parenthetical into a list:

Extract 7. Non-standardized research interview about the development of Amsterdam youth cultures. Piet is an experienced youth worker.

- Piet: →₁ op dat Rembrandtsplein duiken twee merkwaaardige dingen op
 on Rembrandt square two remarkable phenomena emerge
 (1.9) die afwijkend (0.3) zijn. (0.4) >en dat zi'is< dan::
 that are deviant. and that ar- is PRT
- ₂ de neo PUnk, ↓want inmiddels was 't al n[eo-]
 the neo Punk, because meanwhile it had already become neo-
- Intvr: [ngj:eh,]
 (nyeh,)
- Piet: →₃ NEO punk- (0.4) gewordeh, ·hH en d[e sk(in) heads:].
 neo punk- ((become,)) and the skin heads.
- Intvr: [(zo:) >en dat] is<
 (so:) and this is
 de Ei:nd- (.) eind ja:reh °ze:ventig° >zou je kunne zeggeh,<
 at the end- at the end of the seventies one could say,

In the first line of the extract, the speaker projects the delivery of a two-part list (*'two remarkable phenomena emerge'*, arrow 1). After having delivered the first list item (*'neo punk'*), the speaker first accounts for his terminology (arrow 2). He then returns to the list and completes it with its second and last part (*'and the skin heads'*, arrow 3). The completion of the first part of the list structure thus provides a place at which the speaker can halt the ongoing TCU, insert another one, and then return to the host by taking up the form that was due at the point at which it was prematurely abandoned.

Compound TCUs thus provide a unit type structure that enables the speaker to stop the ongoing turn at a structurally specifiable position – at preliminary component completion – to insert another TCU and, finally, to return to the suspended TCU by the production of a form or utterance type that projectably may complete it. Preliminary component completion is a place of *specifiable incompleteness*. Such a place furnishes the grammatical or semantico-pragmatic resources that may help the speaker to manage *the initiation problem*, that is, the problem of how to begin a new TCU in the course of an ongoing TCU without canceling the expectation that the halted TCU may be completed later on. The speaker has already said enough to maintain a strong projection of the TCU's completion even when something else is put in between. Such a place also furnishes the resources that help the speaker to deal with both the *maintenance problem* and the *return problem*. The speaker has committed herself to complete the ongoing TCU with a specific, specifiable form (for example, a quote or the *then* part of an *if . . . then* structure). This not only enables the speaker to abandon the ongoing TCU in order to do a next thing that is analyzably different from the projected continuation of the ongoing TCU; it also enables the recipient to identify something that comes after the inserted unit as a return to the host unit because it has the form that was projected to complete it.⁵

To sum up: Parentheticals that are inserted into an ongoing TCU are not randomly placed. A speaker may insert a parenthetical by deploying turn-trajectory projections that are established at the level of the clausal or phrasal structure of the ongoing TCU. In compound TCUs, parentheticals are inserted after preliminary component completion. In both environments, the parenthetical is inserted at a position in which the speaker has a form of syntactic or pragmatic control over the TCU's projected trajectory. Speakers thus insert parentheticals at places of specifiable incompleteness; that is, whereas the host TCU is recognizably incomplete, the recipient already may have some idea as to what kind of form may complete it.

There is one more observation about insertion positions that is worth noting. Other than, for example, certain forms of initiating same-turn self repair (cf. Schegloff, 1979), parentheticals are always inserted at a point that keeps word boundaries intact. When inserting a parenthetical into an ongoing TCU, a speaker does not halt the TCU in the middle of a word. The part of the host that is already produced at the point at which the parenthetical is inserted has a completed word at its closing boundary. The type of unit that is interrupted for parenthetical insertion does interpose boundaries of syntactically or pragmatically projected units, it does not interpose word

⁵ A parenthetical insert also *makes* a TCU compound (Lerner, 1991:447; 1996:241). It does so on another basis than TCUs with a complex clausal structure. The compound structure of the latter type of TCU is furnished at the outset of the turn. The insertion of a parenthetical produces a compound structure in the course of the TCU itself. The compound structure of the TCU was not already embodied in the grammatical structure of the host itself. Quite similar to grammatically compound TCUs, a TCU in progress containing a parenthetical insert can be segmented into two organizationally relevant parts: the part until possible completion of the inserted TCU and the part that possibly completes the host unit. The form of the latter is at least partly projected in the TCU-so-far before it was halted by the insert. The non-final part is possibly complete when the inserted TCU has arrived at a first possible completion point.

boundaries. By inserting a parenthetical into an ongoing TCU, the speaker makes a structure above word level incomplete, not a word itself.

3. Some major construction types

The majority of the parenthetical inserts in my data can be grouped into four categories on the basis of a combination of linguistic form and the activity it is the vehicle for:

1. *Specifying or explicating appositive nominals*. This class contains both appositive noun phrases and prepositional phrases that postmodify a nominal phrase.
2. *Making an additional point with a non-restrictive relative clause*. The relative clause is usually tied to a noun phrase at the end of the pre-insert part of the host TCU.
3. *Characterizing constructions: That is + predicate*. The demonstrative pronoun usually ties back to a noun that is introduced at the end of the pre-insert part of the host TCU; the predicate part informs the recipient about some relevant attribute of this referent.
4. *Accounting or clarifying clauses beginning with the causal conjunction “want”*. Clauses beginning with other coordinating conjunctions (*‘and’* and *‘but’*) also occur, but the type with the coordinating causal conjunction “want” (*‘because’*) is used most often as a format for inserting a parenthetical into an ongoing TCU.

Apart from the parentheticals in group 1, all others have a clausal format, as is also the case for parentheticals that are not covered by this classification. Each construction type has its favorite environment of use. Parentheticals from groups 1 and 2 occur more often after a noun phrase or after a prepositional phrase in a simple clause that is not complete yet. Parentheticals from groups 3 and 4 occur more often, although not exclusively, after preliminary component completion in compound TCUs. I shall give an impression of these construction types by discussing some instances of each.

3.1. *Specifying or explicating appositive nominals*

Parentheticals that are shaped as an *appositive nominal construction* have either a phrasal format or are done as a one-word unit. We already encountered instances of this non-clausal, verbless construction type in extract 4. The appositive noun “Kinkerbuurtjongere” (*‘Kinker-neighbourhood youngsters’*) explicates the abbreviation “K.B. jongeren” it comes after:

Extract 4. Detail.

Piet: terwijl je daarnaast de Ka: ↑BE: jongere (.)
whereas you there-next the K.B. youngsters
whereas on the other side, the K.B. youngsters

→ °Kinker[buurt jong]ere° had, (...)

Kinker- neighbourhood youngsters had
Kinkerbuurt youngsters were there,

The parenthetical in extract 8, a compound prepositional phrase, exemplifies the range of the adverbial it is modifying. The speaker expresses the nature of the appositive relationship by putting the linking adverbial “met name” (*‘notably’*) in front of it:

Extract 8. Tax negotiation meeting. The accountant objects against a tax assessment on behalf of his client.

- Tax inspector: en dat is 'n toonaangevend e:h
and this is a leading u:h
 0.3
- Accountant: →₁ dat is in in de projectwereld,
this is in in the project business,
- ₂ met name bij ziekenhuize en en °eh° (.) e:h grote bo:teh
notably for hospitals and and uh u:h big boats
 die eh (0.5) eh °dan° (.) >gemeubileerd moete worde,<
that uh uh then have to be furnished,
 0.7
- Tax inspector: °ja[h
yeah
- Accountant: [e:h hotels, (0.5) conferentieoorde, (0.6)
u:h hotels, conference centers,
- ₃ zijn dat e:h (.) ja beken-
are this u:h well PRT well know-
- ₄ >is 't 'n bekend merk,<
is it a well known brand,
 0.6
- Tax inspector: (°mjah)
(myeah)

Note that the return at first was shaped as a construction with a plural subject: “zijn dat . . .” (*‘are this . . .’*; arrow 3). However, the speaker then repairs it to a construction with a singular subject (“is ‘t’”; *‘is it’*, arrow 4). He reformulates the return to the host as a recognizable resumption of the singular subject construction in the pre-insert part (“dat is”; *‘this is’*, arrow 1).

The appositive construction may also take the form of a list. Compare the fragment below. The speaker inserts a three part list that exemplifies the range of the category invoked in the noun it is in apposition with:

Extract 9. Eye clinic. The nurse instructs a colleague who is new to the eye clinic about how patients have to lay in bed after a specific type of eye surgery.

- nurse: stel ik heb bevobeeld in 'n rechteroog aan de buitenkant
suppose I have for instance in a right eye at the outside
 'n defect hè?
a defect you know
 →₁ 0.4

→₂ 'n scheurtje, 'n gaatje, °of wat 't >dan ook is<,°
a little crack, a little hole, or whatever it is,

→₃ 0.4

en ik wil [dat da]ar dus 'n soort tamponade
and so I want that there a kind of gas pressure plug

colleague:

[(°jah°)]
(yes)

nurse:

van binnenuit tegeh (0.4) wordt uitgeoefend, ·h
is executed from inside out against ((it)),

en ik ga op deze zij liggeh,
and I lay down on this side,

0.5

colleague:

°jah. (...)
yes.

A parenthetical of the appositive type usually explicates the range of the category it is tied to, *e.g.* by exemplifying, specifying or delimiting the set of relevant category members. Appositive nominal parentheticals come after the phrase they elaborate on. This may be within a clause that is still observably incomplete, as is the case in extracts 4 and 8. The parenthetical's placement may also coincide with possible preliminary component completion, as in extract 9.

The appositive nominal construction is usually considered to be syntactically integrated in the clause in which it occurs. The appositive either recycles the grammatical position of the phrase it comes after, or it has the role of a postmodifier. Nevertheless speakers do use various sorts of devices in order to single out the appositive unit from the clause of which it is a part. Next to a lexical technique (as the use of '*notably*' in extract 8), prosodic techniques are the most prominent ones that speakers use to achieve this (see section 4). The reduction of relative loudness in extract 4 is an example. The deployment of phrasing techniques in extract 9 is another (compare the brief silences before and after the parenthetical, arrows 1 and 3 in extract 9). The speaker does special work to demarcate the appositive unit from its surroundings in the clause. He displays the appositive construction as a unit that may be separated out from its environment.

3.2. Making an additional point with a non-restrictive relative clause

The distinction between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses stems from descriptive grammar (see, for example, Biber et al., 1999:602 ff.). A *restrictive relative clause* is seen as a postmodifier that is necessary for identifying the reference of the head of the phrase it is modifying. A *non-restrictive relative clause*, on the other hand, is considered to be an optional, more independent unit that is not required for identificatory purposes. The clause "*waar 't om gaat in dit geval*" ('*whom it's all about in this case*') in the fragment below is an example of the latter type of relative clause (arrow 2):

Extract 10. Tax negotiation meeting. The accountant objects against a tax assessment on behalf of his client. In the episode from which the fragment below stems, the accountant gives arguments against the size of the wealth assessment of his client's two children. The toddlers own 50% of the client's holding.

- Accountant: (kijk) nou. dan heb ik in 'n situatie, (0.3) als deze,
(look) now. then I have in a situation like this one,
 heb ik daar wat moeite mee,
I have some difficulties with that,
 0.9
- ₁ hè omdat, (0.6) met name de KInd↓ere
you know because especially the children
- ₂ >waar 't om gaat in dit ge↑val,<
where⁶ it about goes in this case
whom it's all about in this case,
 0.5
- ₃ >want da[ar geldt] die aang- aangifte of die aanslag
because this tax ret- tax return applies or this assessment
- Tax insp: [hm:,]
- Accountant: vermo:gensbelasting voor,<
of capital tax ((applies)) to them,
 0.3
- ₄ >hebbe geen enkele ↑in↓vloed.<
have no influence at all.

In the line with arrow 1, the accountant starts to explain why he thinks that the assessment of the capital of his client's children is too high. He begins making a statement about the children ('because . . . especially the children'), but before completing it he inserts a series of two parentheticals (arrows 2 and 3). After the second one, he returns to the abandoned clause and completes it with a predicate that was still pending: [. . . the children . . .]' have no influence at all.' (arrow 4).

The relative clause "waar 't om gaat in dit geval" ('whom it's all about in this case') is not necessary to identify the referent of the antecedent "de kinderen" ('the children'). The participants were already talking about the children. The relative clause is not supplying any further identificational materials; rather, the speaker articulates the point he is about to make about this referent.

A relative clause is grammatically integrated into the clause in which it is embedded. It is postmodifying its antecedent phrase and syntactically subordinated to it through the use of the relativizer. In Dutch, the syntactically subordinate character of relative clauses is also signalled at the level of word order, particularly with respect to the position of the verb. Whereas a main

⁶ In Dutch, the unmarked relative pronoun for "kinderen" ('children'; arrow 1, extract 10) is "die" ('who'). However, when the relativizer is associated with a preposition, the relative pronoun appears as the relative adverb "waar" (which literally means 'where', but counts as 'who' in this type of environment).

clause has verb second, a subordinate clause usually requires verb-final word order. So this type of parenthetical is syntactically shaped as a grammatically incorporable part of the ongoing TCU. However, a speaker may signal that he is producing a new, separate TCU by prosodically detaching it from its grammatical environment. I will say more about prosody in section 4, but the beginning of the relative clause in extract 10, for example, is marked by a drastic pitch drop. What is more, the lower pitch level is maintained over the course of the clause, except for its last syllable. The speaker thus delivers the relative clause as a separate unit by producing it with a different pitch contour. The clause has an intonation contour that makes it stand out from the intonation unit of the clause in which it is embedded.

A speaker may also disconnect a relative clause from its environment by pre- and postpositioned pauses. Compare the fragment below. The social service employee parenthetically reminds her client of the non-hypothetical character of the circumstances described in the preceding conditional clause (arrow 2: *‘which of course already has happened a couple of times’*). Just before the sentential relative clause implementing the parenthetical, the speaker leaves a brief pause followed by an inbreath (arrow 1):

Extract 11. Social Security service encounter. (The social service employee (SSE) blames her client for not being home when a control visit was made.) This data comes courtesy of Henk Lammers.

- SSE: hè? want iedere keer as d'r iemand komt, en die maakt
you know? because every time when somebody comes, and he makes
- ₁ 'n afspraak met u (.) en u bEn:t 'r niet, (0.3) ·h
an appointment with you and you're not there,
- ₂ wat natuurlijk al 'n paar keer gebeur:d is:=
which of course already has happened a couple of times
- Client: →₃ =mng ↑m;,
 (.)
- SSE: en: we k- krijgeh iedere keer van uw moeder te horeh (0.3)
and we g- get to hear every time from your mother
- e:h ja, (.) ze is e:ven naar de dokter, (0.4)
u:h well, she has just gone to see the doctor;
- of: ehm ja:h, ze is 'n paar dagen naar amst[erDAM];,
or uhm well, she is in Amsterdam for a couple of days,
- Client: [jah,]
 yes,

The relative clause is singled out as a separate TCU by surrounding it with pauses. Note that the response to the parenthetical does not overlap with the speaker's continuation; this is only possible if the speaker permitted a brief silence before continuing. Speakers thus may mobilize various prosodic devices in order to detach a non-restrictive relative clause from its environment. They mark the ongoing unit as a new, separate TCU by productionally disconnecting the clause from its environment. Hoffmann calls this a technique for *'separating out a component of an ongoing clause'* (1998:301). It enables the disconnected unit to get a communicative function

that is different from the communicative function of its host. Despite its syntactic incorporation, the speaker prosodically produces the relative clause as a separate TCU.

3.3. Characterizing constructions

A *characterizing construction*⁷ introduces a locally relevant attribute of a referent currently talked about. It has a comparatively constant constructional design. It begins with an indexical expression, typically the substantive demonstrative pronoun “dat” (*that*), which refers to something in the pre-insert part of the host-unit. It is followed by a predicate describing some feature of the referent of its subject: *that* + predicate. Extract 12 documents a case in point:

Extract 12. Non-standardized research interview about the influence of home culture on school success. Johnny is a 17-year-old schoolboy. In response to a question by the researcher, he tells a story about how he felt misled by advice regarding which type of vocational training to choose.

Johnny: →₁ toen zegt die man, (.) da’s de schooldekaon:, (.)
then says this man, that dem.pronoun is the school counselor,
then this man says, that is the student counselor,
 hi[j zeg] ja:h, ma as je nou eers: e:h (0.3)
he says well, but if you now first u:h

Researcher: [m:,]

Johnny: bijvoorbeeld naar eh (0.4) ·t de metaol goat, (. . .)
for example go to uh the metallurgy ((class)),

Before Johnny continues to report what *this man*’ said, he provides some more information about the author of the projected quote: *that’s the school counselor*’. Note that the pronoun “dat” (*that*) in the beginning of the inserted clause is not used as a relative pronoun.⁸ Whereas the demonstrative undoubtedly locates the preceding noun phrase “die man” (*this man*) as its referent via the practice of next-positioning, it does not do so by relativization. The speaker does not use a linguistic form that syntactically incorporates the clause it initiates into the clause it is embedded into. Quite the opposite. The combination of the substantive demonstrative pronoun followed by a verb form (“dat is . . .”, *that is . . .*) recognizably starts a new clause that is not a grammatical part of the clause it is intruding into. The characterizing construction marks itself from its very beginning as a new clause that is not a grammatically integrated part of the ongoing clause. The speaker begins a new TCU with another clause that is both grammatically independent from its host and at the same time parasitic on it because of the way it is linked to it.

We have already seen variant versions of the characterizing construction in extracts 3, 5 and 6. These parentheticals are all used to add background information the speaker treats as relevant for

⁷ Helasvuoto et al. (2004:7 ff) describe the use of a similar type of ‘characterizing construction’ in word searches of Finnish speakers with aphasia.

⁸ Although the pronoun “dat” (*that*) in the first line of extract 12 refers to the noun phrase “die man” (*this man*) in the host TCU, it does not do so as a relative pronoun. In Dutch, a homonymic variant of “dat” (*that*) may be used as a relative pronoun. In its current environment of use, however, this reading is excluded beforehand. When “dat” is used as a relative pronoun, it agrees with a neuter antecedent noun. This type of antecedent is not available in the current environment of use. The last noun phrase of the pre-insert part of the host-TCU – “die man” (*this man*) – has the non-neuter noun “man” as its head.

the recipient's understanding of an expression in the host unit. A characterizing construction may also explicate an indexical expression that is used in the pre-insert part of the host unit:

Extract 13. Non-standardized research interview about Amsterdam youth cultures. Simplified (see extract 20 for the full version).

- Piet: e::h >ik herinner me nog goed< in 'n gesprek (...)
u::h I remember very well still, in a talk (...)
- ₁ met met twEe van de konsulenten, die: tOEn al zei:den
with with two of the consultants, who then already said
- ₂ >dat was drEënzeventigh,<
that was seventy three,
- (...)
- Piet: e::hm:- (0.8) van: (0.9) je kun:t BIJna voorspelleh, (...)
u::hm:- like: you can almost predict, (...)
- d'r zal 'n nIEuwe categorie van Achtergestelde jeugd,
there will ((emerge)) a new category of neglected youth,
- h[hh](.) gaan ontstaan: >en dat zijn de scholiere,=
will emerge and these are the school youth,=
- Intvr: [m:↑m]
 =°ja↑A,° (.) precies.
yes, exactly.

The speaker supplements the temporal adverbial “toen” (*‘then’*, arrow 1) with a more explicit temporal description (*‘that was seventy three’*, arrow 2).

3.4. Accounting or clarifying clauses beginning with the causal conjunction “want”

In talk in interaction, Dutch speakers use two causal conjunctions very frequently: “omdat” and “want”. “Omdat” is a subordinating conjunction⁹ which is syntactically equivalent to the English ‘because’; “want” is a coordinating conjunction which is equivalent to English ‘for’ with its ‘because’ sort of meaning.¹⁰ Interestingly, the coordinating variant “want” (*‘because_w’*) is strongly preferred in parenthetical inserts that get a response. We have already seen examples of this construction type in extracts 1 and 7. In both cases, the speaker starts a clause beginning with “want” in the middle of the production of another clause. The “want”-clause provides an account for something the speaker has said in the clause it interrupts. In extract 1, for example,

⁹ Clauses that begin with a subordinating conjunction usually have verb-final word order in Dutch, whereas clauses beginning with a coordinating conjunction have verb-second (which is the order that is typical for main clauses). I will index the coordinating causal conjunction “want” in the English translation as *‘because_w’*, and the subordinating conjunction “omdat” as *‘because_o’*.

¹⁰ Contrary to English ‘for’ – which is almost exclusively used in written English – Dutch “want” is as prominent as “omdat” in most spoken genres. They are not equally distributed over utterance types, however. “Omdat” is used more often to assert a factive causal relationship; “want” is used more often for giving evidence, marking inferences and accounting for actions. (Cf. De Vries, 1971; Pander Maat and Sanders, 1995 and Sweetser, 1990).

the print-shop owner explains why he himself is not the source of the news he is about to tell to his customer (*‘I heard from Leendert ...’*):

Extract 1. Detail, simplified.

Printer: ik hoor van Leendert wel: [(uhruh)
I heard from Leendert though (((coughs))
 → want ik zit- >ben niet,< thuis nouh, (...)
because_w I am- am not at home now,
 maar e:h >dat ’t rood wel wat< tegenviel,
but u:h that the red ((colour)) was actually a little disappointing,

Clauses that have one of the other common coordinating conjunctions as clause-initial operator – “en” (*‘and’*) and “maar” (*‘but’*) – occur as well, but are relatively rare in my data. Extract 14 offers an instance in which the parenthetical clause begins with ‘but’ (“maar”, arrow 2):

Extract 14. Radio interview by phone. Professor Entzinger is an expert on Dutch immigration policies. He is interviewed in a Dutch radio news show because of a recent minority riot in Belgium. Mister Verhoeven is a Belgian expert who has been interviewed just before the talk with Entzinger.

Prof: →₁ maar: >niet alleen dus< is de: werkloosheid
so but not only the unemployment is
 aanmerkelijk lager dan in België onder deze groepen
considerably lower than in Belgium among these groups
 →₂ >maar nog altijd veel te hoog.< begrijp me niet verkee:rd,=
but still way too high at any rate. do not understand me wrongly,
 Intv: =m [↑m:]
 Prof: →₃ [-h]H en: maar: en: ·h de dA:ling:, >of in de afgelop<e:h
and but and the decrease, or in the last
 e:h vij:f jaar vijf zes jaar >in dezelfde periode
u:h five years five six years in the same period
 waar de heer Verhoeven ’t over had,< hebbe we in Nederland
that mister Verhoeven was talking about, we have seen in the Netherlands
 ook nog ’n spectaculaire DA:ling gezien.
also spectacular decrease.

By using the first member of the correlative pair of coordinators: “niet alleen . . . , maar ook . . .” (*‘not only . . . , but also . . .’*), the speaker shows he is going to deliver a compound TCU that will have a *but also* statement as its second part. After the *not only* part (arrow 1), he begins a clause that is not the projected *but also* part (arrow 2). The speaker contradicts a possible inference from his previous statement by articulating that the lower unemployment rate among immigrants in the Netherlands is still too high to be approved of. He does so in a clause beginning

with “*maar*” (*‘but’*), a format that is often used to preempt possible inferences a listener may make from a previous statement (cf. Foolen, 1993).

I think it is important to note about this type of parenthetical that the coordinating conjunction is not used as a technique to grammatically incorporate the inserted clause into its host. Although the conjunction marks the relationship of the insert with its context, it is also separating it out from the context. Compare the following fragment in which a parenthetical “*want*”-clause is tied to the preliminary component “*nogmaals*” (*‘once again’*):

Extract 15. Meeting. *Jaap is the manager of the team.*

Peter: → (maar) nogmaals want mijn vraag is (even nog) [niet beantwoord,
(but) *once again because_w my question is (PRT still) not answered,*

Jaap: [m:.

Peter: van wat is nu precies de re:den daar achter (°eigelij[k]
like what exactly is now the reason behind this (actually)

Jaap: [we]Et
I don't

ik ↓niet Peter. ↓weet ik niet.
know Peter. I don't know.

In the *because_w* clause, the speaker gives an account of why he is asking a question for the second time. The justification occurs immediately after the preliminary component in which the speaker gives the forewarning that he is going to say something ‘*once again*’. The account is tied to the preliminary component by next-positioning. However, the *because_w* clause that does the accounting is not syntactically linked to the preceding construction. Coordinating conjunctions may link elements that have the same syntactic role – clauses, for example. But the TCU-initial operator “*want*” (*‘because_w’*) is not linking a pair of syntactically equivalent units in this case. By beginning a new TCU that is grammatically independent from its host, the speaker creates an extra occasion for implementing an action that is different from the action that is already underway. At the same time, the speaker makes clear that he is doing something that is subsidiary to and supportive of the recipient’s understanding of the host unit by tying the new TCU to a part of it.

Note finally that the new TCU does not replace the TCU that is abandoned for it. The new unit cannot be understood as a substitution for or a restart of the TCU-so-far. Such an understanding is blocked by the use of the linking device, the coordinating conjunction in the beginning of the new clause. By tying the new unit to the halted unit, the speaker sticks to the relevance of the latter one and keeps it alive. He does not score it out by formatting the next TCU as a replacement of it.

In summary, three classes of parentheticals have a clausal format and one – the appositive type – has not. Two construction types have a clausal structure that is grammatically independent from the clause in which it is inserted (accounting “*want*”-clauses and characterizing constructions). The other two are syntactically incorporable into the host clause (non-restrictive relative clauses and appositive nominal constructions), but speakers use specific – most notably, lexical and prosodic – devices to disconnect this component from its surroundings. The speaker delivers the parenthetical unit as a new TCU that is recognizably different from the ongoing one. In the current data, grammatically independent parentheticals occur more often after preliminary component completion in compound TCUs. Syntactically incorporable parentheticals occur after a nominal phrase within a clause that is still waiting for completion.

The interactional meaning of a contribution to talk in interaction is the result of interpretative work in which the participants orient to both the design of an utterance and its position in the ongoing talk. This holds for the sequential or overall-course-of-action positioning of turns at talk (cf. Schegloff, 1984), but also for TCUs that are inserted at a recognizable type of place – that is, a place of specifiable incompleteness – into another TCU. The action done in the insert is contingent on the position at which it occurs in the host. For example, the clarification of a term or an accounting for its use is done immediately after the term's occurrence in the TCU-so-far. Overwhelmingly, the parenthetical immediately follows the part of the host on which it is elaborating. *Next-positioning* (cf. Jefferson, 1978:246) is the basic technique for locating the issue that the parenthetical is dealing with.

A relatively large proportion of the inserts in my data occur after full noun expressions introducing a new referent. The speaker elaborates on a *locally initial reference form* (Schegloff, 1996b:450 ff.) in the parenthetical following it. The parentheticals in this class are used to clarify (see, for example, the clarification of the abbreviation *K.B. youngsters* in extract 4), to specify or to exemplify (for example, the exemplification of the domain of *in the project business* in 8) or to account for the form the speaker is using to make the reference (for example, the speaker's account for the use of the term *neo-punk* in 7). The position after the expression with the full reference form is thus informative as to what the speaker is doing and in reference to what.

In addition, each construction type provides a more explicit technique for specifying its relation to the context into which the parenthetical is placed. Coordinating conjunctions (*because_w*, *and*, *but*) express a specific type of discourse-organizational relationship; the indexical expression in characterizing constructions points to a reference; the relativizer links the relative clause to its antecedent in the pre-insert part of the host so far; and even the appositive nominal construction can be initiated by a linking adverbial or another kind of expression for marking the explicatory function of the parenthetical. Note that these different types of linking devices typically occur in the beginning of the construction. The initial placement of the linking expression is essential for signalling that this is not the next element due in the ongoing TCU. It provides for early recognizability that the speaker is beginning a new TCU. Moreover, by tying the new unit to a part or an aspect of the ongoing TCU, the speaker not only maintains the halted TCU but also marks the current TCU as subsidiary to the previous one.

With a parenthetical insert, a speaker conveys such subsidiary actions such as clarifying a referent or accounting for the way it is referred to, explicating or delimiting the range of the category the parenthetical is tied to, providing background knowledge that is relevant to understand the action that is being done in the host, or giving an account for it. The parentheticals that typically do get a response are interpolations in which the speaker is working on the way the recipient may or should understand the talk in the host. The speaker is recognizably dealing with the recipient's handling of something the speaker is saying and doing in the TCU it is embedded into.

The recipient-oriented character of the parenthetical is perhaps the decisive design feature for displaying the insert as an action that is a responsible in its own right. Parentheticals that do not address the way the recipient is dealing with what the speaker is currently saying or doing are less likely to get a response. For example, a type of insert that regularly does not get a response in my data are parentheticals in which the speaker is commenting upon productional features of the utterance underway, as in editing comments such as “late we zegge” (*let's say*, see extract 26 below) or “zeg maar” (*say*). Even if the insert does not have the form of a fixed expression, this kind of editing remark does not have to be responded to separately. See “en laa'k 't maar als voorbeeld neme” (*and just let me take it as an example*) in the extract below (arrow 1):

Extract 16. Tax negotiation meeting.

- Accountant: *dus in 't begin is 'r ook geen sprA:ke geweest van
so at the beginning it was not the case either that*

 *'n aanzienlijke waa:rde van eh ·h van e:h TOmpa holding,
TompA holding had a considerable value,*

 0.4

 *hè: want want je kunt (dan) wel:
you know, because_{-w} because_{-w} although you can PRT*
- ₁ *>en laa'k 't maar als voorbeeld nemeh,<
and just let me take it as an example,*
- ₂ *'n 'n: 'n vennootschap kope, (0.3) (°hè°) waarbij je
buy a a a partnership, (you know) for which you*

 *dan twee ton betaalt voor 't aandelekapitaal,
then pay two hundred thousand for the shares,*
- Tax insp.: °hm↓m.=
- Accountant: *=h maar dat wil dan nog nie zegge dat (...)
but then this does not yet mean that (...)*

Both the speaker and the recipient do not treat the possible completion of the inserted remark as a position at which a response is expected. The recipient does not provide a response and the speaker immediately returns to the host TCU (arrow 2). I still have to do more research on this, but inserts that deal primarily with speaker-oriented, productional or editorial features of the TCU in progress do not invite an independent response per se. The classes of parentheticals that have been discussed in this section, on the other hand, all provide cues as to *how the recipient* should deal with an aspect of the host TCU that is still waiting for completion. It is this recipient-oriented and process-dependent character that makes the parenthetical analyzable as “designed to get a response” (Schegloff, 2007:242). By turning to the recipient through a form of metatalk about how the talk in the host should be handled,¹¹ the speaker presses his interlocutor to register a reaction to the listening instruction in the inserted unit before a response can be given to the unit it is working on.

4. The prosody of parenthetical inserts

Working with English data, Local (1992) characterizes the prosodic features of inserts¹² as follows: (i) a falling-rising pitch at the end of pre-inserts; (ii) the talk in the insert is faster in

¹¹ It is worth noting that the metacommunicative, subsidiary status of parentheticals is also signalled by the use of certain types of particles and tags. For example, tags like “hè” (*‘you know’*) or a lexically explicit tag such as “begrijp me niet verkeerd” (*‘don't get me wrong’*, extract 14) give an indication of how the speaker would like his recipient to attend to the parenthetical. A speaker may also claim a shared epistemic attitude by the use of particles such as “dus” (*‘so’*, extracts 5 and 6; see also extract 21 below) and “natuurlijk” (*‘of course’*, see extract 11).

¹² Local (1992) does not fully specify what kinds of inserts he examined. However, from the examples presented, I take it that his category ‘insert’ partly overlaps with the kind of parenthetical inserts I talk about in this paper.

tempo, noticeably lower in overall pitch and quieter than the preceding part of the turn; (iii) the pitch of the talk *after* the inserted talk is noticeably higher than the ending pitch of the insert; the tempo is routinely slower than that of the inserted talk and the loudness is that of the talk preceding the insert; (iv) the ending of the inserted talk is characterized by rising pitch; (v) the pitch of the beginning of the talk post the insert matches the pitch of the end of the fall–rise at the end of pre-inserts (1992:278).

In order to be able to test the possibility that speakers of Dutch use similar devices, I have made Praat-analyses¹³ of 42 cases¹⁴ from the basic collection of parenthetical sequences. I used the acoustic analysis as a technique for refining and checking the interpretative-auditory renderings that are documented in the transcripts. It was not easy to find instances that match the pattern Local did find with respect to all features at once. However, the fragment below fits the general picture:

Extract 17. Phone-in radio program. Presenter Pouw has solicited for listeners' opinions about using the internet for private purposes during work time.

21. Pouw: in principe ben ik dat ook met u eens.,
in principle I do agree with you about this,
22. eigenlijk. MAar: (.)
actually. but

23. ik zou me kunneh ↑v_{oo}:rstelleh,
I could imagine,
24. → ↓>want we moete_wh ook de discussie op gang< houwe↓
because we also have to keep the discussion going
25. nat [uurlijk,] [(·h]h)=
of course
26. caller: → [jah na]tuur[lijk.]
yes of course.
27. Pouw: =EHM: (.) dat dat handen vol ↑gEld ↓kost
uhm: that this costs hands full of money

Fig. 2 shows a Praat analysis of the framed segment in extract 17 (lines 23–27). The upper half of the graph renders the amplitude of the sound wave, whereas the lower half shows an acoustic correlate of pitch – the fundamental frequency – in Hertz.

The pre-insert part of the host TCU in extract 17 is:

- Pre-insert:* MAar: (.) ik zou me kunneh ↑v_{oo}:rstelleh,
but I would me_{refl. pronoun} can imagine,
but I could imagine,

¹³ Praat is a program for doing phonetics on a PC, developed by Paul Boersma and David Weenink. See www.praat.org.

¹⁴ The remaining cases in the collection were not Praat-analyzed, because they were not of such a quality that could allow for mechanical acoustic analysis.

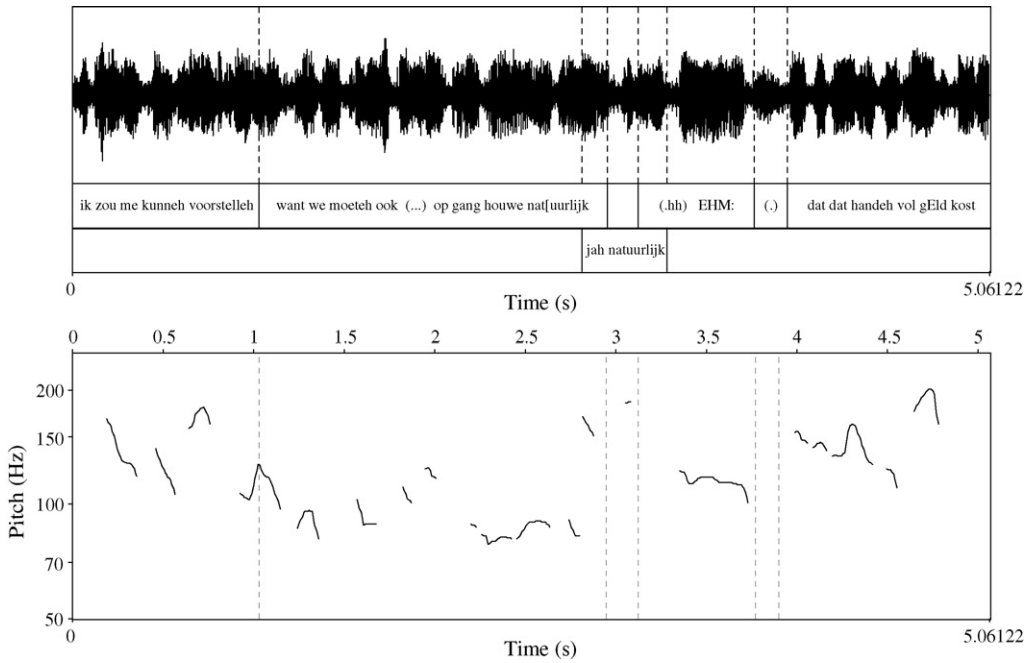


Fig. 2. Acoustic analysis of lines 23–27 in extract 17.

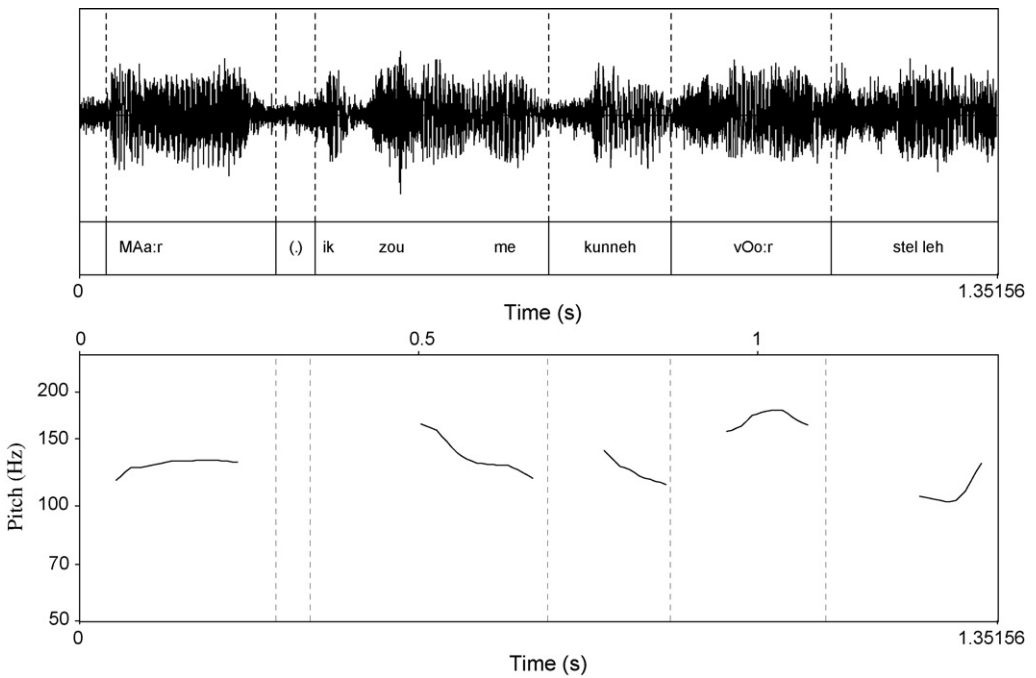


Fig. 3. Acoustic analysis of the pre-insert part of the host TCU in extract 17 (line 23).

It has a fall–rise pitch movement at the end. See the curve in the last segment of Fig. 3 above; it renders the fundamental frequency of the last two syllables of the verb “voorstellen” (‘*imagine*’):

The inserted talk itself differs markedly from the pre-insert and the post-insert, both at the level of pitch and at the level of pace (lines 24–25 in extract 17):

Insert: ↓>want we moeteh ook de discussie op gang< houwe↓ natuurlijk,
 *because*_{-w} *we must also the discussion going keep of course*
 because we also have to keep the discussion going of course

The pitch of the talk in the insert is audibly lower than in the surrounding parts of the host TCU and the prosody also seems to be more flat. This impression is supported by the acoustic analysis. The fundamental frequency of the part with the parenthetical moves between 80 and 125 Hz (see the second segment in Fig. 2, between the time marks at 1.0 and 2.9 s); in the pre-insert part this is 120–180 Hz, and in the post-insert 120–200 Hz.

When the number of syllables per second is taken as a rough and provisional indicator, we can also observe a considerable difference in the insert’s pace compared to the tempi of the surrounding parts of the host TCU (compare Table 1; cf. Uhmman, 1992).

The return to the host unit is marked by a jump to higher pitch level, a more strongly modulated pitch movement and a relative slow down of its pace (see the segment after the time mark at 3.9 s in Fig. 2):

Post-insert part: EHM: (.) dat dat handen vol gEld kost
 *that*_{compl} *that*_{pronoun} *hands full money costs*
 uhm: *that this costs hands full of money*

We can summarize the use of prosodic devices in extract 17 as follows. First, prosody appears to contribute to the ways the speaker solves the *initiation problem*, that is, how is the insert marked as a next element that is different from the continuation projected by the turn-so-far. There is not only a fall–rise pitch contour just before the point that can be described retrospectively as the end of the pre-insert part of the host TCU; there is also a noticeable pitch drop at the beginning of the parenthetical. The speaker may deploy the ordered combination of these two techniques as a signal that he is accomplishing some kind of shift.

Second, the *maintenance problem*, that is, how does the speaker signal that he is still producing an insert, is also dealt with at the level of prosody, at least partly. The speaker marks the insert as different from the talk in the host unit by producing it at a more speedy rate than the surrounding talk and by delivering it with lower and less modulated pitch as well.

Table 1
 Number of syllables per second

Pre-insert part	Insert	Post-insert part
“maar ik zou me kunne voorstelleh”	“want we moe <u>t</u> eh ook de discussie op gang houwe natuurlijk”	“dat dat handen vol geld kost”
9 syllables in 1.5 s: 6 syllables per second	16 syllables in 1.9 s: 8.4 syllables per second	7 syllables in 1.5 s: 4.7 syllables per second

Finally, the *return problem* – that is, how does the speaker signal he is returning to the suspended host unit – is also dealt with at the level of prosody. The pitch level of the post-insert part is higher and its pace is proportionally slower. Moreover, it is not impossible that the pitch level of the beginning of the talk after the parenthetical may be shaped so as to match the pitch at the end of the pre-insert part of the host. According to Local, this is a way of signalling that the current talk should be heard as a continuation of the pre-insert talk (Local, 1992:279; see also Selting, 1995:58–67).

I have chosen extract 17 to illustrate the prosodic devices that may be used for marking the production of a parenthetical, because this instance approaches the type that arises out of Local's characterization of the prosody of inserts in English data fairly well. However, the picture that comes out of the auditory analyses of the Dutch data is less uniform and more refractory, perhaps because of the many varieties and situations from which I gathered my data (cf. Local et al., 1986). I have found several tendencies or lacks thereof which I will now treat one by one.

Only half of the subset of cases that was also analyzed with Praat has a fall–rise pitch contour at the end of the pre-insert. The discussion of extract 17 showed already an example of this. Although the fall–rise contour is “routinely associated with the projection of more talk to come ...” (Local, 1992:278; see also Caspers, 2003), it does not furnish any cues as to what this further talk will look like. However, the analysis of the data gives evidence that the speaker of a TCU into which a parenthetical is inserted may also deploy other prosodic techniques. A speaker may prosodically dress up the element that will be subsequently commented on in the parenthetical. Compare extract 5. For convenience of the reader, I will first repeat the relevant segment from this excerpt. Arrow 1 locates the pre-insert part of TCU with the parenthetical; arrow 2 marks the beginning of the insert:

Extract 5. Travel agency call. (detail)

- Desk: →₁ [en:] je neemt gewoon 'n e:h 'n pEndelrei↑:s, (.)
 and you take just an u:h a shuttle trip,
- Mother: [ja,]
 yes,
- Desk: →₂ hè dus dat bet[ɛ: k]ent (...)
 you know so this means
- Mother: [j:ah,]
 yeah,

Fig. 4 shows an acoustic analysis of this segment of the talk in extract 5. Note that the last word before insertion of the parenthetical is prosodically ‘blown up’ in several ways. The first syllable of the word “*pendelreis*” – which is a compound: *pendel* + *reis* (‘*shuttle-trip*’) – is produced noticeably higher and louder (see the curve between 1.1 and 1.5 s in the graph). And the last syllable “*reis*” (‘*trip*’) is stretched and displays a strong rise (see the curve between 1.5 and 1.8 s).

The travel-agency employee does not display the technical term “*pendelreis*” as a routine element of the ongoing TCU. She deploys a specific prosodic technique to locate and to strap down the element she will clarify separately in the parenthetical that immediately follows it. The speaker issues a kind of forewarning that something is coming up that requires a different type of

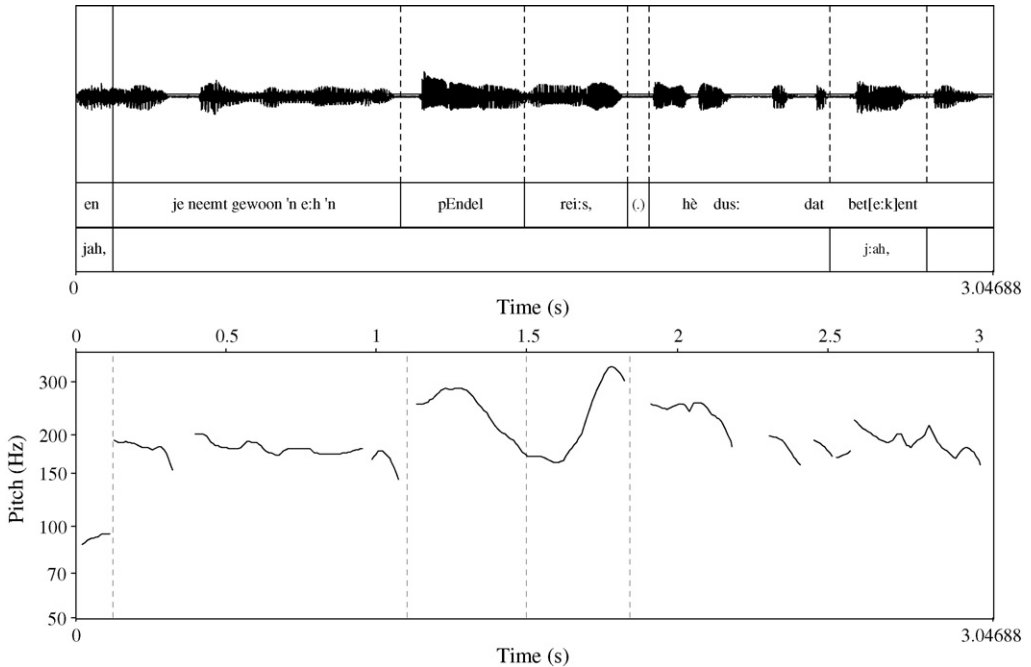


Fig. 4. Acoustic analysis of the pre-insert part and the beginning of the insert in extract 5.

attention from the recipient. This kind of prosodical silhouetting of the element that is subsequently taken up in the parenthetical can also be observed in extracts 4, 6 and 17.¹⁵

Interestingly, I did not hear a silence between the pre-insert part and the beginning of the parenthetical insert in the majority of cases (see, for example, extracts 3, 6, 7 and 9). One possible explanation for this distribution is that speakers maximize control over the transitory space between the turn-so-far and the upcoming insert by minimizing it as much as possible. Particularly in the case of compound TCUs (see for example extracts 6, 7 and 14), the absence of a silence between preliminary component completion and insert is a speaker's achievement. Lerner (1996) observes that speakers may permit a beat of silence before continuing on to the final component of a compound TCU. When permitting no space between preliminary component completion and the component that follows it, the speaker gains maximum control over the space in which the switch to the parenthetical is made.

The parenthetical insert itself is often prosodically characterized by a notably lower pitch level. It is often less modulated and slower in tempo. In the majority of cases, the parenthetical has a rising pitch at the ending. I will come back to this in section 5.

It is difficult to determine whether the pitch of the talk after the insert matches the pitch at the end of pre-inserts, as Local found. The way in which a speaker returns to the host unit after completion of a parenthetical unit may differ. The return may be shaped as either a continuation of the pre-insert part of the halted TCU, or as a resumption (see section 6). The return type thus

¹⁵ One of the reviewers suggested that "pendelreis" is produced with a try-marked intonation contour (cf. Sacks and Schegloff, 1979). I do not think this is the case. Rather, "pendelreis" is produced with the presentative demeanor of an expert, a characterization that also applies to, for example, the way "Ka: BE: jongere" ('K.B. youngsters') in extract 4 is delivered prosodically.

may affect the deployment of prosodic techniques. Moreover, the parentheticals I have investigated all get a recipient response. The response usually precedes the speaker's return to the host unit. Talk from another participant thus may come between the possible completion of the insert and the speaker's return to the host TCU. I need to do further research on this before I can say more about it.

5. Responses to parenthetical inserts: the interactional management of interstitial response space

A speaker delivers a parenthetical as a separate TCU in which an action is performed that is designed to get a response in its own right. At the same time, however, the participants have to solve the problem of how to not let the response stand in the way of the speaker's return to the host. In this section, I shall examine the properties of responses to parentheticals. I will first look at the ways opportunities for responding are created and marked; I will then characterize the kind of response that is given to a parenthetical and the kind of position in which it is placed.

5.1. Projecting a place for the response and creating an opportunity for it

The place at which the recipient may respond to a parenthetical is projected with the help of the same mechanisms through which possible completeness is projected in other types of turn-constructional units in talk in interaction (cf. Sacks et al., 1974). A recipient may anticipate the point at which an ongoing TCU will be possibly complete by considering the unit type the speaker uses to construct the TCU. Each unit type projects a first possible completion point at which the ongoing unit may be complete. Such a PCP is a place at which speaker change may become an organizationally relevant issue. We have already seen that most parentheticals in my data collection have a clausal format and that they usually are only one TCU long (see section 3). Identification of the clause type enables the recipient to anticipate the PCP of the inserted TCU. As soon as the parenthetical unit has reached a PCP, the recipient may attend to this place as an opportunity to respond. One more illustration of this is offered in the extract below:

Extract 18. Political debate on Dutch television, March 2003. Six politicians sit around a table together with two panel chairmen. Rosenm: Paul Rosenmuller (left-wing parliamentary party leader), Fortuijn: Pim Fortuijn (leader of a new populist party).

- Rosenm: (...) maar hoe kan nou de man van de modernitEi:t,
but how can PRT the man of modernity,
- ₁ want dat is toch 'n KERNbegrip in uw b↑oek,=
because_w this is really a central concept in your book,
- Fortuijn: →₂ =jah.=
yes.
- Rosenm: =-hH zeggeh, (0,3) tegelijktijd geen we- gaan wij:- (.)
say, at the same time we no- we will ((impose))
- FUNDamente:le RECHteh van menseh,
fundamental rights of people,
- as >als 't gaat om< de keuze van de partner, (...)
as far as the choice of the partner is concerned,

The recipient responds with a confirmation of the statement that is made about him in the parenthetical at the first possible completion point of the *because*_w clause that is used to implement it (arrow 2).

The PCP of TCUs with a phrasal design is also projected by recognition of the grammatical unit type. Additionally, a speaker may exploit contextual resources that are typical for inserted TCUs. The construction type of the inserted TCU may be inherited from the expression in the host that is targeted in the parenthetical. For example, the structure of the compound noun in the parenthetical “Kinkerbuurt-jongeren” (*Kinker-neighbourhood youngsters*) in extract 4 parallels the structure of the abbreviation it is explaining: “K. B. jongeren” (*K. B. youngsters*).

Extract 4. Non-standardized research interview, detail.

- Piet: → terwijl je daarna:st de Ka: ↑BE: jongere (.)
whereas you there-next the K.B. youngsters
whereas on the other side, the K.B. youngsters
- °Kinker[buurt jong]ere° had,
Kinker- neighbourhood youngsters had,
Kinkerbuurt youngsters were there
- Intvr: [(°)jeu: gd]
 (°youth)

The speaker helps the recipient determine the parenthetical’s unit type by matching the structure of the inserted unit with the structure of the expression it is locating as its product item. Extract 19 shows this mechanism for a phrasal unit type other than the appositive type already discussed in section 3. This speaker has first identified a geographical referent with the generic category name ‘*this peninsula*’ in the preliminary component of a compound TCU (arrow 1); she then provides the peninsula’s name in a parenthetical (‘*this Istria*’, arrow 2):

Extract 19. Travel agency call. Mother calls on behalf of her daughter.

- desk: want waar de vakanties ook niet zo duur naar toe zijn
because where the holidays are not expensive either
- is bijvoorbeeld dan Joegosla:viëh.
is for example then Yugoslaviah.
- mother: jah.
yes.
- (.)
- jah
yes
- desk: →₁ en asje dan- e:h dat sch↓IEr:eiland neemt,
and if you then- that peninsula take
and if you then u:h take this peninsula,
- ₂ dat <is:tri↑E:h,>=
this Istria,

mother: →₃ =°ja:h°
ye:s

desk: >daar heb je natuurlijk< ↑ook WEI: eh >leuke mogelijkheden,<
there of course you also have PRT uh nice possibilities,

The reference by name (*this Istria*) is shown to be a recycle of the reference by type (*this peninsula*) by way of structural repetition, most notably through the repeat of the phrase-initial determiner *this* (*“dat”*, literally *“that”*). The fact that the recipient responds precisely at the TCU’s first possible completion point shows that she is able to determine its unit type by locating the phrase it is modelled after in the immediate context.

Speakers thus project the place at which a recipient is expected to provide a response to a parenthetical by orienting to the basic principles of turn taking. Identification of the unit type of the inserted TCU enables the recipient to anticipate its first possible completion point. The parenthetical is not yet complete as long as the TCU has not arrived at a PCP. Note that the constructional practices deployed for PCP projection also help solve the *maintenance problem*. The delivery of the parenthetical is managed over the course of its production by claiming speaker rights as long as the TCU has not reached a PCP. Whereas, over the course of its trajectory, the inserted TCU may be marked as different from the host by the sustained use of prosodic devices, cues regarding the parenthetical’s structure and the space it will take to deliver it are provided by the TCU’s unit type.

A speaker may locally mark the place for providing a response by the use of specific prosodic and productional devices. In section 4, I already mentioned that parentheticals frequently have a rising pitch at the end. Fig. 5 illustrates this for the parenthetical sequence in extract 18:

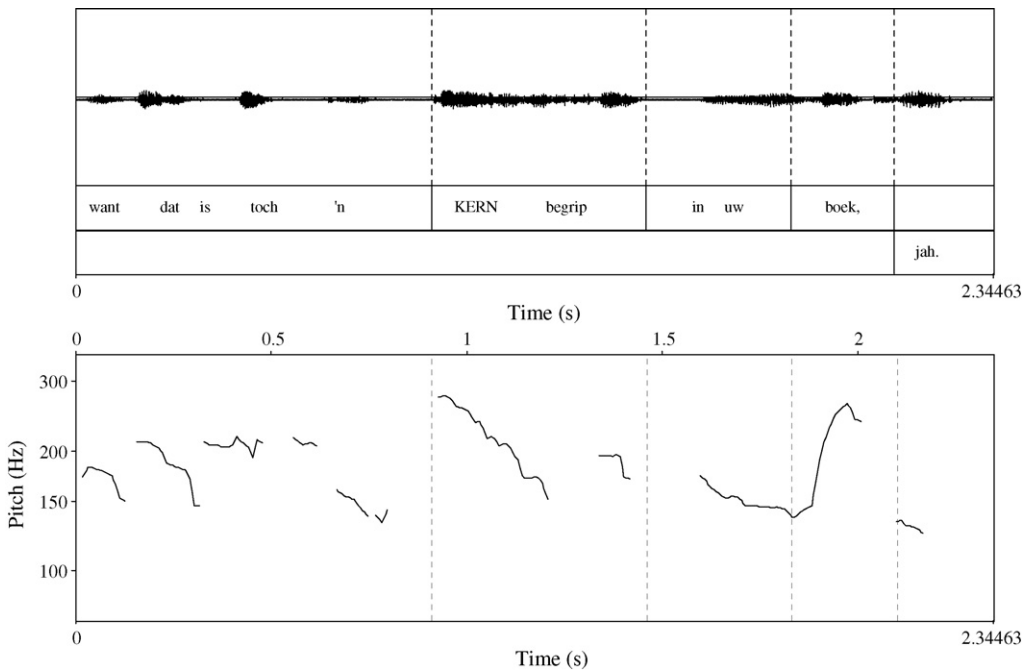


Fig. 5. Acoustic analysis of the parenthetical sequence in extract 18.

Extract 18. Repeated.

- Rosenm: →₁ want dat is toch 'n KERNbegrip in uw b↑oek,=
because_{-w} this is really a central concept in your book,
- Fortuijn: →₂ =jah.=
yes.

The last word of the parenthetical (“boek”, ‘book’) has a strongly rising pitch (see the rise starting at 1.8 s in the graph). Whereas the syntax of the TCU’s construction type ‘nominates’ a place in the ongoing TCU as a plausible point of completeness, it is prosody that ‘certifies’ the nomination (see Schegloff, 1998).

The rising pitch at the end of a parenthetical is not only marking unit completion, it also signals the local relevance of the response. Speakers regularly create an opportunity for making a response by permitting a brief silence after the parenthetical’s completion. Compare again extract 18. The speaker halts the production of his turn after having completed the inserted TCU (at 2.1 s in Fig. 5). Although no silence can be perceived between the parenthetical’s completion and the beginning of the recipient’s response (as can be observed in extracts 11 and 19 as well), the fact that the recipient is able to start the response in the clear is evidence that the speaker has created a place for a response immediately after completion of the unit with the parenthetical.

When the recipient does not respond immediately, a little pause may develop. See extracts 5 and 9, for example. The longer the silence after the parenthetical, the more the interactional pressure to do something about the impasse. In the extract below, for example, the silence after the parenthetical grows to a length of 1.3 s (arrow 3):

Extract 20. Non-standardized research interview (full version of extract 13). Famos is the name of a municipal youth centre in Amsterdam.

- Piet: e:h >ik herinner me nog goed< in 'n gesprek (...)
u:h I remember very well stil, in a talk (...)
- ₁ met twEe van de konsulenten, die: toEn al zei:den
with two of the consultants, who then already said
- ₂ >dat was drIEënzeventigh,<
this was seventy three,
- ₃ 1.3
- ₄ (°en dat) toen ging 't nog over FA:mos,
(and this) then was still about Famos,
- ₅ 0.3
- ₆ (°want toen) ging toen in die ja:ren
(because_{-w} then) ((it)) went then in those years
drienzeventig zo moeilijk met F[amos,
seventy three so hard with Famos,
- Intvr: →₇ [°mh↓]m

- Piet: →₈ ·hhHhh e::hm:- (0.8) van: (0.9) je kun:t BIJna voorspelleh,
 u::hm:- like: you can almost predict,
 d'r zal 'n niEuwe categorie van Achtergestelde jeugd,
 there will ((develop)) a new category of neglected youth,
 ·h[hh](.) gaan ontstaan: >en dat zijn de scholiere,=
 will develop and these are the school youth,
- Intvr: [m:↑m]
 =°ja↑A,°(.) precies.
 yes, exactly.

The speaker himself breaks the deadlock by continuing with an extension of the parenthetical (arrow 4). Then there is again another silence (arrow 5), but this time the speaker does not let it grow to a length that might be indicative of interactional trouble. He continues one more time with an extension of the parenthetical (arrow 6). This one finally gets a response (arrow 7), after which the speaker returns to the host by delivery of the quote (arrow 8; cf. Mazeland, 2006) that was announced in its preliminary component (arrow 1).

Note that the continuations after the first inserted TCU are recognizably formatted as extensions of the parenthetical. The first continuation begins with the conjunction ‘and’ (“en”, arrow 4) and the second one with ‘because_w’ (“want”, arrow 6). The speaker ties each next TCU to the preceding one by the deployment of a TCU-initial operator that attaches the current TCU to the previous one. He makes the continuation clearly recognizable as an extension of the preceding unit in the inserted talk. This is a way of actively pursuing a response to the parenthetical (cf. Pomerantz, 1984). By designing the continuation as an extension of the inserted action and by not yet returning to the host, the speaker not only enhances the pressure to respond to the parenthetical, he also creates one more opportunity to do so.

The first possible completion point of the TCU with the parenthetical thus may be shaped as a place at which the recipient is invited to respond to the parenthetical. The speaker may solicit a response by strongly rising the pitch at the ending of the parenthetical, and he may create an opportunity for it by permitting a brief silence after the parenthetical’s completion.

5.2. Response types and response placement

The place after completion of a parenthetical is constrained at two levels of the organization of talk. At the level of sequence organization, the recipient is expected to respond to the action that is done in the parenthetical. The place at which the recipient is supposed to do so, however, is already reserved at the level of turn taking. The speaker still has to complete the host, and because of this, the recipient has only limited space to respond to the parenthetical. The recipient has to react in an *interstitial within-turn response space*. An interstitial response space has the first possible completion point of the inserted TCU as its opening boundary; the speaker’s projected return to the host figures as its foreseeable closing boundary.

The boundaries of the response space constrain the response and the trajectory within which it can be provided. Not every type of response will do. Generally, recipients choose to deploy a kind of response that minimizes the response space. This can be clearly seen from the responses in the

extracts that were discussed until now. Most times, the recipients react with “jah” (‘yes’) or “hm”. The recipient attends minimally to the action performed in the parenthetical by merely acknowledging it, just confirming it, only registering it, etcetera.

Limiting oneself to a minimal type of response is a locally administered achievement. In principle, a recipient has alternative options available. Compare the extract below. Technical school pupil Johnny tells a story about how he feels misled by the advice of the school counselor to first take another class (metallurgy) than the one he himself wanted to go to actually (car mechanics). After the first part of a compound TCU in which he is about to tell a kernel event of his story (‘if you go first . . .’), Johnny inserts a parenthetical in which he explains the rationale behind the counselor’s advice (arrow 1). The school did not have enough pupils for the course he wanted to go to (car mechanics):

Extract 21. Non-standardized research interview. Johnny is a 17-year old technical college student. (Continuation of extract 12.)

- Johnny: hij zeg ja:h, ma as je nou eers: e:h (0.3)
 he says well, but if you now first u:h
- bijvoorbeeld naar eh (0.4) ·t de metaol goat,
 for example go to uh ·t the metallurgy ((class)),
- ₁ >omdat ze natuurlijk weinig< jongens hadde,
 because_o they didn’t have enough pupils of course,
- da wis ik nat[uurlijk oo]k niet,
 but that’s something I didn’t know either of course
- Researcher: [(°oh.)]
- 0.3
- ₂ °o:h.° dus je hebt ’t gevoel dat je:eh ’n beet[je bent gebr]uikt.
 o:h so you feel that you uh have been a little bit used.
- John: →₃ [jj:: U I S t!]
 exactly!
- 0.4
- ₄ nou! en toen zei ik e::h- (0.4) hij zei ↑jah, je ken beter
 indeed! and then I said u:h- he said well you better go
- naar (de) metaol gaan, hij zei want daarna:h ken je dan nog
 to the metallurgy class, he said, because_w after this, you can still
- ’n jaartje automonteur doen, (0.4)
 do then a year for car mechanics,
- dan heje twee diploma’s: in drie jaor.
 then you have two diplomas in three years.

Unlike the instances discussed before, the recipient does not respond minimally. She attends to the parenthetical as talk in its own right. The parenthetical is not treated as an action that is subsidiary to the action in the host, but it is given elaborate attention in a sequence of its own.

Instead of minimally reacting with “oh” or a weaker type of minimal response,¹⁶ the recipient extends her response with a pre-emptive formulation of the gist of Johnny’s whole telling (cf. Heritage, 1985). By initiating more talk about the parenthetical’s thrust, she extends the spate of discontinuous talk. The teller has to attend first to the recipient’s response (arrow 3) before he can pick up the telling again (arrow 4). Note that, perhaps as a consequence of the discontinuity, the teller does not shape the continuation of his telling as a return to the TCU in the course of which the parenthetical sequence was initiated. He goes back to the telling by recognizably beginning a new unit in which the story part that was already told in the pre-insert part of the abandoned TCU is recycled (*‘he said well you better go to the metallurgy class . . .’*, arrow 4).

Recipients thus may respond in alternative ways to a parenthetical. Not every type of response is a reaction that keeps the parenthetical sequence within the borders of interstitial response space. A recipient may respond in a way that pushes ahead the closing boundary or even crosses it. Depending on the type of response, the speaker’s return to the host is either facilitated or complicated. When the recipient opts for initiating talk that elaborates on the parenthetical as a topic in its own right, as in the extract above, this may complicate the speaker’s return to the host. It may also change the manner in which the speaker accomplishes the return, sometimes even up to the point that the projection of return to the host runs astray (see section 6).

As a rule, however, recipients respect the constraints of the interstitial response space. They stay within its boundaries by providing the type of response that does not engender further talk about the parenthetical itself. The opportunity to respond to the parenthetical is not used as an occasion to a full turn at talk. The recipient attends minimally to the parenthetical, thereby enabling the speaker to return as soon as possible to the unit the parenthetical was interrupting. The recipient signals his organizational understanding that the halted TCU is still waiting for completion and that insert completion is the point at which the speaker can be expected to return to it. The response to the inserted unit is shaped so as to display this awareness, enabling the speaker’s return to the host as a collaborative achievement of both speaker *and* recipient.

Recipients also show an orientation to the constraints of interstitial response space in the placement of the response. Responses may be precisely timed (that is, the response occurs immediately after the first possible completion point of the inserted TCU), or they are provided within a very brief time interval (usually less than 0.4 s). A precisely timed response keeps the boundaries of the interstitial response space intact. A response that comes after a short silence may do so just as well, as long as the closing boundary of the response space is not stretched up to a breaking point at which the post-parenthetical pause has grown too long (as has been shown in the discussion of extract 20).

A response to a parenthetical may be placed early. A response is early placed when the recipient volunteers the response before the inserted TCU has reached a point at which it is possibly complete. Compare the terminal onset placement of the response in the fragment below (see also extracts 3 and 20):

¹⁶ Note that ‘oh’ in extract 21 is already a much stronger type of response to a parenthetical than for example ‘yes’ or ‘hm’. ‘Oh’ focuses more strongly on the informative effect of the utterance it responds to (see Heritage, 1984). An ‘oh’-receipt treats the utterance it is tied to as a responsible in its own right, and because of this, it is more likely to engender talk about it.

Extract 22. Non-standardized research interview. Informant Bas is an 18 years old college student.

Researcher: had je met Een >toen je in Amsterdam kwam<
did you immediately when you came in Amsterdam
 dus e::h toen was je 'n jaar of vier v[ij:f]
 so u::h then were you a year or four five
 so u::h then you were about four of five years old

Bas: → [j:]ah,
 yes

(.)

Researcher: had je toen:- kreeg je ook vriendjes in de straat:
did you then- did you get also friends in the street
 °en zo.°
and the like.

The recipient already starts to deliver a response before the inserted TCU has arrived at a possible completion point. An early placed response to a parenthetical, so to say, ‘sucks’ the opening boundary of the interstitial response space to an earlier point in the turn’s trajectory.

Early placement can also take the form of providing the response at a point at which the recipient may reasonably *claim* to already recognize where the parenthetical is going (*recognitional onset*; Jefferson, 1973, 1986). Extract 7 is a case in point; the relevant segment is repeated below:

Extract 7. Non-standardized research interview, detail. (*Recognitional onset.*)

Piet: (..) >en dat zi'is< dan:: de neo PUnk, ↓want inmiddels
and that ar- is PRT the neo Punk, because_w meanwhile

→ was 't al n[eo-] NEO punk- (0.4) geworden, ·hH
was it already neo- neo punk become
it had already become neo- neo punk-

Intvr: → [ngj:eh,]
 (nyeh,)

Early responses can even take the form of the recipient anticipatorily completing the parenthetical in chorus with the speaker himself (cf. Lerner, 2002). Compare extract 4. Before the speaker can complete the clarification of the abbreviation he has just used, the recipient joins him by volunteering the final component of the compound that is used for doing the explication:

Extract 4. Non-standardized research interview, detail. (*Anticipatory completion.*)

Piet: terwijl je daarna:st de Ka: ↑BE: jongere (.)
whereas you there-next the K.B. youngsters
whereas on the other side, the K.B. youngsters

→ °Kinker[buurt jong]ere° had,
Kinker- neighbourhood youngsters had,
Kinkerbuurt youngsters were there

Intvr: [(°jeu:gd)]
 → (°youth)

By joining the parenthetical unit's completion, the recipient *demonstrates*¹⁷ she knows where the clarification is going. Note that the recipient succeeds in delivering the completion before the speaker has completed the inserted unit. The recipient shows an orientation to get the collaborative completion done within the space that is projectably reserved for the inserted TCU (see Lerner, 1996:246). As a result, no response is needed anymore after completion of the parenthetical. This type of early response thus compresses the trajectory of the inserted sequence and enables the speaker to return to the host without noticeable delay. The need for an interstitial within-turn response space is pre-empted.

Early placed responses minimize and compress the space that is needed to complete the parenthetical sequence. They show the recipient is aware of the sequence's subsidiary character. By limiting the space that is occupied by the response, the recipient facilitates the speaker's return to what it is all about: the action that is on its way in the host.

There are also a few late responses in my collection. A response is late when the recipient responds to the parenthetical after the speaker has already returned to the host. The type of response selected to do a late response and the trajectory within which a late responses is done display the recipient's orientation to not impede the speaker's return to the host. We have already seen examples of late responses in extracts 9 and 12. Below is another one:

Extract 23. Non-standardized research interview about Amsterdam youth cultures in the sixties and seventies.

Intvr: ·h je kunt ook zegge dat in de jare zeventig
you can also say that in the seventies
 d'r ook 'n: ↑jongere generatie,
then also a younger generation,
 →₁ °met name arbeidersjongere,
notably working class youngsters
 →₂ op ('n ge)[ge:]ve moment, als 't ware° ·hh de macht
at a certain moment, as it were, has taken
 Piet: →₃ [°m.]
 Intvr: heeft overgenomen, want [in de ja:re zestig, ·h (. . .)
over power, because_w in the sixties, · (...)
 Piet: [m.]

The recipient responds to the parenthetical after the speaker has already begun to return to the host (arrows 2 and 3). This results in a brief spate of overlapping talk. However, this is shown to

¹⁷ See Sacks (1992), Vol. II: 252 for the distinction between *claiming* vs. *demonstrating*.

be a form of unproblematic overlap by the kind of item that causes the overlap. The recipient reacts in a way that signals he will not impede the progress of current speaker's return to the host. Instead of competing with the speaker, the recipient displays the understanding that the speaker is in the course of a turn at talk which is not yet complete (cf. Schegloff, 2000:5).

Note that the late response in the fragment above is still placed in the beginning of the speakers return to the host (arrows 2 and 3). A delayed response to a parenthetical has to be given as early as possible in the trajectory in which the speaker accomplishes the return to the host. The recipient still has an opportunity to tie his response to the parenthetical as long as the speaker has not yet said anything else that can be treated as a responsible in its own right. The beginning of the speaker's return to the host is the recipient's last opportunity to attend to the parenthetical without running the risk of response misplacement. If the response came later, it is too late. It does not locate its product item anymore and cannot be tied to it in a way that does not disrupt the talk's progressivity.

Late responses show that a speaker's return to the host is negotiably contingent on the recipient's response to the parenthetical. When a speaker recognizably begins to return to the host before the recipient has responded, this may work as a device that creates a very last opportunity to respond to the inserted unit. When the recipient does not do so, however, the speaker has manoeuvred himself into a position in which the response to the parenthetical cannot be pursued anymore in a way that is still tied to the inserted unit itself. Once the speaker has begun to make the return to the host, there is no way back. However, the speaker's decision to give precedence to the return reflects how he weighs the alternatives at hand: pursue a response and risk that the distance to the host increases, or give precedence to the progressivity of the talk by returning to the TCU that is implementing the action the parenthetical is supportive of.

In summary: The place at which a recipient may respond to a parenthetical is projected by the basic principles of unit-completion projection in conversational turn-taking. Additionally, speakers use prosodic and productional devices to mark the place at which the parenthetical is complete. Recipients observably orient to the constraints of the interstitial turn response space. They use minimal responses that respect the boundaries of the response space. When an early placed response transgresses the opening boundary, it compresses the response space in a way that facilitates the speaker's return to the host. And when a late response transgresses the closing boundary of the response space, it does so in a manner and in a place that shows the recipient's understanding of the subsidiary character of the parenthetical. The action in the host has precedence now.

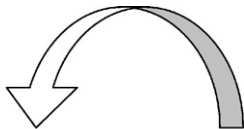
6. Returning to the host

After the speaker has completed the inserted TCU and may have gotten a response to it, he may proceed in a way that shows he is returning to the host TCU. The host was left incomplete when it was halted for the delivery of another TCU. However, the relevancy of its completion is maintained over the course of the inserted TCU's production, since the parenthetical is recognizably supportive of the action that is on its way in the host. I found three different ways in which a speaker may proceed after completion of an inserted parenthetical unit¹⁸:

- *Return by continuation*: the speaker continues with a non-initial fragment that seamlessly fits into the syntactic frame begun in the pre-insert part of the host.

¹⁸ Cf. Jefferson (1972), Selting (2001), Mazeland and Huiskes (2001), Hayashi (2004) and Auer (2004).

speaker notices that his interlocutor has already referred to the same phenomenon just before (*'that you just mentioned already'*). The parenthetical is shaped as a relative clause that is attached to the same noun that is still waiting for specification. After the completion of the relative clause, the speaker continues with the projected specification:



daar had je (...) ['t verschijnsel [insert] + **van** de Fantasiojeugd (...)]

there you had (...) [*the phenomenon* [insert] + *of the Fantasio youth ...*]

The phrase beginning with the preposition “van” (*'of'*) is pasted to the last word in the pre-insert part of the host without any extra linking work. When the insert is taken away, the result is a seamlessly fitting, syntactically acceptable phrasal structure:

't verschijnsel . . . **van** de Fantasiojeugd
the phenomenon . . . of the Fantasio youth

Continuations do not only occur after parentheticals that have the form of a syntactically incorporable relative clause; they are also done in structurally unrelated environments after parentheticals that are not grammatically controlled by the host. See, for example, the continuation after the parentheticals in extract 3 (a characterizing construction) and in 18 (an accounting *because_w* clause):

Extract 3. Detail, simplified.

Intvr:	→ ₁	die <u>antikapalistiese</u> <i>this anticapitalist</i>
	→ ₂	>vanuit <u>DUI:tsland</u> < is dat geko:me. (.) <i>from Germany is that come.</i> <i>this came from Germany..</i>
	→ ₃	> <u>jongerewerk</u> ,< (...) <i>youth work,</i>

Extract 18. Detail, simplified.

Rosenmuller:	→ ₁	(...) maar hoe kan nou de <u>man</u> van de modernitEi:t, <i>but how can PRT the man of modernity,</i>
	→ ₂	want dat is toch 'n <u>KERN</u> begrip in uw b↑oek, <i>because_w this is really a central concept in your book,</i>
	→ ₃	·hh <u>zegge</u> h, (...) <i>say,</i>

In both cases, the speaker has abandoned the grammatical structure that is guiding the design of the host in favor of the production of a new TCU with a grammatically independent, different format. After having completed the inserted TCU, the speaker continues with an element that is recognizably doing the work of completing the structure that was left incomplete in the pre-insert part of the host TCU:

- (3) die antikapitalistiese (...) **jongerenwerk**
this anticapitalist (...) youth work
- (17) maar hoe kan nou de man van de moderniteit (...) **zeggen** ...
but how can PRT the man of the modernity (...) say ...

The kind of form that is used to do a return by continuation varies depending on the kind of projection that was established in the pre-insert part of the host. No matter which variety, the general rule for return by continuation is: if a speaker has split up an ongoing TCU by the insertion of a parenthetical, he may return to it by a form that counts as a structural completion of a unit that was left incomplete before insertion.

The unit that is completed is either the structure guiding the design of the TCU as a whole or a constituent that remained incomplete just before the point of insertion. In the extracts discussed above, for example, the speaker exploits constituent structures. In extract 24, a compound noun phrase structure is completed (*the phenomenon ... of the Fantasio youth*); in extract 3, the speaker completes a noun phrase fragment of which the head is still missing (*'this anticapitalist ... youth work'*); and in extract 20, the speaker completes an unfinished verb phrase by delivering the missing non-finite verb (*'how can you ... say'*). Extract 10 offers an instance in which the speaker returns by continuing with a fragment that completes a TCU with a simple clausal format. Instances in which the unit structure that is completed coincides with the structure that is guiding the design of the host as a whole can be found particularly in compound TCUs (see section 2.2).

Return by continuation is by far the most frequent type of return in my data. Other examples of return by continuation can be observed in extracts 6, 15, 18 and 23. When a speaker returns to the host by continuing the pre-insert part from precisely the point at which it was interrupted, the speaker, so to say, 'deletes' (Jefferson, 1972) the inserted unit from local structural memory. The parenthetical does not leave any traces in the post-insert part of the host. The speaker shapes the return as though nothing else has come in between and the now-beginning utterance fragment can be tied unproblematically into the structure of the pre-insert part of the host. However, this is not accomplished by the speaker alone. Return by continuation is a collaborative achievement of both speaker and recipient. Almost all continuations in my data occur after a minimal, unexpanded parenthetical sequence. The recipient's response to the inserted unit is placed and shaped so as to further the progressivity of the turn into which the sequence is embedded. Both the type and the placement of the recipient's response facilitate the speaker's return to the host TCU. A response that enables the speaker to shape the return as a continuation is placed within interstitial response space and is only minimally receiving the parenthetical. When the response is non-minimal, return by continuation is a less self-evident thing to do next. Compare extract 1:

Extract 1. Business phone call. Detail.

Printer:

→₁ ik hoor van Leendert wel: [(uhruh)
I heard from Leendert though ((coughs))

→₂ want ik zit- >ben niet, < thuis nouh,
because I am- am not at home now,
 ·h[h [(°onderweg.°)]
(on my way.)

Inez:

→₃ [jah, da ho[or ik. HhH!]
yes, I can hear this. hhh ((laughing))

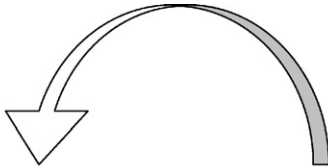
Printer:

→₄ [maar:] e:h >dat 't rood wel wat< tegenviel,
but u:h that the red ((colour)) was actually a little disappointing,

Inez:

[HhH!]

This recipient does not respond minimally. The caller's inserted account (arrow 2) gets an elaborate response (arrow 3). After a response-initial 'yes', the recipient claims she too has access to the situation the speaker is telling about (she is probably referring to the noise the caller's mobile phone is making).¹⁹ This is followed by a short series of post-completion stance markers (cf. Schegloff, 1996a), laugh particles that invite the caller to affiliate with the recipient's joking irony. So instead of minimally responding, the recipient topicalizes the parenthetical remark in a way that invites a more elaborate treatment. Her interlocutor does not collaborate with this proposal, however. He begins his continuation with "maar" ('but'), indicating that the just-beginning continuation will be disruptive to what they have been doing immediately before. Note that the next part of the caller's utterance is shaped as a grammatically fitting continuation of the pre-insert part of the host. After "maar eh", the speaker goes on with an indirect quote, a *that*-complement that fits into the quotative frame established in the pre-insert part of the host:



ik hoor van Leendert wel (...) [+insert] [maar eh] **dat** 't rood wel wat tegenviel

I heard (...) though (...) [+insert] [but uh] that the red was PRT a little disappointing

¹⁹ Rebecca Clift pointed out to me that the recipient's non-minimal response in extract 1 seems to indicate a kind of epistemic competition with the speaker. When reacting with 'yes, I can hear this.', the recipient claims she too has independent access to the information the speaker is telling about (cf. Heritage and Raymond, 2005).

Note further that the fragment-initial operator “maar” (*‘but’*) is not only used as a kind of resumption initiator (see Mazeland and Huiskes, 2001); the extra conjunction is also used as a device for resolving overlap (see Schegloff, 2000). Whereas “maar” is still in overlap with the recipient’s second post-completion laugh particle, the continuation itself is produced in the clear. While ‘bare’ continuations display the speaker’s assumption that returning to the host is an unproblematic thing to do next after a parenthetical sequence, the employment of an additional return-initiator such as “maar” (*‘but’*) signals that the return is not unproblematic.

6.2. Return by resumption

We have seen that returns by continuation are shaped so as to be tied to an incomplete unit fragment in the pre-insert part of the host TCU. The continuation casts the return as an unproblematic thing to do next after a parenthetical sequence. However, a speaker sometimes treats a return as less self-evident. A speaker may bridge the gap with the abandoned host by redoing it from the start. This is return by resumption. Compare the fragment below. The speaker returns from a parenthetical remark (arrows 2 and 3) by repeating the initial *wh*-clause with which he had begun (arrows 1 and 4):

Extract 25. Tax negotiation meeting. The accountant has objected against a tax assessment on behalf of his client.

Accountant: →₁ iets waar ik wat meer probleme mee heb dat is e:h-
something where I do have some more problems that is u:h-

→₂ >en dan heb ik ’t puur eve over de techniek
>*and then I talk just purely about the technique*
van de rentabiliteits[waarde].<
of profitability assessment.

Tax insp: [hm↑m

Accountant: →₃ niet of dat je nou: (0.4) bij deze waardering
not whether one well for this assessment
uit zou moete gaan van rentabili[teit], ·hh
has to depart from profitability,

Tax insp: [ng↓m

Accountant: →₄ maar waar ik wel wat probleme mee heb, dat is
but where I do have some problems though, that is
met ’t verhoge van eh (0.4) eh ’t rentepercentage
with raising the uh uh the interest rate

At arrow 1, the speaker marks a topic shift with the initial *wh*-clause of what may become a compound TCU with the form of a *wh*-cleft construction (see Kim, 1995). Before filling in the focus slot that is built by the *wh*-clause, the speaker inserts a parenthetical remark in which he delimits the scope of the problem he is about to describe. He then returns to the host by repeating the initial *wh*-clause:

Pre-insert part of the host TCU:

(...) iets waar ik meer probleme mee heb dat is e:h-
something where I do have some more problems that is u:h-

Post-insert part:

maar waar ik wel wat probleme mee heb, dat is
but where I do have some problems though, that is
 met 't verhoge van eh (0.4) eh 't rentepercentage
with raising the uh uh the interest rate

The speaker almost literally repeats the pre-insert part of the host TCU. He returns to the host by recognizably re-beginning the halted TCU from scratch. The speaker first redoes the discourse-organizational action that was done in the host's preliminary component, and then delivers the topic that is announced in it (and that was already announced in its first occurrence). Note, by the way, that the parenthetical has a compound structure: the speaker first settles what the problem is about (arrow 2) and then articulates what it is not about (arrow 3).

Whereas a return by continuation deletes the parenthetical from the TCU's surface by simply leaving it behind without leaving a trace, the return by resumption deletes the parenthetical by writing it away with the repeated utterance. The parenthetical sequence is treated as an obstacle that can be avoided by literally removing it from the host's appearance. However, despite its disappearance from the surface of the TCU, returns by resumption show traces of the deleted parenthetical sequence. The way a speaker recycles the pre-insert part of the host displays his sensitivity to what has changed in the TCU's immediate environment. In extract 25, for example, this orientation is particularly shown by what the speaker has added to the original fragment's script:

Original form:

iets	waar ik	wat meer probleme	mee heb	dat is e:h- (...)
something	where I	some more problems	with have	that is u:h
<i>something</i>	<i>where I do have some more problems that is u:h-</i>			

Recycled form:

maar	waar ik wel	wat probleme	mee heb,	dat is (...)
but	where I do _{PRT}	some problems	with have,	that is
<i>but</i>	<i>where I do have some problems though, that is</i>			

The addition of the conjunction “maar” (*‘but’*) at the recycled TCU's beginning signals the resumptive character of the just-beginning continuation. The added particle “wel” (equivalent to *‘do’* for giving emphasis and with a concessive quality which is indexed with *‘though’* in the interpretative translation) articulates a contrast with the last part of the speaker's parenthetical remark. Both additions analyzably deal with contextual changes that result from the inserted sequence. The resumption initiator “maar” (*‘but’*) deals with the fact that the inserted sequence has created a context in which the participants are faced with the problem of how to return to the host (see Mazeland and Huiskes, 2001). And by inserting the particle “wel” into the repeated *wh*-clause, the speaker shows his regard for the degree of topical informedness already arrived at in the inserted sequence. Although the parenthetical is taken away from the guest list of its host, the speaker incorporates it in the way he shapes its repeat.

Contrary to returns by continuation, returns by resumption do usually contain traces of the preceding parenthetical sequence. A speaker may articulate the progression that is achieved in

the inserted sequence more clearly in the way he redoes the recycled fragment. See extract 12. After completion of a parenthetical in which more background is provided about the author whose quote is announced in the pre-insert part of the host (arrow 1), the speaker returns to the host by recycling the quote projecting frame (arrow 3) in a way that marks the progression already achieved. Whereas the author of the projected quote was originally referred to with “die man” (*‘this man’*), he is now referred to with “hij” (*‘he’*):

Extract 12. Repeated.

- Johnny: →₁ toen zegt die man, (.)
then this man says,
- ₂ da’s de schooldekaon:, (.)
this is the student counselor,
- ₃ hi[j zeg] ja:h, ma as je nou eers: e:h (0.3)
he says well, but if you now first u:h

Researcher: [m:,]

- Johnny: bijvoorbeeld naar eh (0.4) ·t de metaol ↑goat, (...)
for example go to uh ·t the metallurgy ((class)),

In the pre-insert part of the host, the speaker employs a *locally initial reference form* – the full noun phrase *‘this man’* – on a *locally initial reference occasion* (cf. Schegloff, 1996b). In the recycled form of this part of the host, he employs a *locally subsequent form* (the pronoun *‘he’*). The place after the parenthetical is thus treated as a *locally subsequent reference position*. The speaker displays an orientation to the progressivity of the talk by incrementally incorporating the progression that has been made in the mode of referring to the person that was introduced in the pre-insert part of the TCU. The part that is recycled is recognizably shaped as a next occurrence by substituting the subsequent reference form for the initial one.

There is yet another way in which a speaker may show that the context of the resumed TCU has changed. A speaker may leave out TCU-initial operators that specify the TCU’s relationship with its direct context. Extract 12 already shows an instance of this. The temporal adverbial “toen” (*‘then’*) is not repeated in the resumption (see arrows 1 and 3 in 12 above). Extract 26 offers another example. This time, the speaker does not repeat the TCU-initial operator “maar” (*‘but’*):

Extract 26. Non-standardized research interview.

- Intvr: →₁ **maar** die ↑JONGere groep,
but this group of youngsters,
- ₂ zo vanaf late we zeggeh ·hh vie:rtien (0.6)
from about let’s say fourteen
- to[:t] (0.3) hooguit tWIn:tig o[f zo↑:] (0.4)
to at most twenty or so
- Piet: [°ja.] [ja:.]
yes. yes.
- Intvr: →₃ ↑die gaat dominE↑:ren >↓denk ik.<
that-one_{demonstrative} will dominate, I think.

Whereas the host TCU originally began with the contrast-marking conjunction “*maar*” (‘*but*’, arrow 1), this operator is not repeated in the recycled version. The speaker treats the TCU-initial operator as a *dispensable* (cf. Schegloff, 2004). He has to do so because the context to which the conjunction was linking is not there anymore. The TCU’s environment of use has changed. The context relation that the conjunction was specifying does not hold for the recycled TCU’s relationship with the preceding parenthetical sequence.

Returns by resumption thus may display in various ways that the recycled TCU’s context has changed after and because of the inserted sequence. On one hand, the speaker may show his orientation to the turn’s progressivity by redoing the recycled part of the host in a way that incorporates the progression that has been made meanwhile. On the other hand, the speaker may leave out those elements of the host-so-far that are dispensable in the new environment of use of the recycled TCU.

I do not have a plausible analysis yet why a speaker chooses to do a return by either continuation or resumption. My current collection of data only allows the formulation of some first intuitions about what kind of circumstances may favour the selection of one alternative above the other. I will mention three factors that may influence the selection of alternative ways of returning to the host, without discussing each of them in detail. First, in my data, return by resumption does not occur after parentheticals that are syntactically incorporable into the host,—that is, after parentheticals that have the form of an appositive noun phrase or of a non-restrictive relative clause (see extracts 4 and 10, respectively). After parentheticals with this form, the speaker returns to the host by delivery of the next element due as projected in its pre-insert part. If the parenthetical is syntactically incorporable, this appears to influence the way the speaker does the return.

Second, the extension of the parenthetical – measured in terms of numbers of TCUs – may influence the shape of the return. The absolute length of the inserted parenthetical – measured in terms of the number of words – does not seem to be relevant, despite psycholinguistic evidence that shows that syntactic memory might be rather limited (cf. Jarvella, 1971; Sachs, 1967). For example, the parenthetical in extract 5 is pretty long in terms of number of words (15 words), but the host TCU is returned to by continuation; the parenthetical in extract 12 (‘*this is the student-counselor*’), on the other hand, has a length of only four words but the host is returned to by resumption. Length measured in terms of the number of TCUs does not seem to matter either. Parentheticals are usually not bigger than a single TCU. Parentheticals that are longer nevertheless do occur. If the parenthetical is longer, this may cause a problem. However, a multi-unit parenthetical may be returned from by continuation or by resumption. Extracts 10 and 20 document returns by continuation after a parenthetical that is longer than one TCU; extract 25 illustrates an instance of return by resumption.

Finally, a third factor that seems to influence the choice of return type is that resumptions offer a solution for the problem of a delayed response. In section 5, I have characterized the dilemma a speaker is faced with when the recipient does not respond within interstitial response space. If a response is pursued by adding prompting components to the parenthetical, the speaker runs the risk that the inserted activity loses its subsidiary status and may develop into a topic or activity in its own right. The subsidiary character of the parenthetical is essentially contingent on its projectably limited size and its position within the framework of the host in which it has a function. Doing the return by recycling the pre-insert part of the host is not only a way to minimize the risk, but it also offers the recipient a very last opportunity to respond to the parenthetical (as happens in extract 12, repeated above). Furthermore, in case the recipient does not respond at all, this is not a problem anymore because returns by resumption remove the parenthetical from the surface of the recycled TCU.

6.3. Redesign

A speaker does not always return to the host after a parenthetical sequence. Compare extract 27. Natalie announces a quote from one of her pupils (arrow 1), and then halts the TCU for the insertion of a parenthetical remark in which she provides more background information (arrow 2):

Extract 27. Phone call. Natalie and Mariska are college friends. They both work as trainee teachers. In this episode, Natalie starts telling a story about an experience from her traineeship.

- Natalie: ik had 'n derde klas vrijdag.
I had a third-grade class friday.
- ₁ zei 'n jongen tegen mij aan 't begin van de les, (0.3)
said a boy to me at the start of the lesson,
- ₂ want (hij ging wou- ee-) die zitte
because_{-w} (he went want- an-) they sit
- bij mij ammal apa:rt,
each at a separate table in my class,
- (.)
- Mariska: jah,
yes,
- Natalie: →₃ toen wou die ergens gaan zitten waar al iemand zat,
then he wanted to sit down somewhere where someone was sitting already,
- nou dat ging dus niet,
so this was not possible,
- 0.9
- en toen ging 'ie ↑JAh, ging ie helemaal (lopen) vloekeh enzo
and then he started well, started (to go) swearing and the like
- () (st)oeleh aanschoppeh ·h
kicking against chairs
- 0.6
- toen zei ik NOU: HOU daar 's ev'n mee ↑op, laatste keer.
then I said well just stop with that now, last time.
- anders ga je maar weg:. (metee:n.)
otherwise you'll have to leave. (immediately,)
- 1.8
- ₄ en toen zheg(h) ie tegen mij- ACH FLIKker ↑oph! h[hh
and then he said to me- ach! fuck off!
- Mariska: ↑jaA↓:h
yea:h.
- [(a)chgrh:

After the parenthetical sequence, the speaker does not return to the halted host TCU. She neither continues the host unit by delivering the projected quote, nor resumes it by recycling its pre-insert part. Instead she tells a narrative event that came before the projected quote. This sets up a story line in which the teller gradually works towards the event with the projected quote (arrow 4), that is, the event that makes this story a tellable.

Redesigns usually take the parenthetical as a starting point for the development of a different line. Unlike returns by continuation or by resumption, the parenthetical is not deleted from the turn's surface, but incorporated into it as a setup for the different tack the interaction has taken. The speaker upgrades the action that is performed in it from a subsidiary parenthetical to an indispensable part of the new line of development. What is deleted from the interaction's surface is not the parenthetical, but the host TCU itself. It is replaced by the parenthetical that is not a parenthetical anymore. When the speaker carries through the redesign in the TCU(s) following it, he also redefines the parenthetical's status retroactively. The speaker may still arrive at the action that was projected in the parenthetical's intended host. In extract 27, for example, the quotation at arrow 4 is probably the tellable that was projected in the abandoned host (arrow 1). However, the speaker does not shape her telling of this quote as a return to the TCU in which it was originally announced. Rather, the speaker's arrival at the targeted event is formatted as the result of the direction the interaction has taken after the redesign.

7. Conclusion and discussion

A speaker may insert a new TCU into an ongoing TCU in which he metacommunicatively turns to the recipient in order to instruct him about how an aspect of the host should be listened to, and the recipient may treat this insert as an action in its own right by responding specifically to it. The ongoing TCU is halted in order to make a parenthetical remark that is recognizably supportive of the action the speaker is performing in the host. The inserted sequence expands the speaker's turn. The participants manage to contain the inserted sequence within the borders of a single TCU by orienting to orderly methods for the organization of interaction within a turn's talk. The parenthetical is inserted at a place of *specifiable incompleteness* in which the speaker has *maximum grammatical control* over the host's projected trajectory, typically before the last unit-completing constituent in TCUs with a clausal structure, or after preliminary component completion in compound TCUs. The construction type of the inserted unit is either syntactically independent from the host (in the case of characterizing constructions and accounting *because*-_w clauses), or it is incorporable into the syntactic form of the host TCU (for non-restrictive relative clauses and appositive nominals).

Parentheticals are often produced as distinct prosodic units. The insert itself is produced as a separate intonation unit with a lower pitch level throughout and a rising pitch at its ending. The insertion of a parenthetical may be prosodically anticipated in the pitch contour of the host just before its insertion.

Recipients display their organizational understanding of the subsidiary character of a parenthetical insert in the way they respond to it. By minimizing the response and by placing it within interstitial response space, the recipient facilitates the speaker's return to the host. The speaker, on the other hand, may negotiate a delayed response by prompting the response's delivery either by some form of extension of the parenthetical or by already beginning the return to the host. The former practice has the risk that the parenthetical develops into talk in its own right; the latter gives precedence to the turn's progressivity.

The return to the host is done by continuation or by resumption. Continuations delete the parenthetical sequence from the interaction's surface by simply picking up the host at the point at which it was halted. Resumptions cross out the parenthetical sequence by recycling the host from the start, usually in a way that incorporates the progression already made and that takes the TCU's modified context into account. Continuations are a more likely way of returning after minimal responses within the boundaries of interstitial response space; resumptions are employed as a practice for performing the return after a non-minimal response or after a delayed response.

Participants thus have available a set of methods that enables them to coordinate the insertion of a subsidiary sequence within an ongoing TCU. But why would a speaker halt an ongoing, recognizably incomplete TCU and postpone its continuation until the recipient has registered the unit that was started at that point instead? It is tempting to see parenthetical sequences as a specific type of self-repair (see, for example, Auer, 2004). In the parenthetical, a speaker often anticipates a possible recipient problem with something he has just said or is about to say in the ongoing turn. In that sense, parenthetical inserts could be fortunately typed as a kind of "repair pre-emptive self-repairs".²⁰ However, this term implies that the repair that is being pre-empted is a repair that might be initiated by the recipient. This is often plausibly the case, but in other instances what may be addressed in the parenthetical sequence is not a repair that recipient might initiate, but an understanding that recipient might form without articulating, and which speaker aims to preclude. This is why Schegloff (personal communication) suggests that a characterization as "anticipatory repair" or "precautionary repair" might be more felicitous.

Parenthetical sequences have in common with repair that an ongoing course of action is stopped, and talk directed to some problem in speaking, hearing and/or understanding the talk is taken up in its place, after which the previously ongoing course of action may be resumed. However, not all of the parentheticals in my data deal with understanding problems. A speaker may address other issues in a parenthetical sequence, such as accounting for something that is said or done in the host TCU, securing the plausibility, credibility or applicability of what is being talked about in the host, affiliating with the recipient, forestalling dispreferred inferences, specifying or delimiting the range of the issue talked about in the host, etcetera.

Another reason for treating parenthetical sequences as a different type of sequential practice is that it does not repair a trouble source *in* the TCU that is hosting it. This becomes very clear by comparing parenthetical sequences with a type of inserted sequence that indisputably is a repair sequence. Compare the extract below. It offers an instance of a kind of sequence that is also occurring within a single turn—the type Schegloff calls *incidental sequence* (see section 1). Max initiates a variant version of a word-search repair, a category-member search (arrow 1). When René volunteers a candidate solution (arrow 2), the speaker accepts his proposal by repeating it in the continuation of his TCU (arrow 3):

²⁰ The category label "repair pre-emptive self-repair" was suggested by Gail Jefferson when we talked about a subcollection of my data. According to Jefferson, the term was first coined by Alene Terasaki in a data session in the early seventies.

Extract 28. Meeting. Max characterizes the kind of advice that will be given by the consultancy firm he has just hired.

- Max: en zij komen dan met 'n voorstel >waarbij ze zeggen<
and they come then with a proposal in which they say
- kijk, (1.1) ·hh zo doet de Ka El Em 't,
look, this is how KLM does it,
- 0.9
- zo doet Philips Licht 't,
this is how Philips Lighting does it,
- 0.5
- zo doet Unilever 't,
so does Unilever it
this is how Unilever does it,
- 0.5
- ₁ zo doen 't- >ik weet niet<=
so do it- I know not
this is how- I don't know
- René: →₂ =>°Mercedes,<
Mercedes,
- 0.3
- Max: →₃ Mercedes 't.
Mercedes it.
Mercedes does it.

Note that the result of the inserted repair sequence is incorporated into the form of the TCU as an integral part of it. By repeating and integrating it into the ongoing TCU, Max makes the repair outcome “*Mercedes*” to a part of the action he is doing. In fact, he would not have been able to perform it without this element. This is a crucial difference with parenthetical sequences. A parenthetical sequence is not a part of the action that is performed in the host. It is supportive of it and its result may influence the form of the host when the return is done as a resumption, but it is clearly a different activity. The outcome of a parenthetical sequence is not incorporated into the host TCU, but deleted from its surface in the case of return by continuation or by resumption, or redefined retroactively into a part of its context in the case of redesigns. Parenthetical sequences are grounding, anchoring, framing, improving or strengthening the conditions under which the action performed in the host can be reacted to by the recipient in a sequentially appropriate and preferred way; they are not repairing the host itself. The parenthetical sequence operates on the outcome of the sequence in which it is inserted, and does this without being a structurally incorporated part of the developing sequence (see Schegloff, 2007:241–242).

Talk is produced linearly in time whereas participants produce and manage structurally complex information, not only at the level of the emergent structure of the design of TCUs (see

Levelt, 1989; Auer, 2005), but also in the way TCUs are ordered in turns and in the way turns are done as moves in interactionally ordered sequences (cf. Schegloff, 2007). Parenthetical inserts accomplish subsidiary actions within an ongoing TCU. They lend the host TCU a compound, hierarchically ordered structure. As long as a speaker sticks to next-positioning as a device for relating a TCU to its environment, he may put a subsidiary action in three different positions relative to the TCU with the action it is supportive of: before it, after it, or in the course of it. Parentheticals embody the latter option, but why does a speaker not choose one of the other alternatives?

Post-positioning usually is a less favorable option. When a subsidiary remark comes after the action it is designed to be supportive of, the response to it may disrupt the sequential progressivity of the talk (cf. Schegloff, 1979). Moreover, the remark may come too late to give the kind of support it is supposed to offer.

Pre-positioning is an option but is itself subjected to constraints that are not met in the issues a speaker deals with in the case of parentheticals. Speakers regularly do actions that are preparatory to an action that may follow it (cf. Schegloff, 1980, 1988; Drew, 1995). In fact, recipients permanently face the problem of whether the speaker's current turn is implementing a preparatory action in service of some other envisaged activity or whether it is an action in its own right. This is why the design and the placement of a prefatory action is preferably done in a fashion that enables its recognizability as a preliminary to the talk it is prefiguring. For example, there is often an intrinsic course-of-action relationship to the kind of circumstance that speakers topicalize and the type of action that speakers do in preliminaries (see, for example, the discussion of pre-invitations such as '*what are you doing?*' in Drew, 1984). If there is no such relationship, a speaker may provide it in a framing pre-formulation as discussed by Schegloff for so called "*pre-pre's*" (cf. Schegloff, 1980). In general, the kind of issue that is being dealt with in parenthetical sequences lacks the kind of intrinsic course-of-action relationship that would enable its treatment in a preliminary. Parentheticals focus on conditions or aspects the speaker orients to as more peripheral conditions for the successful accomplishment of the action in case. Dealing with a peripheral issue without already having a context that insulates its tangentiality would require extra practices for framing and encapsulating it appropriately. A speaker avoids these kinds of problems by attaching the parenthetical to a specific part of the host in the course of its production. By placing the insert at a position in the ongoing turn that provides cues as to what aspect or element of the TCU it is dealing with, the speaker not only locates what element or aspect is being dealt with, he also displays the parenthetical's subsidiarity. The host itself provides the frame that warrants the parenthetical sequence's analyzability as a subsidiary interactional activity.

By dealing with a certain type of peripheral issue in a parenthetical sequence that is inserted at a specifiable position in an ongoing TCU, a speaker handles a potentially conflicting set of constraints: the temporal linearity of speech production, the contextuality of turns in talk in interaction, and the orientation to recipient design. Parenthetical sequences are a solution to a design problem.

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Appendix A. Transcription conventions

The transcription method is based on the notation system developed by Gail Jefferson (cf. Jefferson, 2004).

Organizational relations

sp[eaker-1	left-hand brackets mark the onset of simultaneous talk of a second
[spr-2	speaker
sp[eake]r	right-hand brackets indicate where the talk of a simultaneous
[yes]	speaker stops relative to the talk of the other speaker
(1.2)	duration of a silence measured in tenths of seconds
(.)	a silence shorter than two-tenths of a second
speaker1=	there is no perceivable silence between the turns of subsequent
=speaker2	speakers (latching)

Prosody

The punctuation symbols of written text (period, comma, question mark) indicate global intonation contours:

.	pitch fall
,	slightly rising pitch movement
?	(more) strongly rising pitch movement
!	exclamation-like prosody
↑	rising pitch movement in the syllable (part) after the arrow
↓	falling pitch movement
<u>accented</u>	the underlined syllable or sound is noticeably stressed
exte:nded	noticeable extension of the sound or syllable with the colon
°softer°	noticeably softer
LOUder	the utterance part written in upper case is relatively louder than the talk surrounding it
cut off-	the speaker is cutting off his/her speech abruptly
>faster<	speeding up the pace of the talk
<slower>	same, relatively slowing down the pace

Other productional features

·hHh	audible inbreath (each 'h' indicating a length of roughly two tenths of a second)
hhh	audible aspiration.
lhauhihngh	the h's or hhuhah'e's and the like indicate a laughing production

Transcriber problems

()	speaker says something, but the transcriber is not able to make sense of it
(guess)	the transcriber is making a guess
((sniffs))	transcriber's description or comment

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