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Varieties of Questions in English Conversation:

A Study of the Role of Morphosyntax

in Declarative and Nonclausal Forms

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Linguistics

by

Elizabeth G. Weber

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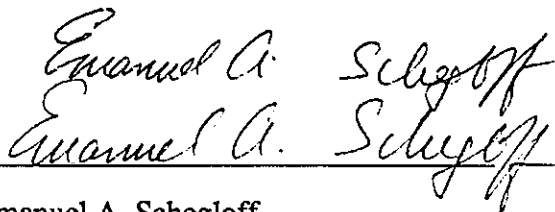
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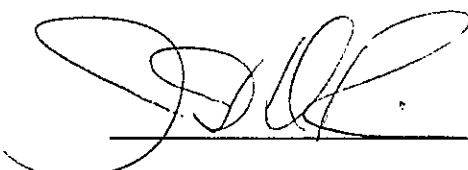
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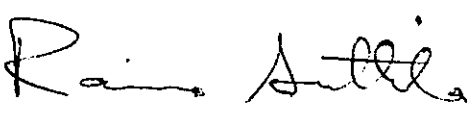
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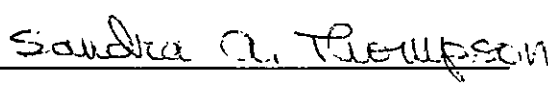
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For my parents

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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by

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The many-to-many relation which holds between morphosyntactic form and communicative function has long been noted by linguists and philosophers interested in language use. A single communicative function can be realized by many different syntactic forms, and a single syntactic form can realize several different functions in the appropriate discourse contexts. The production and interpretation of utterances with regard to function, then, is a problematic issue which requires some explanation. In other words, how do speakers know how to encode the messages they intend, and how do recipients interpret those messages correctly with regard to their function? The present study will address this issue by examining the role of morphosyntax in the interpretation of declarative and nonclausal questions in English conversation.

While interrogative forms are typically associated with question function,

declarative and nonclausal questions are not uncommon in conversation. On the basis of the literature, one can assume that these so-called nontypical questions do not correlate regularly with morphosyntactic markers associated with question function. The literature clearly maintains that such correlations do not exist and treats that lack as a problematic issue. An examination of naturally occurring conversational discourse reveals, however, that nontypical question forms do correlate regularly with morphosyntactic markers associated with question function. Moreover, morphosyntactic form correlates with communicative function on two different levels of analysis. The correlation exists at the general functional level of doing questioning. It also exists at a level of more subtle functional analysis, i.e., a level at which specific functional types of questions are described. In other words, declarative clauses and nonclausal forms correlate with different kinds of specific functional types of questions. The form/function correlations which are exhibited in this study are not arbitrary. It is shown that the specific patterns of morphosyntactic marking which characterize declarative and nonclausal questions respectively are functionally motivated.

This study shows that morphosyntactic form correlates strongly with both question function in general, as well as more specific functional types of questions. In the light of the correlations of declarative and nonclausal forms with specific question types, it is clear that further elaboration of discourse function is required for statements of typicality with regard to doing questioning in conversation. The form/function correlations exhibited in this work have significant implications for language processing (interpretation), language acquisition (learning), and the study of language universals.

Chapter 1

The Problem: The Relation between Discourse and Grammar

1. The Linguistic Problem

Throughout the history of western thought, many ideas about the nature of human beings, the world, and the relation which exists between them, have been stated in terms of dichotomies. Philosophers have split the person into mind and body; the knower has been opposed to that which is known. The facts of nature have been contrasted to the values which arise from our experience in the world. It is not surprising to find, therefore, that attempts to understand the nature of language have also given rise to a dichotomy — linguistic form vs. communicative meaning. Once a split has been conceptualized, it remains the task of philosophers to explain the relation of the separate parts. Within linguistics today, there are several positions regarding the relation which holds between linguistic form and communicative meaning. Crucial decisions follow from assumptions about this relation, e.g., decisions about which data are relevant and the analytic method which is appropriate. Before discussing the assumptions about this relation which ground this study, I will first briefly discuss linguistic form and communicative meaning.

Linguistic form may be realized acoustically, as spoken language, manually, as signed language, or graphemically, as written language. This study will deal only with spoken language. Spoken language may be analyzed with respect to its form on different levels, e.g., the level of the inventory of sounds in the language (phonetic form), the level at which sounds in the language combine into words (phonological form), or the level of word order and morphological marking (morphosyntactic form). Intonation is a factor which is so closely connected to the form of an utterance that it must be taken into consideration in any study of spoken language. Pike (1945) makes

the following observation.

Every sentence, every word, every syllable, is given some pitch when it is spoken. Even a sound in isolation is produced by vibrations whose frequencies constitute its pitch. There are no pitchless sentences (p. 20).

Although the role of intonation in realizing the meaning of an utterance is not as crucial as nonlinguists might assume, in some cases in the data, intonation does play a crucial role in the functional interpretation of an utterance (cf. Couper-Kuhlen 1986).

Linguistic forms realize different types of meaning, e.g., referential or propositional meaning, affective meaning, interactive or social meaning. Bolinger (1977) notes various facets of the term 'linguistic meaning' in the following.

Linguistic meaning covers a great deal more than reports of events in the real world. It expresses, sometimes in very obvious ways, other times in ways that are hard to ferret out, such things as what is the central part of the message as against the peripheral part, what our attitudes are toward the person we are speaking to, how we feel about the reliability of our message, how we situate ourselves in the events we report, and many other things that make our messages not merely a recital of facts but a complex of facts and comments about facts and situations (p. 4).

It is one aspect of the relation between linguistic forms and the meanings they bear which is the focus of this work.

2. Assumptions about the Relation between Linguistic Form and Communicative Meaning

The general goal of this study is to examine the relation which obtains between linguistic form and communicative meaning, i.e. how speakers capitalize on linguistic form to realize social meanings. In this section, I will make explicit the

assumptions which inform this analysis. The first assumption which should be made explicit is that meanings are only interpretable in terms of a context. This is an assumption about the nature of meaning, which, of course, goes beyond meanings realized by language in use. The second assumption which should be made explicit is that the linguistic forms relevant to an examination of the relation between form and meaning are only those linguistic forms which occur as linguistic behaviors produced by participants in response to the needs they experience in naturally occurring situations. This can be contrasted both to stretches of talk and particular individual morphosyntactic forms produced for the specific purpose of constituting data. These assumptions, then, limit the data on which this study is based to particular instances of naturally occurring spoken language situated in their discourse context. This limitation serves to guarantee that the linguistic context in which morphosyntactic forms are situated is also part of the data. Thus, to a certain extent, the analyst has access to the linguistic context to which the participants who produced and interpreted the talk had access. This limitation is essential, given the assumption that the meanings of a linguistic form are interpretable in relation to its context, including its prior discourse context. Not all linguists make these assumptions. Consequently, they will not feel constrained to use the same kind of data, i.e., language produced in the course of naturally occurring interaction. •

It is also assumed that linguistic utterances are purposive. They may be thought of as the means which speakers utilize to satisfy the needs which they experience in interactional situations. Through their utterances, speakers achieve their interactional ends. These ends are inextricably bound to the needs which are continuously emerging in the ongoing talk as it exists in real time. Every linguistic production, then, displays a judgment by the speaker as to what he or she should do in the existential interactional situation. Each linguistic utterance produced in interaction is an

action of the speaker. Each utterance is understood to be indexical to the prior text and the context. It is immediately interpretable in terms of the course of the interaction-so-far, and subsequently interpretable in terms of the interaction which follows it.

I further assume that the structure of linguistic forms, as instruments of communication, reflects the communicative ends of speakers. In other words, grammar is assumed to emerge from discourse. Discourse becomes the pattern model for grammar (García 1975, 1979, Thompson 1983, 1987a, 1987b, Du Bois 1985, 1987a, 1987b, 1988, Hopper 1987, Hopper and Thompson 1980, 1984). Benveniste articulated this view of grammaticization in his dictum: *Nihil est in lingua quod non prius fuerit in oratione* (1966:3, cited in Laberge and Sankoff 1979:419). In other words, morphosyntactic types are motivated by the patterns of the token aggregate, i.e., *parole*. Du Bois (Forthcoming) articulates this view of the relation between discourse and grammar as follows.

Once we see that the grammaticization of new structure depends on variability, it becomes clear that this need cannot be fully satisfied by the lexicon, which after all is a collection of types in language. In speaking, new combinations are produced (as tokens) in variable profusion. But this variability is ordered, in accordance with the general consistency of speakers' goals, plus the requirements of the current language system....Since the production of discourse is driven by speaker goals, the new patterns are suffused with functional implications from the outset....Discourse is thus capable of providing patterns already imbued with functional significance as models for potential grammar (pp. 000-000).

Since discourse is motivated by speakers' goals, the morphosyntactic patterns which emerge from an examination of tokens found in discourse are explainable in terms of the uses of these tokens. Discourse use involves factors of both information flow and interactional goals (cf. Schiffrin 1987:6, Goodwin 1987:19n.). In this section, I

have made explicit the assumptions of this study. The goals of this work will be presented in the following section.

3. Goals

My first goal is to demonstrate that morphosyntactic form correlates with the communicative function "doing questioning", when this function is identified on the basis of the sequential structure of the talk¹ (cf. Goody 1978, Owen 1984, Stenström 1984, Schiffrin 1987). Coulthard (1977) describes the problem of the relation between discourse and grammar as one of the interface between form and function.

The difficulty is to explain how a relatively small number of grammatical options can realise a relatively large number of discourse functions, and how both listener and analyst can successfully recognise which function ... is being conveyed (p. 14-15).

It is clear that morphosyntactic form alone cannot account for the meanings interpretable from a linguistic form. The sequential position of a linguistic form in the talk is crucially significant for its functional interpretation, as is its intonation. The problematic issue, then, is how morphosyntactic options interact with both intonation and sequential position with regard to both production and interpretation. In short, if the relation of linguistic form and discourse function is one of many forms to a single function and a single form to many functions, the issue is how speakers know how to encode the messages they intend, and how recipients interpret those messages correctly with regard to their function. In this study, I will attempt to describe how speakers use morphosyntactic form to do the social action of questioning, and how recipients utilize morphosyntactic form as a resource in the interpretation of utterances which are doing questioning.

The term *question* is ambiguous as to whether it applies to interactive function or morphosyntactic form. It is commonly used to refer to some utterances which are doing questioning, as well as to utterances which exhibit specific grammatical forms, viz., interrogative forms. Any linguistic form in the data which is interpretable as doing questioning has been included in the corpus. The criterion by which forms were selected is, therefore, a functional one. If a linguistic form serves the function of asking a question, it was included in the data. The application of this functional criterion resulted in a corpus of functional questions realized by a variety of morphosyntactic forms. In addition to the expected interrogative forms, the corpus includes utterances realized by declarative clauses, particles, single words, and phrases.

The problems involved in identifying questions are addressed by Bolinger in his study *Interrogative Structures of American English* (1957). He notes:

The Q(uestion) is an entity that is often assumed but seldom defined. The confidence of the assumption betokens something that is reacted to in a fairly consistent way by all speakers. The difficulty of definition betokens a complex which is not only made up of a number of ingredients, but whose ingredients may vary as to presence or absence or proportionate weight. If there were no such variation there would not be a complex in the linguistic sense: a given allophone may be acoustically complex, but — considered as a type rather than as a sound — its components are relatively constant and it is therefore linguistically simple; a phoneme on the other hand comprises possibilities not all of which need always be present, or always be present in the same proportion. Q's are complex in the latter sense—so much that countless borderline utterances cannot be classified, except arbitrarily, as Q's or N(on-)Q(uestion)s (p. 1).

The analytic principles which justify the identification of linguistic forms as doing questioning will be presented and discussed in chapter 2.

My second goal is to consider how the structure of the morphosyntactic forms

which do questioning are motivated by their function. This goal is related to the assumption that syntax is motivated by discourse use (cf. García 1975, 1979, Thompson 1983, 1987a, 1987b, Du Bois 1985, 1987a, 1987b, 1988, Hopper 1987, Hopper and Thompson 1980, 1984, Bentivoglio and Weber 1986, Weber and Bentivoglio Forthcoming). The temporal character of spoken language is an important element in demonstrating this relation. This will be discussed in chapter 9. This section has outlined the goals of this study. I will now present a brief discussion of form/function correlations in English.

4. Morphosyntactic Form

There are four major morphosyntactic clause types in English. A clause is defined as consisting of a subject and a finite verb (with the exception of imperative clauses). The four clause types are declarative, interrogative, imperative, and exclamatory.

Quirk et al. (1985:803) define declarative clauses as those clauses in which the subject is present and generally precedes the verb. They give the following example.

Pauline gave Tom a digital watch for his birthday.

In English, syntactically interrogative clauses are signaled by word order and morphology. Quirk et al. (1985:803) define interrogatives as those clauses marked in one of two ways.

- (i) *yes-no* interrogatives: the operator (do) is placed in front of the subject:
Did Pauline give Tom a digital watch for his birthday?
- (ii) *wh*-interrogatives: the interrogative *wh*-element is positioned initially:

What did Pauline give Tom for his birthday? (p. 803).

Quirk et al. (1985: 803) define imperative clauses as those clauses which normally have no overt grammatical subject, and whose verb has the base form. They give the following example.

Give me a digital watch for my birthday!

Exclamatory clauses are those which have an initial phrase introduced by *what* or *how*, usually with subject-verb order, as in the following example (Quirk et al. 1985: 803). They give the following example.

What a fine watch he received for his birthday!

Quirk et al. also identify four major semantic types which are normally associated with the four major syntactic clause types as follows.

<u>Syntactic Clause Type</u>	<u>Semantic Type</u>
Declaratives	Statements
Interrogatives	Questions
Imperatives	Directives
Exclamatives	Exclamations

They state that while direct association between syntactic class and semantic class is the norm, the two classes do not always match (p. 804). In other words, there is not a one-to-one correlation between syntactic clause type and the function which that syntactic clause type serves in the discourse.

This same observation of the noncorrelation between syntactic clause type and discourse function has been made by many linguists, conversation analysts, and

philosophers (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975, Pike 1975, Schegloff 1984, Coulthard 1977, Searle 1969,1975,1979, Bolinger 1982, Schiffrin 1987). Pike (1975) illustrated this point with the following diagram.

Role of Sentence Nucleus:	Class of Sentence Nucleus		
	Declarative clause	Interrogative clause	Imperative clause
Statement	1	4	7
Question	2	5	8
Command	3	6	9

Diagram 1.1.
Adapted from Pike (1975)

This diagram shows that it is possible for any major clause type in English to serve any discourse function. Examples for eight of the nine cells representing form/function correlations are presented in the appendix. The diagonal line shows those form/function correlations which are most frequently associated by speakers, i.e., the statistical norm. Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) state that questions can be realized by a declarative, interrogative, imperative, or moodless structure. On the other

hand, it has often been noted that syntactically interrogative forms can serve functions other than doing questioning, for example, they can serve to communicate requests, commands, and invitations. Both typical and nontypical form/function relations have been described in this section. Next, I will consider the role of intonation in the interpretation of functional questions.

5. Intonation

In any consideration of the relation between linguistic form and communicative function, it is necessary to discuss the role which intonation plays. It must be clearly stated that just as the function doing questioning can be served in discourse by practically any kind of morphosyntactic form, such forms can take any intonation contour. Bolinger (1982) states that any intonation that can be used on a declarative form can also be used on *yes/no* interrogatives, and that *wh*-questions will admit any intonational contour with a terminal rise, just as they will admit any contour with a terminal fall. Although a terminal rise in intonation is often referred to as question intonation by linguists and nonlinguists alike, "it must not be thought that the rise is a pure grammatical symbol for interrogation, for questions neither require nor monopolize it" (Bolinger 1972:28). This position was clearly stated by Pike (1945, cited in Bolinger 1972). He maintains that the meaning of intonation has to do with feeling and attitude, not syntax. He states:

...popular non-linguistic tradition would seem to claim that there is a question pitch as distinct from a statement pitch; all questions are presumed to use the first of these two, and, as a corollary, the question pitch would not occur on statements. The evidence fails to support the assumption. There are many more contours than one for question and for statement. Specifically, it was a marked surprise to me to find that there are many different contours which can be used on questions, and that for any contour used on a question I could usually find the same one used on a statement; likewise, for all — or nearly all — contours used on questions. In

other words, there appeared to be no question pitch as such (p. 59).

Over forty years later, Bolinger (1986) still insists on the independence of grammar from intonation. He states:

Intonation has more in common with gesture than with grammar..., though both gesture and intonation are tremendously important to grammar, as their lines intersect (p. viii).

Cruttenden (1986:59) states that "there is no such thing as 'question intonation' although some tones may be more common on questions than others". The first point is exemplified in his text by a yes/no question realized by four different tones: high-rising, low-rising, high-falling, and low-falling. The second point, that some tones may be more common on questions than others, is equally as important to bear in mind.

Both the fact that there is no such thing as unambiguous question intonation, and the fact that some tones may be more common on questions than others, must be kept in mind throughout this study. In this section, I have noted that the consensus of linguists who study intonation is that intonation cannot, in itself, unambiguously identify morphosyntactic forms as doing questioning (cf. Couper-Kuhlen 1986). This does not mean, however, that intonation plays no role in the functional interpretation of any particular utterance. Neither does it mean that there are no typical correlations between morphosyntactic forms and intonation contours for utterances which do questioning in discourse. It does mean that there are multiple factors relevant to the interpretation of an utterance, and that the interaction of these factors is also relevant. As I mentioned above, it is the interaction these three factors — morphosyntactic form, intonation, and sequential position — which is a problematic issue for linguists who wish to specify the relation which holds between form and function.

In this study, when I talk about the relation of morphosyntactic form and intonation to question function, it is important to distinguish whether I am talking about that relation in the "real world" or the "linguistics world". In the real world in which people talk and sometimes ask questions, intonation and morphosyntactic form are inseparable.² When people produce an utterance, what they say (words in a certain order) and how they say it (the intonation contour) constitute the utterance. In any particular instance, the interpretation of an utterance with regard to its communicative function is grounded in the experience of its morphosyntactic form spoken in its particular intonation contour. The spoken utterance is experienced whole, without seams, with regard to its morphosyntactic form and its intonation contour. In the linguistics world, in contrast to the real world, morphosyntactic form and intonation are analytically separable. An utterance may be considered from the perspective of its morphosyntactic form quite separately from its intonation contour. The morphosyntactic form of an utterance, for example, can be described without making reference to its intonation. This description may include the following factors: syntactic clause type, the order of constituents, features of the subject (person, number), features of the verb (tense, polarity), etc. In summary, the distinction between utterances in the real world (which are produced and experienced as a unity) and utterances in the linguistics world, i.e., linguistic forms (which can be analyzed in terms of individual linguistic factors), is significant when the relation between morphosyntactic form and intonation is considered with respect to realizing communicative function. In this study, I am focusing analytically on the role of morphosyntactic form in the interpretation of utterances doing questioning. I am making no general claims about the relative weight of morphosyntactic elements, intonation contour, or sequential position in occasioning a recipient's interpretation of an utterance as doing questioning. In chapter 8, however, I will present particular

instances in which a change in one or another factor can occasion a change in the functional interpretation of the utterance.

Intonation patterns which have been found associated with declarative clause questions will be discussed in chapter 4. In the following section, I will discuss some approaches to language in its social context.

6. Approaches to Language in its Social Context

In this section, I will review the writings of some philosophers who recognized the social function of language. I will then discuss those linguists who have recognized that the functional aspects of language in use are relevant to linguistic analysis. Next, I will consider the work of those sociologists who have described the uses of language in interaction. Finally, I will briefly mention the work accomplished in other disciplines which have taken language in its social context as an object of study.

6.1. Emotive Theory of Ethics

Philosophers who have written on the meaning of evaluative words (Ogden and Richards 1923) and the emotive theory of ethics (Ayer 1936, Stevenson 1944) have proposed that evaluative terms are used to express emotion. Thus, they recognized that language served social functions. Urmson (1968) presents a review of the literature which served as the ground of the emotive theory of ethics.

6.2. Speech Act Theory

Philosophers who have written on the philosophy of language (Austin 1962, Searle 1969, 1975, 1979) have noted various aspects of the form/function problem. Speech act theory recognizes the functional aspect of language. Searle, in Speech

Acts (1969), hypothesizes that to speak a language is to engage in rule-governed, intentional behavior.

The form that this hypothesis will take is that speaking a language is performing speech acts, acts such as making statements, giving commands, asking questions, making promises, and so on; and more abstractly, acts such as referring and predicating; and secondly, that these acts are in general made possible by and performed in accordance with certain rules for the use of linguistic elements (p. 16).

Searle goes on to state the form/function problem in terms of meaning, viz., how things mean what they mean, and how hearers understand what is meant. He identifies the unit of linguistic communication as the speech act, which is a function of the meaning of a sentence. There are necessary and sufficient conditions for the performance of particular speech acts. From these conditions, rules for the use of linguistic devices which mark a speech act as one of a particular type are extracted. The problem lies in determining the conditions which are relevant for each particular type of speech act, and in extracting from those conditions the rules for the use of those linguistic devices which give the sentence its force of action (illocutionary force). Linguistic devices signal the difference between particular kinds of speech acts, though not in a one to one relation. Sentences can realize more than one particular type of speech act. It is in the interaction between necessary and sufficient conditions and rules relating to linguistic forms that the particular force of action of any speech act is to be discovered (cf. Owen 1984).

In *Expression and Meaning* (1979), Searle deals with the question "how many ways of using language are there?" (p. vii), i.e., with the number of types of speech acts which can be realized. Searle proposes that there are five general ways of using language; utterances can be assertives, directives, commissives, expressives, and

declaratives. In assertives, we tell people how things are. In directives, we try to get them to do things. In commissives, we commit ourselves to doing things. In expressives, we express our feelings and attitudes. In declaratives, we bring about changes in the world through our utterances. Since utterances can be categorized as belonging to more than one category of speech act type, the problem is how speakers and hearers know which particular speech act is in force. In other words, how do speakers produce the form which will accomplish the speech act they intend, and how do hearers understand which particular type of speech act is being performed?

Searle's formulation of the form/function problem rests on certain assumptions about the relation of meaning and linguistic form. Meaning is inherent in the form; it is in some way given, rather than negotiated. The problem is presented as how hearers manage to understand this meaning. This given meaning is the literal meaning of the utterance. This notion of meaning appeals to the idea of a null context (cf. Garfinkel 1967, Rommetveit 1974). The literal meaning is contrasted with the speaker's intended meaning in any particular context. Since the force of action, or illocutionary force, of a speech act (what it is doing) is a function of its meaning, the force of an utterance is also somehow inherent in its form. This force, then, varies with its intended meaning. Thus, speakers and hearers must go from the literal meaning of an utterance to its implied or intended meaning. This can also be stated in terms of the force of action of speech acts. Speakers and hearers must go from the direct force of an utterance to its indirect force, i.e., what the utterance may be doing in any particular context.

The work of philosophers who have developed the speech act approach to language is relevant to my study because these writers clearly recognize that using language involves doing something. Austin, in *How to Do Things with Words* (1962), states that the proper object of study is not the sentence but the utterance in its

speech situation. Searle notes that the utterance, as a social action, is the basic unit of communication.

The unit of linguistic communication is not, as has been generally supposed, the symbol, word or sentence, but rather the production or issuance of the symbol or word or sentence in the performance of the speech act. To take the token as a message is to take it as a produced or issued message. More precisely, the production or issuance of a sentence token under certain conditions is a speech act, and speech acts ... are the basic or minimal units of linguistic communication (p. 16).

The speech act approach to language, however, differs from that of the present study in that speech act theorists, in fact, base their work on language which has not been produced by participants in interactional situations, i.e., the language they examine is language which has not been produced in the course of interaction. It is, rather, language which is supposed to constitute plausible responses for hypothesized contexts. Since the present study is concerned with the relations which exist between linguistic form and communicative function, it is imperative that the forms which are examined are those which are actually responsive, in real time, to the ongoing existential communicative situation which the participants construct. In this sense, my data consist of real talk, while that of the speech act philosophers consists of imagined talk.

This difference in data has significant consequences for the functions which are ascribed to linguistic acts. The function of any utterance is crucially dependent upon its sequential position in the talk in which it is produced (Sacks 1965, Sinclair 1966, Schegloff 1984). Such functions (e.g., questions and answers) are interactional units, not linguistic or grammatical units (cf. Coulthard and Brazil 1979:88, Owen 1984:46-48). When language is studied apart from the communicative situation in which it is produced, it is impossible to discover what speakers are doing, i.e., how

the language is being used. Interactional functions cannot be imposed on isolated sentences for which plausible contexts are merely imagined. Owen (1984), in an analysis of remedial exchanges in English conversation, concludes that it is not possible to analyze a transcript of a conversation in speech act terms, i.e., speech act theory does not offer any techniques for discovering the acts which are being performed (cf. Turner 1975). In terms of remedial exchanges, which she found to consist of primings, apologies and responses, it was not possible to assign primings and responses an illocutionary function. These functions were discoverable only on the basis of their sequential position in the talk. ✓

6.3. Discourse Analysis

Anthropologists and linguists who were as interested in meaning as in form have also recognized the functional aspects of language, e.g. Malinowski (1923, 1935), Firth (1935), Pike (1954), Bolinger (1952, 1954, 1977). Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) provide a review of the literature relevant to issues of language function and the structure of discourse. Before 1975, very little work within linguistics was concerned with language in context, the functional aspects of particular utterances, or the functional structure of the discourse as a whole. ✓ Givón (1979) reviews early work done on discourse. Among what there was, Sinclair (1966) proposed that only by examining "real" utterances in the context in which they were produced can their meanings be understood. Friedrich (1979[1966]) made use of the notion of the context of speech events. Weinreich (1980[1964]) conducted semantic research and recognized the importance of discourse for the study of meaning. The sociolinguistic approach of Labov (1964, 1966, 1972a,b) made the study of everyday talk a central concern. Diver (1969, 1975) and his students developed form-content analysis based on characteristics of human communication and behavior (cf. García

1975, Kirsner 1969 and 1972, Reid 1974). Grimes (1968, 1971, 1970, 1975) and Longacre (1968, 1972) conducted pioneering work on the organization of texts above the level of the sentence. Bloom (1970, 1976[1973]) examined form and function in emerging grammars through the analysis of audiotaped and videotaped instances of mother/child interactions.

With regard to the examination of spoken texts, the sequential determination of discourse function was clearly recognized. Malcolm Coulthard (1977) states:

The structure, or constraints on the next speaker, cannot be expressed in grammatical terms however; the linguistic form of the utterance is almost irrelevant; what is structurally important is its linguistic function and it is evidence of this kind which points to the existence of another level, discourse, between grammar and nonlinguistic organization. Sequences, which from a grammatical viewpoint are a random succession of clauses of different types can be seen from a functional viewpoint to be highly structured (p. 7).

In the past decade, discourse analysis, as practiced by linguists, has involved the examination of both written and spoken language in context in order to describe how language functions. Linguists have been particularly interested in how morphosyntactic forms function in various discourse genres, as well as how texts of different discourse genres are structured.

6.4. Conversation Analysis

Schegloff (1984) argues that the attempt to make the relation between language and social action explicit, as in speech act theory, is misguided. He exemplifies the flaws in this type of approach by discussing the relation between forms which do questioning and interrogative forms. Schegloff refers to the notion of question as an action of a certain type. If questions (as forms of action) could be described solely in linguistic terms, then a bridge would be possible between language and social

behavior. This view of accounting for such categories of action in terms of linguistic form is, he states, misleading, since interactional categories of action (e.g., questions/answers, offers/acceptances) are common sense categories, and not technical ones. In other words, questions cannot be identified on the basis of linguistic devices. Schegloff makes the point that any analysis which fails to consider an utterance's sequential position in the discourse will be unable to determine its use, and what its recipients make of it and do about it.

The first problem for the analyst interested in language use, then, is identifying the utterances which are questions, i.e., are doing questioning in the talk. This problem is not merely an academic one, however, since a participant in conversation faces the same problem of identification. If a participant is asked a question, it may be relevant that he/she provide an "answer". In summary, in contrast to speech act theorists, it is not linguistic form which enables participants, or analysts, to make a judgment with regard to an utterance's function, but rather the sequential organization of conversation in terms of adjacency pair structure (Schegloff and Sacks 1973, Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974).

Adjacency pairs are sequences which are related in terms of a typology.

The typology operates in two ways: it partitions utterance types into "first pair parts" (i.e., first parts of pairs) and second pair parts; and it affiliates a first pair part and a second pair part to form a "pair type." "Question-answer," "greeting-greeting," "offer-acceptance/refusal," are instances of pair types. A given sequence will thus be composed of an utterance that is a first pair produced by one speaker directly followed by the production by a different speaker of an utterance which is a) a second pair part, and b) is from the same pair type as the first utterance in the sequence is a member of (Schegloff and Sacks 1973:296-96, quoted in Schegloff 1984:33).

Adjacency pair sequences, then, exhibit not only relative ordering of parts, but discriminative relations between their parts. In other words, the pair parts belong to

the same type. It is this feature of adjacency pair organization which makes an answer relevant to a question, as opposed to an acceptance or a refusal.

Schegloff (1984) further suggests that linguistic form has no import for the action interpretation of an utterance. With regard to questions as a category of action, he makes the following remarks.

One consequence of this discussion, to my mind, is that not only is the path from linguistic questions to interactional ones not a straight line, but that not much may lie at its end. For a substantial part of what we might expect to be available to us as understanding of questions as a category of action is best and most parsimoniously subsumed under the category "adjacency pairs"; much of what is so about questions is so by virtue of the adjacency-pair format. And what distinguishes questions from first pair parts of other sorts does not seem in any straightforward way to be sought from linguistic resources (p. 34).

disagree

The problem of form and function dissolves when function is assumed to be interpreted solely from sequential position. For the problem to exist, it must be assumed that the interpretation of function is dependent on or related to linguistic form. The problem lies in how to state that relation explicitly. The conversation analyst's approach, as represented by Schegloff (1984), assumes that linguistic form is not significant for the interpretation of communicative function. Communicative function is interpreted on the basis of an utterance's sequential position in the talk. Participants are constrained to construct their utterances "to show attention to, and understanding of, their placement". In other words, utterances are constructed to display that its speaker has attended to the prior utterance or sequence of utterances.

Schegloff makes the following argument to support the claim that communicative function is interpreted from sequential position in the talk. He considers questions which are realized by interrogative forms. When it is assumed that questions are interpretable on the basis of their interrogative form, the problem is not only the issue

of how an interrogative form can do something other than questioning, but also how it does questioning. He makes the point that even in those cases where an utterance which is doing questioning is realized by an interrogative linguistic form, the form cannot be used to account for the function since such forms can also realize other functions, e.g., invitations, requests, commands. The same facts about the many-to-many relations of forms and functions, which speech act theorists and discourse analysts maintain need some kind of explanation, are employed by Schegloff to support the position that functions, or categories of action, are interpreted in terms of adjacency pair structure and not linguistic form. Linguistic form is given a "last resort" function. Interpretive procedures may appeal to form as a last resort to resolve ambiguity.

Schegloff and Sacks (1973) discuss the issue of the placement of utterances. They state that in some instances, placement considerations alone are crucial for determinant function.

Past and current work has indicated that placement considerations are general for utterances. That is: a pervasively relevant issue (for participants) about utterances in conversation is 'why that now', a question whose analysis may ... also be relevant to finding out what 'that' is. That is to say, some utterances may derive their character as actions entirely from placement considerations (p. 299).

They don't analyze the turn composite

They further state that participants can find an answer to be an answer only by reference to its sequential placement, i.e., after a question. No appeal to phonological, syntactic, semantic, or logical features of the utterance will identify it as an answer. Goffman (1981) notes that a problem with this formulation is that questions will have to be determined in the same way, i.e., by reference to the sequence they establish. He notes further that this formulation leaves no room for showing that what followed a

question was not an answer to it. In fact, however, utterances following questions can pointedly fail as answers, can be meant to fail as answers, and can be understood as not being proper answers. Goffman further suggests that although answers may not be marked by phonological, syntactic, semantic, or logical features to which recipients can appeal to decide if an utterance should count as an answer, they typically are marked (cf. Bolinger 1957:6-7).

... to say that an answer of a sort can certainly be provided to a prior question without employing the conventional markers of an answer (and that the slot itself must be attended, not what apparently gets put into it) need not deny that answers will *typically* be marked phonologically, syntactically, semantically, etc. and that these markers will be looked to as a means of deciding that what has been said is an answer (p. 51).

Since questions, for participants, are not interpretable as questions by reference to their answers, we can still ask how participants recognize or interpret an utterance as a question (i.e., as doing questioning) when they hear one being done. Questions and answers, as discussed above, are a pair type subsumed under the category of adjacency pairs. The production of a first pair part by a speaker makes the production of a second pair part by a recipient relevant. The operation of this type of structure in conversation requires "the recognizability of first pair part status for some utterances" (Schegloff and Sacks 1973:296). Recipients must recognize the first pair part status of an utterance in order to produce a relevant second pair part from "the pair type of which the first is recognizably a member" (Schegloff and Sacks 1973:299).

The existence of insert sequences (Schegloff 1972) demonstrates that questions can be produced immediately after other questions. Such questions are not misinterpreted by their recipients as answers to the prior question. The placement of an utterance after a first pair part doing questioning does not necessitate that the utterance is interpretable

as an answer, nor does it preclude that the utterance is interpretable as a question. Some questions have another question as their preferred answer (cf. Sacks 1972a:230), as in *You know what? What?*.

We, as analysts, can ask, then, how recipients know in these cases that the utterance following a question is not an answer but another question. This is a participant's problem as well, but not one which causes any real difficulty; participants recognize questions even when they appear after other questions. Participants in conversation cannot be relying on sequential position alone in order to interpret an utterance's function. Schegloff and Sacks (1973) suggest that the problem of recognizability for questions can be handled "constructionally, as when the syntax of an utterance can be used to recognize that a question is being produced" (p. 296). In this study, I will examine how syntax interacts with sequential position in the production of utterances doing questioning.

6.5. Other Disciplines

The study of discourse has not been limited to linguistics. Such disciplines as anthropology, semiotics, poetics, psychology, sociology, and communication research have all taken language in use, both written and spoken, as a proper subject matter for investigation. The historical background and relevant literature for the analysis of talk produced in a social context is presented by van Dijk (1985). In his comprehensive introduction to *Discourse and Dialogue*, the third volume of *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, the author traces the developmental threads of the study of language in its interactional context within sociology and anthropology. Within these fields, the areas of phenomenology, cognitive sociology, microsociology, ethnomethodology, symbolic interactionism, the sociology of everyday life, formal sociology, and the ethnography of speaking have all been concerned with discourse (cf. Schiffrin

1987:1-2, 11-12).

In this section, I have discussed the work of philosophers, sociologists, and linguists who have recognized the social functions of language. In the following section, I present my conclusions.

7. Conclusion

Many linguists have noted that there is no one-to-one relation between morphosyntactic form and communicative function when the interactional function is described as question function or doing questioning. While interrogative forms are typically associated with doing questioning, any kind of morphosyntactic form, in the appropriate context, can serve the same function. The communicative function doing questioning has been said to be far too undifferentiated to be of any value in the examination of the problematic relation of morphosyntactic form and communicative function in discourse.

Stenström (1984) confirms that a variety of morphosyntactic forms can function as questions. Both rising and falling intonation cooccur with these various forms. Schiffrin (1987) comments on the relation between speech acts and morphosyntactic form as follows.

This lack of fit between act and syntactic form suggests that interactionally situated language use is sensitive to constraints quite independent of syntax (as, indeed, many speech act theorists have shown (p. 32).

Given the variation in morphosyntactic forms which can serve to do questioning in discourse, we can ask how the so-called nontypical morphosyntactic forms get interpreted as doing questioning. It has long been recognized that lexical elements may serve as indicators of question function (cf. Bolinger 1957, Stenström 1984). What of

the so-called nontypical morphosyntactic forms without lexical indicators which get interpreted in discourse as doing questioning? If the morphosyntax of the form does not suggest question function, then how is the interpretation made? This question involves the issues of how morphosyntactic form and sequential position in the discourse interact with respect to the interpretation of question function, and what role intonation plays in interpretation.

Being a pragmatist, I assume that there is no difference which does not make a difference. Given this assumption, I can not happily accept that the morphosyntactic form which is used to do questioning makes no difference, i.e., that different forms are functionally interchangeable. Thus, we may also ask why speakers choose one question form vs. another — in other words, what discourse environments condition the choice of different question forms (cf. Stenström 1984).

My assumption, in conceptualizing this work, was that different morphosyntactic forms must correlate, however subtly, with different functions. If gross functional classifications like doing questioning did not show obvious correlations with morphosyntactic form, then I thought that perhaps a close examination of the data would reveal more finely grained patterns (cf. Goody 1978). My overriding hypothesis, then, was that differences in morphosyntactic form would correlate with differences in function, however subtle those functions might be. On the basis of the literature, I assumed that the so-called nontypical question forms (i.e., noninterrogative question forms) would show no correlations with morphosyntactic elements which may play a role in their interpretation as questions (cf. sec. 4). The literature clearly maintains that, with the exception of certain lexical indicators, such correlations do not exist; this lack is treated as a problematic issue. An examination of naturally occurring conversational discourse reveals, however, that noninterrogative question forms do correlate regularly with morphosyntactic elements

which may play a role in their interpretation as questions. Linguistic form and question function exhibit correlations which are more transparent than the literature would lead us to believe. Furthermore, noninterrogative question forms which have no morphosyntactic elements which may play a role in their interpretation as questions are interpretable, as questions, in terms of several simply specified procedures which are well established in the linguistic literature.

In this study, I will describe a number of lexical and morphosyntactic elements which realize, or are closely associated with, noninterrogative forms which function as questions in discourse. The relevant elements occur within the noninterrogative forms, or immediately prior or subsequent to them. In this work, I will refer to these lexical and morphosyntactic elements as "markers associated with question function". These markers³ are associated with question function by virtue of the fact that they cooccur with noninterrogative forms which function as questions. This terminology makes no claim that it is the lexical or morphosyntactic element which is occasioning or forcing the interpretation of the form as a question. In the "real world", an utterance is experienced as a "package" with regard to its morphosyntactic form, its intonation contour, and its sequential position in the discourse. Morphosyntactic elements which realize, or are closely associated with, an utterance in discourse are available as a resource for the recipient with regard to the interpretation of that utterance. Any morphosyntactic element which realizes, or is closely associated with, a noninterrogative form which is doing questioning is playing some role in the interpretation of that utterance. The element is relevant to interpretive procedures by virtue of the fact that it is part of the utterance which the speaker constructs to realize question function at that moment in the conversation. It is a part of the design of the utterance "package".

In summary, this study will show that recipients in conversation have access to a

variety of lexical and morphosyntactic elements, as well as intonation and sequential position, when interpreting noninterrogative morphosyntactic forms which do questioning. These variables interact to unambiguously signal question function. Thus, for noninterrogative utterances doing questioning in this study, there is a good correlation between linguistic form (in conjunction with sequential position and intonation) and communicative function.

Notes

- ¹ I am indebted to Manny Schegloff for teaching me what I know about the analysis of conversation in terms of the sequential structure of the talk. Although this work is not conversation analysis itself, it has come about, in large part, as a result of my studying how conversation is organized functionally by participants.
- ² It is possible to say something with a full mouth, so that no articulation occurs; only the intonation contour is produced. It is often possible to guess the unarticulated meaning in these situations.
- ³ The term 'marker' has been used in the literature to refer to morphosyntactic elements associated with utterances which function as questions. In the following statement from Bolinger (1957), Q-marker refers to question marker, and NQ refers to a nonquestion, i.e., an utterance which does not function as a question. He mentions "both outright Q-markers and other expressions which, while often used in NQs., suggest questionness by their frequency in Qs — example *I suppose...*" (p. 9). Stenström (1984) also uses the term 'marker' in relation to functional questions.

Chapter 2

Analytic Procedures and Principles

1. General Procedures

In this study, I will examine the relation between morphosyntactic form and communicative function by analyzing noninterrogative functional questions in English conversational data. I will (1) identify all those linguistic forms in the data which do questioning on the basis of their function in the talk; (2) I will then classify all the functional questions in the data on the basis of their morphosyntactic form as interrogative questions, declarative questions, or nonclausal questions; (3) I will next discuss the role of morphosyntactic form in the interpretation of declarative questions and nonclausal questions, i.e., noninterrogative questions; and (4) finally, I will examine the interactional goals these forms satisfy, i.e., examine their uses in the interaction.

1.1. The Data Base

The data base is composed of audiotaped English conversations among participants who know each other as acquaintances, friends, or family members. The data can be classed as follows: (1) face-to-face and telephone conversations which have been collected and transcribed by others and have been provided by Emanuel Schegloff; and (2) dinner table conversations collected and transcribed by Elizabeth Weber and/or Marian Shapley (See ch. 3 for a detailed description of each conversation and for coding procedures).

By conversation I mean all those forms of talk-in-interaction which do not involve some special rights or obligations or constraints. The conversations which will be examined in this study were not produced for research purposes but occurred in the

course of natural (vs. laboratory) interaction. Since all but one of the face-to-face interactions have not been videotaped, there is no record of the visual dimension of the interaction. To date, however, there is no evidence that audiotaped data are seriously inadequate as objects of linguistic analysis (cf. Owen 1984:3-4; but see Goodwin 1979). Of course, in telephone conversations, the participants, as well as the analyst, are restricted to the audio portion of the interaction. There is no evidence, however, that telephone conversations are so different from face-to-face interaction as to be an inadequate source for studying language in use.

1.2. Reasons for Studying Utterances Doing Questions

I have chosen utterances which do questioning as the object of this study for several reasons. First, functional questions appear quite frequently in everyday conversational discourse. Secondly, they are relatively easy to identify using one's native speaker capacities in conjunction with the analytic techniques of conversation analysis (cf. sec. 1.3). Those utterances which are ambiguous for the analyst with respect to question function are ambiguous for the participants as well. The ambiguity of such utterances is itself an additional source of insight into the relation of linguistic form and question function. Finally, noninterrogative forms which do questioning are frequently cited in the literature as prototypical examples of the form/function problem discussed in chapter 1. In the following section, I will discuss how I identified the relevant utterances to include in the data.

1.3. Selectional Criteria for Utterances Doing Questioning

The criteria for selecting forms which do questioning are not morphosyntactic criteria, e.g., inverted word order and/or the presence of a *wh*-word. Rather, linguistic utterances of any syntactic form which can be shown to be interpretable as

doing questioning in the interaction have been identified. Given this criterion, in initially approaching the data, I had to be willing to look for instances of doing questioning without being able to state exactly what specific functions doing questioning involves. From the instances of the phenomena which I recognized, however, a profile of their functions began to emerge.

It is not the case that a phenomenon is discoverable by the analyst in every instance of the phenomenon. Given a developing characterization of doing questioning, constant reexamination of the data is appropriate. On the basis of an emerging characterization, other instances of the phenomenon may become visible in cases where they had previously been opaque, and in just those cases, other aspects of function may be revealed. Thus, the selection process is just that, a process which must be extended over time and which is responsive to its own development. In short, selecting forms which are doing questioning was not a one-shot task. It was not based on any preconceptions about what doing questioning is used for in interaction (e.g., requesting information) and what forms can be utilized to do it. Accordingly, a broad conception of the action doing questioning was held; utterances which are doing offers, invitations, requests, jokes, etc. in a question format have been included in the data (cf. Bolinger 1957:3-5). It should be noted at this point that this conception of doing questioning is broader than that which is held by conversation analysts. As was noted in the discussion of conversation analysis in chapter 1, question/answer sequences constitute a particular adjacency pair type which is distinguished from other adjacency pair types such as invitation/acceptance or rejection, request/ grant or denial, offer/acceptance or refusal. The examples which appear in the text comprise a representative sample of the kinds of utterances included in the data as doing questioning. With each example, the reader can evaluate the classification doing questioning, as well as gain a more concrete sense of the kinds

of utterances included in the data as doing questioning.

My analysis of the data was informed by an ethnomethodological analytic approach. According to this approach, speakers construct utterances which are doing questioning so that these utterances can be recognized as questions. In other words, utterances are recipient designed (Sacks 1971). If a speaker wants to ask a question and get an answer, s/he must do so in such a way that a recipient can interpret the utterance as a question. This approach suggests that recipients respond to utterances on the basis of what they interpret them as doing. In responding to questions, recipients construct their utterances in ways that can be recognized as responses, even if these utterances do not constitute answers. There are, of course, ambiguous cases in which doing questioning may be a possible interpretation. Finally, analysts are native speakers too, and can recognize utterances which are constructed to be recognized as doing questioning, utterances which are constructed to be recognized as responding to questions, and utterances which are ambiguous.

In this study, the judgment that an utterance is doing questioning was made, in part, by examining the participants' behavior to see if their behavior suggested that they considered the utterance to be doing questioning. In other words, was the utterance constructed by the speaker to be recognized as doing questioning? Was the recipient's response constructed to demonstrate that it was responding to a question? The recipient's response may have been constructed either to demonstrate that it is doing answering or to show that it is oriented to the utterance as a question in some other way. For example, the recipient might respond by professing ignorance (*I don't know*) when asked a question soliciting information. Of course, the only way to pick out an object which is doing questioning is to recognize it as such. The analyst must utilize his/her own interpretive capacities in order to describe how people construct utterances so that recipients can recognize them as doing questioning. The

analyst must also use his/her own interpretive capacities in order to describe how recipients construct answers, how they evade answering, and to describe how questioners respond if their questions are ignored (cf. Bilmes 1985).

The issue of the data cannot be separated from the issue of use. The particular kinds of interactional uses which emerge from any analysis of data will depend on the kinds of interactions which are the source of the data. Different interactions may be characterized by different speech exchange systems and different turn taking systems. Family members talking over dinner utilize different turn taking rules from participants in a courtroom situation or in a doctor-patient interaction in the course of a medical examination (Tannen 1981b, Drew 1985, West 1984). Consequently, the ends to which speakers may exploit morphosyntactic form in a courtroom or a medical exam may differ significantly from those at a dinner party.

In this section, I have discussed the criteria by which utterances were identified as doing questioning and were thereby included in the data. The procedures by which this set of utterances was classified will be presented in the following section.

2. Organization of the Data

In considering the relations which obtain between linguistic forms and communicative functions, discourse analysts must have a way of describing both the forms and the functions, i.e., they must utilize some system of classification. Linguistic forms are describable in terms of their prosodic organization and their syntactic organization. The communicative functions which linguistic forms in interaction are interpreted as realizing must also be classified. The way in which the prosodic, syntactic, and functional organization of the data should be specified is itself problematic (Coulthard 1977:x). With regard to the prosody, one of a number of possible systems of transcription must be chosen. Depending on the choice made,

certain features of the talk will be included in the data and others will be excluded. With regard to the morphosyntax, a hierarchical order of organizing structure must be chosen — syllable, word, phrase, clause. With regard to the functional classification of the data, the number of functional units, as well as their size, is also an issue. In the following section, I will discuss the criteria by which I classified specific syntactic forms.

2.1. Morphosyntax

Utterances in the data which were identified as doing questioning were first classified as constituting a syntactic clause or as not constituting a syntactic clause. The criteria for classifying syntactic clauses are described in the following section.

2.1.1. Syntactic Clauses

A subject and a complete finite verb phrase are the traditional criteria for clause structure, with the exception of imperative clauses which have no subject. Those questions which fit these criteria were further classified as to clause type. The data consist of interrogative clauses and declarative clauses. No functional question was classified as an imperative or exclamatory clause.¹

Interrogative Clauses

Clauses were classified as interrogative clauses according to traditional criteria. *Wh*-questions are constituted by a *wh*-word subject + verb phrase or a *wh*-word in another grammatical role + subject/verb inversion (cf. ch. 1). Yes/no questions are constituted by subject/verb inversion (cf. ch. 1).

When only the auxiliary verb is lacking or reduced because of phonological processes, utterances which have a syntactic declarative form but are interpretable as

(1) H Y' 'know what I thought you "sai:d *hh=.

N [⁰What,

H [for food, hhhh hhhhhhh

HGII 16:13

(2) K Speech acts.
 You know about "speech acts,
 M Yeah, I'm learning, this course.

←
 Shapley/Nel 8:38

34

(3) N Hello:?
 (.)
 H Hi:;
 (.)
 N HI:..
 (.)
 H How are you =
 N Fi:ne how are you,
 (.)
 H Oka: [y,
 N [Goo:d,
 (0.4)
 H *mkhhh [hhh
 N [What's doing,
 (.)
 H aAh:,, noth[i : n :;]
 N [Y' didn't g]o meet "Grahame?=
 ⇐ HG II 1:17

In the following example, the utterance is made after another participant in the conversation reaches for a cracker.

(4) W "Couldn't resi:st, "huh:.. ⇐ Riggensbach 3:63

This utterance is realized by a declarative clause + a particle tag. The subject is interpretable as *you*. Declarative clauses with tags are traditionally referred to as tag questions. In these cases, 'question' refers to question function, not to interrogative form. Tag questions do not satisfy the criteria for interrogative clauses. In summary, when an utterance is lacking a subject which is recoverable from the form of the utterance, but contains a complete verb phrase, the utterance was classified as a declarative clause.

There are several cases in the data of clauses introduced by subordinating conjunctions, e.g., *if, then, but* (cf. ex. (29)). In conversation, it is not uncommon to find declarative clauses introduced by these subordinators unassociated with a "main" clause (cf. Schiffrin 1987, Ford 1988).

Quirk et al. (1985:803) define interrogative clauses as introduced by a *wh*-word. Their criterion has been used in this study with one exception. Utterances with an initially positioned *how come* or *how about* + a declarative clause have been classified as declaratives marked by a prior *wh*-word (cf. ex. (62)).

In this section, I have described the criteria by which syntactic clauses were classified. Forms which do not constitute a syntactic clause will be briefly discussed in the following section.

2.1.2. Nonclausal Forms

Nonclausal forms are distinguished from independent clausal forms by the absence of both a subject and a complete finite verb phrase. Nonclausal questions may be realized by particles (*huh*), words, *wh*-words (*who*, *what*), or phrases. We have seen that when an interrogative clause only lacks an auxiliary verb, it was still classified as an interpretable interrogative. Similarly, when a subject is reduced or lacking, the utterance was still classified as a declarative clause. When the subject and the auxiliary verb are both lacking in an utterance, however, it was classified as a nonclausal form, as in example (5).

- (5) (3.0)
- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| Na | S-see that (.) plant "hanging (.) in the dining room, | ← |
| | N_____. | ← |
| | In the "white pot. | ← |
| | From the "ceiling. | ← |
| No | Yes. | |
| Na | Now that's a Boston fern. | |
| No | Yeah | |
- Shapley/Sha 3:61

Note that this utterance has not been classified as an imperative clause even though it lacks a subject and the main verb is in its base form. The semantics of the verb *see*

preclude the interpretation of this utterance as an imperative (cf. Quirk et al. 1985:827). Rather, it is interpretable as an interrogative clause — *Do you see...* Since utterances are classified as to clause structure on the basis of their actual form, not their interpreted form (with the above mentioned exceptions), this utterance was classified as a nonclausal form because it lacks both a subject and a finite verb.

In this section, I have discussed the criteria for distinguishing between clausal and nonclausal forms. I have also discussed the criteria for identifying interrogative and declarative utterances among the set of all clausal functional questions. In the following section, I will discuss the representation of intonation in the data.

2.2. Intonation

As Shapley (1987) has noted, a variety of communicative functions have been ascribed to intonation, e.g., the expression of emotion, the conveyance of a sense of completeness vs. incompleteness, or certainty vs. uncertainty, the marking of important information, and the organization of interaction, e.g., competition for the floor. Several types of intonational cues are discussed in the literature. Register refers to basic pitch level and is measured over a stretch of discourse rather than a single clause or intonational unit. This dimension has been associated with emotional meaning, e.g., sorrow or joy (Fónagy 1978). Intonation contour refers to the relative heights of earlier or later pitch peaks and is usually measured over the duration of a clause. Bolinger (1986) associates various intonational contour patterns with basic meanings, e.g., finished vs. unfinished. The existence of a larger intonation unit, identified as a period of pitch peaks over time, has been associated with the organization of information on a particular topic in discourse. These units have been called paratones (Fox 1973), tone sequences (Brazil 1985), prosodic groups (Gibbon 1984), and subordinating sequences (Crystal 1969). These information units are

measured over several utterances in reference to pitch peaks. Continuous speech has been characterized as consisting of "tone units", i.e., a prominence and optional nonprominent material preceding and following it. A tone unit typically is defined as consisting of one nuclear or phrasal stress (Crystal 1975, Pierrehumbert 1980, Halliday 1985).

Pitch level, loudness, duration, and tempo have all been associated with the perception of stress. Perceived stress, or prominence, is associated with changes in the acoustic variables of fundamental frequency, intensity, and duration (cf. Couper-Kuhlen 1986, Cruttenden 1986). Variation in fundamental frequency over time has been shown to be the most important cue to pitch prominence (Lehiste 1970).

In this study, prominence within tone units, as well as the direction of utterance final pitch, have been significant.² Utterance final pitch has been marked in most cases. Prominence within tone units, however, has been marked only on the utterance doing questioning which is being discussed in each example. Since I worked from tapes, my experience of stressed syllables and pitch movement has, of course, been relevant in my analysis of all the data with regard to the communicative function doing questioning, as well as to functions other than simply doing questioning. I did not mark prominence within tone units on every utterance because such marking makes it difficult for readers who do not work with transcripts to read examples. This is significant because it has always been my goal to make this work as accessible as possible to both linguists and nonlinguists who are interested in language use (cf. Du Bois et al. 1988). Linguists have not reached a consensus on the best way to represent prominence and pitch direction within tone units. Cruttenden (1986) cites a number of systems in use among linguists to mark intonation, e.g., Pike 1945, Trager and Smith 1957[1951], Halliday 1967, 1970, O'Connor and Arnold 1973, and Cruttenden 1986. Nonlinguists have also added to

the notational options for representing intonation. Many ethnomethodologists, for example, follow the transcription notation devised by Gail Jefferson (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974).

It is illusory to think that a transcript, no matter how detailed with regard to intonation, captures the essence of the interaction which the participants experienced (cf. Ong 1967, 1977, Esau 1982). My initial exposure to conversation analysis convinced me of this. The first experience I had analyzing a transcript before actually listening to the conversation was very instructive. Despite the many insights that could be gotten from the transcript alone, which was coded for prosody according to Jefferson's notation, the light and playful nature of the entire interaction was totally inaccessible. Only the tape revealed that aspect of the interaction.

In this section, I have discussed the way prosody has been represented in the data. The various ways in which communicative functions realized in discourse may be classified will be explored in the following section.

2.3. Communicative Functions

Studies of language in context differ with respect to how to classify what an utterance is doing in discourse. Searle (1979:vii) rejected Wittgenstein's suggestion that language has countless functions, and proposed that five general categories of speech act functions were sufficient to describe language use, viz., assertives, directives, commissives, expressives, and declaratives. Conversation analysts utilize common sense categories such as offer, request, acceptance/rejection, complaint, invitation, compliment, and agreement/disagreement to characterize what utterances are doing in the talk. They do not discuss the number of possible functional categories.

In the approach to discourse analysis represented by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) and Coulthard (1977), the category *act* is postulated. According to Coulthard

(1977:104) acts are defined by their function in the discourse in a very general way. The notion of function includes what the act initiates in the subsequent discourse and what the act responds to in the prior discourse. The act *elicitation*, e.g., is defined as functioning to request a linguistic response, while the act *directive* is defined as functioning to request a nonlinguistic response. Although acts are very general descriptions of social actions, a concept of "delicacy " may be applied to general classifications at a secondary stage of analysis. By means of this concept, finer distinctions can be made among acts of the same general type if the kind of responses the acts initiate warrant the distinction. This system of discourse analysis makes use of only twenty-two types of acts.

Goldberg (1983) proposed categorizing utterances as moves which depend on the relation of the referents in the utterance to the referents in the prior utterance or utterances. The four move types postulated are (1) introducing, (2) reintroducing, (3) progressive-holding, and (4) holding. This system of assigning discourse function is dependent on participant tracking in discourse.

This study differs from some other studies of the uses of language in that it does not impose a preconceived set of functions on the data. Functions which emerge from an examination of the data involve both the organization of information and the management of more personal relations. The examination of any form takes into account as many of the preceding sequences as the analysis can justify. In other words, I have no preconceived notions as to how much of the preceding talk may be relevant for the analysis of any particular form.

This section has discussed various ways in which communicative functions have been classified in the literature. The assumptions of this study with respect to the classification of communicative functions have also been presented. In the following section, I will discuss the analytic procedures used in this work.

3. Analytic Procedures

The analytic procedures I used in approaching the data involve four questions. The first question is the conversation analyst's question: Why this now? This question respects the sequential, temporal structure of the talk-in-interaction and recognizes that an utterance gets its force of action from its position in a sequence and that interpretive procedures make crucial reference to sequential position. This question is asking what the utterance is doing in the interaction.

The second question I used in approaching the data is Ragmar Rommetveit's (1974) question: What is made known? This question, like the first, respects the indexical nature of talk. What is made known by an utterance depends on what is assumed to be known, what is made the context, as well as what the utterance intends to make the context. *Context is what is taken for granted rather than explicitly articulated in the talk.* Information is interpreted in terms of what has gone before, how it is nested, as well as what context it is meant to activate. This notion of information is related to the information status of linguistic elements, e.g., newly activated, previously semi-activated, previously already activated (Chafe 1984), but it is not limited to it. Information in this sense involves the relation of what gets said in relation to what has and has not been said and what could potentially be said (cf. Tyler 1978). Language is not assumed to be responsive to a social context somehow given in the environment; rather, it is itself constitutive of this kind of context as well as responsive to it. A partially shared intersubjectively established social reality is assumed to be both a prerequisite and a consequence of communication. This intersubjectively established social reality is the context to which the talk is indexical. It is with reference to this context that interpretation takes place (cf. Stewart 1978).

Relevancy is also an aspect of social context. What counts as relevant in any

situation is not given in the world but is socially constructed (cf. also Sacks 1972b). Answers to questions are so by virtue of being relevant (in some way). Since some utterances following questions can be understood as not being proper answers, what can count as a relevant answer in any case is a matter of social accomplishment.

The third question I used in approaching the data is the linguist's question: Why this form now? This question asks in what way the form is responsive to the interactional needs of the situation, i.e., how is the form constitutive of the use the speaker is making of it? This question is asking how the form, in that particular sequential position, is contributing to what the utterance is doing. In other words, I am asking "why a given form is effective for the job in which it is employed" (Goody 1978:2). Goody suggests that an interest in how forms do their job can be characterized as an interest in the "tactics of social interaction."

The fourth question I used in approaching the data is the pragmatist's question: What consequences does the use of this form have? How does it leave its mark in the talk? This question is asking what other participants make of specific elements of the form in the interaction, i.e., what affect it has. This question is intended to be sensitive to the form itself (cf. Dale et al. 1978, Levelt and Kelter 1982).

This question is not to be confused with the conversation analyst's interest in what participants make of an utterance, i.e., how participants respond to an utterance as an interactional move or social action. It is by virtue of participants' responses to an utterance that the analyst is justified, in part, in categorizing it as a social action. The conversation analyst can, for example, describe an utterance as a first pair part doing questioning in part on the basis of a recipient's production of a second pair part doing answering. The answer shows what the recipient made of the first pair part, i.e., that it was interpreted as a question.

In this section, I have discussed the analytic procedures which ground this study.

In the following section, I will discuss some organizing principles of conversation which are relevant to this work.

4. Organization of Conversation

This study makes reference to a number of important aspects of the organization of conversation which have been described by ethnomethodologists in numerous publications (Jefferson 1972, Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974, Schegloff 1979, 1981, 1984, Schegloff and Sacks 1973, Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977, Schenkein 1978).

4.1. Sequence Structure

As has been discussed in chapter 1, conversation is organized in terms of adjacency pair structure which operates across two turns. Sequences of adjacency pairs do not reflect random bits of talk, however; they display a coherent organization. This organization is interpretable as coherent in terms of adjacency pair structure as pre-expansions, post expansions, or insert sequences (cf. Levinson 1983, Heritage 1984).

4.2. Turn Taking Procedures

The turn taking procedures which operate in conversation have been described by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974; cf. Levinson 1981:296). These procedures are organized normatively so that one person talks at a time.

4.3. Repair Phenomena

Participants in conversation need to have a way of dealing with repair phenomena. The organization of repair has been described by Schegloff, Jefferson

and Sacks (1977). Because many of the utterances doing questioning in this study are functioning to initiate repair, this aspect of conversational organization will be given an extended discussion. Repair refers to the efforts of participants to deal with trouble in speaking, hearing, or understanding. Repair is central to the work of interaction and is organized according to the turn taking system of the speech exchange system in which it occurs. Since this study is based on conversational data, the repair organization discussed is relevant to this least constrained speech exchange system. In dealing with repair phenomena, the distinction must be made between understanding the world and understanding the talk, i.e., what is said.

Repair in conversation is not equivalent to error correction. It is not necessary, therefore, to have a theory of error before dealing with repair. Some errors in conversation do not get repaired. In addition, not all repairs come after something independently establishable as an error, although repair may involve correction. Repair may also be prompted by factors which cannot be considered errors, e.g., extraneous noise. Rather, repairs are instigated by trouble in the talk. Trouble in speaking includes word searches, articulation difficulties, intonation or stress problems, and the reordering of elements in an utterance. Trouble in speaking, however, is just one kind of troubled talk.

The distribution of repairs can be characterized in terms of turns of talk. Repairs can occur in the same turn as the trouble source, the transition space before the next turn, the next turn after the trouble source, or the third or fourth turns after the trouble source. For the speaker of the trouble source, the opportunities for repair occur in the same turn, in the transition space between a turn and a next turn, and in the third turn. For the recipient of the trouble source utterance, the opportunity for repair is in the next turn and fourth turn. These opportunities for repair are structured into the talk.

Repair can be discussed in terms of two factors: (1) who initiates it — the speaker

of the trouble source or someone else; and (2) who resolves it — the speaker of the trouble source or someone else. When repair processes are initiated within a turn by the speaker of that turn, the repair is exhibited in the disruption — however minimal — of a projected turn. The repair initiator itself, once it is done, signals trouble. Repair initiators for self-initiated repairs consist of a limited set of devices. In English, these devices include the glottal stop, sound perseverations, and *uh*. They must show disjunction between what has gone before and what is to come. The repair itself displays what the trouble source is; it is built to do so. The following example exhibits a same turn repair.

(6) N I did fee-

ah what I "felt is,

I pushed 'A__ to the "wa:ll,

so that she was "always unhappy.

←

←

Weber 10 :165

When repair is initiated by a participant other than the speaker, the utterance initiating the repair occupies "one main position: the turn just subsequent to the trouble source turn" (Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks 1977:367). These repair initiators are next turn repair initiators (NTRI). When a repair is initiated by another in the next turn after the trouble source turn, the projected sequence of the talk is stopped as the repair is dealt with. The next turn repair initiator (NTRI) locates the trouble source. Repairs, then, disrupt the projected sequence of the talk. When there are multiple speakers involved in the interaction, however, there is the problem that if initiation is not done in the next turn, then a participant may lose the chance to get it done at all. On the other hand, subsequent talk may clarify the trouble, e.g., make a reference clearly identifiable. The following example exhibits a next turn repair initiator.

(7) P Is it like the first time they dated?

J "Huh?"

←

P It's like the first time that (.)
it was like a date?

Kinjo 6:10

In terms of sequence structure, NTRI's may be insert sequences or post-expansions. These utterances are the least restricted utterance type since they can appear any time. They can appear even if nothing has been said by any other participant but only imagined. An NTRI displays how much of a grasp its speaker has on the trouble source utterance, i.e., how much is comprehended and how much needs to be repeated. NTRI's locate the trouble source — the repairable element — in the prior utterance. They do nothing more than that with respect to repair work. NTRI types will be further discussed in chapter 7.

Next turn repair initiators have been described as echo questions in the linguistic literature. Cruttenden (1986:92) states that echoes are "most commonly questions which query the whole or some part of the previous utterance of another speaker, often with a note of incredulity..." Cruttenden notes that echo questions often take a high-rise intonation contour, while exclamations take a rise-fall. The nucleus of the tone falls on old information in both cases. This old information, then, is interpretable as having special significance for the speaker.

In the case of same turn repairs, the speaker is usually the one who effects the repair, although other speakers may overlap or interrupt the speaker within an ongoing turn. Repair initiated within a turn is usually completed in the same turn. There are multiple repair spaces as the utterance is constructed through time. Nothing is excluded as a repairable. Recipients must decide whether what comes next is more turn or is repairing something which has come before.

Transition space repairs occur in the time between turns. It is not clearly the speaker's turn, yet the next speaker has not begun a turn. A transition space repair is

an increment of sorts to the previous turn. These increments in the transition space, however, do not further the interaction. They are fixing something and make no claims for more turn. These repairs are self-initiated and are so by definition. Speakers can be oriented to possible misunderstandings within a turn, or they can become aware of them late in the transition space. Some troubles do not get seen until late into the transition space.

- (8) N I don't know,
 I'm dy::ing to know what happened up the street.
 We had the who:le thing going on with my friend
 (0.2)

[who's up the] "stree:t.=
 L [with J_____?]
 N =Yeah.

⇐

Weber 8:116

In this example, N's transition space repair, which clarifies the referent of *my friend*, is overlapped by L's NTRI. This NTRI is locating trouble with the referent of *my friend*. Because NTRI's are often preceded by a pause, which gives the speaker a chance for self-repair, we can infer that recipients in conversation often give speakers the opportunity to produce transition space repairs.

Repair can also occur at third and fourth turn positions. Third turn repairs are effected by the speaker of the first turn, i.e., the trouble source turn. They are usually completed in the third turn. A distinction can be made between real third turns vs. incidental third turns which are preceded by recipient feedback, e.g., *mm hm*. Example (9) exhibits a real third turn repair and example (10) exhibits an incidental third turn repair.

- (9) J Is it goin to be at your house?
 B Yeah.=
 J =Your apartment?=
 B =My place.=

⇐

Schegloff NYI: 3-4

(10) B hhh And he's going to make his own paintings,

A mm hm

B and- or I mean his own frames.

A yeah

⇐
Schegloff SBL 1: 1.12-10

Fourth turn repairs constitute the recipient's last opportunity to locate the repairable. Example (11) exhibits a fourth turn repair.

(11) P Hello?

L Phil?

P Yeh.

L Josh L _____.

P Yeah

L Ah;; what've you gotten so far.

Any requests to dispatch any trucks in any area,

P Oh you want my daddy.

L Yeah, Phi [I,

P [Well he's outta town at a convention.

⇐
Schegloff CDHQ. 15: Openings, 299

In summary, every turn gets to be a first turn, a next turn, a third turn, a fourth turn.

Repair opportunities constitute a sliding scale.

In this section, I have reviewed some relevant aspects of the organization of repair in conversation. Repair phenomena may be utilized by speakers to realize preference structure in conversation. This aspect of the structure of conversation will be examined in the following section.

4.4. Preference Structure

As has been noted in section 4.1, conversation is organized in terms of sequences. Sequences may have pre-expansions, inserts, and post-expansions. Some types of pre-sequences are built to avoid rejections. This suggests that not all responses are of equal value. In fact, invitations and requests are built to be accepted rather than declined. Assessments are constructed to be agreed with, rather than

disagreed with. Questions can be built to receive expected answers rather than unexpected answers.

When a participant in conversation is in the position of producing a response to an invitation, s/he has the choice of accepting or declining. Similarly, when a participant is in the position of producing a response to a request, s/he has the choice of granting it or refusing it. When asked a question, a speaker can produce the expected answer or the unexpected answer. These alternatives, however, are not equally valued. The acceptance, the grant, and the expected answer are preferred, regardless of the real desires of the speaker. The organization of conversation which reflects the different values which are placed on responses is known as preference structure (Sacks 1987 [1973], Pomerantz 1975, 1978, 1984, Levinson 1983, Atkinson and Heritage 1984, Owen 1984).

Preference structure may be exhibited lexically and syntactically in question forms. Quirk et al. (1985:808) state that yes/no questions can be built to lean to either a positive or a negative answer. Positive yes/no questions which contain nonassertive forms, e.g., *any* or *ever*, are generally neutral with respect to an affirmative or negative response, as in the following examples from Quirk et al. (1985:808).

Did anyone call last night?
Do you live anywhere near Dover?
Do you suppose that any of the class will ask any boring questions? *

When assertive forms are used in positive yes/no questions, e.g., *someone* or *somewhere*, they may be conducive to an affirmative answer, as in the following examples.

Did someone call last night?
Has the boat left already?
Do you live somewhere near Dover?

We may say that the question has been built to prefer a *yes*. Positive yes/no questions

may also prefer negative responses, as in the following.

Do you *really* want to leave?

The occurrence of *really* gives this example a bias for a negative response.

Quirk et al. (1985:808-9) state that negative yes/no questions always prefer a negative response, as in the following.

Don't you believe me?
Aren't you joining us this evening?

Negative yes/no questions may contain an element of surprise or disbelief; they may also express disappointment.

Tag questions always express a bias with respect to the response they expect. If the statement is positive, the tag is generally negative. This type of tag question expects a positive response. If the statement is negative, the tag is generally positive. This type of tag question expects a negative response (cf. Quirk et al. 1985).

When we talk of preference structure, it must be remembered that it is the question which prefers the answer, not the questioner. Preference is not a psychological construct but rather a structural aspect of language in use. Preference structure is demonstrated within a speaker's turn by the choice of particular syntactic and intonational variables.

Preference structure is also demonstrated across speaker turns through relations of contiguity/noncontiguity and agreement/disagreement. The preference for a particular type of response is structured by the action which is being done by the utterance, e.g., requests prefer grants vs. rejections, self-deprecating utterances prefer disagreements vs. agreements. The properties of adjacency pairs are constrained by these relations. If recipients in conversation do not produce the preferred answer to a question, they often show an orientation to that answer. In summary, respondents

generally either produce the preferred response or show that the dispreferred response is not the preferred one.

In this section, I have indicated some of the ways in which preference structure in conversation is organized. The role of contiguity in the organization of preference structure in conversation will be described in the next section.

4.4.1. Contiguity/Noncontiguity

With regard to conversation, contiguity refers to sequence in time, i.e., temporal order. Two elements of the talk are contiguous if one follows the other and there is nothing intervening between them. Speakers can control their own utterances so that they can make any two elements contiguous. No single speaker, however, can control contiguity across turns.

In fact, however, a preference for contiguity is exhibited across many types of adjacency pairs, including question-answer sequences. Questions select another speaker to respond at the first possible completion point. The speaker of the question must stop and the selected answerer speaks. It takes an action by A to end up with a question at the end of a turn. It takes an action by B to construct a turn so that the answer appears at the beginning of the next turn. A and B must design their utterances so that the question and answer are contiguous. Dispreferred responses are often noncontiguous. They are marked by delay in responding as well as other elements which result in the dispreferred response being produced late in the turn.

4.4.2. Agreement/Disagreement

Questions and answers can be in the relation of agreement or disagreement (Sacks 1987 [1973], Pomerantz 1975, 1978, 1984, Levinson 1983, Atkinson and Heritage 1984, Owen 1984). Responses are agreeing when they realize the preference of the

action which the utterance realizes, e.g., invitations prefer acceptances, requests prefer grants, pre-announcements prefer forwarding responses, self-deprecating remarks prefer disagreements. Thus, agreeing answers are preferred responses while disagreeing answers are often dispreferred responses. Agreeing answers occur contiguously, while disagreeing answers are often pushed late into their turns, i.e., they are not contiguous. When there is disagreement, there are often characteristic markers of a dispreferred response which result in the answer coming later in the turn (Sacks 1987 [1973], Pomerantz 1984, Levinson 1983). In example (12), H produces a question which is a pre-announcement. N produces an answer which realizes the preference of the pre-announcement, i.e., she produces another question which solicits the announcement.

- (12) H Y' know w't I did last ni: [ɣht?
N [Wɦa:t, ← HG II 22: 21

Note that N's answer overlaps the end of H's utterance.

In example (13), M asks a question which issues an invitation. L produces a disagreeing response which implicitly rejects the offer.

- (13) M You wanna come over here and have an omlet? (1.0)
- L eh: (0.4)
- why, you don't wanna go out?
- M Well we can go out if you want
- Reeves 1: 39

L's rejection of M's offer is pushed late into the turn by pauses and *eh..*

In the following section, I will present a brief summary of preference structure in conversation.

4.4.3. Summary of Preference Structure

Levinson (1983: 334-5) gives the following characteristics of dispreferred second pair parts.

- (a) delays:
 - (i) by pause before delivery,
 - (ii) by the use of a preface (see(b)),
 - (iii) by displacement over a number of turns via use of repair initiators or insertion sequences
- (b) prefaces:
 - (i) the use of markers or announcers of dispreferreds like *Uh* and *Well*,
 - (ii) the production of token agreements before disagreements,
 - (iii) the use of appreciations if relevant (for offers, invitations, suggestions, advice, etc.)
 - (iv) the use of apologies if relevant (for requests, invitations, etc.)
 - (v) use of qualifiers (e.g. *I don't know for sure, but...*),
 - (vi) hesitation in various forms, including self-editing
- (c) accounts: carefully formulated explanations for why the (dispreferred) act is being done
- (d) declination component: of a form suited to the nature of the first part of the pair, but characteristically indirect or mitigated

Responses generally agree with the preference of the action which the utterance realizes, e.g., invitations prefer acceptances, requests prefer grants, pre-announcements prefer forwarding responses, self-deprecating remarks prefer disagreements. Preferred responses are generally contiguous with the first pair part. Responses which do not agree with the preference of the action realized by the utterance show some orientation to the preferred response. They are shaped to the preference of the action realized by the utterance, independently of the facts of the world. Example (14), which comes from a dinner table conversation, exhibits a response which is shaped to the preference of the question. B, as hostess, makes an

offer of more soup which is being served as a first course.

(14) B More?

N No, I think I'll save space.

←

Sh/Fer 6: 146

In this example, N refuses B's offer and then gives an account for her action. In doing so, she is showing some orientation to the preferred response which would have been an acceptance.

Dispreferred responses are generally discontinuous with the first pair part and show regularities of structure with respect to the initial elements of the second pair part (cf. ex.(13)). When there is evidence that an answer will be a dispreferred one, the answer is not solely the responsibility of the second pair part speaker. The speaker of the first pair part has the responsibility of reproducing the first pair part so that the answer which has been projected will end up being contiguous and in agreement with the way the question is produced. Getting an adjacency pair to agree and be contiguous involves both parties. The following example from Merritt (1976; cited by Levinson 1983), shows how participants manage this shared responsibility.

(15) C Do you have hot chocolate?

S mmhmm

C Can I have hot chocolate with whipped cream?

S Sure ((leaves to get))

Merritt: 337

In this example, taken from a service encounter, the customer first determines whether or not the shopkeeper has hot chocolate before requesting it.

A pre-disagreement can project a disagreement and give the other participant a chance to reformulate the question so the answer will, eventually, be both contiguous and preferred with respect to the action realized by the utterance. The following example is a complete telephone conversation (provided by Emanuel Schegloff)

which exhibits how participants may construct their talk to avoid dispreferred responses.

- (16) ((ring))
M Hello?
D 'lo Marcia,
M Yea[:h]
D ['t's) D] onny.
M Hi Donny
D Guess what. hh
M What.
D *hh My car is sta::lled.
(0.2)
D ('n) I'm up here in the Glen?
M Oh::.
[(0.4)]
D *hhh
A:nd. hh
(0.2)
I don't know if it's: po:ssible,
but [*hhh] see
[(0.2)]
I have to open up the ba:nk. hh
(0.3)
D a:t uh: (.) (in Brentwood? hh)=
(in fact what's)
M =Yeah:- en I know what you want- (.)
en I whoa-
en I would,
but- except I've gotta leave in about fifteen minutes.=
D = [Okay
M [(hheh)
D then I gotta call somebody else.
right away.
(.)
D Okay?=
M =Okay [Don]
D [Thanks] a lot.=
=Bye-.
M Bye:.

In this example, after D has announced that he has a problem with his car, M projects a rejection of his request for help by silence. She makes no offer to come to his assistance. D, in fact, never makes an explicit request for help. M anticipates the

request and gives an account explaining why she cannot grant it. Thus, M never explicitly rejects the implicit request.

This section has noted certain aspects of conversational organization which are relevant to this study. These include sequence structure, turn taking, repair phenomena, and preference structure. Repair phenomena and preference structure have been described and exemplified.

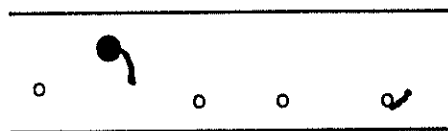
5. Summary

In this chapter, the general procedures which have been followed in this study have been described. The data consist of all the functional questions in the conversations which were examined. I identified these questions by employing my native speaker capacities in conjunction with an ethnomethodological approach to the data. All functional questions were classified by form as interrogative questions, declarative questions, or nonclausal questions (particles, words, and phrases). Declarative and nonclausal forms were analyzed with regard to the role morphosyntactic form plays in their interpretation as questions. They were also analyzed with regard to their uses in the interaction.

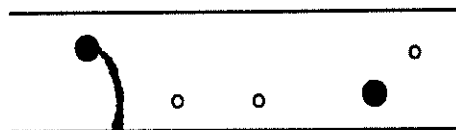
Notes

- 1 There is one case of an imperative clause which, though not constructed by its speaker as a question, appears to be misinterpreted as a question by its recipient.
- 2 Cruttenden (1986:48) notes that terminals, i.e., the last pitch direction on the last syllable of an intonation-group, "are only significant when they reverse the preceding pitch direction" (p. 45). He points out that "the last pitch movement is certainly important but need not be terminal, i.e., it need not occur actually on the last syllable of the intonation-group" (p. 58). This point is exemplified in the following two patterns. The dots represent syllables, with the larger dots representing stressed and/or accented syllables. The lines represent the limits of a speaker's pitch range. A line attached to a dot represents pitch movement.

Unfortunately



John didn't do it



In the first case, there is a rise on the unstressed *-ly* and in the other case, there is a rise between *do* and *it*. Thus, for *John didn't do it*, the last pitch movement does not actually occur on the last syllable.

Chapter 3

Methodology

1. Data

The data consist of fourteen conversations among speakers who know each other as family members, friends, or acquaintances. Each conversation is identified by name. In this section, I will present a brief description of each conversation, including the social setting, the number of speakers, the duration of the conversation in minutes (to the nearest minute), the number of pages of transcript, and the approximate number of words.

1.1. Conversations

Conversation 1 — Clacia

Collected/transcribed by: Charles and Marjorie Goodwin and Gail Jefferson
Date: early seventies
Social setting: face-to-face (July 4th block party)
Number of participants: 6
Duration in minutes: 10
Pages of transcript: 20
Number of words: 3,260

Conversation 2 — Ford

Collected/transcribed by: Cecilia Ford
Date: Oct. 1985
Social setting: face-to-face
Number of participants: 3
Duration in minutes: 6
Pages of transcript: 13
Number of words: 2,340

Conversation 3 — Gee

Collected/transcribed by: Young Gee
Date: Oct. 1985
Social setting: telephone conversation
Number of participants: 2
Duration in minutes: 5
Pages of transcript: 8
Number of words: 1,250

Conversation 4 — HG II

Collected/transcribed by: Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson
Date: 1974
Social setting: telephone conversation
Number of participants: 2
Duration in minutes: 19
Pages of transcript: 46
Number of words: 7,250

Conversation 5 — Kinjo

Collected/transcribed by: Hiromi Kinjo
Date: Oct. 1985
Social setting: telephone conversation
Number of participants: 2
Duration in minutes: 5
Pages of transcript: 12
Number of words: 1,640

Conversation 6 — Lazaraton

Collected/transcribed by: Anne Lazaraton
Date: Oct. 1985
Social setting: telephone conversation
Number of participants: 2
Duration in minutes: 3
Pages of transcript: 5
Number of words: 470

Conversation 7 — Mannon

Collected/transcribed by: Tracy Mannon
Date: Oct. 1985
Social setting: telephone conversation
Number of participants: 2
Duration in minutes: 6
Pages of transcript: 16
Number of words: 1,680

Conversation 8 — Riggenbach

Collected/transcribed by: Heidi Riggenbach
Date: Oct. 1985
Social setting: face-to-face (gathering after a movie)
Number of participants: 5
Duration in minutes: 5
Pages of transcript: 11
Number of words: 1,400

Conversation 9 — Shapley/Boys

Collected/transcribed by: Marian Shapley
Date: 1981
Social setting: face-to-face (dinner)
Number of participants: 5
Duration in minutes: 30
Pages of transcript: 23
Number of words: 8,290

Conversation 10 — Shapley/Fer

Collected/transcribed by: Marian Shapley
Date: 1979
Social setting: face-to-face (dinner)
Number of participants: 5
Duration in minutes: 18
Pages of transcript: 18
Number of words: 6,040

Conversation 11 — Shapley/Nel

Collected/transcribed by: Marian Shapley
Date: 1979
Social setting: face-to-face (dinner)
Number of participants: 6
Duration in minutes: 54
Pages of transcript: 28
Number of words: 5,880

Conversation 12 — Shapley/Sha

Collected/transcribed by: Marian Shapley
Date: 1979
Social setting: face-to-face
Number of participants: 4
Duration in minutes: 36
Pages of transcript: 30
Number of words: 8,700

Conversation 13 — SN4

Collected/transcribed by: Frankel and Girton
Date: early seventies
Social setting: face-to-face
Number of participants: 5
Duration in minutes: 12
Pages of transcript: 30
Number of words: 2,040

Conversation 14 — Weber

Collected/transcribed by: Elizabeth G. Weber
Date: Oct. 1985
Social setting: face-to-face (dinner)
Number of participants: 4
Duration in minutes: 5
Pages of transcript: 12
Number of words: 1,520

These conversations together constitute 2 hours and 34 minutes of talk, comprising 272 pages of transcription and approximately 51,760 words. The speakers come from various parts of the country and range in age from fifteen to over sixty years. There are 53 participants — 24 men and 29 women.

In this section, I have presented a brief description of the each conversation included in the data base. The following section will discuss how these data were coded with respect to linguistic, informational, and interactional factors.

1.2. Transcription Notation

In this study, the data are represented, with a few conventional exceptions, in English orthography. This differs from the transcript notation of many ethnomethodologists who follow the transcription notation of Jefferson (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974) and represent the data in a pseudophonetic system. Their goal is to give the reader "equal access to all the data being analyzed" (Atkinson and Drew 1979:26, cited in Owen 1984:6). Owen (1984:5) makes the point that the data are represented in a "curious, hybrid, pseudophonetic system designed to give an accurate impression of how the original recordings sounds." In this study, references to actual phonetic realizations are given in phonetic symbols enclosed in brackets, e.g., [d].

This study uses the notational conventions devised by Gail Jefferson (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974). These conventions are illustrated with examples from the corpus.

Simultaneous Utterances

Brackets are used to indicate overlap, i.e., simultaneous utterances, or portions of utterances.

B May I give you a piece of [ramekin?
M [yes.()

Sequential Utterances which are Not Separated by a Pause

When one utterance follows another without any noticeable pause, the two utterances are connected by an equal sign.

P John, now you know that's not nice.
J I know it wasn't nice=
P =y- you apologize to that boy.=
J =Oh:. I will

Alternative Hearings

Brackets indicating alternative hearings of a single speaker's utterance means that the transcriber was in doubt as to the hearing.

M She's [oh no. hell no.
[(hell no)

Possible Hearings

An utterance, or portion of an utterance, within parentheses indicates a possible hearing of the utterance. This notation recognizes the transcriber's uncertainty as to what was said.

S She [wasn't invited to the wedding?
M [(I'm gonna take her out.)

Pauses

Pauses are estimated in tenths of seconds; (.) = micro pause.

Lengthening

Lengthening is indicated by a colon.

Cutoffs

A noticeably cutoff word is represented by a dash.

- S I don't know have you been studying lately,
(0.2)
M No eh not at aw- not at all:

Laughter

(h) within words indicates laughter.

Aspiration

Inbreaths are represented by *hhh, and outbreaths are represented by hhh.

- H *hhihhh I think I'll get the le(h)tter next yea(hhh [h)r
N [Yea(h)h,=
N =hhhhh *hh You'll get a ten page lett(hh)er [hh
H [eh-eh-uh *hhihhh=

Loudness

Loudness is transcribed by capital letters.

- P (Oh, my [God)
J [Yeah=he should understand the humor of it all.
P THAT'S NOT FUNNY=
J =It's fu::ny ha ha [haha

Low Intensity Sounds and Utterances

A small raised circle (°) represents low intensity sounds and utterances.

- M What's the next rank above Colonel.
 ((laughter))
 Could he get promoted.
 () ((laughter))
 T °I don't know.
 L °Lieutenant Colonel?
 (1.0)
 M What comes after Colonel,

Change in Pitch Level

A upturned arrow (↑) represents a higher pitch level.

A downturned arrow (↓) represents a lower pitch level.

- N but uhm (1.2)
 they really you know
 ↓ I want this one
 ↑ they went around
 and I forgot to undo ↓ that one.
 they went around and around,

Stress

The term 'stress' is used to mean prominence. There are several different theoretical approaches to prominence, e.g., prominence as pitch obstruction alone, prominence based on pitch obstruction vs. prominence based on loudness, and prominence as rhythm (cf. Couper-Kuhlen 1986). After Cruttenden (1986), I will use the term 'stress' to refer to prominence "however such prominence is achieved" (p. 16). The notation of stress follows Du Bois et al. (1988). The following symbols are used before those words in the utterance which bear stress. Note that stress is marked on words rather than syllables since lexical stress is predictable in English. Any unpredictable occurrences of stress within a lexical item will be marked phonetically.

Primary stress = "

secondary stress = '

unstressed syllables are unmarked

Terminal intonation

Terminal intonation is indicated as follows:

falling intonation = .

level intonation = ,

rising intonation = ?

2. Coding Procedures

My coding procedures were guided by Heidegger's admonition to let the phenomena reveal itself from itself. Although my intent was to approach the data with as few preconceptions as possible, of course the initial coding itself reflected my expectations as to what linguistic factors would turn out to be relevant. I attempted to maintain an open attitude throughout the coding procedure, however, with respect to noticing new and possibly relevant factors. The following two records from the data base exhibit the categories coded for each question.

1	Code	Sh/Neil	4	1	1	Functional Type	ques	Structural Class	con	Repetition	-
1PP What is she majoring in?											
Inserted Material: Ø											
2PP: Latin...American studies											
Post Insert Ø 3rd: really, at Yale 2PP rec 2PP Question # 1											
1PP Initial Ø 2PP Initial Ø Repair - STRep @											
Structure: wh+v+su Syntactic Type: inter											
Confirmation: - Alternative: - Intonation: r Overlap 1PP: - Overlap 2PP: -											
1PPSp @ 1PP @ 2PP @ DisMode: Story DisMode:											

Record 1

The categories coded in the above records are described as follows.

Code

These fields uniquely identify the utterance doing questioning by transcript name, page, and line. In record 1, the utterance is from the Shapley/Nel transcript, page 4, line 11. In record 2, the utterance is from the Weber transcript, page 8, line 127.

Functional Type

This field broadly classifies the utterance being coded with regard to type of first pair part as follows:

- question (most general category)
- next turn repair initiator (NTRI)
- topicalization (initiates a topic)
- exclamation
- greeting
- offer
- joke
- invitation
- request
- clause + *you know*

Initially, all clauses associated with *you know* were coded, since it was not clear to me at the beginning of the coding process which, if any, of these utterances, were doing questioning. Most of these *you know* utterances eventually were removed from the data base because they were not functioning as questions. Records 1 and 2 classify the utterances being coded as "question".

Structural Classification

This field broadly classifies the utterance as to its sequential position in the talk in which it appears, e.g., in an opening or closing sequence, in a story, in a

pre-sequence. The default case, in which no particular classification is made, is "conversation". In record 1, the utterance is coded "conversation", and in record 2 the utterance is coded "story environment".

Repetition

This field marks whether or not the second pair part contains repeated elements of the first pair part, i.e., whether the answer repeats elements of the question. Since what constitutes repeated elements is an open question, a broad conception of repetition was taken. This field is coded as to the presence (+) or absence (-) of repeating elements. Neither record 1 nor record 2 exhibits repetition.

First Pair Part

This field reproduces the functional question from the transcript. The question in record 1 is *What is she majoring in.* The question in record 2 is *Is that- Where is that.*

Inserted Material

This field marks any pause and/or verbal and nonverbal interactional material between the first pair part and the second pair part. Inbreaths are not included unless the inbreath is separated from the second pair part by a pause. Inserted material is not the second pair part answer. Record 1 has no inserted material. Record 2 exhibits the following inserted material: *Wasn't she gonna go to UCLA that (.) thing.* The inserted material is produced by a speaker other than the speaker and recipient of the question being coded.

Second Pair Part

This field contains the second pair part example from the transcript. In record 1, the second pair part answer is *Latin ... American studies*. In record 2, the second pair part answer is *It's at UCLA*.

Post Insert

This field marks any pause and/or verbal and nonverbal interactional material between the second pair part and a third position receipt. A third position receipt acknowledges an answer. Inbreaths are not included unless the inbreath is separated from the third position receipt by a pause. Inserted material is not the third position receipt. This field is coded not applicable (@) if there is no third position receipt. In record 1, there is no material inserted between the second pair part and the third position receipt. In record 2, the inserted material is *pass the milk*. The speaker of this material is neither the speaker of the second pair part nor the speaker of the first pair part and third position receipt.

Third Position Receipt

This field contains the third position receipt of the second pair part answer. It is coded as Ø if there is no third position receipt. In record 1, the third position receipt is *really, at Yale*. In record 2, the third position receipt is *yeah, okay*.

Second Pair Part Speaker

This field codes the speaker of the second pair part as the speaker of the first pair part (sp) or the recipient of the first pair part (rec). This field codes who answers the question — the person to whom it was addressed or the speaker. It captures cases when people answer their own questions. In both record 1 and record 2, the speakers

of the second pair parts are the recipients of the first pair parts.

Second Pair Part Question

This field codes whether or not the second pair part is itself a first pair part question by (+) or (-). This recognizes instances where people answer a question with a question. In records 1 and 2, neither answer is itself a question.

Number of Clauses

This field broadly classifies the utterance as to its clause structure.

less than 1 clause	LTC
1 clause	1
1 clause + additional nonclausal material	MTC
2 clauses	2
3 clauses	3

Utterances which do not exhibit clause structure (less than a clause = LTC; more than a clause = MTC) are coded as follows:

Particle, word, phrase
interpretable as a declarative
interpretable as an interrogative

In records 1 and 2, both questions are realized by a single clause. In record 2, the question is repaired. Only the repaired version of the utterance (*Where is that.*) is coded as to clause structure.

First Pair Part Initial

This field codes initial material, e.g., discourse markers like *well*, *oh*, *because* (cf. Schiffrin 1987). Neither record 1 nor 2 exhibits initial material.

Second Pair Part Initial

This field codes initial material, e.g., *well*. Neither record 1 nor 2 exhibits initial material.

Same Turn Repair

This field codes whether or not the first pair part is a same turn repair by (+) or (-). This judgment is made on the basis of the presence or absence of a repair initiator and the syntactic form of the utterance. In record 1, the question does not exhibit any signs of repair. In record 2, the question begins, is aborted, and is then reconstructed as a different syntactic form.

Same Turn Repair Type

This field labels the type of repair exhibited by the utterance, e.g., an insert repair, a reconstructed turn repair, etc. In record 2, the question is an instance of a reconstruction repair.

Descriptive Structure

This field codes the initial elements of an utterance up to the point at which both the subject and the verb are produced. The elements coded are the following:

su	subject
v	verb
op	operator verb, e.g., <i>do</i>
aux	auxiliary verb, e.g. <i>are</i> in <i>are coming</i>
wh	wh-pronoun, e.g., <i>who, what, where, how, why</i>

Any elements which are produced before the subject and verb are also coded conventionally, e.g., pp for prepositional phrase, adv for adverb. In the initial analysis, in the case of repaired turns, only the final version which goes to completion is coded.

In record 1, the question *What is she majoring in* . is described as follows: *wh+v+su*. *Wh* codes the *wh*-word *what*, *v* codes the verb *is*, and *su* codes the subject *she*. In record 2, the question *Where is that*. is described as follows: *wh+ v+ su*. *Wh* codes the *wh*-word *where*, *v* codes the verb *is*, and *su* codes the subject *that*.

Syntactic Type

This field codes clausal utterances by syntactic type (cf. Quirk et al. 1985): declarative, interrogative, exclamatory, and imperative. In addition to these types, the following were also coded:

particle
 + particle
 + tag
 + *right*
you mean+
+you know+
remember+
 interpretable declarative
 interpretable interrogative
 interpretable interrogative (*you know*)
 interpretable exclamatory
 interpretable imperative
wh-word
 noun
 adv
 prepositional phrase

In both record 1 and record 2, the questions are coded as interrogatives.

Confirmation Question

This field codes whether or not the question is seeking confirmation or disconfirmation. Neither question coded in record 1 and 2 seeks confirmation.

Alternative Question

This field codes whether or not the question offers an alternative. Neither question coded in record 1 and 2 offers an alternative.

Intonation

This field codes the direction of terminal intonation as follows:

falling	f
rising	r
level	l

The question in record 1 has rising terminal intonation, and the question in record 2 has falling terminal intonation.

Overlap First Pair Part

This field codes whether or not utterances are overlapped and, if so, by what other utterances. If the first pair part is not overlapped by any other utterance, this field is marked (-). If the first pair part is produced simultaneously with another utterance, this field is marked (sim). If the first pair part is overlapped by a previous utterance, this field is marked (pre). If the first pair part is overlapped by insert material, this field is marked (in). If the first pair part is overlapped by the second pair part, this field is marked (2). In record 1, the question is not overlapped by any other utterance. In record 2, the question is overlapped by inserted material.

Overlap Second Pair Part

This field codes whether or not utterances are overlapped and by what other utterances. If the second pair part is not overlapped by any other utterance, this field

is marked (-). If the second pair part is overlapped by the first pair part, this field is marked (1). If the second pair part is overlapped by inserted material, this field is coded (in). If the second pair part is overlapped by inserted material before a 3rd position receipt, this field is marked (post). If the second pair part is overlapped by a third position receipt, this field is marked (3). In record 1, the second pair part is not overlapped by any other utterance. In record 2, the second pair part is overlapped by material inserted between the second pair part and the third position receipt.

Speaker of the First Pair Part in a Story Environment

This field codes whether or not the story teller or the story recipient produces the first pair part. This field is not applicable to the question in record 1. In record 2, the speaker of the question is the recipient of the story.

First Pair Part Discourse Mode

This field is relevant to story sequences. Discourse mode refers to descriptive material vs. event line material. If the recipient of the story produced the first pair part, it codes the type of information the recipient requests from the story teller. If the teller of the story produced the first pair part, it codes the kind of response the teller requests from the recipient of the story. This field is not relevant to the question in record 1. In record 2, the information requested is descriptive information.

Second Pair Part Discourse Mode

This field is relevant to story sequences. This field codes the kind of response and/or information the recipient of the story is given or the kind of response and/or information the teller is given. This field is not relevant to the question in record 1. In record 2, the information provided is locative background information.

This section has presented the procedures used in this study to code utterances doing questioning. Two records of questions found in the data have been included in order to exemplify many of the fields which have been coded. My conclusions are presented below.

3. Conclusion

The structure of this work emerged from the process of coding the data. That is, during this coding process, a number of morphosyntactic patterns became apparent. Subsequent analysis revealed that these patterns correlated strongly with specific communicative functions. I did not initially hypothesize that certain morphosyntactic patterns correlated with certain communicative functions, and then go about testing the validity of such hypotheses. Rather, coding for a broad range of interactional, semantic, morphosyntactic, and informational factors revealed these correlations. Because the data are so rich, I believe that any rigorous examination of conversation is bound to reveal significant facts of language use.

Chapter 4

Questions in Declarative Form: Morphosyntactic Patterns

1. The Problem of Declarative Questions

In this chapter, I will examine the relation between morphosyntactic form and the communicative function doing questioning by describing those functional questions which are realized by a declarative clause. The problematic issues which relate to questions in any form are (1) how recipients recognize interrogative clauses, declarative clauses, and particles, words, or phrases *as questions* and (2) how speakers decide which form to use in order to accomplish their interactional goals. Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) express the problem from the perspective of the recipient in conversation as follows.

How, for example, does a hearer know when a declarative structure has the function of a question, and how does he know that a clause asks or does not ask a question depending on where it occurs in a sequence of clauses (p. 2)?

As we noted in chapter 1, it has been claimed that interrogatives are typical question forms (Pike 1975, Quirk et al. 1985). From the perspective of morphosyntactic form, then, declarative forms are not expected to be typically used to do questioning. Declarative forms, in contrast to interrogative forms, generally have no *wh*-word as an argument of the verb (but cf. ex. (20)) and exhibit unmarked word order in which the subject precedes the verb. Recipients in conversation, however, have no trouble interpreting certain declarative forms as doing questioning. It is this fact which needs to be explained. Intonation, gesture, and sequential position in the talk are, along with morphosyntactic form, relevant factors involved in the interpretation of any utterance. While each of these factors will be considered, the

focus of this chapter will be descriptive with respect on the role of morphosyntax in the interpretation of declarative questions.

In this chapter, I will present instances of questions which have a declarative form in order to begin to understand how their morphosyntactic form contributes to their interpretation. First, I will discuss the data. Next, I will give a brief description of the various morphosyntactic types of declarative questions and will consider what interpretive procedures relative to the morphosyntax may be utilized to interpret each type as doing questioning (the social action). Then, the role of intonation and gesture with regard to declarative questions will be discussed. Finally, I will consider how these forms are distributed in the data.

2. Data

The fourteen conversations constituting the data base were examined according to the principles and procedures underlying the analytic approach described in chapter 2. Utterances identified as questions on the basis of their function in the talk were included in the data. The morphosyntactic form of the utterance, in itself, was not a criterion in this identification process. Utterances identified as doing questioning were classified by form as follows: interrogative forms, declarative forms, and nonclausal forms, i.e., those which are realized by particles, words, phrases (cf. ch. 2 for explicit definitions of these syntactic types). From this set of utterances which function to do questioning in the talk, those utterances which have a declarative form were extracted. These utterances comprise the set of declarative questions.

The following example exhibits a declarative form utterance which introduces a topic by doing questioning.

- (17) N What's doing,
 (.)
 H Ah:, noth [i: n:,]
 N [Y' didn't g]o meet "Grahame"?= <=
 H =*pt *hhhhhahh Well, I got ho::me,
 N =u-hu:h?
 (.)
 a:::n he hadn't called yet
 an there weren't any messages or anythi [n:g]e-]
 N [Uh h]u]:h
 H a:n hh then I kind of got on the pho:ne
 an I heard a couple of clicks
 an hhhhhh *hh I don't know if he was trying to call =
 =but I'm too tired to go all the way back to Westwood anyw [ay,]
 N [Ye:]:ah,
 HGII 1:17

In this example, the subject *you* precedes the verb phrase *didn't go meet Grahame*, thus exhibiting unmarked declarative clause word order.

3. Morphosyntactic Patterns of Declarative Questions

An examination of syntactically declarative forms which are used by speakers to ask questions reveals that while some show no explicit marking suggestive of question function, others have lexical elements in the clause which play a role in their functional interpretation. Still other declaratives have lexical or morphosyntactic elements immediately preceding in the discourse which project question function. Others have lexical or morphosyntactic elements immediately following in the talk which are associated with question function. In this section, I will first provide an example of those declarative utterances which have no elements which support their interpretation as questions. I have classified those utterances which have no lexical or morphosyntactic elements which support their interpretation as questions as declarative questions with no associated marker. Although a full discussion of the interpretation of this type of declarative question will be deferred until later in the chapter, I feel that this disjunction is necessary in order to enable the reader to

contrast this type with those which follow. Next, I will provide a description of those declarative utterances which have some elements which support their interpretation as questions. Those utterances which have some lexical or morphosyntactic elements which support their interpretation as questions have been classified as marked declarative questions.

The focus of this chapter on the morphosyntactic patterns of declarative questions is not meant to imply that intonation and gesture play no role in interpretation. These topics will be further discussed in section 4 in connection with the interpretation of declarative questions with no associated marker. As has been discussed in chapter 1, however, it must be kept in mind that there is no such thing — in general — as unambiguous question intonation, viz., rising terminal intonation.

3.1. Declarative Questions with No Associated Marker

Questioning can be done with a declarative form which, in no lexical or morphosyntactic way,¹ suggests that it is doing questioning, as in the following example.

- (18) S I don't know have you been studying lately,
 (0.2)
 M No eh not at aw- not at all:
 I have to study this whole week, every night *hh
 and then I've got something planned on Sunday with Laura,
 (0.4)
 She she wa- she and I are gonna go out and get drunk at four o'clock in the
 afternoon.
 S Uh huh *hhh
 M It's a religious
 (0.5)
 thing we're gonna have.
 (0.5)
 I don't know why. (but)
 I don't know why but um
 (0.2)
 no her ex boyfriend's getting married
 and she's (-)gonna be depressed s:o

(1.1)
 S She [wasn't invited to the "wedding? <=
 M [(I'm gonna take her out.)
 (1.0)
 M She's [oh no. hell no.
 [(hell no)
 S [hardly.
 R h(h)m /*hm hm
 (.1)
 M She's trying to stay away from the wedding. SN4 10:5

This utterance exemplifies the interpretive problem of how recipients know that a declarative clause is a question and not a statement, since, morphosyntactically, this clause type is associated with making a statement. We can not appeal to intonation to solve the interpretation problem since there is no such thing as an unambiguous question intonation (cf. ch. 1). Declarative clauses with rising intonation do not always function as questions in conversation (cf. Bolinger 1957:13, Couper-Kuhlen 1986:156). We may, therefore, ask how recipients correctly interpret such utterances as doing questioning. The procedures which recipients use to correctly interpret utterances of this type as asking a question will be discussed after the types of marked declarative questions have been presented.

3.2. Marked Declarative Questions

Because language is a temporal phenomenon which is produced and interpreted, bit by bit, in real time, the ways in which speakers mark declarative questions will be categorized in terms of real time production. As an utterance is produced in time, its constituent elements occur in a certain order. This order is utilized by participants to project the syntactic form of the utterance being produced. This fact is relevant for explaining the turn taking system in conversation. We may also ask, however, to what extent participants project the function of an utterance during the course of its production. In other words, do speakers mark declarative questions so that recipients

can utilize morphosyntactic resources to project the question function of the utterance.

For lexical elements within the declarative clause itself, the lexical elements will be considered in terms of how soon into the turn they are produced. For elements not within the clause, the elements will be considered in terms of when they are produced — before or after the declarative clause which functions to do questioning. Some declarative questions exhibit more than one type of marking which supports an interpretation of question function. With regard to marked declarative questions, then, I will distinguish between (1) those utterances which have lexical elements within the clause which are suggestive of question function, (2) those utterances which show some prior discourse marking which plays a role in the interpretation of the utterance as doing a question, and (3) those utterances which show some subsequent discourse marking which plays a role in the interpretation of the utterance as doing a question. The following section discusses marked declarative questions which exhibit marking within the clause.

3.2.1. Marking which Occurs within the Declarative Clause

Lexical Elements

In this section, I will discuss lexical elements which are supportive of an interpretation of question function solely by virtue of their meaning. These lexical elements appear within the declarative clause, i.e., they are integrated into the clause structure. Discourse markers which appear before or after the clause will be discussed separately (cf. sec. 3.2.2). The second person pronoun subject *you* will also be discussed separately (cf. sec. 6.2).

Bolinger (1957) classifies lexical markers of declarative questions as "tentations" or "imputations." Tentations are markers that underscore the assumptiveness of the assertion. Typical tentations are hypothetical verbs (*I suppose, assume, imagine,*

hope, believe, guess, bet, say), hearsay verbs (*I understand, am told, am informed, hear*), inferential adverbs (*then, so, therefore*), potential adverbs (*perhaps, probably, maybe, possibly*), adverbs of assurance (*doubtless, no doubt, undoubtedly, of course, surely*), and impersonal expressions (*it must be that, it is certain that, it is to be supposed, it is to be hoped, it is to be expected*)(p. 61). Imputations are markers that involve presumptions. Typical imputations are verbs that imply convictions (*tell, claim, think, ask, believe, imagine*)(p. 62). Bolinger notes that one of the factors which affects how good an imputation is as a Q-marker is the category "person". He states that "(t)he pronoun *you* marks an area that includes more (questions) than (nonquestions)"(p. 62).

In her study of questions and responses in English conversation, Stenström (1984:153-154) observes that questions in declarative form generally contain a lexical indicator of question function. Of the various types of lexical markers she lists, the following appear within the clause structure itself: tentative expressions which introduce a declarative complement (*I don't think/suppose*) and modal verbs (*might, would, ought*). She includes the second person subject *you* among lexical markers.

In the data I have examined, lexical marking of question function within a clause is accomplished by the use of certain verbs and adverbs. In the following example, the speaker, M, visits R and S in their dorm room.

- (19) M How're you guys.
 ((door slams))
 (0.3)
 R Just fi:ne.
 (0.4)
 S U::h tired
 (0.4)
 M Tired,
 I hear you're getting "married. ←
 (0.6)
 () ^o((sniff))
 (0.3)
 S Uh:: you hear right.
 M Uh sh- I hear right.= SN1:12

In this example, the matrix verb *hear* means something like "people have been telling me this." What people have been telling the speaker is disclosed in the complement clause which follows. The matrix clause appears early in the turn, and before the clause that presents the information to be confirmed. The lexical element *hear* is interpretable as suggesting that the speaker has reason to believe that the information to be presented in the complement clause is true or accurate. The recipient is implicitly invited to confirm it.

Wh-word

Marking within the clause is also realized by a *wh*-word. The occurrence of a *wh*-word within a clause does not mean that it is an interrogative form. Interrogative forms have a *wh*-word in subject position and subject-verb word order or have subject-verb inversion (cf. ch. 1) in conjunction with a *wh*-word in another grammatical role.

The following example from a dinner table conversation exhibits a declarative clause which includes a *wh*-word. In the prior conversation, the participants had been discussing foods which contained oxalic acid. M reintroduces the subject when he thinks of another food which contains the acid. The participants are eating spinach

soup which B refers to by *this* in her last turn.

(20) M Sorrel.

(.)

Sorrel has a lot of oxalic acid too.

(0.1)

L heh [heh heh

[(laugther)]

() [(Sorrel?)]

B [Sorrel has a lot of "what?]

←

M Sorrel. yes.

T What's (.) what's that?

M That's a sort of green, clover-like grass.

(B) mm hmm

B has a lot of what? =

M =() tastes lik [e spinach.]
[acid?]which acid?

M Oxalic.

B Oxalic. Yeah.

B Yeah, this has a lot of oxalic acid,

yeah, but I cook it

and I throw away the water carefully, you see.

Shapley/Fer 6:155

In this example, B produces the next turn repair initiator (NTRI) *sorrel has a lot of what* in overlap with M's next utterance after the trouble source turn (cf. ch. 2 for a discussion of repair phenomena). The *wh*-word substitutes for (and thus targets) that portion of the prior utterance which is the source of the trouble.

Marking within the clause can be accomplished by a "gap". In the following example, the participants had been discussing the difference in the Hebrew of the Ashkenazy vs. the Sephardic Jews. They are looking at a book and are discussing the writing system for Hebrew.

- (21) B The dots distinguish the vee sound,
 There's a letter.
 I ca- (.)
 Say how you pronounce that in Sephardic,
 I can't remember it.
 How do you pronounce beyt in Sephardic,
 I can't remember.
 How do you pronounce beyt in Sephardic?
 A Beyt?
 B Beth or something like that.
 Beth I guess you say.
 *hhh uh but tha [-
 L [(I know that.)]
 B Pardón.
 A [bɛ] [bɛ]=
 L =([bɛ])
 L Is our book Sephardic, or not.
 B (Oh, I'll try)
 This this is an Israel- it's a book about the la- the Israel language.
 A Ye[ah.
 B [Yeah.
 L which is shall we say Sephardic.
 And "they call it?
 A [bɛ]
- ⇐
 Shapley/Sha 18:11

In this example, the speaker produces a declarative clause in which the final element projected by the form is not produced by the speaker. This missing element is the information queried. The recipient of the question subsequently produces the element which completes the declarative form. In effect, two speakers cooperate to construct a declarative clause. Ochs 1976 (p. 12) notes that the sequential expression of propositions is observed in both child and adult discourse, and child-adult discourse (cf. Bloom 1973, Keenan and Schieffelin 1976, Scollon 1976, Atkinson 1979,).

This section has presented utterances which exhibit instances of marking which occur within the declarative clause. In the following section, I will present utterances which exhibit instances of marking which occur prior to the declarative clause.

3.2.2. Marking which Occurs before the Production of the Declarative Clause

Prior Declarative Clause

There are several cases in the data in which a declarative question is preceded by an utterance which contains a lexical element suggestive of question function. The following example contains the verb phrase *don't know*. In this example, the participants are discussing a play they are going to see that evening. H is referring to a review of the play in that day's paper.

- (22) H Yeh but I don't want you to read it.
 (.)
 N [O]kay,]
 H [Plea]se don't.]
 *hh
 b[ecause-]
 N [See "I do]n't know what it's a [bout yer n]ot gonna ⇐
 H [Yeah,] ⇐
 N "tell [me?] ⇐
 H [*p*]
 becau:se there's one point in there
 where it gives away s:something th [at-]
 N [Oh:] rea [lly:?]
 H [i-is a sho]:cker =
 =and I don't want y [ou to kno:w,]
 N [Okay I wo]:n ['t,
 H [Cause it'll affect you more=
 [when you see it.]
 N [I'll read it a: f]ter, HGII 9:15

In this example — *I don't know what it's about* — expresses a gap in the recipient's knowledge. The complement clause is an embedded question — *what it's about*. — realized by a *wh*-word. The entire utterance sets the stage for the following declarative question *you're not gonna tell me*.

This question does not get an answer. H simply goes on; N redoes the question and then gets an answer, as shown in the following, extended example.

(23) H Yeh but I don't want you to read it.

(.)

N [O]kay,]

H [Plea]se don't.]

*hh

b[ecause-]

N [See "I do]n't know what it's a [bout yer n]ot gonna ⇐

H [Yeah,]

N "tell [me?] ⇐

H [*p*]

becau:se there's one point in there

where it gives away s:something th [at-]

N [Oh:] rea [lly:?]

H [i-is a sho]:cker =

=and I don't want y [ou to kno:w,]

N [Okay I wo]:n['t,

H [Cause it'll affect you more=

[when you see it.]

N [I'll read it a: f]ter,

H =*khkh Yeah.

But anyway so the review is pretty goo:d

an so I go

oh if it's this goo:d you know=

[I'd really [like [to [see it.]

N [Ye:ah. [Might as [well [cha:nc]e it,

(.)

N That sounds goo:d,

(.)

H Yea:h.=

N =Kind of looking forward to it. What u:m,

(1.0)

N Can you tell me what it's "about:t?= ⇐

H =*khkhkh [Yeah. It take-]

N [O:r would it-uh-] ⇐

(.)

N [(I don't know,)]

H [No. It takes] pla:ce, i:n, *t

(0.2)

u-ni:neteen thirties in Okalahoma, ((etc. on the plot))

HGII 9:15

In this extended example, N redoes her original request to be told what the play is about with an interrogative form. This demonstrates that her original utterance was intended to function as a question. Since the second pair part was not produced, N redoes the first pair part. This utterance does get an answer.

Prior Interrogative Forms

There is a type of declarative question which is realized by a *wh*-word or interrogative clause and a candidate response. In the following example taken from a dinner table conversation, the speaker, N, who is L's mother, responds to a nonverbal facial gesture made by her daughter. The dinner was cooked by N and L's gesture was relevant to the food.

- (24) N "What. Ya don't "like it,
L () It's te::rrible.

←

Weber 6:85

In this type of question, the first part of the utterance is a *wh*-word which is doing questioning; the second part of the utterance, however, is also doing questioning. Utterances of this type are produced without any pause between the *wh*-word or clause and the candidate response. They are interpretable as one question immediately following another. This is, in a sense, a general question followed by a more specific question. The declarative form is taking a guess at an answer and asking for confirmation of the guess.

In the following example, the speaker, B, responds to E's prior revelation that a school-aged classmate, who had run away from home to live with her boyfriend, has decided to return home.

- (25) B What "happened, It didn't work "out?
E I don't kno:w, I didn't get the detai: ls.

←

Weber 3:24

In this example, the initial interrogative clause projects question function which carries over to the completion of the candidate response. This strategy is also used with nonclausal forms (cf. ch. 6). In these cases, the *wh*-word or interrogative

clause sets up the function of doing questioning. The following declarative clause is interpretable as being in the domain of that function. This strategy may be compared to the referent-proposition constructions of Keenan and Schieffelen (1976) or left dislocation utterances (Duranti and Ochs 1979, Gelvykens 1988). This strategy will be discussed more fully in chapter 9.

Prior Self-Repaired Interrogative Forms

Some declarative forms which function to do questioning in the data are immediately preceded by a self-repaired utterance which is produced as an interrogative clause (cf. ch. 2 for a discussion of repair phenomena). Schegloff (1979) shows that the occurrence of repair in an utterance has consequences on syntactic form. He states:

...the occurrence of repair in a sentence can have consequences for the shape of the sentence and for the ordering of its elements beyond the consequences embodied by sheer inclusion of the repair elements... (p. 263).

This means that an utterance which a speaker repairs may undergo a change in syntactic form. The author presents the following example to show that an utterance begun as an interrogative form can be redone as a declarative form (Schegloff 1979: 264).

(26) (J and L are husband and wife)

J: We saw Midnight Cowboy yesterday-
or [Suh-Friday

E: [Ch?

L: Didju s- you saw that, it's really good.

←

JS:II:61

In this example, the utterance is begun with an interrogative clause which is aborted; a

declarative clause is then constructed and goes to completion. Schegloff (1979) states that repairs leave interactional effects. Even in the most simple case of repair in which one word is substituted for another, "the replacement cannot excise all traces of the word that was initially said or starting to be said" (p. 263; cf. Jefferson 1975). Similarly, when an utterance is begun, aborted, and then completed with a syntactically different form, the initial form of the utterance may not be excised from the recipient's perception. Schegloff (1979) presents evidence which suggests that recipients do, in fact, attend to talk which has been "edited out".

Elements of talk which have been edited out may be relevant for the interpretation of declarative questions. When an utterance is begun with an interrogative form, the possible completion point of the interrogative is projected. This is a projection of form. Through the interpretation of its function, the interrogative in progress projects a range of possible next turns, e.g., an answer. When a speaker aborts an interrogative clause and then starts a declarative clause, a different possible completion point for the utterance is projected. As the declarative form is produced, it gets interpreted with regard to its function on the basis of its position in the talk. The projection of the prior repaired interrogative with regard to both form and function is part of the prior talk. As such, it is relevant for the ongoing interpretation of the declarative form which is in the process of being constructed.

The repaired utterance and its projections of form and function may not be edited out of the talk by the recipient. The repaired interrogative may project question function for a declarative clause in the same way that a prior *wh*-word/clause may project question function for a subsequent declarative clause. The following is an example of a declarative question which immediately follows a self-repaired interrogative question. The declarative is also marked by a second person subject (cf. sec. 6.2) and the discourse particle *oh*, which claims some shift in orientation to

- (28) B The separation occurred (.) when the: uh Ashkenazies moved west (.) across Europe. (.)
 moved EAST across Europe.
 L (and) that's why they call (them) western.
 B u:h n[o
 M [because they 'came from the "west? ⇐
 B They're called western because right now (.) the word west refers not to direction,
 but to western culture. Shapley/Shan 9:19

In this example, B is explaining how the separation originated. L then offers a candidate explanation for why Ashkenazy Jews are called western which he has inferred from the prior turn. M adds to that candidate explanation with a declarative question introduced by the discourse marker *because*. This utterance is interpretable as asking whether the Ashkenazy Jews are called western because they came from the west. In this utterance, *because they came from the west* explicitly articulates, by questioning, the causal relation between B's description and L's inference.

In the following example, the declarative clause is marked by the discourse particle *well* and the conjunction *if* (cf. ch. 2, sec. 2.1.1) for a justification of this classification). While the *if*-clause is not an independent clause according to strict grammatical criteria, such subordinate forms do appear in conversation (cf. Ford 1988). In the following example from a telephone conversation, B and V, a sister and brother, are discussing B's imminent trip from San Francisco down to Los Angeles. It had previously been arranged that he would stay with his sister.

- (29) B I c [an (either) stay with you or with Sco:tt.
 [(just)
 V [Ye-
 No that's fine
 stay he:re.
 *hh U:mm::
 (.)
 B I'll probably end up staying with Scott after-after a while maybe.
 (0.2)
 V We:ll un-nuh-u:h it's fine.=
 The only thing is to just realize
 that if I have to study at times:.,
 (0.4)
 actually I have to study alo:t.
 Just do-=
 B Both of you do I know.=
 =Well I'm (.) down there (.) not to be part of you c(hh)utting into uh
 V uh (h)huh,
 B uh t(h)o (h) his research (.)
 bu:t you know (company)
 and things like that.
 V uh hh [huh]
 B [()]
 (.)
 V And you have you ca:r
 so that'll make it quite easy.
 B Yeah.
 V *hhh Oka:y
 is there any kind of food you want me to g(h)e:t?
 (0.9)
 B Ah-ha well if you "do:n't want me to co:me Vane:ss. ←
 V Wu- [of course- I no of course I actually]
 B [hhhh hhh! huh hhh nuh huh huh]
 V [you know what]I'm doing] right now for you [tomorrow] is
 B [*hhh] [hhh]
 V I'm vacuuming right now.
 (0.2)
 B Oh is it for me:.

V Yea: [h] and I washed some [sheets.]
 B [hhh] [() live] there.
 *hhh
 V No no it's only for y-hhh huh! huh! huh!-ou hhh!
 And I'm also washing some sheets.
 (0.2)
 B Okay.

Lazaraton 2:54

In this example, B responds to V's question *Okay is there any kind of food you want me to g(h)e:t?* with the utterance *Ah-ha well if you do:n't want me to co:me Vane:ss.* B prefaces his response with *well*. Schiffrin (1987: 107) notes that *well* "is used when respondents diverge from the options for coherence offered them by a prior question". Rather than addressing the question posed, which concerns B's food preferences, B responds with the utterance *Ah-ha well if you do:n't want me to co:me Vane:ss.* Marked explicitly by the subordinating conjunction *if*, the clause projects a subsequent *then* clause. Although it does not get produced, the projected clause is inferable as "then I won't". By using the *if* clause, B ascribes to the recipient the attitude of not wanting him to visit her. This imputation makes a confirmation or disconfirmation relevant. This form is interpretable as implicitly asking the recipient if she wants B to come and stay with her.

In this section, I have presented utterances with instances of marking which occur prior to the declarative clause. Next, I will present utterances with instances of marking which occur subsequent to the declarative clause.

3.2.3. Marking which Occurs Subsequent to the Production of the Declarative Clause

There are several types of declarative questions which are formed by adding a particle or a word at the end of the clause. Quirk et al. (1985:814) call these invariant tags because they have the same form regardless of the form of the declarative clause. I will refer to these types as particle tags or word tags. Example

(30) is produced with a particle tag, and examples (31) and (32) are produced with word tags.

In the following example, the speaker, K, had been describing how a guest lecture which she gave before a women's studies class had been very poorly received. She concludes her description as follows.

(30) K It went on from there. Down hill.
((laughter))

C () They didn't "like it, "huh?

K I'm afraid this elegant (.) heh heh theoretical exposition (.) just went (.) ha went (.) um [t^s] (.) by them (apparently).

() heh heh

Shapley/Nel 3:12

In this example, C responds to K's story with an appreciative uptake done as a declarative clause plus a particle.

In the following example, the participants had been discussing a sign language class M has been attending. B begins to quiz M.

(31) B What's this. ((signs)) *hhh ha ha

L That's She knows what that [is.

M [That?

they taught me the other night.

It's, it's (.) you know,

this is (.) your mother, ((signs))

and this is (.) your grandmother, ((signs))

and this is (.) mother-in-law ((signs)) ((laughter))

B Must be Italian.

((laughter))

M That's a joke. Actually it's not.

L The mother and grandmother are "right, "right?

M Yeah.

Shapley/Boys 16:550

In this example, the speaker of the declarative question is confirming that two of the three previously produced signs were done correctly and not made up as a joke. The addition of the word tag *right*, in conjunction with rising intonation, unambiguously

signals that the clause is doing questioning.

In the following example, the participants had been discussing the fact that one of participants, K, had received a message from her daughter that someone named X(surname) had called. The participant, K, did not recognize the name. In fact, the caller, C, had given her maiden name, and K did not make the connection between that name and C when she received the message.

- (32) C (No,) I changed it several years ago
but she (.) , you know,
I don't I (.) don- I don't describe myself ()
D (.) she didn't know
M did you send out announcements. hh
C No, I didn't.
L (If) she had said "C__ called,
(it'd) be no "trouble, "right?
K Right.

⇐

Shapley/Nel 1:6

This example is done with a conditional clause and a hypothetical clause. The speaker is confirming that if the message had been given with a first name reference, then K would not have had any trouble recognizing the referent. Again, the *right* with rising intonation signals question function.

There are also declarative questions which grammarians have described as tag questions. These tags vary their form depending on the prior assertion and may be affirmative or negative (Quirk et al. 1985: 810-814). Both variant and invariant tags share the basic structure [declarative clause + tag].

In the following example, V is relating how she feels when she discusses her father's recent knee surgery with her mother. C responds with a clarification done as a declarative clause plus a clause tag.

- (33) V =But do you know what I wanna do when I see her,
 I wanna say I talked to the nurse,
 tonight I asked the nurse-I asked her two times,
 (0.4)
 I said are you s(h)ur:e this is gonna make him more comfortable.
 I mean what [is the-]
 C [What?]
 (0.2)
 V The surgery.=
 C =But it's already "done anyway, ("isn't it)? ←
 V Oh it's done but I- I [] was so- [up] set I w-
 C [Oh.] [Yeah uh huh] Ford 10:299

In this example, the declarative question is marked by the discourse marker *but* and a clause tag *isn't it*. The *it* refers to the surgery.

Various morphosyntactic types of declarative questions marked after their production have been presented in this section. I will now consider the interpretation of declaratives with no associated marker.

4. The Interpretation of Declarative Questions with No Associated Marker

In section 3.1, a declarative question with no associated lexical or morphosyntactic marking suggestive of question function has been exemplified. The issue of how such forms get interpreted as questions was deferred at that time until after marked declarative questions were presented. In this section, I will discuss some factors which are relevant to the interpretation of declarative questions which do not have any lexical or morphosyntactic marking.

4.1. Intonation and Declarative Questions with No Associated Marker

In chapter 1, the issue of the relevance of intonation for the interpretation of utterances which do questioning was raised (cf. ch. 1, sec. 5). A full discussion of the role intonation plays with respect to declarative questions was deferred at that time. In this section, I will discuss the relevance of intonation for the interpretation of

declarative questions. It is a well known fact for English that intonational contour does not unambiguously signal the meaning "this is a question" vs. "this is not a question". If this were, in fact, the case, there would be no problem associated with the interpretation of declarative forms as questions. Declarative forms which had question intonation would be interpretable as questions, while declarative forms which did not have question intonation would be interpretable as statements.

Cruttenden (1986) states that the intonation of yes/no questions which have no cooccurring syntactic marking (i.e., declarative questions), "is almost invariably reported as having either a 'terminal rise' or in some way a higher pitch than the corresponding statement pattern" (p. 162). He cites Bolinger's (1978) survey of thirty-six non-tone languages in which all but four languages had a rise or a higher pitch for questions. Ultan's (1978) survey of fifty-three languages reports that only three languages had a fall only for questions. Two of these were tone languages, leaving only one reported case of a nontone language which did not have a terminal rise for questions. Swadesh (1946) reported this for Chitimacha on the basis of the only surviving speaker of the language.

The fact that yes/no questions in numerous nontone languages are reported to have rising intonation is only half the story. Cruttenden raises the following important point.

Although a very large number of intonation languages (i.e., nontone languages) are reported as having a final rise for yes/no questions, what remains uncertain is just how many of these languages have a fall as an alternative, since descriptions very rarely mention alternative intonations for a particular sentence-type (p. 163).

Cruttenden cites the fact that pedagogic textbooks on English describe yes/no questions as having only a rising intonation although that is clearly not the case. It is,

however, the generally held naive view of intonation as it relates to question function.

It is also the case that discussions of rising terminal intonation in English often fail to make critical distinctions. Bolinger (1972:27) states that a distinction should be made between the simple rise and the rise-fall-rise. He states that the latter type of pitch movement is extremely limited in questions. Cruttenden (1986:105-111) notes that while the meaning of the high-rise contour is fairly consistent (echo or repeat question) (p. 108), the meaning of the low-rise varies depending upon whether or not there is a preceding high pitch accent (p. 105-6). Thus, not only is there variation between rising and falling intonation in declarative utterances which do questioning, but not all patterns of rising intonation are associated with question function.

The fact that there exists variation between rising and falling terminal intonation for declarative forms which do questioning in English has been noted by many linguists. Stenström (1984:154) examined the relation between rising and falling intonation and declarative form questions. She found that falling intonation is more common than rising intonation (174 vs. 52 occurrences in her data base). Furthermore, lexical markers of question function in declarative forms appear as frequently with rising terminal intonation as with falling intonation. She notes that it is interesting that such markers are equally common with rising intonation. These facts belie the common sense view that rising intonation signals question function and that lexical markers signal question function when there is falling terminal intonation. Stenström hypothesizes that variation in intonation for forms which do questioning reflects the speaker's degree of certainty (p. 151; cf. Couper-Kuhlen 1986).

Bolinger (1972) makes the point that rising intonation is associated with signaling a more general function than question function. He notes that the simple rise in intonation is associated with all forms of incompleteness (p. 27). While

incompleteness includes interrogation, it is not limited to it.

In this section, I have discussed some literature on the relevance of intonation to declarative questions. Evidence has been presented which suggests that variation between rising and falling terminal intonation characterizes declarative questions. Thus, it cannot be claimed that rising intonation associated with declarative forms, in itself, signals question function.

4.2. Gesture and Declarative Questions with No Associated Marker

Gesture may be a relevant factor in the interpretation of declarative questions, as has been discussed in chapter 1. Telephone conversations or face-to-face interaction in which the speaker's face is not visible eliminate this dimension to some extent. Facial gesture can be heard in some cases, however, e.g., when the speaker is smiling, holding pins in the mouth, etc. Perhaps some facial gestures associated with doing questioning, e.g., upturns of the corners of the mouth, can be heard as well. Since all but one of the conversations upon which this study is based are audiotaped rather than videotaped, the role of gesture in the interpretation of question function has not been considered.

4.3. Accessibility of Information and Declarative Questions with No Associated Marker

The accessibility of the information associated with a clause has been proposed as a relevant factor in the interpretation of declarative questions. Labov and Fanshel (1977:100) have discussed declarative questions in terms of a rule of confirmation. They point out that there are cases where the response of the listener indicates that a declarative clause was heard as a request. In these cases, listeners respond to a declarative clause with an affirmative or a negative answer, thus displaying that a yes/no question was interpreted. According to the authors, the interpretation of a

declarative clause as a question is the result of applying a rule of confirmation. This rule depends upon the classification of statements according to the shared knowledge of the participants involved in an interaction. The following classification system is proposed with regard to social facts involved in an interaction between two individuals — A and B (p. 100). Social facts are "generally agreed upon categorizations shared by all those present" (p. 100).

A-events:	Known to A, but not to B
B-events:	Known to B, but not to A
AB-events:	Known to both A and B
O-events:	Known to everyone present
D-events:	Known to be disputable

A-events typically involve states and events which concern individual A, e.g., his or her emotions, daily experiences, likes and dislikes, and elements of his or her personal history. The rule of confirmation is stated as follows:

If A makes a statement about B-events, then it is heard as a request for ✓ confirmation (p. 100).

Speaker A's statements about B-events involve certain expectations to which recipients respond as if they were requests for confirmation.

Labov and Fanshel's rule of confirmation is exemplified in example (17), repeated here as (34). This is a case in which a declarative question with no associated marker is used to introduce a topic by questioning.

- (34) N What's doing,
 (.)
 H Ah:, noth [i: n:,]
 N [Y' didn't g]o meet "Grahame"?= ←
 H =*pt *hhhhhahh Well, I got ho::me,
 N =u-hu:h?
 (.)

a::::n he hadn't called yet
 an there weren't any messages or anythi [n:g]e-]
 N [Uh h]u]:h
 H a:n hh then I kind of got on the pho:ne
 an I heard a couple of clicks
 an hhhhhh *hh I don't know if he was trying to call =
 =but I'm too tired to go all the way back to Westwood anyw [ay,]
 N [Ye:]:ah,
 HGII 1:17

In this example, there was some prior expectation on N's part that H was going to meet Grahame that day. When H responds to N's request for news with *Ah, nothin*, rather than a report of her meeting with Grahame, N makes the inference that the meeting did not take place. Since there was an expectation that a meeting was to have taken place, H's failure to report it as news becomes mentionable to N. She constructs the declarative question with a negative verb, thus exhibiting a bias for a negative answer (cf. ch. 2). Whether or not H went to meet Grahame is a B-event, i.e., known to H but not to N.

Example (18), repeated here as (35), is produced during an extended turn in which the speaker, M, is describing his plans for the weekend.

- (35) S I don't know have you been studying lately,
 (0.2)
 M No eh not at aw- not at all:
 I have to study this whole week, every night *hh
 and then I've got something planned on Sunday with Laura,
 (0.4)
 She she wa- she and I are gonna go out and get drunk at four o'clock in the
 afternoon.
 S Uh huh *hhh
 M It's a religious
 (0.5)
 thing we're gonna have.
 (0.5)
 I don't know why. (but)
 I don't know why but um
 (0.2)
 no her ex boyfriend's getting married
 and she's (-)gonna be depressed s:o
 (1.1)

S She [wasn't invited to the "wedding? ⇐
 M [(I'm gonna take her out.)
 (1.0)
 M She's [oh no. hell no.
 [(hell no)
 S [hardly.
 R h(h)m /*hm hm
 (.1)
 M She's trying to stay away from the wedding. SN4 10:5

In this example, S had an expectation that Laura's relation with her former boyfriend meant that she would or should have been invited to his wedding. Since M's talk makes clear that Laura will be with him at the time of the wedding, the issue of the invitation becomes mentionable for S. S constructs the utterance with a negative verb, thus showing that she anticipates a negative answer (cf. ch. 2, sec. 4.4). Whether or not Laura was invited to her former boyfriend's wedding is a B-event, i.e., known to M but not to S, since he is the narrator of the story.

In this section, I have discussed Labov and Fanshel's rule of confirmation. This rule concerns the accessibility of information and depends upon the classification of statements according to the social facts involved in an interaction. This rule will be shown to be relevant to the interpretation of declarative questions with no associated marker (cf. sec. 6.2). In the following section, I will discuss the role of sequential position in the talk with respect to interpretation.

5. Next Turn Repair Initiators and Declarative Questions with No Associated Marker

In chapter 2, I have discussed how participants in conversation manage to effect repair, i.e., address problems in speaking, hearing, and understanding (Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks 1977). When repair is initiated by a participant other than the speaker, the utterance initiating the repair occupies "one main position: the turn just subsequent to the trouble source turn" (Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks 1977:367).

These repair initiators are next turn repair initiators (NTRI's).

Declarative clauses which are NTRI's are interpretable by virtue of a number of factors, e.g., next turn position with regard to the prior utterance, their repetitive elements, *wh*-words, the discourse marker *you mean*, and, in some cases, rising terminal intonation (cf. Garvey 1979). Example (36) exhibits an NTRI. In this example, N repeats L's prior declarative form utterance, thereby signaling some trouble with understanding it.

(36) E Wasn't she gonna go to UCLA that (.) thing=

N =It's at UC [LA

L [Pass the milk.

B Yeah, ok.

N Pass the salad,

L She can still go.

N She can "s-till go? ^{not}

L Maybe she's going,

←

Weber 9:134

In this example, N is displaying some trouble in understanding the prior utterance by repeating it verbatim. This type of NTRI, which is rare in my data, will be further discussed in chapter 5. ^{inviting elaboration?}

In the following example, the declarative question is an NTRI marked by *you mean*. This is not interpretable as *do you mean*, but is a discourse marker. Schifffrin (1987) notes that *you mean* "allows a speaker to propose a modification of another's talk" (p. 299). In this example, M is demonstrating some signs she has learned at a sign language class.

(37) M Husband i:s ((signs))

(1.0)

Lt Like a hat.

M This is ma:n. ((signs))

It's sort of (.)

L Like that.

M assume a hat.

And this is woman, which they say you assume is the strings of a bonnet.

- (38) K (.) I guess I did talk to M___ a little bit about u:h (.) her women's study course,
 (.) which I gave a lecture to.
 Did [she ever talk to you about that?
 C [Oh did you?
 No: she never really told me about (much) about the course, °you know.
 M What did you lecture about women's studies.
 K We:ll (.) they put together this women's studies course. U:h
 C (yeah) she was in some subset.
 What was that.
 K lets see (.) I'm [trying to think.
 C [third world women or something.
 L [()
 L Oh That's like "black studies, °you "mean? ⇐
 () ()
 C Yeah right right right. Shapley/Nel 2:15

In this example, L produces the NTRI *Oh that's like black studies, you mean* to clarify his understanding of the prior turn in which C identifies the women studies course her daughter was taking as relating to third world women.

In this section, I have presented instances of declarative questions which function as next turn repair initiators in the talk. These declarative clauses are interpretable as questions insofar as they are interpretable as initiating repair. Next turn position, repetitive elements, *wh*-words, *you mean*, and rising intonation, in some instances, are factors relevant for interpreting a declarative clause as initiating repair. Next, I will discuss the distribution of declarative questions in the data.

6. Distributive Facts

In this section, I will examine the distribution of declarative questions vs. other syntactic types of questions in the corpus. I will also examine the distribution of the various types of declarative questions presented in section (3). The following table shows the distribution of declarative questions in the corpus.

All forms	636	100%
All declarative forms	108	17%

Table 4.1.
Distribution of Declarative Questions

Table (4.1.) shows that declarative clauses constitute 17% of all forms doing questioning in this data. This confirms that speakers regularly employ declarative clauses to ask questions. The problem of how such forms get interpreted as questions, then, is not a trivial one. The production of declarative clauses to do questioning, and their interpretation, as questions, is a fact of language use.

The following table exhibits the distribution of lexically or morphosyntactically marked declarative questions vs. declarative questions with no associated lexical or morphosyntactic marker in the data.

Marked	82	76%
No associated marker	26	24%
Total	108	100%

Table 4.2.
Marked Declarative Questions
vs.
Declarative Questions With No Associated Marker

This table shows that three out of four declarative questions are marked by lexical or morphosyntactic elements.

6.1. Marked Declarative Questions

The following table exhibits the distribution of instances of the types of marking in declarative questions which have been described above in section (3). The types of

marking have been distinguished according to temporal criteria as follows: section I — marking which occurs within the declarative clause; section II — marking which occurs prior to the declarative clause; section III — marking which occurs subsequent to the declarative clause. Some utterances have more than one type of marking, which is why the total number of instances is more than the total number of marked forms.

I: Within the Clause

Lexical meaning of verb/adverb	13	14%
Wh-word addition/substitution	2	
Gap	1	

II: Prior to the Clause

Prior lexical element	1	
Prior clause with lexical element	3	
Prior wh -word/clause	6	
Prior self-repair	2	
Prior discourse marker	37	43%

III: Subsequent to the Clause

Subsequent interrogative clause	3	
Subsequent discourse marker	2	
Particle tag	10	
Word tag	10	
Clause tag	22	
Alternative tag	2	43%
Total	114	100%

Table 4.3.
Instances of Marking in Declarative Questions

Table (4.3.) shows that within-clause marking constitutes 14% of all instances, marking before the clause constitutes 43% of all instances, and marking subsequent to

the clause constitutes 43% of all instances. While instances of marking before and after the declarative clause appear in equal numbers, marking within the clause by virtue of the semantics of the verb, a *wh*-word, or a gap is less common. The distribution of these markers from this temporal perspective only takes the total number of occurrences of each type into account; it does not consider how these markers cooccur in particular forms.

Before we can understand how these markers get used by speakers in real time, we must examine their distribution in individual clauses. The following table exhibits the distribution of markers by number per clause.

1 marker	57	70%
2 markers	19	23%
3 markers	5	6%
4 markers	1	1%
<hr/>		
Total	82	100%

Table 4.4.
Number of Markers per Clause

Among the declarative clauses that have a lexical or morphosyntactic marker suggesting question function, this table shows that 70% have a single marker. Two markers occur in 23% of all declarative forms. Three markers occur in 6% of all cases. There is a single instance of a form with four markers. We can conclude, then, that if a form gets a marker, more than two out of three times it will get only one.

The distribution of one-to-a-form markers according to temporal criteria is shown in the following table.

within the clause	13	23%
prior to the clause	15	26%
subsequent to the clause	29	51%
Total	57	100%

Table 4.5.
Distribution of Single Markers Per Clause

This table shows that when there is a single marker, over half of the time it appears subsequent to the declarative clause.

When there are two markers per form suggesting question function, one is always a prior marker except in one case, in which there are two subsequent markers. All the forms with prior markers, with two exceptions, contain at least one discourse marker. The two exceptions are marked by a prior *wh*-word and a prior interrogative clause. The two markers per form distribute as follows according to temporal criteria.

prior marker+within the clause	2	10.5%	63%
prior marker+subsequent marker	10	52.6%	
prior marker+prior marker	6	31.5%	
subsequent marker+subsequent marker	1	5.0%	
Total	19	100%	

Table 4.6.
Distribution of Two Markers Per Clause

This table shows that when there are two markers per form, they belong to different temporal domains in 63% of all cases of marked forms. In 31.5% of the cases, there are two prior markers; in one case (5%) there are two subsequent markers. This distribution is quite interesting. With only one exception, all forms with multiple

markers have a prior marker. A marker suggestive of question function precedes the declarative utterance in time, signaling, at the least, the possibility of the question function of the utterance to follow. With multiple markers, the declarative form gets marked before its production and after its production over 50% of the time. The initial marker suggestive of question function is reinforced by a second marker which serves to frame the declarative with respect to its question function. Since this is not the only possible pattern available to speakers, we may ask why they prefer this one rather, than, for example, piling up markers suggestive of question function either before or after the declarative clause. The temporal marking patterns of declarative clauses will be discussed more fully in chapter 9.

There are five cases in the data with three markers. In example (39), the declarative clause is marked by the prior discourse marker *but*, the word tag *right*, and the clause tag *wasn't he*. In this example, the speaker, V, is telling how her mother caused her to doubt the necessity of her father's knee surgery.

- (39) V But then when I talked to my Mom
 and she was all hysterical,
 then I started getting hys [teri]cal.
 C [Yeah.]
 (0.2)
 V Like oh my Go:d all this for nothing,
 my D [ad] was okay:,
 C [Yeah]
 K O:h(h)
 V he could ski,
 he could wa:lk,
 why's he going through this pai:n=
 C But you knew he was in pain "before. "right? ⇐
 "wasn't h [e: ⇐
 V [He didn't complain about it. Ford 7: 209

In this case, the clause tag is not the one predicted by grammars of English, which would be "didn't you". It addresses the complement clause "he was in pain".

- (41) T [You know, in the old days]
 M Spinach [spinach has this] huge negative ion (.) iron (.) balance,
 because it it chelates the iron (.) in the rest of your foods=
 B Oh it does not have (.)
 it is not a good source of iron.
 M It extracts iron.
 () ()
 B Really?
 hh
 L what does it do with it.
 B Why this myth [then
 M [it chelates it into some absorbable form.
 B why this myth for so for so long
 L Does it build up?
 M Most [of the myths are that children]
 T [the myths were started by the=]
 M =the myths among children are that spinach is terrible
 and that it tastes bad.
 *hh
 B Yes.
 M so the other myths are an attempt by the adults [to compensate for it.
 B [I see.()]
- But "I thought, ←
 that every- everything that was dark "green was uh (.) ←
 no everything "red is high in iron. Or "what. ←
 "what is it. ←
 what is the "truth. ←
- () uh
 M There is no truth. Shapley/Fer 2:25.1

In this example, the declarative is marked by a prior discourse marker, *but*, an alternative tag, and two subsequent interrogative clauses. The multiple marking gets piled up after the production of the declarative clause. The final two interrogative clause markers are syntactically independent of the declarative clause. The pronoun *it* is interpretable in terms of the repaired declarative form which contains two hypotheses about which vegetables are high in iron.

The distribution of lexical and morphosyntactic markers per declarative question have been presented in this section. In the following section, I will discuss the interpretation of declarative questions which have no associated lexical or syntactic

marker.

6.2. Declarative Questions with No Associated Lexical or Morphosyntactic Marker

Table (4.7.) shows that 24% of all cases of declarative questions have no lexical or syntactic marking suggestive of question function. Stenström (1984) calls these "plain" declarative clause questions. These forms are the prototypical declarative questions which are often cited when the form/function problem is discussed. The problematic issue is how such forms get interpreted. The following table presents the plain declarative questions by the categories which have been outlined above, i.e., next turn repair initiators (NTRI's) and requests for confirmation inferrable from the accessibility of information.

NTRI	3	12%
Requests for Confirmation	23	88%
Total	26	100%

Table 4.7.
Distribution of Declarative Questions with No Associated Marker
by NTRI's and Rule of Confirmation

This table shows that 100% of all declarative questions with no associated marker, fall into these two categories. These categories are not ad hoc; they are well established in the literature as devices used by participants in conversation.

NTRI's

NTRI's have been shown by conversation analysts to be a highly organized and effective conversational device (cf. ch. 2). With regard to the discussion of declarative questions, the relevant NTRI's are those which are repeats or partial

repeats with or without a *wh*-word. In terms of the temporal aspects of their interpretation, NTRI's look to the prior discourse since they are only interpretable as repetitions in terms of a prior utterance which they target as a source of some trouble. In that sense, then, they are interpretable as NTRI first pair parts doing questioning by reference to a prior utterance. In my data, only three declarative questions with no associated marker are NTRI's. Among all the instances of NTRI's in the data which involve repetition, most are not declarative clauses but are, rather, only partial repeats of the prior utterance. As such, they will be discussed in relation to nonclausal questions in chapter 6.

Labov and Fanshel's Rule of Confirmation

All the declarative questions with no associated marker, which are not also NTRI's, involve a request for confirmation according to Labov and Fanshel's rule of confirmation based on the distinction between A-events and B-events. In other words, the declarative questions involve B-events. An examination of these utterances reveals that over one-third of all cases have second person subjects, i.e., *you* subjects, as shown in the following table.

Second person subjects	10	38%
Third person subjects	16	62%
Total	26	100%

Table 4.8.
Subjects of Declarative Questions with No Associated Marker (excluding NTRI's)
Interpretable in Terms of Labov's Rule of Confirmation

The second person pronoun *you* is, in a way, a lexical marker of question function (cf. Bolinger 1957, Stenström 1984). Second person subjects appear far less

frequently in discourse that first and third person subjects (Chafe 1982; cf. Thompson and Mulac Forthcoming). The second person pronoun refers to a participant in the interaction (unless it is being used as generic or "impersonal" *you*). When an utterance includes referential *you*, it refers to the recipient of that utterance. When these utterances occur, they appear most often in interrogative forms which do questioning. *You* subjects, then, tend to be associated with question function in both interrogative and declarative forms. The following example is a declarative question with a second person subject which has no other marker of question function. In this example, the recipient of the question, M, has come to S and R's dorm room.

(42) M I came to talk to Ruthie about borrowing her (0.1) notes (-) from (0.1) econ.

R O[h ().

S You didn't come to talk to "Karen?"

←

(0.5)

M No

(0.2)

Karen: (0.3) Karen and I are having a fight.

SN 4 4:2

The second person subject *you* was not initially classified as a lexical marker of question function because inclusion in that category was limited by a strictly semantic criterion. It is not the meaning of the second person pronoun which makes it suggestive of question function. Rather, it is associated with question function^a because it refers to the recipient in an interaction. If *you* is considered to be a lexical marker suggestive of question function in declarative forms, then the proportion of marked forms vs. forms with no associated marker presented in Table (4.2.) increases. This amended distribution is presented in the following table.

Marked	92	(82+10 <i>you</i> subjects)	85%
No Associated Marker	16		15%
Total	108		100%

Table 4.9.
Amended Marked Declarative Questions
vs.
Declarative Questions with No Associated Marker
(includes *you* as a lexical marker)

This table shows that fully 85% of all declarative questions are marked. If *you* is considered to be a lexical marker suggestive of question function in declarative forms, the proportion of marked declarative questions with one marker will decrease. The following table exhibits this amended distribution.

1 marker	50	54%
2 markers	29	32%
3 markers	10	11%
4 markers	3	3%
Total	92	100%

Table 4.10.
Amended Number of Markers per Clause
(includes *you* as a lexical marker)

This amended table shows that more than half of all marked declarative questions have a single marker. In other words, not quite half of marked declarative questions have multiple markers.

Table (4.9.) shows that there are only sixteen cases of declarative questions which have no associated marker — three NTRI's and thirteen declaratives with third person subjects. The three NTRI's are interpretable by being repetitions with a rising terminal intonation. They are marked sequentially by being a repetition. Of the

thirteen remaining declaratives with no associated marker, three appear within the context of a narrative. The speaker uses the declarative form to question the narrator with regard to some aspect of the story he/she is telling. There is no ambiguity as to who has access to the information. Seven of the declarative questions with no associated marker occur during the course of an exposition/description of a subject by an expert on that topic. These subjects are not part of common knowledge subjects, e.g., Hebrew writing symbols, Russian words, Indian mythic figures.

There are two cases of declarative questions in which the participants are involved in making arrangements. In the following example, the participants are discussing a play they are going to see that evening. *So* here is resumptive; it does not mean "result."

- (43) H Ye:s I cried hysterically at the movi [e. I don't know if I'm]=
 N [Oh: guy]=
 H =gon [na cry::,]
 N [Can you imagine] how [its gonna] be in per [son?]=
 H [*hhhhh] [e-hheh]=
 =I don't kno, how its gonna b [e:,] fer the pla]: [:y.]
 N [Oh:] wo::w,] [So it] 'starts=
 =at eight "thir [ty?] ←
 H [*hh] Yeah.
 H So, if I- k- pick you up li:ke by eight o'clo:: [ck,
 N [Yeah, HGII 13:23

Since H has invited N to the play, and has made all the arrangements, including reserving the tickets, there is no ambiguity as to which of the two participants is in the position of being the authority on the curtain time.

There is another case in which the declarative question is doing a joke.

(44) (0.1)

M Who are you going to hear tonight?

B Stravinsky? [Stravinsky

P [Stravinski's going to show "up?

⇐

B No:.. he:'s dead. ()

Shapley/Boys 12:21

In this example, P produces a declarative question which is interpretable as a joke because it is common knowledge among the participants that Stravinski is a composer, not a performer, and that he is deceased. The speaker of the question, however, treats the possibility of Stravinski's appearance, as a performer, as a B-event.

7. Summary of Distributive Facts

The distributive facts reveal that 85% of all declarative questions are marked either lexically (including *you* subjects) or morphosyntactically. The remaining 15% consist of NTRI's and third person subject clauses. The three NTRI's are repetitions of a prior utterance; they exhibit a distinguishing high-rise intonation contour. They are interpretable by virtue of both position and intonation in that position. Cruttenden (1986) notes that the high-rise intonation contour has a fairly consistent meaning across all clause types. He states that "(t)his meaning is basically that of 'echo or repeat question' ... sometimes also called 'contingent queries' or 'pardon questions' (p. 108). The repetition, combined with the rising intonation, is, in a sense, an overt marker of the function of the utterance. It is lexical in that all, or most, of the lexical elements of the utterance which is the source of the trouble get repeated. Among the thirteen third person subject clauses, three question something in an ongoing narrative. There is no ambiguity about them as requests for confirmation when the recipient of the story produces them. It is clear that the narrator has access to the information. Similarly, seven questions asked of experts leave no doubt as to who

has access to the information queried. There are two declarative questions which involve making arrangements. Again, these declarative questions are not ambiguous; it is clear who "owns" the information. The final declarative question is a joke which plays off the common knowledge aspect of the information queried. In summary, an examination of the morphosyntactic patterns of declarative questions shows that they either (1) have lexical or morphosyntactic marking; (2) are NTRI's; or (3) are interpretable in terms of Labov and Fanshel's rule of confirmation. This is not meant to imply that interpretation is made solely on the basis of the morphosyntax. Sequential position or intonation, or their interaction, may be the crucial factor in determining question function in any particular instance. The morphosyntactic facts described in this chapter, however, must be considered in any investigation of why participants in conversation do not have problems interpreting declarative questions. The same morphosyntactic marking, of course, may not indicate question function when combined with differences in pitch prominence and direction of terminal intonation, and other sequential contexts, as will be exemplified in chapter 8. When approached from a semiotic perspective, however, morphosyntactic form exhibits patterns which are amenable to interpretive procedures in conjunction with intonation and sequential position. These patterns are relevant to any explanation of the fact that declarative questions do not present participants in conversation with a real interpretive problem.

Notes

- ¹ It has been noted that negative statements imply some expectation with respect to the affirmative situation (Sacks 1972a, Schegloff 1972, Labov and Fanshel 1977). Labov and Fanshel state:

An assertion that X has not occurred presupposes that someone expects (for some reason) that X would occur (p. 104).

In this study, negative declarative questions with no associated marker are interpretable as requests for confirmation in terms of A-events and B-events. Although it would have been possible to make a case for considering negation a marker associated with question function, I did not treat it as such. I excluded negation as a marker in an attempt to take the most conservative possible approach to morphosyntactic marking. If, in fact, negation were counted as a marker associated with question function, the correlation between morphosyntactic marking and declarative questions would be even stronger.

Chapter 5

Declarative Questions: Function

1. Multiple Functions of Declarative Questions

In this chapter, I will examine some functions of declarative questions in conversation. All the declarative forms in the data are, of course, functioning to do questioning. This was the criterion by which all the forms to be included in the data were identified. Although "doing questioning" is a broad categorization of discourse function, it is not a trivial one. If a participant in conversation is asked a question, a response is made conditionally relevant and will be noticeably absent if it is not produced. Question forms in their social context may, however, exhibit functions which can be described in ways other than doing questioning. In fact, a form may realize multiple functions which accomplish a speaker's goals in interaction.

2. Functional Distribution of Declarative Questions

The declarative questions in the data have been categorized functionally as follows: (1) next turn repair initiators (NTRI's), (2) requests for confirmation interpretable in terms of A-events and B-events, (3) instances of other functions, and (4) instances of *you're kidding*. The function of repair in conversation has been described by Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks (1977) (cf. ch. 2). Labov and Fanshel (1977) have described the interpretation of declarative questions by a proposed a rule of confirmation based on the notion of A-events and B-events (cf. ch. 4). The functional category "other" includes topic solicitations, candidate understandings, expressions of ignorance, and story uptakes. There are also a number of instances of *you're kidding* in the data which receipt new or interesting information.

The 108 clauses in the data distribute as follows.

Next Turn Repair Initiators	10	9%
Requests for Confirmation (in terms of A-events and B-events)	68	63% (these do different actg. + thing)
Other Functions	25	23%
You're kidding	5	5%
Total	108	100%

Table 5.1.
Distribution of Declarative Clauses by Function

This table shows that next turn repair initiators, which constitute 9% of all cases of declarative questions, are rare in these data. Requests for confirmation in terms of A-events and B-events constitute 63% of the cases. Other functions constitute 23% of the data. Instances of *you're kidding* constitute 5% of all cases. In the following sections, I will first discuss next turn repair initiators (NTRI's). Next, I will examine requests for confirmation in terms of A-events and B-events. I will then discuss those forms which are topic solicitations, requests for reasons, uptakes, expressions of ignorance, candidate understandings, arrangements, narrator checks, criticisms, topic continuations, and reported questions. Finally, I will briefly discuss the instances of *you're kidding* in the data.

3. Next Turn Repair Initiators (NTRI's)

There are ten declarative questions in the data which function as next turn repair initiators (NTRI's). NTRI's display some trouble with the hearing or understanding of the prior utterance (cf. 2). Eight of these ten declarative NTRI's function to check the understanding of the prior turn rather than to demonstrate some trouble with

hearing or with a reference. Understanding checks are accomplished by full or partial repeats or by the use of the discourse particle *you mean* plus a candidate understanding of the prior turn. In this section, I will present a detailed analysis of the single instance of a complete repetition in the data. In example (36), repeated here as (45), N produces a complete repetition of the entire prior utterance with terminally rising intonation. In this example, N had previously begun a story about her friend's daughter, J, who had run away from home. N's daughter L is a friend of J. In this example, L produces the utterance *she can still go* three times.

(45) J Did she go to (.) boarding school.

N No. She wouldn't go to boarding school.

So they (might) have her at Fernald.

J hmm

L They what?

N Fernald's the only school that would take her now.

L She can still go.

N She tried to get into other private schools.

L She can still go to Fernald.

J Is that? [Where is that.

E [Wasn't she gonna to go to UCLA that (.) thing=

N =It's at UC [LA,

L [Pass the milk.

J Yeah, ok.

N °Pass the salad,

L She can still go.

→ N She can "s-till go?

L Maybe she's going,

N Yeah. I don't know,

(1.0)

←

Weber 9:134

The participants are discussing the consequences of the teenaged student's running away. N responds to a question with the information that the referent refused to go to boarding school and that, consequently, she may go to a local private school Fernald, which was the only local school that would take her (probably because the school year had already begun). In response, L produces *she can still go*.

The use of *still* displays that the temporal dimension was interpreted as being significant. The stress is on *still* and seems to be denying that she could no longer go to any other school. N interprets this turn as meaning the referent can still go other places, since, in her next turn, she gives background information explaining why the referent can not go other places. This turn denies that the referent can still go other places.

L redoes *she can still go* with the addition of the prepositional phrase *to Fernald*. This is a correction of the prior turn and shows how L had intended her first production of *she can still go* to be interpreted in the first place, viz., that the referent can still go to Fernald. This turn may be an example of the Sack's substitution principle in which a repetition is fuller or more explicit than the original. If, as we now know, L's first production of *she can still go* was intended to be interpreted as *she can still go to Fernald*, it was meant to be interpreted as "she is not going to Fernald yet, but still has the option to go." In any event, L's first production of *she can still go* seems to have misinterpreted what was said. After two NTRI's and some food talk, L produces *she can still go* a third time. The persistence is fascinating and directs us to ask again what the turn was doing in the first and second productions. These kinds of repetitions mean "I am saying now what I said before". N produces an NTRI which repeats the prior declarative clause with a different intonation contour and a cut-off on the *s* of *still*. This full repetition is checking the understanding of the information presented about the referent. L responds to the repetition as if it were projecting some disagreement with the prior turn. In response to the repetition, L's next turn appears to be a stepping up of her assertion that *she can still go*. L states that maybe the referent has actualized her option to go and is, in fact, going (to Fernald). N responds with an affirmative token and concedes that she does not know.

This example is a rare case of a full repetition declarative clause NTRI. The

exchange involves misunderstandings which continue over several turns. The NTRI is not interpreted merely as a problem in understanding, but as a challenge to the assertion. The response is an upgrading of that assertion.

In this section, I have presented a detailed analysis of an NTRI which completely repeats the prior turn. The functions of NTRI's will be more fully discussed in chapter 6 with respect to nonclausal forms.

4. Requests for Confirmation

We have seen in chapter 4 that one factor involved in the interpretation of declarative forms with no associated marker is Labov and Fanshel's rule of confirmation. According to this rule, if A makes a statement about a B-event, it is interpreted as a request for confirmation. B-events are typically known to B but not to A, e.g., his or her emotions, daily experiences, likes and dislikes, etc. The confirming function of declarative questions has been frequently noted in the literature. Bolinger (1957) refers to declarative questions as plain assertive yes/no questions. He notes that "(a)ny utterance that may serve as an assertion may also serve as a Q, provided no markers are present which exclude Q's" (p. 59). He states that functionally, in assertive Q's, "a fact is assumed, pending confirmation" (p. 59). An assumption is possible in any situation where there is "no strong reason for doubt or curiosity" (p. 60). Chafe (1970:333-335) also notes the confirmative function of declarative questions. Stenström (1984) classifies declarative questions lexico-grammatically as declarative, declarative+tag, and declarative+prompter (p. 152). She states that these forms function to either confirm or acknowledge information (p. 156-58). Quirk et al. (1985:814) state that declarative questions "invite the hearer's verification." An analysis of the data used in this study supports the claims of the above authors with respect to the confirmative function of declarative questions, as will be shown in

Table (5.2.).

The following table exhibits the distribution of declarative questions in the data by marked forms vs. forms with no associated marker, and by interpretability in terms of A-events and B-events. Although many of the declarative questions are interpretable in terms of A-events and B-events, some are not. Those which are not interpretable in terms of A-events and B-events constitute the category "other". The ten instances of declarative form NTRI's have been excluded from this table since they are interpretable, as first pair part repair initiators, by virtue of their position, repetitive elements, and intonation (cf. 2). The instances of *you're kidding*, which are interpretable by virtue of the semantics of their elements and function as news receipts, are also excluded from this table. The total number of forms considered is 93.

	Marked		No Associated Marker		Total
Interpretable in terms of A&B-Events	45	48%	23	25%	73%
<u>Not</u> Interpretable by in terms of A& B-events	25	27%	0		27%
Total	70	75%	23	25%	100%

Table 5.2.
Declaratives Interpretable as Requests for Confirmation
in Terms of A-Events and B-Events
by Marked Forms vs. Forms with No Associated Marker

This table, which excludes NTRI's and instances of *you're kidding*, shows that marked declarative questions which are interpretable in terms of A-events and B-events as requests for confirmation constitute 48% of the cases. Declarative questions with no associated marker which are interpretable in terms of A-events and B-events as

requests for confirmation constitute 25% of the cases. When declarative questions both with and without an associated marker are considered, 73% of all declarative question forms are interpretable in terms of A-events and B-events as requests for confirmation. The remaining 27% of declarative questions are not interpretable in terms of A-events and B-events as requests for confirmation. All of these cases have some associated marker. The fact that there are no instances without an associated marker will be discussed below in conjunction with the discussion of declarative questions not interpretable in terms of A-events and B-events as requests for confirmation (cf. sec. 5).

If requests for confirmation in terms of A-events and B-events with second person subjects are included in the category marked, there are only 13 cases of requests for confirmation with no associated marker. As was discussed in chapter 4 (cf. sec. 3), instances of marking are limited to lexical or morphosyntactic elements. A lexical element suggestive of question function is so by virtue of its meaning. Since there is nothing in the meaning of the second person subject which is suggestive of question function, *you* was not initially considered a lexical marker. As we have seen in chapter 4 (sec. 6.2), there are, however, other reasons for considering *you* a marker suggestive of question function. The following table includes second person subjects in the category marked.

	Marked		No Associated Marker		Total
Interpretable by A&B-Events	55	59%	13	14%	73%
<u>Not</u> Interpretable by A& B-Events	25	27%	0		27%
Total	80	86%	13	14%	100%

Table 5.3.
Declaratives Interpretable as Requests for Confirmation
in Terms of A-Events and B-Events
by Marked Forms vs. Forms with No Associated Marker
(includes *you* subjects as marked)

This amended table (cf. Table (5.2.)) shows that marked declarative questions which are interpretable in terms of A-events and B-events constitute 59% of all declarative questions which are neither NTRI's nor instances of *you're kidding*. In the following sections, I will first discuss those forms interpretable in terms of A-events and B-events which are marked. I will next consider the 13 forms interpretable in terms of A-events and B-events which are not marked. I will then examine those declarative questions which are not interpretable in terms of A-events and B-events.

4.1. Marked Requests for Confirmation in terms of A-events and B-events

As we have seen in Table (5.2.), most requests for confirmation interpretable in terms of A-events and B-events are marked either lexically, morphosyntactically, or with second person subjects. The following table presents the distribution of subjects of marked requests for confirmation by subject number.

1P	2	4%
2P	32	58%
3P	21	38%
Total	55	100%

Table 5.4.
Distribution of Subjects in Marked Requests for Confirmation

This table shows that requests for confirmation interpretable in terms of A-events and B-events have first person subjects in only 4% of all cases (cf. sec. 5.10, ex. (19) and ex. (74)). This low percentage is expected, since situations in which the speaker asks the recipient for confirmation is relatively restricted for first person subjects (cf. Sadock 1984).¹ There apparently are few situations in which a speaker asks a recipient to confirm something about himself/herself by using a declarative question. First person subject requests for confirmation in this data occur with hearsay verbs, hypothetical verbs, and verbs of cognition, e.g., *hear*, *imagine*, *know* (cf. Bolinger 1957). The request for confirmation involves information expressed in a complement clause. It is the information in this complement clause that is interpretable as a B-event.

Table (5.4.) shows that 58% of subjects of marked requests for confirmation interpretable in terms of A-events and B-events are second person subjects. These instances are prototypical cases of requests for confirmation since they explicitly mention the participant who owns the information, i.e., *you*. The following examples contain a lexical or syntactic marker suggestive of question function in addition to the second person subject. The following example is taken from a telephone conversation.

(46) R So you took the (.) job, huh?

A Well I'm working daytimes,

R yeah? =

A =a:nd um (0.2) for (.) wha:t I what I did was
I asked them if I could work like from one to seven,
(0.3)

A for this week and next week,

[(0.3)]

[*hhh] so that still gives me: (.) the mornings,

R "Oh, ←

so you're still doing the "part time thing, ←

you're not doing the "full time th

[ing, ←

A

[No: and then (.) what they really

want me: is uh to start full time on the twenty first.

(1.0)

R *Um hm:

Mannon 1:17

request
and

connect part and

In this example, R asks about A's employment status. R begins his answer with the discourse marker *well* and goes on to explain his work hours. Schifffrin (1987:106) notes that *well* often precedes responses to yes/no questions when "neither option offered by the question provides sufficient basis from which to choose an answer" (cf. Schegloff, Sacks and Jefferson 1977, Labov and Fanshel 1977, Svartvik 1980, Owen 1983, Pomerantz 1984). In this example, neither a simple affirmative nor negative response suffices to capture A's employment situation. R infers from A's response that he is not yet working full time. Confirmation of this inference is requested in the declarative question *so you're still doing the part time thing, you're not doing the full time thing*.

In the following example, the participants had been discussing the meaning of *ergodic*, *ergotic*, and *argosy*. This conversation is one of two simultaneous conversations; the other conversation has not been included in the transcript of this example.

- (47) L Ergodic means something palliatory.
 N Is this [a ()
 M [Ergot is a fungus of wheat.
 N yeah.
 N you take "it,
 ↑ "don't you,
 "do you,
 for your "headaches.⇐
 M No.(0.3) I take aspirin now.
 It works like a charm.
 It took me thirty years to discover this fact.
 N How many aspirin.
 M Four.
 N Four?
 M mm hmm.
 N I tried that once.
 I tried six.
 it didn't help.

Shapley/Fer 14: 351

In this example, N requests confirmation of her assumption that M takes ergot for medicinal reasons.

The following two examples are requests for confirmation in which the only marker suggestive of question function is the second person subject; there are no other lexical or morphosyntactic markers. In the following example taken from a telephone conversation, B and V are brother and sister. V, who lives in Los Angeles, is expecting B to arrive for a visit the next day.

only
you
suggests
question
function

- (48) B I was just getting ready to leave right now.
 V Where are you going,
 B I'm going down to Los Angeles.
 V You're leaving "toni:g(h)t?
 B I'm leaving right now. Mmhmm?

⇐

Lazaraton 1:8

In this example, B states that he is getting ready to leave immediately for Los Angeles; this plan of action is unanticipated by V. The declarative question *You're leaving tonight* expresses the fact that what he has said runs counter to her expectations.

In the following example, L produces a declarative question to clarify the topic of

conversation.

- (49) Na I think the split came when they they were (.) kicked out of Rome,
 basically,
 and some went east and some went west.

L you're talking about the (.) [("Jewish split,) ⇐

No [(diaspora)

Na Yeah.

The Sephardic and the Ashkenazy.

Shapley/Shal7:8

This example follows a period in which two simultaneous conversations were in progress about the differences between Sephardic and Ashkenazy Jews. In this example, Na joins L and No's ongoing interaction with her utterance *I think the split came when they they were kicked out of Rome, basically, and some went east and some went west*. L makes an inference about what Na is talking about and requests confirmation.

Table (5.4.) shows that 38% of all subjects of marked requests for confirmation interpretable in terms of A-events and B-events are third person subjects. Some are questions asked during the course of a story by a recipient, as in the following example. In this example, the speaker offers a candidate explanation for why the participant in the story, a young woman who had run off with her boyfriend, returned home to her parents.

- (50) E Did I tell y- Oh, yo:u heard it.

L Yeh, [a]bout K__ ?

E [()]

No:, about (1.2) A__.

L A__ who?

E is coming home,

B Oh [the one who left to go to] Italy?

N [Oh yeah, I remember her]

L [()]

E She called and wants to come [home,]=

L [Same] = [same terms] as J.

B = [Halleluiah!]

N [(is she gonna get-)

L [NO CAR.
 N O::h
 B °Oh this eggplant is [so::().
 N [Good, I should have made mo:re.
 Then running away is running away,
 no matter what country you go to, h [uh?
 L [huhuhu [hu
 E [hehehe [he
 N [Down the corner,
 or if you go to Rome,=
 B =What "happened, it didn't work "out? ⇐
 E I don't kno:w, I didn't get the detai:ls.
 L She didn't like her, (.) boyfriend? Weber 3: 24

In this example, the speaker requests confirmation that her candidate explanation *It didn't work out* is correct. This is a very general formulation, however, and actually serves to solicit more details of the story from the narrator.

There are twenty-one marked requests for confirmation interpretable in terms of A-events and B-events which have third person subjects. In this example, which is marked by a word tag, No has been explaining to L about the historical origin of the split between Ashkenazy and Sephardic Jews. L synthesizes the prior information in terms of the following proposal. No has been the expert in the prior talk relating to Jewish history and Hebrew.

(51) L I like my (.) MY distinction then,
 to use the words Moslem/Christian to distinguish the two types.
 ((laughter))
 Na That's right
 ((laughter))
 right, [right.
 L [doesn't that really describe it.
 Na that's it, [you're abs- he's right.
 L [and after "all, if you go "far enough back,
 the "Moslem world was 'the 'cultured (.) 'world. Right? ⇐
 They preserved the culture in Spain, and where else
 No Yeah
 L around the world, and invented algebra, and everything else.
 No Except the cleavage occurred after the Moslem ascendancy, I think.
 Shapley/Shah 15:26

In this example, the speaker does not leave room for a response immediately after the tag *right*. In spite of the fact that the recipient No does respond affirmatively, this declarative question seems to be asking more for acknowledgement than confirmation (cf. Stenström 1984:156).

In the following example, which is marked by a prior interrogative clause and a clause tag, the narrator jokingly produces a declarative question in order to underscore the risqué nature of the story he is about to tell.

- (52) M Have you heard about the orgy we had the other night?
 that's how I got his black eye:
 You like the black eye:?=
- M ()
 R Oh it's lovely.
 (.2)
- M great
 (0.1)
 *hhh anyway (0.1) *hh um (-)we were having this orgy,
 is this okay to talk "about:t ? ←
 this doesn't "offend you. does "it? ←
 (0.2)
- S No=
 R =no=
 M =oh.

SN 4: 5:15

In this example, confirmation is equivalent to permission to continue the story.

There are several questions asked of an expert who is discoursing on an esoteric (not common knowledge) topic, e.g., Hebrew writing symbols, Indian mythic images, Russian. In this example, which is marked by a clause tag, the participants are discussing the way modern Hebrew is written with regard to the representation of vowels.

(53) No (But when they)
 Like like what, what the Israelis have done (.)
 when they write
 when they use regular Hebrew for, u:h u:h you know as as a national
 language,
 *hh when they teach kids,
 when they teach the people how to read Hebrew.
 and in particular children,
 they put the dots in.
 But then for example ordinary I- Israeli newspapers
 they write without the dots.
 L It's like training wheels.
 No *hh
 Na or like accents in Russian.
 (M) hmm
 () [heh heh
 Na [yeah and [I u:h u:h
 Na [They don't exist [but ()
 No [No (it's i-)
 It's just the way the Israelis have of keeping people, you know uh, uh
 of making it harder to a-a-a-a-acclimatize,
 and things like that.^oyou know.*hh
 M Do they have any (.) scientific literature in Hebrew?
 No yeah.
 M They have.=
 M = [They certainly would use]dots for "that? ⇐
 No = [()]
 M wouldn't they. ⇐
 No I don't think so.
 It's all fake anyway.
 When whenever they, there's a (.) journal,
 I think A__ showed me one one time.
 But they but they always put in English translations,
 s:o so in case anybody wants to read it. Shapley/Sha 19:22

In this example, M infers that readers of scientific Hebrew would need all the help they could get to decipher the text, and, therefore, that scientific journals would provide the additional clues which dots provide. Confirmation of this inference is requested by the declarative question *They certainly would use dots for that wouldn't they.*

In summary, most third person subjects of requests for confirmation interpretable in terms of A-events and B-events occur during the course of a story, or a

description/exposition of an esoteric subject, and are produced by recipients. Two are requests made by narrators which check on recipients' knowledge or sensibilities.

4.2. Requests for Confirmation Which Have No Associated Marker

The following table presents the distribution of subjects, by number, of requests for confirmation interpretable (in terms of A-events and B-events) which have no associated marker. Since second person subjects have been considered markers suggestive of question function, none are included, by definition, in the following table.

1P	0	0%
3P	13	100%
Total	13	100%

Table 5.5.
Distribution of Subjects of Requests for Confirmation
Which Have No Associated Marker

There are no first person subjects of requests for confirmation (interpretable in terms of A-events and B-events) which have no associated marker. In section 4.1, it was noted that first person subject requests for confirmation in the data appear with hearsay verbs, hypothetical verbs, and verbs of cognition. These verb types are all lexical markers of question function. They all take a complement clause which codes information interpretable as a B-event (cf. sec. 4.1). The request for confirmation does not concern information about the speaker. Although it is imaginable, it is unlikely that, during the course of ordinary conversation, a speaker would often request confirmation of some information about himself/herself which is interpretable as a B-event. This would require a situation in which a recipient

knows a fact about the speaker which the speaker would not know about himself/herself.²

Third person subjects constitute 100% of all subjects of requests for confirmation interpretable (in terms of A-events and B-events) which have no associated marker. In the following example from a dinner table conversation, there are two separate conversations going on at the same time. I have included both in the transcript of this example because the participants in both interact. M's initial declarative question is motivated by the presence of a Colonel Sanders' chicken box on the table. L joins in and becomes a co-teller of the story of Colonel Sanders.

- (54) M [It doesn't]
 () []
 M [It doesn't tell the (.) uh the later part of the story of Colonel
 B [It's without onions.
 M Sanders, does it.
 B It's a Swiss dish ramekin.
 () (What story.)
 M of his unsuccessful suit to get them to stop using his name and picture (.) you
 know.
 L and letting him have his own restaurant.
 B May I give you a piece of [ramekin?
 M [yes.()
 B Do you like cheese.
 T **He's no longer in 'charge of this "thing?"** ⇐
 B I mean my father did not like cheese. So ()
 L No (at least now) most recently since the the lawsuits,
 they've got him the commercials again.
 M uh huh
 L so he must be on the payroll. Shapley/Fer 10:250

In this example, T, a recipient, makes an inference about Colonel Sanders' relation to the company which bears his name as a result of M's utterance that the Colonel had sued to have his name and picture removed from the company's advertising. L, as co-teller, responds to the question.

Several questions with no associated marker are asked during the course of a

description by an expert on the subject, as in the following. In this example, the participants had been discussing plants which contain oxalic acid. They were trying to determine if a plant L was thinking of was oxalis. It had previously been agreed upon that oxalis had seeds or beans that shot out of the plant.

- (55) L It was very lo-
 the stuff I was thinking about was very low.
 M mmhmm
 N ()
 L It's a it's a sort of a [survives lawnmowers.
 M [yeah,
 M right.
 It's like clover.
 [It has]three leaves.
 L [(yeah,)]
 L but somewhere in there it's got these little,
 M (b()-) Right. That's the ones.
 L And these 'beans are oxalic "acid?" ←
 M N(h)o bu- but the leaves have it.
 I guess the whole plant has it.
 I don't know if anyone has ever cooked the seeds. Shapley/Fer 10:236

In this example, L requests confirmation that oxalic acid is contained in the plant's beans.

Whether they appear in requests for confirmation interpretable in terms of A-events and B-events with or without an associated marker, third person subjects tend to appear in stories or in the course of an exposition on an esoteric topic. They are produced by the recipient and make a response by the narrator relevant. Clearly, the narrator owns the information; by virtue of this fact, the declarative form is understandable as a request for confirmation.

There are several instances of declarative questions which do not occur during a narrative or exposition by an expert. In example (43), repeated here as (56), the participants are involved in making arrangements to go see a play. In this example, the *so* is resumptive. The participants had been discussing the plot of the play.

- (56) H Yes I cried hysterically at the movi [e. I don't know if I'm]=
 N [Oh: guy]=
 H =gon [na cry:.,]
 N [Can you imagine] how [its gonna] be in per [son?]=
 H [*hhhhh] [e-hheh]=
 =I don't know , how its gonna b [e:,] fer the pla]: [:y.]
 N [Oh:] wo::w,] [So it] 'starts=
 =at eight "thir [ty?] ←
 H [*hh] Yeah.
 H So, if I- k- pick you up li:ke by eight o'clo [ck,
 N [Yeah, HGII 13:23

Since H has invited N to the play, and has made all the arrangements, including reserving the tickets, there is no ambiguity as to who has access to the relevant information. N is requesting confirmation of the time of the play. This utterance is beginning a new sequence which is doing making arrangements.

Example (44), repeated here as (57), is a case of a joke done as a request for confirmation with no associated marker.

- (57) (0.1)
 M Who are you going to hear tonight?
 B Stravinsky? [Stravinsky and
 P [Stravinski's going to show "up? ←
 B No:.. he's dead. () Shapley/Boys 12:21

In this example, the request for confirmation is patently playful. It plays off the potentially ambiguous meaning of *going to hear*. This phrase is interpretable in terms of who is actually performing as well as whose music is being performed. The phrase is treated as ambiguous in this example. It is not ambiguous because these participants all (presumably) know that Stravinsky is the (deceased) composer, not the performer. The fact that Stravinsky is deceased is an O-event, i.e., known to all the participants. It is treated by the speaker, however, as a B-event.

There are several cases in the data in which the speaker of the question sets up the

prior discourse which creates the context for the production of the declarative question, as in example (58). In this example, V resumes a previous topic in which it had been established that B was about to leave San Francisco and begin his trip down the coast to Los Angeles where he is to stay with V, his sister.

- (58) V And-uh-okay uh:
 so you're gonna "leave,
 and it's gonna take you about 'five hours to get to "Betsy? ⇐
 (0.5)
 B yes.
 V Uh h:uh,
 B So: I'll- I'll probably leave there at the latest ten
 so I'll probably be there at the latest () midnight.
 V Yea:h. (0.2) Shyoo!
 *hhh Okay well if I go to bed I'm gonna leave the door open.
 B Oh okay. Lazaraton 4:114

In this example, the speaker produces the resumptive *so* and then *you're gonna leave*. This is not done as a question, even though it has a second person subject. It is a restatement of information already known. Previous talk has established (1) that B was about to leave, and (2) that B was going to stop at Santa Barbara and have dinner with Betsy, as demonstrated in example (59).

- (59) B I was just getting ready to leave right now.
 V Where are you going,
 B I'm going down to Los Angeles.
 V You're leaving "toni:g(h)t? ⇐
 B I'm leaving right now. Mmhmm?
 V You a:re.= When are you coming in then,
 B Uh, ⇐
 well I'm gonna stop at Santa "Barbara, ⇐
 and have dinner with uh "Betsy. ⇐
 V uh hu:h,
 B A:nd so: it'll probably be later. (.) in the evening.
 V Uh hu:h. (.) Oh it's tonigh-
 Oh I was preparing for you tomorrow. Lazaraton 1:8

Following the production of *you're gonna leave*, V produces the declarative question *and it's gonna take you about five hours to get to Betsy*. This turn evokes the prior sequence in which V first tried to establish when B would arrive at her house (ex. 48). *You're gonna leave* restates B's answer *I'm leaving right now*. *And it's gonna take you about five hours to get to Betsy?* incorporates the information in B's answer *Uh, well I'm gonna stop at Santa Barbara and have dinner with uh Betsy* by giving a candidate estimate of the time it will take B to drive from San Francisco to Santa Barbara.

In this section, declarative questions with no associated marker have been discussed. These questions are all interpretable as requests for confirmation in terms of Labov and Fanshel's rule of confirmation understood in terms of A-events and B-events.

In section 4, we have seen that 73% of all declarative questions are requests for confirmation interpretable in terms of A-events and B-events. When the data are considered with respect to marking, 86% of all declarative questions are marked. In the following section, the 27% of declarative questions which are not requests for confirmation interpretable in terms of A-events and B-events will be discussed.

5. Declarative Questions Not Interpretable in Terms of A-Events and B-Events

In this section, I will discuss the 25 declarative questions in the data which are not interpretable as requests for confirmation in terms of A-events and B-events (cf. Table (5.3.)). All the declarative questions which are not interpretable in terms of A-events and B-events are marked. Although some of these declarative questions may be considered requests for confirmation, they are very different from those interpretable as requests for confirmation in terms of A-events and B-events. They serve a variety of functions in the discourse, e.g., to do jokes, to make evaluations,

and to solicit topics or sequences. The fact that all the declarative questions not interpretable in terms of A-events and B-events are marked suggests that they would not be interpretable as questions without explicit marking. Since recipients of this type of question cannot utilize the interpretive factor of information accessibility to interpret these utterances as questions, morphosyntactic marking appears to be necessary. As we will exemplify below, speakers employ these types of declarative questions in order to perform a variety of functions. By constructing them as declarative questions, speakers are capitalizing on the correlation of this form with requests for confirmation interpretable in terms of A-events and B-events. In doing so, they are, in many instances, making assertions in a nonassertive way.

5.1. Topic/Sequence Solicitations

In the following example, seven people are sitting around in the living room of one of the participants after having seen a movie together. The speaker is commenting upon the action of another participant who takes some of the food which has been put out by the hostess.

- (60) (3.0)
- | | |
|--|-----------------|
| W "Could'nt resist, "huh:. | ← |
| D No | |
| (0.6) | |
| W The pull: of food. | |
| (0.4) | |
| D The pull of crackers. The lure of crackers.= | |
| W =(Do) people sit around eating in Nepal? | |
| (0.2) | |
| D All the time that's all they do | Riggenbach 3:63 |
| ((etc. on this topic/sequence)) | |

This example is produced by W after a three second silence in the conversation. It is an evaluation of a participant's behavior. This gets a response and W expands the

In this example, M makes an assumption about what information is contained in the public relations story of Colonel Sanders printed on the box. This declarative question serves to open a topic/sequence. M's friend L joins in and becomes a co-teller of the story of Colonel Sanders.

5.2. Request for a Reason

The following example is a request for information, specifically, a reason. The declarative question has the structure *how about* plus a declarative clause (cf. ch. 2, sec. 2.1.1) for a justification of this utterance as a declarative question). In this example, V had been describing how her mother had been reacting to her father's knee surgery.

- (62) C Your parents are just too normal, Ken.
 You don't understand what its like to have weird parents.
 K Oh I have a grandmother
 [that makes me understand [Vick]is's Mom] a lot so,
 C [Oh]
 V [He has a grandmother that's like my Mom.]
 C Uh huh *hh
 V He does.
 C I mean that- the-
 but ya know ya don't understand
 hoe Vickie could be so affected.
 I think about my D [ad ya know]
 K [()] [I understand.]
 V [I get] sucked in.
 K I understand.
 C Yeah?
 K But I- I don't unde [rstand-
 V [cause his Mom gets sucked i[n.
 C [O::h.]
 V Doesn't she?
 K Yeah.
 (0.2)
 C [It's so easy wss]
 K [I mean I under]stand but it-
 but it see-
 ya know but it [still seems like]ya oughta be able to say no-
 C [It's still frustrating]
 (0.3)

K Ya knew before,
 How come ←
 (0.2)
 you're letting ←
 this "cra [zy]person change your mind ya [know.] ←
 V [Right.] [We]ll
 s- it's like she made me believe
 that yeah you know the doctors are you know horrible
 an yes this is ridiculous
 an *hh gu- I gue[ss
 C Why do you think yo- your Mom is probably just
 V jealous
 K eh heh
 C Well i mean pr-
 maybe that too
 but she just can't handle
 (0.2)
 V Reality.
 C People close to her being in pain
 you know she wants to
 K it- it seems weirder than that.
 More insidious or something.
 cause
 C really?
 K All the stuff that Vickie's told me
 that she - that she pulls
 an that-
 you know wanting to claim all the misery in the family [for] herself
 C an stuff like that?
 C yeah Ford 9: 256

In this example, the declarative question is asking for a reason, not requesting confirmation. K is asking V why she let her mother raise doubts in her about the appropriateness of her father's operation.

K had begun the topic/sequence in which the above example appears with the following.

- (63) K It was like the other day uh
 (0.2)
 Vickie was talking on the phone to her Mom?
 C Mm hm.
 K An uh she got off the phone
 and she was incredibly upset?
 C Mm hm
 K She was going
 God do you think they're performing unnecessary surgery on my Dad
 or som'm like that? Ford 1:1

In producing this utterance, K implicitly criticizes V's response to her mother, whom he refers to as *this crazy person*. This utterance is interpretable as criticism because it suggests that V is irrational for letting a crazy person change her mind. K's prior utterance, *you knew before*, suggests that V knew her Mother was a crazy person. It also suggests that V knew that her father's surgery was appropriate. This example, then, is implicitly criticizing both V and her mother.

5.3. Uptakes

In the following example, the speaker produces an uptake of a news announcement. An uptake is an utterance which displays that the recipient got the point of the prior announcement or story (cf. Labov and Fanshel 1977:109 for a discussion of listener's evaluations of narratives). The sequence begins with a pre-announcement by E, followed by a number of NTRI's.

- (64) E Did I tell y- Oh, yo:u heard it.
 L Yeh, [a]bout K?
 E [()]
 No:, about (1.2) A.
 L A who?
 E is coming home,
 B Oh [the one who left to go to] Italy?
 N [Oh yeah, I remember her]
 L [()]
 E She called and wants to come [home,]=
 L [Same] = [same terms] as Joanne.

B	= [Halleluiah!]	
N	[(is she gonna get-)	
L	[NO CAR.	
N	O::h	
B	^o Oh this eggplant is [so:.().	
N	[Good, I should have made mo:re.	
	Then "running "away is "running "away,	⇐
	no matter what country you "go to, 'h	[uh? ⇐
L		[huhuhu [hu
E		[hehehe [he
N		["Down ⇐
	the corner, or if you go to "Rome,=	⇐
B	=What happened, it didn't work out?	
E	I don't kno:w, I didn't get the detai:ls.	
L	She didn't like her, (.) boyfriend?	Weber 2:4

After the series of NTRI's, E announces the news that A had *called and wants to come home*. L then expands the sequence by adding more news, viz., the conditions her parents had set for her (*no car*). This additional information is receipted by N. B then does a compliment which addresses the food. This is responded to by N, the hostess, with an appreciation (*good*) and a self-deprecation (*I should have made more*). N takes more turn which serves as an uptake of the announcement produced collaboratively by E and L, both classmates of the young woman who had run away.

N begins her turn with the discourse marker *then*. This functions to code what follows as a conclusion of sorts (cf. Schiffrin 1987:246). Though it is a request for confirmation, it is not interpretable in terms of A-events and B-events. N's utterance is functioning as an evaluation. It is revealed in subsequent conversation that the boyfriend is Italian and A had run away to Rome with him. These are rather exciting details. N's utterance places the episode, however, squarely in the category it belongs, from a mother's perspective. Even though the circumstances of this particular episode might be glamorous, it is as bad as running away with a local boy to an apartment at *the corner*. The consequences are the same — no car, among other

probable punishments. The two teen-aged girls respond to this question with laughter.

In the following example, C is talking about her college student daughter. D tells how he has just misunderstood something that was said. This is one of two simultaneous conversations; the other has not been included in the transcript of this example.

- (65) M What is she majoring in?
 C Latin (.) American studies,
 M Really, at Yale
 D I thought she was pre-med
 C well she is pre-med,
 but that's not a=
 D Latin American — Oh pre-med is not a major
 C no
 La No people major in biology
 M oh I see
 L but she's in (latin American)
 D ()
 D That's amazing(.) how I misread that,
 despite the fact that I (.) despite the misheard it.
 Despite the fact that I know exactly what she's doing.
 You said latin (.) and American studies.
 C Oh (yeah) What a strange combination. heh heh
 D Right. and what is
 What is really puzzling is that it immediately translates
 though I know exactly what she's doing.
 D Latin American studies.
 C Some sort of combination of classics and English.
 D And all of a sudden I forgot totally who we are talking about
 except that I know she was going to be pre-med.
 C How very interesting.
- Well She'll know all those "words,
 when she gets to "medical school,
 "won't she.
 C all those Latin words.
 (0.2)
 she's in Panama.

In this example, M asks C what her daughter is majoring in. She answers Latin and American studies. D misinterprets this as Latin American studies. C's first response to D's narration of his experience acknowledges the plausibility of his misinterpretation

by evaluating the correct interpretation is a *strange combination*. C's next response expands on the type of combination involved — *Some sort of combination of classics and English*. C's third response evaluates D's experience — *How very interesting*. C continues by producing the declarative question — *Well She'll know all those words when she gets to medical school, won't she*. With this declarative question, C relates her daughter's strange combination major to her plan to attend medical school. This is not a request for confirmation because the fact that C's daughter will benefit in medical school from her knowledge of Latin is not a B-event, i.e., a fact known only to D. This question does an uptake of D's description of his experience by making his previous remark — *I know she was going to be pre-med* — relevant to her daughter's strange major.

5.4. Knowledge Gaps

In the following example, the speaker expresses a gap in his knowledge. He wonders what the word *postulate* means. This is followed by an interrogative clause.

- (66) D There's some disagreement as to whose turn it is
or how long the turn was supposed to have been.
M Rather interesting, yes.
La Well that's why it's a postulate and not a theorem.
M It gives a nice (.) a sort of (.) competitive (.) aspect.
(0.2)
L I wonder what "postulate means. ←
() *hh
L Does that come from the same word as "expostulation ←
or something? ←
K I don't know. Shapley/Nel 12:11

In this example, the gap in the speaker's knowledge is exhibited with the lexical marker *I wonder*. This clause takes an embedded question as its complement. The speaker follows this utterance with a guess at the derivation of 'postulate'.

In the following example, the speaker expresses her uncertainty as to whether or not she will get charged for a long distance call.

- (67) N You called Richard,=
 () =hh-hh=
 H = y(h)Yea(h)h
 and I h(h)ung up
 wh(h)en he ans [wer
 N [Oh: Hyla why::: [::,
 H [*hhh
 well first of all
 I wasn't about to spend seventy five cents for three mi [nutes *uh] *eh=
 N [Yea:h,]
 N =That's true,=
 H =*hihhhh that's a lot of money
 plus (.) uh then it's twenty five cents for extra minute a [fter that.]=
 N [Yeah,]=
 H =* hh y [ou know,]
 N [How do you] know he [answered could you tell his voi:ce?]
 [so for four minutes its a bu:ck.]
 (0.2)
 H Hu:h?
 (.)
 N Could you tell his vo[i:ce,]
 H [Yea]h I knew his voice,=
 N =Oha::: [w,
 H [hhhih*hh=
 N =Ho:w was it to hear his [voice,]
 H [ah:]::,
 *u-*ehhh I wanted to tape [record ihhhhh [heh [heh]
 N Did you wanna [say [hi]:, so ba:d?=
 H =What?=
 N =Didn't you wanna' really say hi:,=
 H =Ye:s, but as soon as he said hello I hung up.=
 N [°Oh : : : : : ,]
 H [So 'I don't know if I'll get char]ged the seventy-five ⇐
 "c(hh)ents(h) or not,= ⇐
 N =No I don't think you will but- (.) (you) might get charged something,
 (0.3)
 H ↓Oh:.

HG II 24:9

In this example, the declarative question expresses the speaker's uncertainty about phone company procedure at a particularly emotionally difficult point in the talk. The utterance appears to be trying to change the direction of the talk to a less painful

subject.

5.5. Candidate Understandings

In the following example from a dinner table conversation, the speaker does a candidate understanding of her mother's cooking techniques. In a candidate understanding, a speaker offers a recipient a characteristic description of an aspect of the recipient's experience.

- (68) L I thought I was eating all the same thing you been eating,
Like last night, (.) the green beans and the (0.2) [()] very weird lately
Mom?
E [hehehe.
N What do you mean?
L mixing things u:p≠
N Oh≠ I know I'm la::zy
(0.4)
I put everything in the same pot,
(0.2)
L °Just throw 'together a "little something (uh?)"= ←
N =mmhm Weber 5:64

In this example, L is teasingly criticizing her mother's cooking. She offers a candidate restatement of the prior turn *I put everything in the same pot* with the declarative question *Just throw together a little something (uh?)*. Note that the subject pronoun *you* is not produced (cf. ex. (4)), perhaps suggesting the non-serious nature of the criticism.

This declarative question is not a request for confirmation interpretable in terms of A-events and B-events. The fact that N puts everything in the same pot has already been established in the prior turn. The declarative question is not a request for confirmation of a fact about N's cooking. Rather, through its lexical elements, it characterizes that fact.

In the following example from a telephone conversation, R has been discussing

the possibility of a new project getting approved. If that happens, his job will be secure for quite a while to come.

- (69) R Wuh- we're wait:ing for Arthur to make a *de [cision.
 A [hhh whhe hhh
 but i(h)ts it's (.)
 what I'm rea:lly enjoy:ing is: (.) uhm:: getting a pa:y check.
 heh ha [h hhh heh ha hhh]
 R [Ya "know? (0.4) it's it's (.)] ⇐
 it's [uhm "surpri:s(h)ing(h)ly gra:tifying. [isn't" it?]= ⇐
 A [hhh [wu-]= ⇐
 =Yeah en: uh you know I-
 (0.5)
 A And I also gotta check from a cable fee that (.) uh in New En:gland,
 you know,
 I let them show sewing woman once. Mannon 11:217

In this example, the speaker, R, offers a candidate understanding in response to A's expression of pleasure at getting a regular paycheck. In doing so, he is demonstrating that he appreciates how A feels. This declarative question is not a request for confirmation interpretable in terms of A-events and B-events because the fact that getting a paycheck is surprisingly gratifying is not a B-event, i.e., a fact known only to B.

5.6. Arrangements

In the following example, the speaker is using a marked declarative question to complete and confirm arrangements for attending a play that evening.

(70) H =*hh maybe we can go for a drink tonight.
 (.)
 N Ye::ah. That soun-
 Yeah I owe you a dri:nk.
 (.)
 I wanna buy you a dri:n [k.
 H [Aow. alri [:ght,]
 N ["Oka:]y? ⇐
 so we "will fer sure.= ⇐
 H =Alri [ght.]
 N [Af]ter, (.) the play, HG II 38:18

In this example, N offers to buy H a drink in response to H's suggestion that they go for a drink after the theatre. H accepts this offer. N then confirms this date for a drink with the declarative question — *Oka:y? so we will fer sure*. This question is not a request for confirmation in terms of A-events and B-events. Whether H and N do in fact go for a drink after the theatre is not a B-event, i.e., a fact known only to B. It takes the two involved parties to confirm a date. In producing this declarative question, the speaker is both simultaneously confirming and requesting confirmation.

5.7. Narrator Checks

There are two examples which can be classified as narrator checks on their recipients.

(71) A And I got a check from a cable fee that (.) uh in New England you
 know,
 I let them show sewing woman once.
 [(0.4)]
 [hhh] and that was four hundred do:llars the:re,
 (0.3)
 A (and was) "that easy money 'too, righ [t ?= ⇐
 R [Uh↑huh
 A = I just send them a ma:ster and they *sh- air it over cable,
 and I get this check. ri:ght?=
 R =ye:ah ⇐ Mannon 11:226

This declarative question is not a request for confirmation in terms of A-events and B-events. A is not asking R to confirm the fact that his residual check is easy money, but rather requesting acknowledgement that the recipient appreciates the significance of receiving residuals.

5.8. Criticism

There is one example in the data which is an explicit criticism. B and V are brother and sister; B is coming from San Francisco to Los Angeles. The *she* in the first utterance refers to their mother.

- (72) V [so you're er- she] said
 B [hhh hhh]
 V is he coming for vacation or for um (0.4) tsk! *hhh work.
 And I said I:: do::n't kno::w.
 B VaNE:ssa:.
 V I said [both.
 B [You're a lot of "ba:ckup, aren't "you? "for me. ←
 V I know, I said-no I said both.
 It's both.
 (0.4)
 °Both. See? I defended you. Lazaraton 4:105

In this example, B's declarative question *you're a lot of backup aren't you for me* is done ironically. It is interpretable as meaning that she did not back him up in response to their mother's query about the purpose of his visit. In this example the tag is embedded.

5.9. Topic Continuation

There is one example in the data which is continuing a topic/sequence in progress.

(73) M That's about it
 hell I haven't been doing anything but (0.2) ts (0.2) well like (0.2)
 going out [actually.
 K [mmm*
 M I have to start studying now:
 (0.7)
 K yeah I s [hould (too)*
 M [and I've gotta pap*er to write after
 (0.7)
 have to wait until Friday
 (0.3)
 see the last films
 (0.7)
 K You'd ne [ver know ⇐
 M [In that film class ()
 K I had a paper due "Wednesday, "would you. ⇐
 (0.4)
 M N(h)o hhh SN 4 22:15

In this example, M states that he has to start studying and K echoes the sentiment. M then talks about the paper he has to write. K, in turn, produces the declarative question *You'd never know I had a paper due would you* which continues the litany of what needs to be done. M responds with a negative token. This question exhibits an impersonal form of *you*; it is interpretable as meaning "people in general".

5.10. Reported Questions

There are several instances of reported questions in the data. In the following example, the speaker is telling a story.

(74) C Ro:n uh:;, Ron's family moved,
 into (Serrano Park) where we live right near Mount ().
 I met his sister one day
 and I said
 I hear you have a 'brother that goes to "Lehigh. ⇐
 (0.9)
 and she said yeah. Clacia 13:7

In this example, the speaker is reporting direct speech. The reported speech is a

declarative question.

In the following example, the question of a third party is reported.

(75) V an also one more thing

Mother wanted to "know whethe:ther

←=

if we're going to the desert on the "weekend,

←=

whether wu-we wanted to go to a (.) "Halloween party

←=

they were gonna have.

←=

(.)

B Did the:y huh *hhh

V Isn't [that] funny=

B [hhh]

B =they'r::e gonna give a Hallow(h)een p [(hhh)]

V [oh no] huh

Lazaraton 3:76

In this example, a third person's question is reported as indirect speech. The question is reported by means of a declarative clause.

In section 5, we have seen that all the declarative questions not interpretable in terms of A-events and B-events are marked. The various functions these questions serve in the talk have been described. Instances of *your kidding* will be briefly exemplified in the following section.

6. *You're Kidding*

There are several instances of *you're kidding* in the data. These utterances function to show receipt or appreciation of interesting, newsworthy information. It is not always clear that these forms are doing questioning. It may be argued that they are question-like in that some forms receive literal yes/no answers. Bolinger (1957:84) states, however, that these forms "have become fossilized signals for yes-no answers" and that "...they rarely appear as (questions) except with high or rising terminal pitch..."

(76) A So: uh: if it's ye:s,
 hh () I could be employed until nineteen-eighty ei:ght,
 an if it's a no:;
 (*) then everybody goes home that day:. t(hhh) (hhh) (hhh).

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7. Conclusion

In chapter 1, I discussed some literature which holds that interrogatives are the syntactic clause type most frequently associated with question function. In fact, interrogatives constitute 59% of all questions in the data. In chapter 4, we have seen that declarative questions constitute only 17% of all question forms in the data. These declarative questions are used to request confirmation of B-events 73% of the time. We can say, therefore, that they are typically used to do this.

Speakers also use declarative questions to accomplish interactional goals other than requesting confirmation of B-events. These functions include soliciting new topics, making jokes, doing evaluations, and doing both serious and non-serious criticism. In some cases, these declarative questions capitalize on the correlation between declarative questions and requests for confirmation of B-events in order to make assertions in a nonassertive, diplomatic way.

Notes

- ¹ Requests for confirmation in terms of A-events and B-events exclude NTRI's which are interpretable on other grounds.
- ² This excludes NTRI's.

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Chapter 6

Nonclausal Questions: Morphosyntactic Patterns

1. The Problem of Nonclausal Questions

In this chapter, I will address the form/function problem by examining those functional questions which are realized by particles, words, or phrases, i.e., forms which do not constitute a syntactic clause. These forms have been referred to in the literature as fragmentary sentences, i.e., "lacking constituents that are normally obligatory" (Quirk et al. 1985:838). The omission of grammatical elements is known as ellipsis. The ellipped elements may be recoverable from the linguistic form of the utterance or from the prior discourse. According to Quirk et al. (1985:838), not all fragmentary utterances can be considered elliptical; such forms can not be confidently analyzed in terms of clause structure. These fragments are referred to as nonsentences.

In this study I will not refer to utterances as full or complete utterances vs. fragmentary or elliptical utterances. These terms suggest that, from the point of view of production, those utterances which exhibit syntax at the clause level are in some way primary, basic, or nonderivative, while those utterances which do not exhibit such syntax are broken, incomplete, or derivative. Clause structure is basic, however, from the point of view of discourse strategies. Language in use exhibits a preferred argument structure for clauses; this preferred structure reflects principles of information management (Du Bois 1985; 1987a,b). Hopper (1988) discusses the role of the clause with respect to the relation between discourse and grammar.

The relation between text and grammar is mediated by preferred ways of formulating clauses in specific discourse contexts. Clauses both respond structurally to textuality and are central to the ongoing process of constructing textuality. Like other linguistic units, therefore, clauses

cannot be described in isolated, autonomous terms "first" (i.e., a priori) and then fitted into a discourse framework; instead the clause must always be seen as having a particular role in the construction of the text, and is form understood, however imperfectly, from that perspective alone (p. 109).

While there is no "pre-existing ideal (invariant) form" for clauses in discourse, there are clause types preferred for building texts (Hopper:109).

Utterances which do not exhibit clause structure, i.e., words and phrases, are often, though not always, interpretable in terms of clauses in the prior discourse. Because clause structure is fundamental to the organization of discourse, I will refer to those kinds of forms which do not exhibit clausal syntax as nonclausal forms rather than as particles, words, or phrases. These forms are not uncommon in ordinary conversation; participants do not have trouble producing or interpreting them. Communication can, in fact, occur in dialogues which consist of turns in which the participants utter only single words and yet "understand each other perfectly" (Rommetveit 1974:29).

Nonclausal forms are not associated in the linguistics literature with any particular functional type in the way that declarative forms are associated with statements and interrogative forms are associated with questions. Quirk et al. (1985:850-1) state that nonclausal forms can function to give commands, ask questions, make assertions, or serve as exclamations. Nonclausal questions, therefore, present a different kind of form/function problem from that discussed in chapter 4 with regard to declarative questions. In the case of declarative clause questions, the problematic issue has been posed in these terms: how do recipients know the utterance is functioning as a question rather than as a statement? Since nonclausal forms are not associated in the literature with a typical function, the problematic issue is simply how recipients interpret them with regard to their function, i.e., as statements, questions, etc.

Nonclausal forms which are doing questioning in these data, however, are associated with the function of doing repair in conversation; specifically, many function as next turn repair initiators (cf. ch. 2). The functions of nonclausal question forms will be discussed in chapter 7.

In this chapter, I will focus on the description of those questions in the data which are accomplished with a nonclausal form in order to begin to understand how their morphosyntactic form contributes to their interpretation. As in chapter 4, I will first discuss the data. Next, I will give a brief description of the various morphosyntactic types of nonclausal questions and will consider what interpretive procedures, relative to the morphosyntax, may be utilized to interpret each type as doing questioning (the social action). Although intonation and sequential position in the discourse will be taken into account in some instances, this chapter will emphasize the role of morphosyntax in interpretation. Finally, I will consider how these forms are distributed in the data.

2. Data

All utterances in the data were identified as doing questioning on the basis of their function in the talk, as described in chapter 2. Syntactic form was not a criterion of this identification process. From the set of all utterances which were identified as doing questioning, those utterances with a nonclausal form were extracted. These utterances comprise the set of nonclausal questions. The following is an example of a nonclausal question. It is realized by a noun phrase. In this example, the participants are discussing a former date of H's.

- (78) N What's his last name,
 H Uh:: Freedla:nd. *hh[hh
 N [Oh[:,
 H [(r) Freedlind.=
 N =Nice Jewish "bo:y? ←
 (.)
 H O:f cou:rsə,=
 N ='v [cou:rsə,]
 H [hh-hh-hh] hnh *hhhhh= HG II 25: 21

In this example, N is doing questioning with a noun phrase. This utterance is a response to the referent's name and constitutes a candidate characterization of his religion/ethnicity. This utterance is a request for confirmation.

Syntactic forms which are not realized by a subject and a complete verb phrase were classified as nonclausal. These forms include particles, nouns, adverbs, noun phrases, prepositional phrases, gerundive phrases, forms with a subject and an auxiliary verb (but no main verb), and forms with a main verb (but no subject and no auxiliary verb). Forms which are realized by a complete verb phrase but have a phonologically reduced subject or zero subject have not been classified as nonclausal forms, as discussed in ch. 2, sec. 2.1.1. These forms were classified as declarative clauses.

This section has presented the criteria for classifying syntactic forms as nonclausal forms. I will next discuss the morphosyntactic patterns of nonclausal questions.

3. Morphosyntactic Patterns of Nonclausal Questions

Nonclausal utterances which are used by speakers to ask questions exhibit a variety of forms. Some forms have no explicit marking suggestive of question function; others are realized by particles, *wh*-words, and tags. An examination of nonclausal forms which are used by speakers to ask questions reveals that while

some show no explicit marking suggestive of question function, others have lexical elements as part of their constituent form which play a role in their functional interpretation. Still other nonclausal forms have lexical or morphosyntactic elements immediately preceding in the discourse which project question function. Others have lexical or morphosyntactic elements immediately following in the talk which are associated with question function. In this section, I will first provide an example of those nonclausal utterances which have no elements which support their interpretation as questions. I have classified those utterances which have no lexical or morphosyntactic elements which support their interpretation as questions as nonclausal questions with no associated marker. Although a full discussion of the interpretation of this type of nonclausal question will be deferred until later in the chapter, I feel that this disjunction is necessary in order to enable the reader to contrast this type with those which follow. Next, I will provide a description of those nonclausal utterances which have some elements which support their interpretation as questions. Those utterances which have some lexical or morphosyntactic elements which support their interpretation as questions have been classified as marked nonclausal questions.

The focus of this chapter on the morphosyntactic patterns of nonclausal questions is not meant to imply that intonation and gesture play no role in interpretation (cf. ch. 4, sec. 4). As has been discussed in chapter 1, however, it must be kept in mind that there is no such thing — in general — as unambiguous question intonation, viz., rising terminal intonation. It must also be kept in mind, however, that there are instances in which intonation can be the crucial factor in the determination of an utterance's function (Couper-Kuhlen 1986:209).

3.1. Nonclausal Questions with No Associated Marker

Questioning can be done with a nonclausal form which, in no lexical or morphosyntactic way, suggests that it is doing questioning, as in the following example. In this example, D is describing a type of drink found in Nepal. H, who has also lived in Nepal, produces a prepositional phrase doing questioning. This is a request for confirmation.

- (79) D It's not like wi- I mean it's it's not like wi:ne.
 It doesn't taste like wine
 but it's
 W fermented.=
 D =white and milky
 but it's [fermented
 H ['oh yeah? ⇐
 (0.3)
 H in "bo:wls? ⇐
 W O' that [sounds disgusting
 D [Y-yeah well it's in these big
 (.)
 D va [:ses, [you know. [Huge.]
 W [vats.
 H [yeah. [yeah.] Riggenbach 6:141

With the utterance *in bowls*, the speaker is doing questioning with a prepositional phrase. Given the prior discourse *but it's fermented*, this phrase is interpretable as *It's fermented in bowls?* This inferrable utterance, in turn, is asking for confirmation that the drink is fermented in bowls. Labov and Fanshel's rule of confirmation is applicable in this case. The nonclausal question is produced during the course of an extended turn by D. In this turn, he is describing the drink which had made him sick. In Labov and Fanshel's terms, he has access to the relevant information.

3.2. Marked Nonclausal Questions

As in the case of declarative clause questions, the marking of nonclausal forms

will be categorized in terms of real time production. Nonclausal forms in these data are realized by a wide range of forms, e.g., particles, nouns, noun phrases, prepositional phrases, verb phrases, adverbs, etc. Lexical or morphosyntactic marking suggestive of question function was categorized as occurring within the nonclausal form when it constituted the utterance, e.g., a *wh*-word, or was an element within the constituent structure of the form. Lexical or morphosyntactic marking suggestive of question function was categorized as occurring before or after the production of the nonclausal form in relation to the particular constituent structure of each form. This categorization was quite straightforward. Prior markers consist of discourse particles, *wh*-words, and lexical items. The particles are clearly not part of the constituent structure. The *wh*-words and lexical items are clearly distinguishable from the constituent structure of the nonclausal form by intonation (cf. ex. (89) and ch. 8 for further discussion). Subsequent markers consist of discourse particles, conjunctions, and particle, word or clause tags. These are all unambiguously distinguishable from the constituent structure of the nonclausal form. There are two instances of an alternative choice (cf. ex. (97)).

3.2.1. Marking which Occurs within the Constituent Structure of the Nonclausal Form

Lexical Marking

There are cases in which the word *really* constitutes a turn. This form is a receipt marker of news. In the data, it sometimes functions as a question which makes a response relevant, as in example (80). In the following example, the speaker, K, is discussing turn taking behaviors.

(80) K Even infants and mothers take turns.
 They well,
 Children learn that the first thing.

M "Really?"

K Oh, yes.

⇐

Shapley/Nel 9:49

In this example, M responds to K's statements with *really*, registering them as news. K then produces an affirmative token, confirming that her previous statements were, in fact, accurate.

There are two cases in which the word *pardón* functions to do questioning, as in the following example. This example is from a dinner table conversation. The speaker, L, is referring to some food on her plate.

(81) L What's the da:rk green thing.
 (0.4)

N *Pardón?*= ((French))

E =he=

L =What's this?

N That's Japanese eggplant.

⇐

Weber 5:48

In this example, N's production of *pardón* displays some trouble with hearing or understanding. L redoes her original question in response to this next turn repair initiator (NTRI).

Subject/Verb Inversion

There are three cases in the data in which the verb consists only of a form of the auxiliary *do*. In this example, the speaker, V, is telling about her father's weak knees and how this problem runs in her father's family.

(82) V And the family has weak knees,
his Mom had very weak knees,
same problem.

(0.2)

V [Only]

C [Does your] "brother?

(0.6)

V Not yet.

←

Ford 2: 51

In this example, C does questioning with a form which consists of a subject and a form of the auxiliary *do*. Given the prior discourse, the utterance is interpretable as "Does your brother have weak knees?" This inferrable form is interpretable as an interrogative marked by subject/verb inversion. It is not a request for confirmation.

Particles

There are particles in the data which do questioning, e.g., *huh*, *hm*. The following is an example of a question realized by *hm*. In this example, the speaker, C, is telling a story about trying to get rid of a talkative visitor while she was preparing for a luncheon the following day.

(83) C Well it was a funny feeling to make him leave.

What did I have to do,

Oh, I know what it was.

I was having fifty people to lunch the next day.

((laughter))

It was just a couple of months ago he was here.

It was in January.

I was having luncheon for fifty the next day.

An[d he called.

K [Why were you having luncheon for fi- for fifty.

C "Hm?

←

K Why were you having luncheon for fifty.=

=It seems a biza [rrer thing to do.]

L [(cause) it's one way to get] rid of A____.

Shapley/Nel 18:27

In this example, *hm* functions as a next turn repair initiator (NTRI). As such, it

demonstrates some trouble in the talk with hearing or understanding. The form, which is minimal, targets the entire prior utterance as the trouble source. When it constitutes a turn, this form, along with *huh*, unambiguously does questioning when it has rising terminal intonation. Intonation appears to be crucially relevant for the interpretation of these particles as NTRI's.

In the following example taken from a telephone conversation, the speaker produces the particle *huh*, an NTRI.

(84) P Is it like the first time they dated?

J "Huh?

←

P It's like the first time that (.)
it was like a date?

Kinjo 6:10

This example shows that *huh* with rising intonation is interpretable as showing some trouble with hearing or understanding the prior utterance.

Interrogative Words

There are cases in the data in which a single *wh*-word does questioning, as in example (85). In the following example, H is talking about a play she and N are going to see.

(85) H *hh Toda:y there was a who::le (.) review on it in [the paper.]

N

[u-"where.] ←

(.)

N Oh real[ly I'm gonna loo:k,]

H [in the View section.]

HGII 9:3

In this example, N produces *where* in overlap with the phrase *in the paper*. The form is interpretable as asking where the review referred to could be found. H

produces the answer *in the View section*.

There are examples in which a *wh*-word modifies another word, as in example (86). In the following example, V is relating what a nurse told her about her father's knee after surgery on it.

- (86) V *hh But it is healing
ann she said
we've seen it over and over
an-and they get better.
C Mm hm.
V [No]
C [How "fast,]
(0.2)
V Three months.
(0.3)
C M [m hm]
V [Thr]ee months of - of crutches
C Mm hm.

←

Ford 11: 322

In this example, *how fast* is interpretable by virtue of the prior discourse as meaning "How fast will it (your father's knee) get better". V answers this question with the phrase *three months*. After a receipt marker by C, V expands the answer — *three months of crutches*.

There are cases in the data in which a *wh*-word stands in the place of the element which is being queried, as in example (87). In this example, the speaker N is relating what the dermatologist told her.

(87) N But he goes,
 (.)
 he:-he goes
 you have a really mild case
 he goes,
 (.)

H of "wha [:t.]
 N [You]sh-

⇐

(.)
 N A:cne-e,=
 H Oh:

HG II 4:4

In this example, H produces a next turn repair initiator (NTRI) with the prepositional phrase *of what*. This is interpretable, by virtue of the prior discourse, as "He goes you have a really mild case of what." The *what* is produced in the place of the element whose identity is being queried. N produces the answer *acne*. This answer is receipted with the particle *oh*.

In the following example, the participants are college students who live in a dorm. M is talking about two young women who are friends of his.

(88) M There's a rumor going around (Spilly now) like crazy.
 (0.2)
 *h people on their floor think that we are having an affair
 the (.) three of us.

(0.2)
 S Who.
 (0.5)

M Th- These three guys on the- on their floor
 on the tenth floor.
 (0.5)

I'd know who they are [but* that's who.

S [The three of "who though.

⇐

(0.4)
 M Uh the two girls and I.
 (0.1)
 S Oh

SN 4 15:27

In this example, S produces the next turn repair initiator *who*. This shows that she is having some trouble with reference. M responds with the referents of the noun

3.2.2. Marking which Occurs before the Production of the Nonclausal Form

Prior Interrogative Words

(89) N So he gave me these pills to ta:ke? =

(.)

N *PT NO:

cuz I used to take that

and it didn't help

so he gave me something else.=

$$H = H_m:$$

HG II 4:17

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the identity of the prescribed medication. The *wh*-word projects question function to the subsequent candidate guess. Note that the intonation distinguishes this utterance from one in which the *wh*-word modifies the noun (see example (93)). N answers the question with a negative token *no* and an explanation of why tetracycline was not prescribed.

In the following example, the participants are looking at a book about Indian mythology. As in the previous example, the speaker produces a *wh*-word and offers a candidate response to the *wh*-word. The utterance is analyzed as a noun phrase with a prior interrogative form.

(90) Na Oh he's blue.

(M) *hh

Na He's got to be something special.

M Yeah. He's a god.
Some sort of [god with blue skin.

Na [°Yeah

I forget his name.

Do you remember

L "Who. "Ganesh?"

←

M No it isn't Ganesh,
cause he has a man's head.
because he has a man's head.

Shapley/Shah 7:126

In this example, L produces the *wh*-word *who* and a candidate name of the god M and Na were discussing. The interrogative pronoun *who* projects question function to the subsequently produced candidate name.

In the following example from a telephone conversation, the participants are kidding about a mutual friend who is P's roommate.

(91) P I'm not going to beat up Euclid=
 why would I want to beat up Euclid=
 he's one of the best roomates I've ever ha::d.

J "Oh, "compared to what. (.) to "Daryl?
 Yeah, I'm sure he is.

⇐

P No::: compared to all the other ones too=
 =he's one he's one of the best.

Kinjo 3:4

In this example, the speaker produces a verb phrase containing a *wh*-word and offers a candidate standard of comparison. The *wh*-word stands in the place of the entity to which Euclid should be compared. This suggests that Euclid is one of the best roomates when compared to one of the worst, i.e., when measured against a very low standard.

Prior Lexical Element

There are cases in the data in which there is a prior lexical element suggestive of question function. In example (92), the participants are talking about the possibility of meeting an eligible male at the play they are going to see that night. They have previously discussed the characters in the play, including one "Jewish guy" character.

(92) N So I'll see you about- ei:ghtish,
 (0.2)

O [kay?]

H [*e-*a]a:::, ei [ghtish,]
 [What are you] gonna wear,

(0.9)

Just nice pants or so [mething,

[Yeah. I'm [not gonna] get dressed uh=

[Okay,]

H =cause it's supposed to rai:n tonight too [:

N

[Oh that's ri [:ght.]

H

[Least the]re's a

chance of it.=

N Oka::y then I'll just wear pant [s

H

[cause I don't wanna mess up my [clo:thes,]

N

[hhhhhh]

N ka::y,

(.)
H You know who do I have to look nice for.
(.)
H hh [h-hh-hhh]
N [Well you nev]er know who's gonna be in the play
I mean we are si [tting close to the stage.]
H [kh-h*hh- h-hhh-hh-hh (eh heh)] eh eh e=
N =*hhe:hh=
H *hhh [Maybe the "Jewish [gu:]y, hunh= ←
N [He'll look out an [go,]
He'll go, Juliet, Juliet- Nancy. Hy [la.] HG II 45:21

In this example, H does questioning with the utterance *Maybe the Jewish guy*. The *hunnh* after the utterance is a laugh token and not a particle. This form is analyzed as a noun phrase preceded by the lexical element *maybe*. This utterance is interpretable as raising the possibility that the actor who plays "the Jewish guy" will notice them. A confirmation or disconfirmation is made relevant. Note that this form is overlapped by an utterance which refers to the actor who will be playing the character of "the Jewish guy". N redoes part of her utterance which was overlapped.

3.2.3. Marking which Occurs Subsequent to the Production of the Nonclausal Form

The identification of marking which occurs subsequent to a nonclausal form is dependent, in each case, on the constituent structure of the nonclausal form.

Subsequent Discourse Marker/Conjunction

In the following example, the participants are discussing whether or not spinach is a good source of iron.

- (93) T [You know, in the old da:ys]
M Spinach [spinach has this] huge negative ion (.) iron (.) balance,
because it it chelates the iron (.) in the rest of your foods=
B Oh it does not have (.)
it is not a good source of iron.
M It extracts iron.
O ()
B Really?

- hh
L what does it do with it.
B Why this "myth [then. ←
M [it chelates it into some absorbable form.
B why this "myth for so for so long.
L Does it build up?
M Most [of the myths are that children]
T [the myths were started by the=
M =the myths among children are that spinach is terrible
and that it tastes bad.
*hh
B Yes.
M so the other myths are an attempt by the adults [to compensate for it.
B [I see.()
But I thought
that every- everything that was dark green was uh (.)
no everything red is high in iron. Or what.
what is it.
what is the truth.
() uh
M There is no truth. Shapley/Fer 1:15.1

In this example, B is referring to the myth that spinach is a good source of iron. The question *why this myth then* is interpretable as asking why there is a myth that spinach is a good source of iron, since the facts have been claimed to be otherwise. The discourse marker *then* implies a false connection between the fact and the myth.

Particle Tag

There are cases in the data in which a particle tag is added to a nonclausal form, as in the following example from a telephone conversation.

- (94) R Hello?
 A Hello Richard?
 (0.2)
 R O:hh Arthur
 How are you:.
 A O:h pretty good
 how are you?
 R *hhh (*) a::hhh (0.2)
 off an on?
 What's up.
 (0.2)
 A Off an "on. uhh [h]*hhh
 R [Ye:ah(hh)?]

←

Gee 1:8

In this example, A picks up on R's response to *How are you*. By questioning this response, A is soliciting more talk on R's state of being. The particle *uh* with rising intonation is a signal of question function.

Word Tags

Word tags are also used by speakers to do questioning with nonclausal forms, as in example (95). In this example, V is talking about her father's medical problem with his knees.

- (95) V Okay
 This is what t-the problem is,
 my Dad's knee- leg was very bow-legged.
 It was like thirt [een degrees]
 C [All his "life.] (.) "right?
 V Well: more in old age(h).=
 C uh huh.

←

Ford 2: 37

In this example, C does questioning with the utterance *all his life, right*. This form is analyzed as a noun phrase followed by a word tag. The nonclausal form is produced in overlap. The tag *right* is in the clear, i.e., it is not produced simultaneously with another's talk. The tag, with rising terminal intonation, is a signal that the noun phrase

is functioning as a question.

Clause Tags

There is a case in the data in which questioning is done with a clause tag. In this example, the participants are college students who are talking about S's upcoming wedding. The transcript reflects two possible hearings for M's first turn (*well* vs. *what*) and final turn (for the word *mean*).

(96) M *h So (well)have you called any other hotels or anything?
(what)

(0.3)

S Yeah

I called the Ambassador n stuff.

I've got so much work that I don't believe it
so I'm just not thinking about that.=

M =In 'school you "mea [n.

←

mea: [n?

S

Yeah

SN 4 3: 30

In this example, M does questioning with a prepositional phrase plus a clause tag *you mean*. Although *you mean* has clause structure, it is a discourse particle (cf. ch. 4, ex. (37) and ex. (38)). This utterance is a next turn repair initiator. The tag unambiguously signals that the prepositional phrase is doing questioning.

Alternate Choice

In the following example, M reintroduces the subject of oxalic acid which had been previously discussed. The participants are eating spinach soup which B, the hostess/cook, refers to by *this*.

(97) M Sorrel.
 (.)
 Sorrel has a lot of oxalic acid too.
 (0.1)
 L heh [heh heh
 [((laughter))
 (.) [(Sorrel?)]
 B [Sorrel has a lot of what?
 M Sorrel. yes.
 T What's (.) what's that?
 M That's a sort of green, clover-like grass.
 (B) mm hmm
 B has a lot of what?=
 M =() tastes lik [e spinach.]
 [acid?]which acid?
 M Oxalic.
 B Oxalic. Yeah.
 B Yeah, this has a lot of oxalic acid,
 yeah, but I cook it
 and I throw away the water carefully, you see.
 Unlike people who always tell you
 ah but you are throwing all the vitamins away.
 N Why why must you throw away ()?
 B Well, we've been always [(s)=
 L [For spinach you have to get rid of the sand.
 B =Well, my mother even throws away the water several times.
 N Is there something (.) bad about [it?
 B [For the oxalic acid.
 M [Probably.
 B (yeah) rheumatism and things like this.
 M Gout.
 N from oxalic "acid?=
 M =Well now it can't [be both insolu]able and bad for you, can it.
 N [or spinach "water?]
 (1.0)
 L Why not.
 B Why not.
 M I suppose it could. (.)
 You absorb a little bit.
 It's quite poi [sonous.
 N [I see.
 B yeah.

Shapley/Fer 7:172

In this example, N asks whether rheumatism and things like that are caused by oxalic acid or spinach water. The speaker offers two alternatives which makes a choice between them relevant.

The variety of morphosyntactic patterns by which nonclausal questions are realized have been exemplified in this section. All the nonclausal questions presented in this section have associated markers. The interpretation of nonclausal questions with no associated marker will now be discussed.

4. The Interpretation of Nonclausal Questions with No Associated Marker

As we have seen in section 3.1, some nonclausal forms have no lexical or morphosyntactic marking which is suggestive of question function. As with declarative questions, other factors are relevant to the interpretation of these forms as questions. Some nonclausal questions, for example, are interpretable by virtue of being next turn repair initiators.

4.1. Next Turn Repair Initiators and Nonclausal Questions

As was discussed in chapter 2, next turn repair initiators (NTRI's) demonstrate some trouble with hearing or understanding in the talk. Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks (1977) have described the variety of morphosyntactic forms which are used to effect repair in talk. The speaker of the NTRI must construct the utterance so that the recipient of the NTRI can identify the source of the trouble in the talk. This is necessary if the trouble is to be remedied. We have seen in chapter 2 that NTRI's may be declarative clauses. Next turn repair initiators may, however, be done with particles, as in example (83), with words, as in example (81), or with phrases, as in examples (87), (88), and (96).

4.2. Accessibility of Information and Nonclausal Questions

We have seen in chapter 4 that declarative questions with no associated marker may be interpretable as requests for confirmation by virtue of Labov and Fanshel's

rule of confirmation (see sec. 4.3). This rule of confirmation also facilitates the interpretation of nonclausal questions with no associated marker. Examples (78) and (79) are interpretable as questions in terms of this rule of confirmation.

5. Distributive Facts

In this section, I will examine the distribution of nonclausal questions vs. other syntactic types of questions in the corpus. I will also examine the distribution of the various types of nonclausal forms presented in section 3. Table (6.1.) shows the distribution of questions in the corpus by their syntactic form.

All forms which do questioning	637	100%
All declarative forms which do questioning	108	17%
All nonclausal forms which do questioning	153	24%

Table 6.1.
Distribution of All Questions by Syntactic Form

This table shows that speakers in these data use nonclausal forms to do questioning even more frequently than they use declarative questions. The problem of how these nonclausal questions get interpreted is, therefore, from a distributional point of view, as significant as how declarative questions get interpreted.

The following table exhibits the distribution of lexically or morphosyntactically marked nonclausal questions vs. nonclausal questions with no associated marker in the data.

Marked	96	63%
No Associated Marker	57	37%
Total	153	100%

Table 6.2.
Marked Nonclausal Questions
vs.
Nonclausal Questions with No Associated Marker

This table shows that more than 60% of all nonclausal questions are marked lexically or morphosyntactically.

5.1. Marked Nonclausal Questions

The following table exhibits the distribution of instances of the types of marking in the nonclausal questions which have been described above in section 3. As with declarative clause questions, the types of marking have been distinguished according to temporal criteria as follows: section 1 — marking which occurs within the constituent structure of each particular form; section 2 — marking which occurs prior to the constituent structure of each particular form; section 3 — marking which occurs subsequent to the constituent structure of each particular form. Since several forms have more than one instance of marking, the number of instances is more than the total number of forms.

<u>I: Within the Constituent Structure</u>			
Lexical	17	16%	
Particle	11	10%	
Wh-word	45	42%	
Subject/verb inversion	3	3%	71%
<hr/>			
<u>II: Prior to the Constituent Structure</u>			
Prior particle	1	1%	
Prior wh-word	3	3%	
Prior lexical element	2	2%	
Prior discourse marker	11	10%	16%
<hr/>			
<u>III: Subsequent to the Constituent Structure</u>			
Subsequent discourse marker	4	4%	
Particle tag	3	3%	
Word tag	2	2%	
Clause tag	2	2%	
Alternative choice	2	2%	13%
<hr/>			
Total	106	100%	

Table 6.3.
Distribution of Instances of Marking
by Temporal Criteria

This table shows that 71% of all instances of marking suggestive of question function appear within the constituent structure of the nonclausal form. Within this category, *wh*-words and particles constitute 52% of all instances. The meaning of these forms, in conjunction with intonation, unambiguously signals question function. Marking which occurs prior to the nonclausal form constitutes 16% of all instances. Marking which occurs subsequent to the nonclausal form occurs in 13% of all cases.

In order to understand how speakers actually use marking associated with nonclausal questions, it is necessary to examine their distribution in individual nonclausal forms. The following table exhibits the distribution of markers by number per form.

1 marker	86	90%
2 markers	10	10%
Total	96	100%

Table 6.4.
Number of Markers per Clause

This table shows that nonclausal forms which have a lexical or morphosyntactic marker suggestive of question function overwhelmingly have only one such marker per form. Two markers occur in only 10% of all cases.

Example (88), repeated here as (98), exhibits an example with two markers — a *wh*-word and subsequent discourse marker.

- (98) M There's a rumor going around (Spilly now) like crazy.
 (0.2)
 *h people on their floor think that we are having an affair
 the (.) three of us.
 (0.2)
 S Who.
 (0.5)
 M Th- These three guys on the- on their floor
 on the tenth floor.
 (0.5)
 I'd know who they are [but* that's who.
 S [The three of "who though. ⇐
 (0.4)
 M Uh the two girls and I.
 (0.1)
 S Oh SN 4 15:27

This example is a third position repair. Third position repairs are produced by the speaker of the trouble source turn (cf. ch. 2, sec. 4.3). With this utterance, the speaker is repairing her original next turn repair initiator (NTRI) *who*. M's response to *who* shows that he misunderstood what reference S was unclear about. The phrase *the three of us* is repeated with a *wh*-word occurring in place of the pronoun *us*. The

entire nonclausal phrase is followed by the conjunction *though*. The *though* demonstrates that the prior turn did not identify the original trouble source, the referent of *us*. This utterance is also functioning as a next turn repair initiator (NTRI).

Example (99) also exhibits two markers — a prior discourse marker and *wh*-word. In this example, the participants are discussing a former date of H's.

- (99) N I guess, I guess- (0.6) he'll write you,
 (.)
 H ishshhhh [ih-uh
 N [Next wee(.)k=
 H =*hshh Sure.
 (.)
 [Sure
 N [Give it another week.
 (.)
 H [And "then w]ha [t. ⇐
 N [And the:n,] [send him a thank you [no(h)te, hh
 H [hehh () HG II 32: 19

In this example, the participants produce *and then* in overlap. The particle *then* is often used in narrating events. When used with what in doing questioning, it suggests a gap in the knowledge of what will happen next.

There are several cases in which the particle *oh* occurs with another marker. This particle signals some shift of orientation to information (cf. Heritage 1984, Schiffrin 1987) as in ex. (100)). Schiffrin (1987:86) notes that only those questions which are evoked by the reception of information are prefaced by *oh*.

- (100)N Anything else to report,
 (0.3)
 H Uh:::m:::,
 (0.4)
 Getting my hair cut tomorrow,=
 N Oh "really? ⇐
 (.)
 H Yea: [::h, HG II 16:4

In this example, N produces the particle *oh* and the word *really*. This utterance is a receipt of news which shows some characteristics of NTRI's, e.g., position. The *oh* signals the speaker's shift of orientation to the information in H's announcement, while the word *really* registers the utterance as news. The utterance is interpretable as requesting confirmation that the statement is true as it stands (cf. ch. 7, ex. (141)).

5.2. Nonclausal Questions with No Associated Marker

Table (6.2.) shows that 37% of all nonclausal questions have no lexical or morphosyntactic marking suggestive of question function. These forms, then, are relevant to the typical statement of the form/function problem. The issue is how these forms get interpreted. The role of rising terminal intonation in the interpretation of many of these nonclausal forms is crucial for their interpretation as questions. The fact that intonation is the crucial factor for the interpretation of function in many of these cases will be discussed in chapter 8.

The following table presents the distribution of nonclausal questions by the interpretive factors which have been outlined above, i.e., next turn repair initiators (NTRI's) and Labov and Fanshel's rule of confirmation.

NTRI	35	61.4%
Rule of Confirmation	7	12.2%
Other	15	26.3%
Total	57	100%

Table 6.5.
Distribution of Nonclausal Questions with No Associated Marker
by
Interpretive Factors

This table shows that 61% of all nonclausal questions with no associated marker are interpretable as NTRI's, 12% are interpretable as requests for confirmation, while 26% fall into the category 'other'.

Although they are not marked morphosyntactically, forms which are NTRI's and requests for confirmation according to Labov and Fanchel's rule of confirmation are amenable to well-documented interpretive procedures. NTRI's are interpretable by virtue of their position, intonation, and/or repeated lexical elements (cf. ch. 2). Requests for confirmation are interpretable in terms of A-events and B-events, i.e., in terms of who has access to the relevant information (cf. ch. 4). When these factors are taken into account, Table (6.5.) can be amended as follows.

Lexically/Morphosyntactically Marked	96	62.7%	
NTRI's	35	22.8%	
Requests for Confirmation	7	4.5%	}90%
<hr/>			
Others with No Associated Marker	15	9.8%	
Total	153	100%	

Table (6.6.)
Amended Distribution of Marked Nonclausal Questions
and Nonclausal Questions with No Associated Marker

This table shows that when NTRI's and requests for confirmation are combined with morphosyntactically marked forms, fully 90% of nonclausal questions are amenable to well-documented interpretive procedures. Those cases in the data which have no associated marker and are neither NTRI's nor requests for confirmation account for 10% of all nonclausal questions. They are, however, unambiguously interpretable as doing questioning. I will now discuss the 15 forms which fall into the category 'other with no associated marker'.

(101) M more "corn, ←
more "salad, ←
more "bread, ←
more "meat, ←
(.)
anything for "anybody? ←

Shapley/Boys 4: 14.2

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used to do a candidate understanding during a story. In the following example, K is telling a story about a lecture she gave.

- (103) C Yes I think
 N__ thought of it as a (.) stand for women.
 (So) she (was) (.) she [(thought it) was the only thing to do.
 () [()]
 (K) Yeah
 K I never really (.) talked to uh
 K I guess
 I did talk to N__ a little about uh her women's studies course.
 which I gave a lecture to.
 Did [she ever tell you about that?
 C [Oh did you?
 No;, she never really told me about (much) much about the course.
 M What did you lecture about women's studies.
 K Well, they put together this women's studies course.
 A:h
 C Yeah she was in some subset.
 What was tha [t.
 K [Let's see (.)
 I'm try [ing to think
 C [third world [women? or something],
 L [()]
 Oh that's like black studies, you mean?
 C Yeah righ [t.
 K [I'm trying to think how they (.) characterized it.Um
 () he he
 D It (.) It hasn't gone that far ()
 K Um, I guess
 it was just called women's studies.
 but uh I was trying to, (.)
 I was talking on sex differences
 and trying to put together a very sophisticated developmental argument,
 C ((laughing))
 (you know) so that they could use on the barricades,
 K Right, exactly, you know I had I (.)
 [I you know
 C [a slogan or tw [o
 K [actually it was one of my most uh animated lectures.
 I mean I was really all=
 C =scholarly, though huh?
 K It wa:s: (.) a bit (.)
 you know it wasn't exactly schol [arly.
 L [sparkling with footnotes, [j]uh?
 D ()
 [((laughter))]
 K [No, no. but it was, it was, you know it]

there was there was a certain coherence to it,
 I mean [you [know
 () [((laughter))
 L [Oh
 K [ha ha ha there was a ha ha ha a theoretical theoretical idea behind it.]
 () [((laughter))]
 () [()]
 K And uh I saw these glazed faces ((laughs))
 and uh as soon as I got through,
 uh, you know I didn't get through
 I you know (just) came to the end
 and said
 how about some questions,
 and the first question I got was (0.2)
 why do you keep talking about mothers.
 (0.8)
 (([laughs)) in- in- instead of parents.]
 () [((laughter))]
 L parent "persons? ⇐
 () ((laughter))
 D [() person ((laughs))
 () [((laughter))
 K well uh you know sorry about that.
 But uh=
 L (P) P (person) parents.
 K um mothers are [(.)]generally the people
 L [that's a question.]
 K we generally see in the laboratory with the (.) babies.
 and and uh *hh in the in the [() (pres-)] present day society=
 C [sexist]
 K =they (.) are the most likely people to be taking care of (.) babies.
 It went on from there.
 D [own hil [l.=
 () [((laughter))]
 C [down.
 () (([laughter))] ((laughter))]
 [They didn't like it, huh?]
 K I'm afraid this elegant ha ha theoretical exposition just [went ha ha (.)]
 () [((laughter))]
 went uh (.) ([t^s])by them apparently.
 C ()
 K [It turned out to be entirely a class of ().
 () [((laughter))
 I mean it was a (.)
 It's orientation was: slightly to the radical side of where I was,
 where (.) I had always found myself rather comfortable.
 Shapley/Nel 3:4

In this example, L produces the candidate understanding *parent persons*. With this utterance, L displays an understanding of K's point regarding the position of the undergraduates on nonsexist terminology. The utterance *parent persons* suggests that the linguistic elimination of sex differences in certain cases is absurd. Neutral terminology is appropriate where the sex difference ought not to make a difference. In parenting, the distinction between the mother and the father is, and ought to be, relevant. It is certainly relevant in terms of the reality of child rearing in this society. Mothers still raise the children.

There is one case in which a nonclausal question with no associated marker is pointing out an object.

(104) (3.0)

Na S-see that plant (.)hanging(.)in the dining room, N__.

←

In the "white pot

←

From the "ceiling.

←

No Yes.

Na Now that's a Boston fern.

No Yeah

Shapley/Sha 3:61

This example is interpretable as "do you see..." The subject and the auxiliary verb are recoverable from the form rather than from the prior discourse (cf. Quirk 1985:838). By asking if No can see the plant, the speaker is pointing it out to him; she adds prepositional phrases to direct him as he tries to locate it.

There is one case which is a request for an evaluation. In this example, the recipient of the question, L, has just tasted Na's banana cake which he mistakenly thinks is carrot cake.

- (105) Na "Like it?
 L I don't taste the carrots.
 Na I don't think there are any in here.
 But you can't taste any carrots in the carrot cake I make either.
 ((laughter)) Shapley/Sha 2:30

In this example, the utterance is interpretable as the interrogative form "Do you like it". The subject and the auxiliary verb are recoverable from the form rather than from the prior discourse.

In example (106), the speaker, N, begins a new topic/sequence.

- (106) N Anything else to "report, ←
 (0.3)
 H Uh::::::m::::,
 (0.4)
 Getting my hair cut tomorrow,=
 N Oh really?
 (.)
 H Yea: [::h, HG II 15:24

In this example, the utterance is interpretable as the interrogative form "Do you have anything else to report". As in the previous examples, the subject and the verb are recoverable from the form rather than from the prior discourse.

There is a case which is a repeat of a prior question which had been misheard when it was first produced. This example is the continuation of example (106). The transcript reflects two possible hearing for N's third turn (*so soon* vs. *for food*).

- (107) N Anything else to report,
 (0.3)
 H Uh::::::m::::,
 (0.4)
 Getting my hair cut tomorrow,=
 N Oh really?
 (.)
 H Yea: [::h,
 N [Oh (so soo:[d]?)
 (for foo:d?)

(0.4)
 H What:t?
 (0.2)
 N Cause member
 you said
 you w [ere gonna m Jake an appo [intment n,]
 H [°whhhhhhhoo] [Oh: y]eah.*=
 H =*a-* Yihknow what I thought you sai:d *hh=
 N [°What,]
 H [for f]oo:d, hhhhh [hhhhhhh]
 N [e-f(hh)or] f(h)oo(h)d
 (.)
 H *ihhhhh=
 =Oh for foo:d? ehh he [heh *i]h] (so I says) [wha::t.]=
 N [*hhehh-*e-]h] hhuh [Su:re.]=
 N =She's cracking up the kid's cracking u(h)p *u::: [:h.
 H [*hihhh
 (0.2)
 H [No:,]
 N [No:] for- (.) so "soo: [[d]?hhhh] ⇐
 H [so soo]n. Yes. *hh Yeah at (.)
 eleven fifteen:n,
 (.)
 N Mmmm.=
 H =then I('ve) gotta go to Robinson's and return *uhh* birthday gift my
 brother (.) bought me,= HG II 17:2

In this example, the speaker N repeats her original question *so soon* without the particle *oh*. H repeats this utterance and produces an affirmative token *yes*, confirming that she understands that the original utterance was *so soon*. She then answers the question by producing *Yeah* and giving the time of the haircut appointment *at eleven fifteen*.

In this section, I have discussed nonclausal questions with no associated marker. In chapter 4, we have seen that all declarative questions with no associated marker are interpretable in terms of two factors, viz., they are either NTRI's or requests for confirmation according to Labov and Fanshel's rule of confirmation. These two factors are also relevant to the interpretation of 74% of all nonclausal questions with no associated marker (cf. Table 6.5.). How recipients interpret the remaining 26% of nonclausal questions with no associated marker deserves further examination. The

relevant forms function as offers which occur at dinner involving food, try questions, candidate understandings, requests for action and evaluation, topic/sequence solicitations, and a repeat of a prior form which was misheard. Schifffrin (1987:85) notes that questions are rarely totally disconnected from their environment. The offers which involve food are all related to items present in the recipient's immediate physical environment. The question which is a request for an evaluation also involves a physically present food item; in fact, the recipient has just tasted it. The request for action involves an object present in the physical environment. Thus, nine of the fifteen nonclausal questions without an associated marker make reference to physically present entities. The three try questions in the data are themselves second pair parts; they are interpretable in terms of the prior questions to which they themselves respond. The candidate understanding occurs during the course of a narrative; it is interpretable in terms of the immediately prior turn and makes reference to the story. The instance of the repeat of the prior question is making explicit that the recipient's initial interpretation of the utterance was incorrect. This question is interpretable as a repeat/correction which makes reference to the original utterance. The topic/sequence solicitation is the only question which is interpretable neither in terms of an entity in the physical environment nor the semantic/informational content of the prior discourse. Appearing immediately after the opening sequence of a telephone⁶ conversation, however, it is interpretable in terms of its sequential position in the talk as a request for news (cf. Button and Casey 1984). This section concludes the discussion of the distribution of nonclausal questions with no associated marker. In the following section, I present a summary of the distributive facts.

6. Summary of Distributive Facts

Nonclausal questions exhibit a wide variety of morphosyntactic forms ranging from minimal particles to complex verb phrases. Lexically or morphosyntactically marked forms constitute 63% of all nonclausal questions. Marking occurs within the constituent structure in 71% of all nonclausal questions. Particles and *wh*-words constitute 52% of all instances of within-the-constituent marking. Of the remaining nonclausal questions with no associated marker, 23% are interpretable as next turn repair initiators (NTRI's), while requests for confirmation constitute an additional 5%. This leaves fifteen cases — or 10% — of nonclausal questions whose interpretation must be explained on other grounds. These forms function as offers which occur at dinner involving food, try questions, candidate understandings, requests for action and evaluation, topic/sequence solicitations, and a repeat of a prior form which was misheard.

Chapter 7

Nonclausal Questions: Function

1. Multiple Functions of Nonclausal Questions

In this chapter, I will examine some functions of nonclausal questions in conversation. All the nonclausal questions in the data are, of course, functioning to do questioning. As we have seen in the case of declarative questions (cf. ch. 5), nonclausal questions in their social context also exhibit functions which can be given more detailed descriptions than doing questioning.

2. Functional Distribution of Nonclausal Questions

The nonclausal questions in the data have been categorized functionally as follows:

- (1) forms implicated in repair
 - next turn repair initiators
 - candidate solutions
- (2) forms not implicated in repair
 - topic/sequence solicitations
 - preferred responses
 - candidate understandings
 - backdowns from a prior assertion
 - try questions
 - offers
 - requests for evaluations
 - object locators
- (3) instances of *really* which receipt news or interesting information

The 153 nonclausal questions in the data distribute functionally as follows.

Forms Implicated in Repair	92	60%
Forms Not Implicated in Repair	49	32%
<i>Really</i>	12	8%
Total	153	100%

Table 7.1.
Functional Distribution of Nonclausal Questions
by Function

This table shows that over half of all nonclausal questions in the data are implicated in repair. In fact, all but one of the nonclausal forms implicated in repair are next turn repair initiators (NTRI). The single exception is a candidate solution to a word search. Forms not implicated in repair constitute 32% of nonclausal forms, while instances of *really* constitute the remaining 8% of nonclausal forms.

Repair work in conversation is a unified function which has been described by Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks (1977), Jefferson (1974), and by Schegloff (Forthcoming). Following this work, I will present the types of other-initiated nonclausal repairs found in the data. Next, I will examine those nonclausal questions which function as topic solicitations, preferred responses, candidate understandings, backdowns, etc. and their interpretation will be discussed. I will then discuss the instances of the news receipt *really* in the data. This form has some characteristics of an NTRI in addition to characteristics of a receipt marker. These receipt markers will be given only a brief discussion, since a full description of their function would require an examination of a much larger collection of these forms. Finally, I will also consider when questions can be done with particles, words, and phrases rather than with full syntactic clauses. The discussion will show why nonclausal forms are eminently suited to initiate repair work in conversation as NTRI's.

3. Next Turn Repair Initiators (NTRI)

An NTRI displays how much of a grasp its speaker has on the trouble source utterance, i.e., how much is comprehended and how much needs to be repeated or dealt with in some other way. NTRI's locate the trouble source — the repairable element — in the prior utterance (cf. ch. 2). They do nothing more than that with respect to repair work. Three relevant factors involved in the interpretation of basic NTRI's are (1) next turn position, (2) the form of the NTRI, and (3) rising terminal intonation. While other-initiated repairs most often occur in next turn position, they may interrupt the utterance with the trouble source, or occur subsequent to the next turn after the utterance with the trouble source. Similarly, while rising terminal intonation is associated with other-initiated repairs which appear in next turn (cf. Cruttenden 1986:92), other intonation contours are possible. The following NTRI types follow Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks (1977); they are presented in the order of their capacity to locate a trouble source specifically. They appear in the order least specific locator to most specific locator.

Type 1 (*Huh, What*)

The most basic kind of NTRI is *huh* or *what*. The speaker needs to hear virtually nothing to produce this type of NTRI. These forms are quite minimal in lexical and phonological content. With rising terminal intonation, they target the entire prior utterance as the source of the trouble and are interpretable as requests for repetition of the entire trouble source turn. This is an instance in which intonation does crucially determine function. With basic NTRI's, falling intonation would not target the entire utterance (cf. type 2 below). In the following example, H is telling how she had called a former date and had hung up without saying hello. H produces an NTRI after a period of overlap.

- (108) N You called Richard,=
 () =hh-hh=
 H = (h)y(h)Yea(h)h
 and I h(h)ung up
 wh(h)en he ans[wer
 N [Oh: Hyla why::: [::,
 H [*hhh
 well first of all
 I wasn't about to spend seventy five cents
 for th(h)r(h)ee(h) mi(h)[nutes *uh] *eh=
 N [Yeah,]
 N =That's true,=
 H =*hihhhh that's a lot of money
 plus (.) uh then it's twenty five cents for extra mi:nute a(h) [fter that.]=
 N [Yea:h,]=
 H =* hhhhh y [ou know,]
 N [How do you] know
 he [answered could you tell his voi:ce?]
 H [so for four minutes its a bu:ck.]
 (0.2)
 H "Huh? ←
 (.)
 N Could you tell his vo[i:ce,]
 H [Yea]:h I knew his voice,=
 N =Oha:::w, HGII 23:21

This example demonstrates that a basic NTRI form, when produced with rising terminal intonation, is interpretable as a request for the repetition of the prior utterance.

In the following example, R is talking about his workplace.

- (109) A A:nd um: it's not a bad place to be
 (0.4)
 because it's re:al (.)
 you know I got hummingbirds no:w?
 (0.2)
 R "what? ←
 A I (h) *hh I have hu:mmingbirds.
 R O:::h gre:at, [You should get a fee:der.
 A [yeah, Mannon 4: 67

In this example, R produces an NTRI, *what* with rising intonation, demonstrating

some trouble with hearing.

Type 2 (*Wh-word*)

Wh-words may be used as NTRI's to query some element of the trouble source turn, e.g, *who*, *what*, *where*, *when*, *why*, *how*. They locate the source of the trouble as a referent, an event, a place, a time, a reason, or an adverbial modifier. Using these words requires some hearing of the prior utterance since their form varies depending upon whether the trouble involves the identification of a human or nonhuman referent (*who*, *what*), a location (*where*), an event (*what*), a time (*when*), a reason (*why*), or an adverbial modifier (*how*). When used in this way to target some element in the trouble source turn, these *wh*-words generally have level or falling intonation. In the following example, V is relating what she wants to tell her mother regarding her father's recent elective knee surgery.

- (110) V =But do you know what I wanna do when I see her,
 I wanna say I talked to the nurse,
 tonight I asked the nurse-I asked her two times,
 (0.4)
 I said are you s(h)ur:e this is gonna make him more comfortable.
 I mean what [is the-]
 C ["What,] ←
 (0.2)
 V The surgery.=
 C =But it's already done anyway (isn't it)?
 V Oh it's done but I- I [] was so- [up] set I w-
 C [Oh.] [Yeah uh huh] Ford 10:296

In this example, C produces an NTRI, *what* with level intonation, demonstrating some trouble with identifying of the referent of *this*.

Type 3a (Partial or Full Repeat + *Wh-word*)

3b (Partial or Full Repeat + Candidate Referent)

A partial or full repeat plus a *wh*-word is another type of NTRI. This requires

some hearing of the utterance. In the following example, L produces an NTRI which is a partial repeat plus a *wh*-word. This NTRI locates the trouble source in the prior turn as the identity of the referent of A.

- (111) E Did I tell y-
 oh, yo:u heard it.
 L Yeh, [a]bout K__?
 E [()]
 E No: about (1.2) A__.
 L A__ "who, ←
 E is coming home,
 B Oh [the one who left to go to] Italy?
 N [Oh yeah, I remember her]
 L [()]
 E She called and wants to come [home,]=
 L [Same]=Same terms as J.

Weber 3:8

In this example, E begins the sequence with a pre-announcement which she aborts and reconstructs as *Oh you heard it*. L offers a candidate referent which is then corrected by E. L then produces an NTRI by repeating the name of the referent she can not identify and adding *who*. This NTRI is not given a second pair part. Rather, E continues with her announcement. This clarifies the reference for the participants, as demonstrated in their subsequent responses. Although L's first response after the clause *is coming home* is unintelligible, her next turn shows that she has identified the referent of A since she knows the terms A's parents have set for letting her come home.

In the following example, N begins a story about a situation involving a friend whose daughter was giving her trouble. L, who is N's daughter, produces an NTRI which locates the trouble source in the prior turn as the referent of *my friend*.

- (112) N I don't know,
 I'm dy::ing to know what happened up the street.
 We had the who:le thing going on with my friend
 (0.2)
 [who's up the] stree:t.=
 L [with "J__?] ←
 N =Yeah. Weber 8:116

In this example, L produces an NTRI by giving a partial repeat plus a candidate referent which N confirms. In fact, the candidate referent J is the daughter of N's friend, not N's friend. The NTRI, then, is actually clarifying the situation rather than the referent of *my friend*. This example will be considered in greater detail in section 5. The two NTRI's exemplified in this section are constructed to deal with problems in identifying referents.

Type 4 (Partial Repeat Alone)

A partial repeat alone may serve as an NTRI. This, of course, requires some hearing of the utterance. In the following example H and N had been talking about a play. H mentions that there was a review of it in the paper.

- (113) H *hh Toda:y there was a who:le (.) review on it in [the paper.]
 N [u-Whe:re.]
 N (.)
 N Oh real [ly I'm gonna loo:k,]
 H [In the View section.]
 (0.2)
 N In the ["Vie:w? ←
 H [*p*hh
 N (.)
 H Yeah
 but I don't want you to read it.
 N (.)
 N Okay, HGII 9:1

In this example, N produces a partial repetition of H's prior turn which was

overlapped. This repeat has terminally rising intonation. The NTRI is responded to by H with an affirmative token. This confirms that N correctly heard the utterance.

Type 5 (*You Mean* + Candidate Understanding)

You mean plus a possible understanding is also a type of NTRI. This not only requires some hearing, but also an understanding of the utterance sufficient to formulate a clarification or restatement. This possible understanding is produced to be confirmed or disconfirmed by the speaker of the trouble source turn.

In the following example, the participants had been discussing C's college aged daughter with respect to the college courses she had taken and her future goals.

- (114) D [()]
 K [No but no but=]
 D [()]
 K [=Wait a minute Wait a minute,]
 She's she's interested [in delivering] health,
 L [()]
 not in health delivery systems.
 C Yeah,
 she's not interested in systems,
 she's interested in the delivery.
 K Ah it [may be that the ah [system system]
 L [()] [well [(then) [it'll be obsolete.]
 C [I made it] sound=
 =more intellectual [th [an it is.]
 () [()]
 K [Systems] can be delivered by computers,
 but uh the [actual delivery] can't be.
 () [()]
 L Oh no,
 There's all these diagnostic things,
 and all these uh []you know,
 C [oh yeah but]
 C but she's interested in,
 L the doctor isn't there but he's into some terminal somewhere.

C yeah well she's interested in (.) not [in th]at,
 L [()]
 C She's interested in public health.
 and and uh
 (0.1)
 L you mean [sani]tation "type? ←
 C [°you know.]
 C Yeah,
 that's right.
 (.)
 all those things. Shapley/Nel 6:11

In this example, L produces an NTRI which is realized by the discourse particle *you mean* plus a candidate understanding of public health. C responds with an affirmative token. This NTRI is constructed to deal with problems in understanding.

Type 6 (*Wh*-word Used to Request More Information)

There is a type of NTRI in which a *wh*-word occurs which does not refer to something mentioned in the prior utterance. This NTRI type demonstrates the need for more information in order to achieve a complete understanding of the utterance. This type of question is an NTRI because it stops the projected course of the talk to locate the source of some trouble with understanding. Justification for categorizing these questions NTRI's will be discussed after the following two examples. In example (85), repeated here as (115), N produces an NTRI with the *wh*-word *where*.

(115) H *hh Toda:y there was a who::le (.) review on it in [the paper.]
 N [u-"Whe:re.] ←
 (.)
 N Oh real [ly I'm gonna loo:k,]
 H [In the View section.]
 (0.2)

N In the [Vie:w?
H [*p*hh

(.)
H Yeah
but I don't want you to read it.

(.)
N Okay,

HGII 9:3

This NTRI requests more information about the location of the review which H has just mentioned. The NTRI is done in overlap with H's phrase *the paper*, which states where she found the review.

In the following example, V has been describing her father's knee surgery. C produces an NTRI which requests more information about the conditions under which knee surgery patients get better.

- (116) V *hh but it is healing
and she said
we've seen it over and over
an- and they get better.
C mm hm
V [No]
C [How] "fast?
(0.2)
V Three months.
(0.3)
C M [m hm]
V [Thr]ee months of- of crutches.
C Mm hm.

←

Ford 11:322

In this example, C requests more information with the *wh*-word plus adverb *how fast*, which asks how fast the knee will heal. V responds in the next turn with *three months*. She then produces more turn *three months of crutches*.

Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks (1977) mention this type of NTRI in a footnote. This type of repair initiator is different from the types mentioned so far in that the trouble source is not explicitly located in the prior turn. Rather, the trouble source is information which has not been included in the utterance, at least up to that

moment in which the NTRI is produced. This NTRI type locates information which is a trouble source by omission; the information is needed by the recipient to fully understand the utterance. The *wh*-word of this NTRI type, however, must be interpretable as relevant to the trouble source utterance. In other words, not any *wh*-word can serve as an NTRI for more information with any utterance. Which *wh*-word gets used, and how it gets interpreted, depends on the construction of the prior utterance.

It may be objected that this type of question is not an NTRI but rather is simply a next turn which is requesting more information relevant to the prior utterance. In other words, it may be objected that the question has nothing to do with trouble in understanding the prior utterance. NTRI's disrupt the projected course of the talk, i.e., the projected sequence of the talk is stopped as the trouble source is dealt with. In deciding whether *wh*-word utterances of this type are NTRI's, a crucial factor must be whether or not the projected course of the talk is stopped. This involves the degree to which subsequent talk is projectable in the first place. The more projectable the course of the talk, then, the more obviously a *wh*-word disrupts the projection. Another crucial factor in deciding whether or not a *wh*-word question is an NTRI is whether the information requested could be relevant to clarifying the identity of some referent in the utterance.

Type 7 (Appender Question with Candidate Referent)

There are other types of NTRI's which Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks (1977) allude to but do not discuss. One type not exemplified in their paper is an appender question (cf. Schegloff Forthcoming). These NTRI's are syntactically integrated with the prior utterance; they can usually be interpreted as forming the terminal constituent of the prior utterance (cf. Shapley 1983). In the following example, L is explaining

to his guests why he had to hurry to get home from work before they arrived for dinner. He was delayed because he had an unexpected visitor. This visitor, C, would not take the hint that L needed to do other things and did not have time to sit and talk. In this example, L is reporting the conversation in which C was discussing his children.

- (117) L And then he started asking me about my kids,
 and (.) *hh [telling me about his kids,] you know,
 () [°ha ha °ha ha °ha ha]
 cause his (.) son J____, has just been (.)
 he's in Carnegie Hall now or something
 and made a big success.
 () [(he he)]
 M [with]his rock "group? ←
 L He writes minimal-
 No he's a (now) a modern composer
 he's gotten out of all that crap now,
 he writes minimal music.

Shapley/Nel 14:16

In this example, M produces an NTRI in the form of an appender question which is unmarked in any syntactic or lexical way. The question is interpretable as forming the terminal constituent of the prior utterance *and made a big success*. In other words, this NTRI is integrated with the syntactic structure of the prior clause.

M's NTRI demonstrates that she knew that John was a rock musician. That John would have a big success in Carnegie Hall, therefore, runs counter to M's expectation that Carnegie Hall would not be associated with the performance of rock and roll. The kind of music that John played at Carnegie Hall is, therefore, mentionable. After M's NTRI, L produces a clause which he interrupts to answer M. The second pair part answer begins with the negative token *no*. This is expanded with the clause *he's now a modern composer*. The *now* confirms that what he is now, a modern composer, differs from what he was before. This answer is further expanded with the clause *He's gotten out of all that crap now*. The phrase *that crap* apparently refers to

what is involved in being a rock musician. This answer demonstrates that M's question was based on the accurate belief that John had been a rock musician. L continues *he writes minimal music*. This utterance redoes the clause which was produced and then interrupted by L immediately following M's NTRI. This repetition suggests that L is exhibiting that this is what he had meant to say before.

M's NTRI occurs during the course of an extended turn. It is syntactically based on the prior turn. Its relevance is based on the shared knowledge that (1) John is a rock musician, and (2) Carnegie Hall is not known for rock performances. M's expectations about John and the world (=Carnegie Hall) are called into question by L's prior utterance. It is not that M has had trouble understanding the talk, but rather that she has had trouble integrating her knowledge about John, the world, and L's prior utterance.

In the following examples, the NTRI appender questions are marked. Example (95), repeated here as (118), is marked by a word tag. In this example, V is telling why her father needed to have knee surgery.

(118) V Okay this is what t-the problem is,
my dad's knee- leg was very bow-legged.
It was like thirt [een degrees]

C [all his "life."] (.) "right? ←

V Well: more in old age (h).=

C =Uh huh.

Ford 2:37 *

In this example, C produces the NTRI *all his life. right?* This is a prepositional phrase marked by a word tag. The prepositional phrase is interpretable as forming a final constituent of the prior clause *my dad's knee- leg was very bow-legged*. It is relevant by virtue of offering a candidate specification of the temporal period during which V's father had been bow-legged. *Right?* with rising intonation, unambiguously marks the turn as doing questioning. This candidate, built with a word tag, expects

confirmation. V rejects this candidate in a way which orients to the fact that she is disconfirming the candidate NTRI. (See sec. 4. for a discussion of this answer and preference structure.)

In example (119), D is describing a drink which is found in Nepal.

- (119) D When a pe(r)-
 when a ol:d man reaches seventy seven
 they have this big ceremony
 (i wa)s like his re:bir:th or something
 and they do wha'
 they (.) carry him on his ba:ck
 and put him in a chariot
 and (.) carry him around
 all the (.) ki:ds drag him around through the village an' stuff
 (they do all this)
 The(n they have a) big fea:st
 and they drink
 they have these bi:g (.) jars full of this (.) mm-
 (0.1)
 It's like fermen:ted wi(n) er- fermented ri:ce.
 It's like (.)
 they (.)
 y'know ri-
 W rice wine?
 (0.3)
 D It's not like wi-
 I mean it's it's not likewi:ne.
 It doesn't taste like wine
 but it's
 W fermented.=
 D =white and milky
 but it's [fermented
 H ["oh yeah, ⇐
 (0.3)
 H in "bo:wls? ⇐
 W oh that [sounds disgusting
 D [y- yeah well it's in these big
 (0.1)
 D [va:ses, [you know.
 W [vats.
 H [Yeah.
 D [huge.
 H [Yeah.
 D But what I didn't realize at the time was
 I had always been thinking
 well a:ll anything alcoholic has been (.) distilled

and is oka:y.
 (0.2)
 D but this isn't.
 (0.3)
 it's just made from (.)
 I [meant they jus-
 J [oh yea:h,
 D It's just ferme:nted. It's not disti:llled.

Riggenbach 6: 141

In this example, H produces the utterance *oh yeah*. Schiffrin (1987:91) states that *oh* can serve as "a marker of recognition of familiar information — more specifically, old information which has become newly relevant..." (cf. Heritage 1984). The *oh yeah* suggests that H has recognized the referent D is describing. This is followed by a (0.3) delay and then the appender question *in bowls?* which can be interpreted as forming the final constituent of the prior clause *but it's fermented*. The NTRI offers a candidate prepositional phrase which specifies the kind of containers in which the drink being described is fermented. H's utterance expects to be confirmed. It is requesting more information which can be used to identify the referent D is in the process of describing. D's answer is constructed to show orientation to the fact that it disconfirms the candidate NTRI. (See sec. 4 for a discussion of this example and preference structure.)

Type 8 (Appender Question with *Wh*-word)

Appender type NTRI's differ from other NTRI's in that the repairable is not within the trouble source utterance. Rather, the trouble located by the NTRI is information not included in the trouble source utterance. The relevant factor involved in the interpretation of appender questions is the compatibility of the syntactic structure of the trouble source turn and the appender question.

Appender questions may include a *wh*-word which demonstrates some trouble with identifying a referent, an event, a place or a time.¹ In the following example,

(120) N But he goes,
(.)
he:-he goes
you have a really mild case
he goes,
(.)

HG II 4:4

In these examples of appender type NTRI's, the speaker of the NTRI is^a requesting more information — sometimes with a candidate referent and sometimes with a *wh*-word. NTRI's which consist of *wh*-words which question elements not referred to in the trouble source utterance similarly request more information (cf. ex. (115) above). The difference between these two types is that a *wh*-word requesting more information is an open class question; its speaker does not have to offer any candidate for confirmation or disconfirmation. In appender questions with candidate referents, the NTRI speaker demonstrates more of a grasp of the particularities of

the situation encoded by the utterance. The same grasp of the utterance in terms of comprehension of the trouble source utterance is required in both types of appender NTRI's.

As is the case of *wh*-words which request more information (cf. NTRI type 6 above), appender question NTRI's do not locate a trouble source located in the prior utterance. Rather, the trouble source is information which has not been included in the prior turn. Appender questions stop the course of the projected talk and initiate repair by offering a candidate guess at the "missing" information which the recipient judges to be necessary for understanding. Appender NTRI's are a kind of understanding check which clarifies what has been said.

Type 9 (Candidate Substitution)

There is a type of repair initiator in which a candidate referent is offered to identify a referent mentioned in the trouble source utterance. In example (121), L produces an NTRI which is a candidate referent substitution.

- (121) E Did I tell y-
oh, yo:u heard it.
- L "Yeh, [a]bout "K__? ←
- E [()]
- E No: about (1.2) A__.
- L A__ who?
- E is coming home,
- B Oh [the one who left to go to] Italy?
- N [Oh yeah I remember her]
- L [()]
- E She called and wants to come [home,]=
- L [Same]=Same terms as J__.
- Weber 3:8

In this example, L produces a candidate substitution for the referent *it* in the pre-announcement *oh you heard it* in the prior turn. This NTRI is realized as a

prepositional phrase, *about K__*. Although not a partial repeat, the NTRI evokes the projected but aborted interrogative, *Did I tell you about __*, which was realizing the pre-announcement. The NTRI is requesting clarification of the referent who was to be the subject of the announcement.

In summary, these types of NTRI's are arranged in a hierarchical order, increasing in the amount of specificity with which they target the trouble source. Specificity is related to how much of a grasp the speaker has on the utterance and/or the situation. Multiple NTRI's always increase in strength or specificity, e.g., a speaker generally would produce *huh* then *who*, rather than *who* and then *huh*.

This section has outlined the various types of NTRI's described by Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks (1977) and Schegloff (Forthcoming). In addition to locating a repairable, NTRI's function to project disagreement in conversation. This function will be discussed in the following section.

4. NTRI's and Preference Structure

I have discussed how NTRI's function to initiate repair of some trouble with hearing or understanding in the talk. NTRI's can also project a disagreeing answer (cf. ch. 2). In example (84), repeated here with additional prior and subsequent text as example (122), J had previously described telling what he had done to his roommate. The roommate had invited a young woman over for dinner. J and the girl began picking on the roommate and at one point both of them disappeared outside when he left the room.

(122) P John, now you know that's not nice.
 J I know it wasn't nice=
 P =y- you apologize to that boy.=
 J =Oh:. I will
 (0.2)
 but (0.4) Donna was having a good time, hha too.
 *hh
 P (Oh, my [God)
 J [Yeah=he should understand the humor of it all.
 P THAT'S NOT FUNNY=
 J It's fu::ny ha ha [haha
 P [That is not funny Jo::hn=
 J =*hhhh= it's very funny.
 P Is it like the first time they dated?
 J "Huh? ⇐
 P It's like the first time that (.)
 it was like a date?
 J Oh, they weren't really on a date.
 They were more on like (0.5) just having uhm:::=
 P =JO::HN, now you know that was a DATE=
 J Now, Pa:t[ri:ck
 P [(ish-) is he a freshman?
 J Yes
 P Jo::hn=that was a date.=
 J It was a date to him
 but to her-she: was told that they were gonna study philosophy.
 *hh an she already been there an hour
 an they hadn't studied anything.
 P No::w, Jo::hn, no:: [w comon, John.
 J [hahaa Kinjo 6:10

In this example, J responds to P's question *is it the first time they dated* with a basic NTRI *huh*. When P redoes the utterance as a declarative clause question, P denies that they were on a date. He begins to offer an alternative description of the occasion and cannot come up with a plausible category. P then insists that J knew that it was a date. J still resists that categorization. P then asks if the young man was a freshman. Upon hearing that he was indeed a freshman, P reasserts that the evening constituted a date. J then backs down from his original claim that *they weren't really on a date* by stating that, although it was a date to his roommate, it was not a date to the young woman.

J's NTRI in response to P's question about the appropriate categorization of the

evening projects disagreement with any suggestion that the evening was "really" a date. J at first denies the evening was a date, but eventually backs down from that claim as a result of P's further questioning. Apparently, picking on your roommate while he is having a date, especially a first date, leaves J vulnerable to more severe criticism than if he and his guest were not really on a date.

NTRI's can project disagreement even when they are not a response to a question. In the following example, M is reporting his events of the previous weekend. K interrupts with an NTRI. Two stretches of talk, connected by brackets and ascribed to the same speaker, indicate two possible hearings.

- (123) M But - the bad thing was that um:,
 (0.4)
 I had to move my Dad's furniture
 (0.6)
 from his place in Santa Monica=
 I had- to- have let the movers in (-)
 so.
 (0.6)
 Being totally drunk from that orgy on Saturday night
 I had to get up
 (0.2)
 and go down (0.1) to Santa Monica with Hillary,
 (0.3)
 and let these damn movers in.
 (0.2)
 ten o'clock in the morning (-)
 it was raining:
 it was mess [y 'knhh*
 K ['Huh* *hh ⇐
 (0.4)
 K On "Sunday? ⇐
 (0.2)
 M mm hm
 (0.2)
 R That's strange ⇐
 M S::o
 (0.4)
 K sh (-) y [ou're sure it
 y' [sure it was Sunday Mark. ⇐
 M [End-

(0.1)
 M Yeah it was [Sunday*
 R [uh huh huh* hih h [ih*
 M [After S*aturday night usually its Sunday
 (en)
 (tha-)
 (0.1)
 hih hih
 S Mm
 (0.1)
 K Yeah
 but in y [ou're condition you never know
 [' was stumbling around
 (0.1)
 M Well no I kno:w.
 (0.6)
 Whole weekends are shot to hell ["wha-(-)wha-"]
 [why oh why] SN4 11:26;12:1

In this example, M is describing how he had to get up early the morning after his Saturday night orgy. He states that it was raining and messy. This comment results in a basic NTRI from K. There is no response from M and after a (0.4) silence, K produces another NTRI. She produces the question *On Sunday?* This is a prepositional phrase which is interpretable as an appender question. It is not asking for clarification of the date/time or for more information, however. It is clear that M was referring to Sunday morning. It is, by implication, suggesting that K had some reason to disagree with Mark's statement that it was raining on Sunday morning. K responds to this with an affirmative token. R produces the utterance *that's strange*, aligning herself with K's pre-disagreements. K produces another utterance questioning M's description of Sunday morning as rainy and messy. She questions M's memory with regard to what the day was, not whether or not it was really raining. The assumption is you can get confused about the day of any particular weather event but not the experience of the weather. M does not back down from his assertion that it was Sunday morning that was rainy and messy. Neither K nor R actually go on and disagree explicitly with M.

This example demonstrates a speaker's use of a series of forms, beginning with a basic NTRI, with which she deals with a questionable fact asserted by M. The forms show increasing specificity in locating the trouble source. The speaker initiating repair first produces a basic NTRI — *huh*. This type of NTRI can be produced by a speaker who has no comprehension of the trouble source turn. This form has minimal lexical and phonological content. The speaker initiating repair next produces an NTRI appender question — *On Sunday?* In contrast to the *huh*, this form has more lexical and phonological content and has syntactic structure. The speaker initiating repair then produces an NTRI which is realized as a syntactic clause interpretable as an interrogative clause — *y' sure it was Sunday Mark*. This series of NTRI forms exhibits increasing specificity in locating the trouble source. The NTRI forms become increasingly longer and exhibit increasingly more complex syntactic structure (cf. sec. 10).

Since NTRI's can be used to mark dispreferred responses, it may seem that NTRI's can never be something like a preferred second pair part response. We might ask, however, if an utterance's construction can have the effect of stimulating an NTRI from a recipient. In the following example, D is answering a question about what made him the sickest with respect to his recent stay in Nepal. He had told how he had drunk fermented rice at a celebration and became sick several weeks later. C, D's wife, becomes a co-teller of the story and tells about how ill D eventually became. W produces a nonclausal appender question in response to C's use of the passive form of the verb *escort*.

- (124) C I knew
 he was gonna go on this thing
 and and I (.)
 and he was really sick
 but I didn't want to be like (.) the momma
 and say don't go.
 ↑Go ahead.
 You'll have a good time.
 It's all right.↓
 Next day, he was escorted home by (hh)
 [(he was)
- W [on a "stretcher?"
- C Just about.
 (1.2)
- W How awful. [Oh: Go:d
- H [Uhh.
- ←
- Riggenbach 7:180

W's question is a request for more information with respect to the prior clause which was aborted. C produces a passive clause which she aborts before completing the *by* phrase in which the semantic agent of the clause is identified. After the passive is aborted, C begins a new clause with *he was*. Passive clauses in which the *by* phrase is produced, and, therefore, the agent is made explicit, are rare in English (Quirk et al 1985; Thompson 1987; Fox 1987). W's question, which goes to completion, overlaps C's clause which begins *he was* and is then aborted. This question is a request for specification of the circumstances in which he *was escorted home*.

The passive form of this verb puts the patient *he* in subject position and suppresses the agent. *He* refers to D. The story is about D's illness. The use of this structure conveys that someone else was the agent of D's getting home. The fact that the *by* was produced, but the agent was not produced, draws attention to the missing agent or agents. The subsequent talk reveals that the speaker knew the name of the agent, i.e., the person who escorted D home. The NTRI, *on a stretcher*, by offering a candidate understanding, is asking for more information. It is occasioned by the use of the verb *escorted* in the passive form in conjunction with the fact that

the utterance was aborted after the *by* of the *by* phrase was produced. This example suggests that an NTRI may be stimulated by certain types of self-repaired utterances.

This section has shown that nonclausal NTRI's can function to project disagreement and to mark dispreferred second pair parts. When an NTRI follows a first pair part question, it breaks contiguity between the first pair part and the second pair part answer (Sacks 1987[1973]). The NTRI is itself a first pair part question which makes a second pair part relevant. The NTRI and its second pair part constitute an insert sequence between the original first pair part and its second pair part. NTRI's can project disagreement when they occur in response to statements as well. The possibility was raised that NTRI's may be stimulated by self-repairs of certain syntactic constructions.

Responses to appender questions can reflect preference structure in the same way that responses to other types of questions can reflect preference structure, as exhibited in examples (95) and (79). These are partially repeated here as examples (125) and (126). In the following example, V is telling why her father needed to have knee surgery.

- (125) V Okay this is what t-the problem is,
 my dad's knee- leg was very bow-legged.
 It was like thirt [een degrees]
 C [all his "life.] (.) "right? ⇐
 V Well: more in old age (h).=
 C =Uh huh. Ford 2:37

In this example, V produces *well*, a marker of a dispreferred response. The rest of V's answer *more in old age* implies that he was very bowlegged only in his old age. In other words, V's answer means that her father was not, in fact, very bow-legged all his life. This second pair part to the NTRI is constructed in a way which orients to the fact that it is not a preferred response.

In the following example, D is describing a drink which made him sick.

- (126) D It's not like wi-
 I mean it's it's not like wi:ne.
 It doesn't taste like wine
 but it's
 W fermented.=
 D =white and milky
 but it's [fermented
 H ["oh yeah, ⇐
 (0.3)
 H in "bo:wls? ⇐
 W oh that [sounds disgusting
 D [y- yeah well it's in these big
 (0.1)
 D [va:ses, [you know.
 W [vats.
 H [Yeah.
 D [huge.
 H [Yeah. Riggenbach 6:141

In this example, D gives an affirmative token followed by a marker of a dispreferred response — *well*. He answers that it is *in these big vases* and then adds the qualification *huge*. In other words, it is not fermented in bowls. This response is initially shaped as a preferred response, and then constructed to show orientation to the fact that it is a dispreferred answer.

In this section, I have discussed the relation of NTRI's to the preference structure^o of conversation. Other interactional functions of NTRI's will be exemplified in the next section.

5. Other Functions of NTRI's

Questions can function simultaneously in several ways. We have seen that a nonclausal question can function to initiate repair as an NTRI while thereby projecting disagreement and being a marker of a dispreferred response. A close

examination of NTRI's reveals that this type of question can function in other very subtle ways to achieve the participants' interactional goals. The following section presents a detailed analysis of an example which exhibits such an interactional function.

In the following example, an NTRI serves to make a claim on the part of the speaker for co-telling rights to a story in progress. This exchange takes place between a mother and her daughter. The mother begins a story about a family who live on their block. Throughout the story, there is some competition between the mother and the daughter as to the perspective from which it will be told — that of the parent vs. that of the child/young adult.

- (127) N I don't know,
 I'm dy::ing to know what happened up the street.
 We had the who:le thing going on with my friend
 (0.2)
 [who's up the] stree:t.=
 L [with "J__?]
 N =Yeah.

←

Weber 8:116

I'm dying to know what happened up the street. This is a story preface. This turn constructional unit (TCU) displays that something happened which is so interesting that the speaker is dying to know about it, i.e., is curious about it. The reported curiosity of the speaker serves as a motivation for the recipients' interest in the upcoming story which has been projected by the preface which has been produced so far. The projected story is also made interesting by virtue of the fact that it is local, something which has occurred close by — up the street. It is close enough that things that happen there are possible subjects of interest. This utterance functions to start the story and to make a claim on an extended turn for the speaker.

N continues her extended turn with more preface which suggests the topic of the

story is relevant to the previous story; it also identifies a participant. The topic is linked to the previous topic by the use of the referent *the whole thing*. It is coded as definite by the speaker; its referent is assumed to be identifiable by the recipients. It is interpretable as more of the same kind of situation, one which includes significant elements which have been the topic of discussion, viz., a situation in which a high school girl runs away with her boyfriend. The speaker is telling the story in reference to the previous story. This new story is being introduced as another instance of the same type which includes elements of the previous story — *the whole thing*. At the same time, the story about to be told will provide further information in terms of which the previous story can be given further interpretation. The type will be given further exemplification by the relation of the two stories as instances of the same type.

This *whole thing going on*, the situation about to be the subject of the story, is kept relevant, and therefore, a tellable, by the use of the pronoun *we*. The situation which is projected (what happened up the street) is tied to the speaker and her daughter by the use of the *we had*. It continues to be kept relevant and interesting by virtue of this personal connection. The projected story is made relevant not only because it is about a similar situation, but also because there is a personal connection between the speaker and her daughter and this similar situation.

This personal connection introduced in the use of *we had* is further clarified by the prepositional phrase *with my friend*. The projected situation, which has so far received its meaning by being another case of the type of situation in the previous story, is connected to the speaker through the relation the speaker has with a participant. The speaker refers to the participant as *my friend*. The referent is identifiable to the recipients because it is given by virtue of a semantic frame. The following pause may have been the result of eating or serving and I would not want to make much of it since there is no videotape of the conversation. Whatever its

motivation, there is an interval of time after which the speaker and her daughter both begin speaking. The speaker continues by adding a relative clause. Since the speaker is taking an extended turn, the silence is a pause, not a gap. A pause is a period of silence within a speaker's turn, while a gap is a period of silence between two speakers' turns. A speaker may turn a period of silence which would be interpretable as a gap into a pause by taking more turn, i.e., by adding on to what has already been produced. The relative clause locates the friend — up the street. This is the same phrase that was used to locate the interesting happening. By repeating the phrase, the speaker relates two things (*what happened* and *we had the whole thing going on with my friend*) by (1) their syntagmatic relation to the phrase and (2) their both being located *up the street*. This all gets interpreted as follows: there is an interesting thing which happened, which is like what we were just talking about, and which has to do with my friend who lives up the street.

L, N's daughter, takes a turn in overlap with N's relative clause. Neither speaker stops. L does a next turn repair initiator (NTRI), asking for clarification. The NTRI begins with *with* plus a candidate referent, *J*. She is asking for clarification of the situation, however, not the referent of *J*. This becomes clear to the analyst by the end of the story. The referent of *my friend* is a woman called A, while the referent of *J* is A's daughter, a high school girl who has run away from home to be with her boyfriend. How can we demonstrate that the next turn repair initiator (NTRI) is seeking a clarification of the situation and not the referent without referring to ethnographic data? Let us assume for the moment that the guest recipients in the interaction did not know the referent of the story participant introduced as *my friend*. There are reasons to think that the speaker has made this assumption. The noun phrase (NP) which introduces the participant is not a name, i.e., a recognitional NP. By using the form *my friend*, the speaker has not provided grounds for recognition; she

has, however, provided grounds for identifying the referent in terms of the relation of the referent to herself. The repair initiator, *with J*, is constructed with typical technology for clarification repairs, viz., a partial repeat plus a candidate understanding. For the other recipients in the interaction, given our assumption, the repair initiator would get interpreted as asking for clarification of the referent of *my friend*. The recognitional form used by L is addressed to N, not to the other recipients of the story-in-progress.

In fact, J is L's friend, the daughter of N's friend. This next turn repair initiator (NTRI) by L displays that she has interpreted *the whole thing* as a situation, and is asking for clarification of the situation. She is offering a candidate understanding of another participant in the situation, not for the referent of *my friend*.

N responds to the next turn repair initiator (NTRI) with an answer, *Yeah*. Note that she did not interrupt her own turn constructional unit (TCU) that was in overlap with the next turn repair initiator (NTRI), nor did she pause after the relative clause and before the answer to the NTRI which was done in overlap. This answer displays that she heard the turn that was produced in overlap with her talk and answered it without any hesitation or hitch when she completed her own turn. It further displays that the next turn repair initiator (NTRI) was understood as a request for clarification of another participant in the situation, not for clarification of the referent.

This use of the NTRI is the first of several moves on behalf of the daughter, L, to become a co-teller of the story from the perspective of the daughter in the story, not the mother. N is telling the story from the mother's perspective as something which happened to her — her kid ran away. L will see it from the daughter's perspective.

This detailed analysis has revealed that speakers not only make multiple uses of questions, but also achieve very subtle interactional effects with the simplest of syntactic forms. Such functions cannot be intuited; they must be discovered by a

close examination of the data. Unless the full range of communicative functions which are realized in conversation are explored, researchers interested in language use will never be able to adequately describe how people manage to do things with words. The example presented in this section has revealed some of the complexities of interpretation and the use of language in the service of interactional goals. In the following section, I will discuss candidate solutions to same turn repairs.

6. Candidate Solutions to Same Turn Repairs

Nonclausal questions can be used as a candidate solution to a word search initiated by another speaker. A word search is a type of self-initiated repair. Example (128), exhibits a word search and candidate solution done with a nonclausal question. D is trying to describe a drink which is found in Nepal.

- (128) D When a pe(r)-
 when a ol:d man reaches seventy seven
 they have this big ceremony
 (i wa)s like his re:bir:th or something
 and they do wha'
 they (.) carry him on his ba:ck
 and put him in a chariot
 and (.) carry him around
 all the (.) ki:ds drag him around through the village an' stuff
 (they do all this)
 The(n they have a) big fea:st
 and they drink
 they have these bi:g (.) jars full of this (.) mm-
 (0.1)
 It's like fermen:ted wi(n) er- fermented ri:ce.
 It's like (.)
 they (.)
 y'know ri-

W rice "wine?

←

(0.3)

- D It's not like wi-
 I mean it's it's not like wi:ne.
 It doesn't taste like wine
 but it's

W fermented.=

Riggenbach 5:133

In this example, after the speaker makes three aborted tries to describe what this drink is like, W supplies a candidate solution to this problem with the utterance *rice wine*. This candidate is rejected and D continues with his attempt to describe the drink.

This section concludes the discussion of nonclausal forms which are implicated in repair. These forms constitute 60% of all instances of nonclausal questions. With the exception of the single instance of a candidate solution to a word search presented in this section, all the nonclausal questions implicated in repair are next turn repair initiators. Although the literature does not recognize a typical function for nonclausal questions, these data exhibit a strong association between nonclausal questions and repair initiating function. In the following section, nonclausal questions which are not implicated in repair will be discussed.

7. Functions of Nonclausal Questions not Implicated in Repair

This section will discuss nonclausal questions not implicated in repair. An examination of the data reveals several functional types of questions: topic/sequence solicitations or introductions, responses to pre-announcements, candidate understandings, backdowns, try questions, offers, requests for evaluations, etc. The following section discusses nonclausal questions which are involved in developing new topics/sequences.

7.1. Topic/Sequence Solicitations

This section examines some nonclausal questions which prefer a response which presents or develops news. The following example exhibits a nonclausal first pair part which is built to display a preference for a second which presents more news.

(129)N Anything else to "report,

←

(0.3)
H Uh:::m:::,
(0.4)
Getting my hair cut tomorrow,=
N Oh really?
(.)
H Yea: [::h,
N [Oh (so soo:[d]?)
(for foo:d?)
(0.4)
H What:t?
(0.2)
N Cause member
you said
you w [ere gonna m]ake an appo [intment n,]
H [owhhhhhhoo] [Oh: y]eah.*= HG II 15:24

This example is interpretable as "do you have anything else to report."

In the following example, M begins a new sequence with the question *So you dating Keith?* K answers this but does not expand her answer. M then produces another question which K does expand upon. M constructs this question with the *wh*-word plus particle *what about* (cf. Keenan and Schieffelin 1976). This question solicits information about a former friend of Kieth's.

- (130) M So you dating Keith?
 (0.1)
 K He's a friend.
 (0.6)
 M What about that girl he used to "go with for so long ←
 (0.1)
 K Alice? (-) I d [on't* think (ing about)
 M [myeh*
 (0.5)
 M Wha-/
 (0.2)
 K I dunno where she is
 but I-
 (0.9)
 K Talks about her every so often
 but I dunno where she is
 (0.6)
 M hm SN4 27:7

This example is constructed as follows: *wh*-word particle+ determiner+ noun +relative clause in which the relativized NP (*that girl*) plays the semantic role of patient in the relative clause. *That girl* is referred to in terms of Keith, who was mentioned in M's previous turn. When Keith, as a topic, is not taken up by K, M tries again to initiate another topic by mentioning Keith's former steady girlfriend. Fox (1987) observes that patient relative clauses serve "to anchor, or show the contextual relevance of, what is mentioned in the head NP" (cf. Prince 1981). By using the *what about* plus a patient relative clause, M is able to initiate a new topic (Keith's girlfriend), while at the same time treating this topic as contextually relevant. The use of the referent's name, rather than the relative clause, would not display the contextual relevance as explicitly; the relevance would be implicit.

There is another nonclausal question which is constructed with a noun plus a relative clause. Example (131), is constructed as follows: noun + relative clause in which the relativized NP (*nice Jewish boy*) plays the semantic role of experiencer in the relative clause. This clause forms a bridge between (1) a prior candidate characterization and subsequent acceptance of that characterization and (2) an

expansion of a prior topic.

- (131) N How did you get his number,
 (.)
 H I(h) (.) c(h)alled information in San Francisco(h) [uh!
 N [Oh:::..
 (.)
 very cleve:r, hh=
 H =Thank you [: I- *hh-*hhhhhhh]hh=
 N [What's his last name,]
 H Uh:: Freedla:nd. *hh [hh
 N [Oh [:,
 H [(r) Freedlind
 N =Nice Jewish bo:y?
 (.)
 H O:f cou:rse,=
 N ='v [cou:rse,]
 H [hh-hh-hh] hnh *hhhhh=
 N =Nice Jewish' boy who doesn't like to write "letters? ⇐
 (.)
 H eYe::h, *hhh And he ma:de such a big dea::l about it
 he, s [:] pent-] *hh
 N [I]kno::] :::w.=
 H =He [said that he would write]
 N [That's what I don't un]der=
 H =fir::s:::t an ::,
 (.)
 N I know
 see that's what I don't understand
 that's why I still think he might write you,
 (0.3)
 N It ↑just takes him awhi:le,
 (.)
 H khh-hh-hhe writes one word a day, hhih [hn
 N [Yeahhh
 (.)
 N Dea:r? hh next day. Hyla,=
 H =*u *u *hhh
 (.)
 N Ho:w?
 (.)
 H *hhhi: [nh] heh-heh,
 N [A:]re?
 (.)
 H ↑you:.=
 H =*eh-*u [h,
 N [*hhh
 (0.2)

H *hhihhh I think I'll get the le(h)tter next yea(hhh [h)r
 N [Yea(h)h,=
 N =hhhhh *hh You'll get a ten page lett(hh)er [hh
 H [eh-eh-uh *hhihhh=
 H =(w(h)en th(h)ey [make it]
 N [will it be] wo: [rth waiting [fo(h)r?]
 H [*hhhh [hhhhhhh] *hh=
 N =hnh=
 H =*ahhh *uh,=
 N =hh-kh
 (.)
 (.)
 (.)
 H [*hh [mean [time he's] married with s [ix k(h)i(h)ds,]
 N [By [then [you could] [By then you could] be
 marri(h)ed
 (h)w(h)ith six k(h)i [(h)ds]
 H [hhhh]

HG II 25:26

In this example, N repeats her previous candidate characterization, *nice Jewish boy*, and adds a relative clause whose verbal complement, the infinitive phrase *to write letters*, evokes the beginning of this sequence. The sequence begins with N asking *Did you get the mail today*. This question is prompted by N's knowledge that H still hopes to receive a letter from Richard (=the nice Jewish boy). This nonclausal question, then, returns the talk to the topic which had been deflected by H's confession that she had called Richard, i.e., the topic of the expected but not yet received letter.

The relative clause in the above example is a transitive clause whose subject is the relativized NP. Fox (1987) identifies transitive relative clauses as agent relatives (cf. Dixon 1979). She notes that these agent relatives are rare in her data. These relatives serve the function of "linking the current utterance to the preceding discourse, using the object of the relative as a bridge" (p. 858-9). Agent relatives are less frequent than patient relatives (cf. example (130)) because objects of transitive verbs tend not to be good anchors. They tend not to be good anchors because they generally code new rather than given information in the discourse (cf. Du Bois

1981a,b, 1985, 1987). In order to serve as the anchor or bridge between two referents, however, an NP must be given, either by having been previously mentioned or evoked in the preceding talk. In the instances of A-relatives described by Fox, the head NP is anchored to the preceding discourse by the object of the relative clause.

In this example, the A-relative functions differently from those A-relatives described by Fox (1987). The subject of the relative is *nice Jewish boy*. This subject NP does not need to be anchored to the preceding discourse because it is a repetition of an utterance N produced just two turns previously. The object of the transitive verb is the infinitive phrase *to write letters*. *Letters* is a nonreferential NP (cf. Du Bois 1980). Unlike the objects of A-relatives described by Fox, *letters* does not code referents already given in the discourse. The phrase *to write letters*, however, evokes the beginning of this sequence when N asks H if she has already gotten the mail that day. The repetition of *nice Jewish boy* as the head NP provides an anchor for the relative clause which reintroduces the topic of the letter which has not yet arrived.

In this section, I have discussed a number of nonclausal questions which initiate new topics/sequences or which reintroduce topics. In the following section, I will present nonclausal questions which are preferred responses to pre-announcements.

7.2. Preferred Responses to Pre-Announcements

A number of nonclausal questions in the data are responses to pre-announcements which are also first pair parts in their own right. In the following example, the speaker, H, returns to a previous topic — the subject of a Dear Abby column. She had been unable to recall what the column was about. She produces a pre-announcement which is followed by a preferred response *what*. Note that the pre-announcement is marked by *oh* which signals that the speaker has retrieved some

information (cf. Schiffrin 1987:91, Heritage 1984).

- (132) H =O::h no I remember what yesterday was,=
 N ="Wha [t. ⇐
 H [Forget it
 I made that up.hh- [hh
 N [What was [it.
 H [Yes [th(hh)e other [day,]
 N [Sh(hh)e [make]s it up,=
 N =*hhhh Hey that's a pretty good one,=
 H =eh-eh *he::hhh Yesterday, (.) wa:s, *hhh this girl,
 *hh °e- fifteen year old girl her mother didn't let her wear sho:rt skirts
 or midriff to [:ps or h]alter to::ps or a::n:ything,=
 [Uh hu:h] HGII 36:1

In this example, H's utterance that she has recalled the column functions to solicit a request from N that she tell what she remembers.

In the following example, the speaker, H, produces a question which functions as a pre-announcement.

- (133) H A:::nd what e:lse.
 *hhh Do you know what I did today
 I was so proud of my [sel]f,=
 N ["What.] ⇐
 H =*hhh I we:nt- (0.2)
 Alright like I get off at work at one,=
 N Uh hu:h,=
 H And I hav- (.) my class starts at two:.
 *hh so within that one hou:r,
 I got to school
 ((etc. on this topic)) HGII 18:5

In this example, N's *what* is the preferred response to H's question *Do you know what I did today I was so proud of myself*; it functions to solicit more about what happened. In this example, the response is done in overlap with H's pre-announcement. *What* is produced very quickly, the vowel is reduced, and the terminal intonation is falling. As a lexical element constituting a turn, it is minimally

produced as a word, signalling nothing more than "continue."

In the following example, a nonclausal question *like what* is the preferred response to a pre-announcement of a discovery stated in general terms.² The preferred response solicits a request for a specific example of the general announcement. The response is also not in next turn position. There is a lot of laughter in this conversation which has not been noted in the transcription because it would make the text very difficult to read.

- (134) C There's no way to terminate an evening with A___ X___, I've noticed.
I love, A, uh
I'm very appreciative of his coming to see me,
L oh yeah
but it's (.)
C he doesn't (.) have any concept of time, you know
[you can say things like=
D you [can't say something like
C =well, I guess
now (that) the paper's being tossed on your front lawn
(.)
I guess
it's about time to go to work, you say,
((laughter))
The next morning.
D (night A___?)
C and he's still noodling (.) at the piano.
(.)
playing with the dog.
(0.1)
L yes.
M Oh, I guess I
(.)
he's usually sleeping here,
so I just (.) go to bed.
((laughter))
M Everybody else goes to bed,
and he finally gets
(.)
L Yeah,
and he finally starts crashing at about four a.m. or something.
M Yeah
(3.0)
C Well, I find he's very good company,
and [I always like to see him, just delightful, and interesting] and
M [Well he's charming, and interesting to talk to. yeah.]

M I think, though it
 I've discovered
 that he throws out these (.) rather (.) unusual statements, you see.
 () ()
 K (Oh, I see) ()
 M And then everybody keeps feeding him,
 and then he throws [out another] one,
 () (yeah)
 D [like "what.] ←
 M well, (.) like he started
 (.)
 my conversation
 I just transcribed
 started out with
 actually (.) spinach takes iron from the body.
 ((laughter))
 C okay (that's)
 L and you know how it is.
 (.)
 (I mean) he's perfectly capable of inventing the whole thing,
 although it may also be true.
 C yeah,
 L (and then) cause cause he went through a good deal of the so-called
 chemistry of of the reaction=
 M well, he used chelate a lot,
 [which] sounded very impressive.ha ha
 L [(the word)]
 L the word chelate came in qui- quite frequently,
 it's chelated or not chelated or rechelated
 M [But it seems to me]
 L [()]
 M you're getting into something like rhetoric,
 or public speaking (.) [at th-this (.) stage,
 () [ha ha
 M I mean, it isn't really conversation,
 it's techniques of (.) something else.

Shapley/Nel 17:22

In this example, D's request for some specific cases of unusual statements produced
 by A is responded to by M with a verbatim quotation. This turn is expanded upon by
 L, M's husband. L and M continue to expand on the answer as a party.

This section has exhibited some nonclausal questions which are preferred
 responses. Nonclausal questions which elicit further talk are not similar to NTRI's in
 function even though they may use the same form, e.g., *what*. This demonstrates that
 the sequential slot in which the form occurs is critical for its interpretation. When

what follows a pre-announcement, done either as a statement or a question, it is interpretable as a preferred second if the terminal intonation is falling. Rising terminal intonation would function, even in this sequential slot, as a basic NTRI requesting repetition. Next, I will discuss a nonclausal question which is a backdown from a prior assertion.

7.3. Backdowns

Nonclausal questions can be used by speakers to modify their own prior utterance. In the following example, H has been summarizing the plot of a play they are going to see that evening. N then produces an uptake.

- (135) N =But, so basically it's kind o [f a love story in a [wa:y,=
 (H) [*hhhhh [*hh
 H We:ll no:t=
 N ="Pa:rt of [i:t.] ←
 H [really] s [o mu:ch.] Y]ah there's-]=
 N [Pa:rt of i]t.] Right?]=
 H =there's one part be[twee:n,]
 N [But it's m]ost [ly about the au:nt?]
 H [between this Jewish] gu:y
 and the:*hh and the (w) gi:rl.
 *hh tha [:t,]
 N [That]'s the conflict, =
 H =Tha [t's] i- yeah=
 N [Ri]ght?

HG II 13:2

In this example, N produces an uptake of the plot summary which receives a dispreferred answer marked by *well* followed by the negative form *not*. N modifies her original uptake at this time with the nonclausal *Part of it*. This is interpretable as modifying her own prior statement to change her characterization of the play as basically a love story to in part a love story. N repeats this form plus the word tag *right*. H does respond to the backdown with an affirmative token. She then mentions one part of the play which could be considered a love story, viz., the part

between *this Jewish guy and the girl*. N's backdown from her original characterization and its repetition exhibit the operation of preference structure in conversation. It is the responsibility of both participants to achieve preferred responses. In this case, N changes her uptake to get an agreeing response.

In this section, I have discussed nonclausal questions which function as backdowns. In the following section, I will discuss nonclausal questions which are candidate understandings.

7.4. Candidate Understandings

There are several examples in the data in which nonclausal questions offer candidate understandings of a prior utterance. In producing a candidate understanding, a speaker presents a recipient with an empathetic characterization of some aspect of the recipient's experience.

In the following example, the participants had been discussing the fact that C had changed her name back to her maiden name after she had been divorced. C comments on her daughter M's feelings about what she had done.

- (136) C Yes I think
 M thought of it as a (.) stand for women.
 (So) she (was) (.) she [(thought it) was the only thing to do.
 () [()]
 (K) Yeah
 K I never really (.) talked to uh
 K I guess
 I did talk to M a little about uh her women's studies course.
 which I gave a lecture to.
 Did [she ever tell you about that?
 C [Oh did you?
 No:, she never really told me about (much) much about the course.
 M What did you lecture about women's studies?
 K Well, they put together this women's studies course.
 A:h
 C Yeah she was in some subset.
 What was tha [t.
 K [Let's see (.)

C I'm try [ing to think
 L [third world [women? or something],
 L [()]
 Oh that's like black studies, you mean?
 C Yeah righ [t.
 K [I'm trying to think how they (.) characterized it.Um
 () he he
 D It (.) It hasn't gone that far ()
 K Um, I guess
 it was just called women's studies.
 but uh I was trying to, (.)
 I was talking on sex differences
 and trying to put together a very sophisticated developmental argument,
 C ((laughing))
 (you know) so that they could use on the barricades,
 K Right, exactly, you know I had I (.)
 [I you know
 C [a slogan or tw [o
 K [actually it was one of my most uh animated lectures.
 I mean I was really all=
 C =scholarly, though huh?
 K It wa:s: (.) a bit (.)
 you know
 it wasn't exactly schol [arly.
 L ["sparkling with footnotes," [j]uh? ⇐
 D ()
 [((laughing))]
 K [No, no. but it was, it was, you know it]
 there was there was a certain coherence to it,
 I mean [you [know
 () [((laughing))
 L [Oh
 K [ha ha ha there was a ha ha ha a theoretical theoretical idea behind it.]
 () [((laughing)))]
 () [()]
 K And uh I saw these glazed faces ((laughs))
 and uh as soon as I got through,
 uh, you know I didn't get through
 I you know (just) came to the end
 and said
 how about some questions,
 and the first question I got was (0.2)
 why do you keep talking about mothers.
 (0.8)
 (([laughs)) in- in- instead of parents.]
 () [((laughing))]
 L parent persons?
 () ((laughing))
 D [()person ((laughs))
 () [((laughing))
 K well uh you know sorry about that.

But uh=
 L (P) P (person) parents.
 K um mothers are [(.)]generally the people
 L [that's a question.]
 K we generally see in the laboratory with the (.) babies.
 and and uh *hh in the in in the [() (pres-)] present day society=
 C [sexist]
 K =they (.) are the most likely people to be taking care of (.) babies.
 It went on from there.
 D [own hil [l.=
 () [((laughter))]
 C [down.
 () (([laughter)] ((laughter))]
 [They didn't like it, huh?]
 K I'm afraid this elegant ha ha theoretical exposition just [went ha ha (.)]
 () [((laughter))]
 went uh (.) ([t^s])by them apparently.
 C ()
 K [It turned out to be entirely a class of ().
 () [((laughter))
 I mean it was a (.)
 Its orientation was: slightly to the radical side of where I was,
 where (.) I had always found myself rather comfortable.

Shapley/Nel 3:4

In this example, K describes her lecture as *one of my most animated*. She then begins a repair which she does not complete. K's repair is overlapped by C's characterization of K's lecture as *scholarly, though*. The characterization *scholarly*, then, is added to *animated* in effect. This is accepted (*It was a bit*) and then rejected (*It wasn't exactly scholarly*), demonstrating preference structure in conversation for agreeing answers. At this time L produces a candidate characterization of the lecture with the nonclausal question *sparkling with footnotes, huh*. This too gets rejected. K then goes on to characterize the lecture as coherent and based on a theoretical idea.

The candidate characterization of the lecture as *sparkling with footnotes* is done as a joke. It is offering a description of a certain type of lecture the participants would all be familiar with as academicians, regardless of their respective fields. K's rejection of the characterization without hesitation confirms her understanding of the type

itself. The characterization suggests a type of lecture in which footnotes are generously distributed. The use of the adjective *sparkling* likens them to gems. When lecturing to undergraduates, a professor who treats footnotes as valuable diamonds winds up with a talk which is too precious and overdone.

The following example demonstrates another instance of a candidate understanding. In example (78), repeated here as (137), the participants are discussing a former date of H's who lives in another city and has not written to her since they last saw each other. H had called him the previous night and had hung up without saying anything.

- (137) N How did you get his number,
 (.)
 H I(h) (.) c(h)alled information in San Francisco(h)[uh!
 N [Oh::::.
 (.)
 very cleve:r, hh=
 H =Thank you [: I- *hh-*hhhhhhhh]hh=
 N [What's his last name,]
 H Uh:: Freedla:nd. *hh [hh
 N Oh [:,
 H [(r) Freedlind
 N =Nice Jewish "bo:y? <=
 (.)
 H O:f cou:rs=,
 N ='v [cou:rs=,]
 H [hh-hh-hh] hnh *hhhhh=
- HG II 25: 21

In this example, N offers the candidate characterization *nice Jewish boy*. This is not merely offering a candidate characterization of the referent's religious/ethnic background. In fact, it is checking if he is an acceptable marriage prospect. H's response *of course* and N's receipt of that response with the same phrase, demonstrate the "of courseness" of his eligibility for marriage. H would not be suffering so much, and calling him long distance, if he were not eligible.

In this section, some nonclausal questions which function as candidate

In this example, M asks what the next rank above Colonel is. T answers *I don't know* and L produces a try question *Lieutenant Colonel*. This is not confirmed by any of the participants. M's next utterance redoes his question as to what rank comes after Colonel. He offers an alternative between major or general as candidate ranks above Colonel. In producing these candidates, he is implicitly rejecting the try question *Lieutenant Colonel*.

7.6. Other Functions

There are some questions in the data which are not NTRI's and which do not fit into any of the other categories described above. One nonclausal question in the data marks the speaker's surprise. In this example, the speaker, N, solicits a new topic from H. H's answers that she is getting her hair cut. N responds to this with the particle *oh* and *really*. When H does not expand her affirmative response to this, N produces a question done with the particle *oh* and an adverbial phrase *so soon*.

- (139) N Anything else to report,
(0.3)
H Uh::::::m::::,
(0.4)
Getting my hair cut tomorrow,=
N Oh really?
(.)
H Yea: [:::h,
N [Oh (so "soo:[d]?) ←
(for foo:d?)
(0.4)
H What:t?
(0.2)
N Cause member
you said
you w [ere gonna m]ake an appo [intment n,]
H [owhhhhhhhhoo] [Oh: y]eah.*= HG II 16:7

In this example, the question utterance *so soon* is interpretable as demonstrating

surprise over the fact that H was getting a hair cut the next day. Although the transcription indicates two possible hearing for this turn, later talk clarifies the fact that N produced the utterance *so soon*; H interpreted the utterance, however, as *for food*. On the basis of the subsequent clarification, I am taking N's utterance to be *so soon*. The particle *oh* preceding N's response to the prior answer codes the receipt of unanticipated information (cf. Schiffrin 1987:89). This further demonstrates that N's expectation was that H was not going to get her hair cut within the next twenty-four hours.

H produces an NTRI in response to N's *so soon*. N interprets this not as a request for repetition, but rather as expressing some problem with the prior utterance, i.e., as expressing some problem with N's surprise. This analysis is supported by the fact that N responds by giving evidence to support why she found H's announcement surprising or at least unanticipated. H responds with an elongated *oh* and then *oh* plus an affirmative token in overlap with N's explanation. The elongated *oh* codes H's processing of N's answer with respect to the NTRI *what*. Given N's response to the NTRI (a reason for surprise), H is able to reinterpret the trouble source utterance as *so soon*. H then produces *oh yeh*. *Oh* plus an affirmative token codes the recognition of familiar information which is newly relevant. The question *so soon*, then, is not a request for confirmation. It only gets produced because the prior talk was unanticipated given the speaker's expectation.

The utterance *so soon* is not an appender question which is syntactically integrated with the prior utterance. This form is doing a temporal evaluation of the event which H reports will happen the next day. It takes the entire prior turn as relevant and evaluates it with respect to its temporal dimension.

There are a number of other instances in the data which do not fall into any of the previous functional categories. These have been discussed in chapter 6 in relation to

unmarked nonclausal questions. These utterances function to make offers, to request evaluations, and to point out an object. Undoubtedly, an examination of more data would reveal other functions which speakers accomplish with nonclausal questions. This discussion demonstrates that nonclausal questions serve a variety of functions in conversation. In the following section, I will discuss those instances of *really* found in the data.

8. News Receipts

There are five instances of *really* in the data. These are similar to NTRI's in that they have a wide functional distribution. They can appear after statements and can receipt answers to questions. They are used to receipt information which is new and interesting, or in some respect unanticipated. In the following example, D had been describing how he had had a traditional Nepalese drink which eventually made him sick.

(140) D Oh maybe two or three weeks later it was the triple wha:mmy.
 Y' know
 (1.0)
 wor:ms an:

W "REA:lly?

←

D Yeh, [amoe:bas y- (hh-hh) the whole thing.=

W [Oh

C (hm-mm)

W =Oh: G(h):od.Oh:. Da:vid.

Riggenbach 7:165

In this example, W produces an emphatic *really* after worms are mentioned. This is confirmed and then receipted by *oh*. In this sequential position, *really* is displaying appropriate interest in such a startling, unusual statement.

W produces *oh God* and *Oh David* after *amoebas* and *the whole thing*. These latter forms suggest W is coding a shift in the intensity of her orientation to the

information. She is registering an increasing intensity of empathy for the speaker's condition (cf. Schiffrin 1987:95).

In the following example, K is discussing turn-taking behavior.

- (141) K But, u:h but the question of how long a turn is, is interesting.
 I mean when you (.) i-
 its (.)
 well th-these notions about turn taking are (.) are really quite simple.
 You know, when when a turn is over, somebody else takes a turn.
 (That), even kids know that.
 They're very good at turn taking.((laughs))
 C How do you know when its your [turn.
 K [but (.)when
 when you know [that a turn is finished.]
 La [(well alot of times kids=)]
 La =push the other kids out before their turn is [finished.ha ha
 K [I mean actually,
 THIS is what's not supposed to happen.
 is this kind of overlap.
 and other people who have done conversational analysis CLAIM
 La ha ha
 that adults don't have overlaps,
 and (.) [children do.] ((laughs))
 () [(children do)]
 ((laughter))
 M "rea::lly? ←
 K yes
 L try transcribing a ta [pe ()
 D [()
 K [so so if you tr- exactly,
 you'll find just
 see L_____ and I just overlapped.
 D ([_____)]
 M [That's not true.]
 ALL of our books are full of overlaps.
 D (alright)
 K Ah hah.
 L No no one believes that. Shapley/Nel 11:10

In this example, M produces *really* after a statement by K about what people claim about overlaps in conversations among children and adults. This could be interpretable as displaying receipt of an interesting bit of new information. Several turns later, however, it beomes apparent that M disagrees with the claim that adults do

not have overlaps. She mentions that *our books are full of overlaps*. This suggests that she is also disagreeing with the K's statement that there are people who make the claim that there is no overlap in adult conversation. Evidence to the contrary is both accessible and plentiful — in *all our books*, so she wonders who would make such a claim.

In this section, I have briefly discussed instances of *really* in the data. The following section presents my conclusions.

9. Conclusion

In these data, NTRI's overwhelmingly are realized by nonclausal forms vs. declarative clauses. Nonclausal forms are eminently suited to initiating the work of repair, i.e., locating a trouble source in a prior turn. An explanation for their suitability is found in the relation of nonclausal forms to the structure of the prior turn. Shapley (1983) examined nonclausal forms of all functional types in conversation, e.g., statements, exclamations, questions. She has shown that most nonclausal forms are sufficiently constrained in form and semantic content by the preceding linguistic context to be defined in terms of that context. She states:

...they occur in the form of phrasal constituents or combinations of constituents, semantically related to that context. That is, the fragments were interpretable as a part of a source sentence, with the surface syntax carried over by the fragment speaker (p. 1).

Shapley classifies nonclausal forms into two types: completive and noncompletive. Completive nonclausal forms, classified as additions or substitutions, are semantically and/or syntactically related to the prior utterance, while noncompletive nonclausal forms have an evaluative meaning only.

As we have seen, some NTRI's utilize *wh*-words which locate problematic

elements — referents, events, places, times. Others utilize partial repeats to further locate problematic elements by virtue of the repetition itself. Partial repeats also serve to further specify *wh*-words or candidate referents. In all these instances, there is a direct relation interpretable between the NTRI and an explicit element of the prior utterance.

Wh-words also request more information rather than locate an explicit element of the prior turn. The information that is requested is semantically related to the prior turn. The information requested could have been part of the prior turn, but was not included by the speaker.

Appender question NTRI's are interpretable by virtue of the syntactic structure of the prior utterance; they can be understood as an addition, i.e., an added constituent. This constituent, added across speaker turns, specifies the problematic element which was "missing" from the prior turn from the point of view of the speaker of the NTRI. In Shapley's terms, appender questions are classified as completive forms.

In summary, NTRI's are interpretable by direct reference to the syntactic structure of the prior turn with the exception of a *wh*-word which requests more information. This NTRI type is related semantically to the prior utterance. While it is the case that all utterances are interpretable in terms of their sequential position in the talk, i.e., in terms of the utterance(s) they come after, this does not mean that every utterance is interpretable in terms of the syntax of the prior utterance. With regard to its linguistic (vs. extralinguistic) elements, utterances are interpretable in terms of their own morphosyntax in conjunction with intonation, as well as the functional interpretation of the prior utterance. In order to interpret an NTRI, i.e., identify the trouble source it is locating, a recipient must make crucial reference to the morphosyntax of the prior utterance as well as to the morphosyntax of the NTRI itself. When the role of

morphosyntax is considered with respect to the interpretation of NTRI's, we can say that NTRI's are interpretable in terms of their own morphosyntactic form and the morphosyntactic structure of the prior turn. As with any other utterance in the real world, other factors (in addition to morphosyntax), are relevant to interpretive procedures, e.g., sequential position in the talk and intonation.

We have seen that questioning not implicated in repair is also done with nonclausal forms. These nonclausal questions exhibit a broad range of functions; many of them refer to some entity in the physical environment, e.g., food items (cf. ch. 6). Those nonclausal questions which are interpretable in terms of the prior discourse differ from nonclausal NTRI's insofar as they are not so much constrained by the syntax of the prior turn as by the meaning of the prior turn.

Notes

- ¹ Schegloff refers to this type of NTRI as a post-positioned interrogative (Other Initiated Repair Sequences in Talk in Interaction Forthcoming).
- ² Utterances which are similar to this are often NTRI's. This utterance may even be considered a borderline case. The crucial issue in this instance is whether it is functioning to clarify the speaker's understanding of the category "unusual statements" or to solicit an amusing story.

Chapter 8
The Many-to-Many Relations
of Lexical and Morphosyntactic Markers of Question Function

1. Introduction

The linguistic problem which this study addresses, as we have described in chapter 1, is the form/function problem. The fact that there is no one-to-one correlation between syntactic form and communicative function is the relevant problematic issue which has been discussed. Specifically, questioning can be done by any syntactic clause type, as well as by forms which do not constitute a syntactic clause. In this study, I have examined both declarative clauses and nonclausal forms which do questioning. The problematic issue is that, in addition to realizing questions, declarative clauses and nonclausal forms are used by speakers to accomplish many other communicative functions. How, then, do recipients interpret such forms as questions? It has been a primary goal of this study to examine the role which morphosyntax plays in realizing question function in conversation. The role of morphosyntax can only be evaluated, however, in conjunction with intonation, sequential position in the discourse, and the accessibility of the information questioned.

The many-to-many relation which holds between form and function has been discussed with regard to the role of intonation in correlating with utterances which realize question function. In chapters 1 and 4, we have seen that there is no such thing as unambiguous question intonation. Any contour which can appear on a clause which asks a question can also appear on one which makes a statement, and vice versa. Nevertheless, there are typical correlations between intonation contours and communicative functions and, in some cases, intonation is the crucial factor in

determining question function (cf. Couper-Kuhlen 1986).

The lexical and morphosyntactic markers which I have identified in chapters 4 and 6 exhibit the same many-to-many relation to communicative functions which have been discussed with regard to intonation. In other words, these markers appear with utterances which realize functions other than questioning, as well as with utterances which do questioning.

In this chapter, I will present some examples which show that the lexical and morphosyntactic markers, which I have described as being associated with question function, may also be associated with an utterance which does not do questioning. I will consider how intonation, sequential position, and information accessibility are relevant to the interpretation of these utterances as statements rather than questions.

2. Lexical and Morphosyntactic Markers

The markers which I have identified as suggestive of question function appear in the data with a variety of utterances which do not do questioning. I will restrict the following discussion, however, to the occurrence of these lexical and morphosyntactic markers with declarative clauses and nonclausal forms which function, not as questions, but rather as statements.

Lexical Element

In example (142), the subject + verb phrase *I don't know* is not associated with question function. In this example, H produces an extended turn during which she explains why she did not meet a friend.

(142) N What's doing,
 (.)
 H Ah:, noth [i: n:,]
 N [Y' didn't g]o meet Grahame?=
 H =*pt *hhhhhahh Well, I got ho::me,
 N =u-hu:h?
 (.)
 a:::n he hadn't called yet
 an there weren't any messages or anythi [n:g]e-]
 N [Uh h]u]:h
 H a:n hh then I kind of got on the pho:ne
 an I heard a couple of clicks
 an hhhhhh *hh I don't know if he was trying to call = ⇐
 =but "I'm too tired= ⇐
 =to go all the way back to Westwood anyw [ay,] ⇐
 N [Ye:]:ah, HGII1: 25

In this example, H expresses a gap in knowledge with the phrase *I don't know*. Although an expression of a gap in the speaker's knowledge may be a marker of question function, this example shows that it need not always be interpreted as such. Thus, the interpretation of *I don't know* in this example contrasts with the same phrase in example (22), repeated here as (143).

In the following example, N produces a declarative clause in which she expresses a gap in her knowledge relating to a play the participants are going to see that evening. This clause was classified as a marker of question function which is associated with the following declarative question.

(143) H Yeh but I don't want you to read it.
 (.)
 N [O]kay,]
 H [Plea]se don't.]
 *hh
 b[ecause-]
 N [See "I do]n't know what its a [bout yer n]ot gonna ⇐
 H [Yeah,]
 N "tell [me?] ⇐
 H [*p*]

because there's one point in there
 where it gives away something that [at-]
 N [Oh:] really?]
 H [i-is a show]:cker =
 =and I don't want you to know,]
 N [Okay I won't,
 H [Cause it'll affect you more=
 [when you see it.]
 N [I'll read it after,

HGII 9:15

In this example, although H acknowledges that N is not familiar with the play, she does not respond with an answer. As we have seen in chapter 4, however, N subsequently redoes the question and receives a response (cf. ex. (23)).

An examination of example (142) shows that *I don't know* + a complement clause is not always interpretable as asking a question relevant to the information in the complement clause. This demonstrates that it is not simply the expression of a speaker's lack of knowledge which is a marker of question function. The expression of a speaker's lack of knowledge in a matrix clause is a marker of question function when the complement clause encodes a state of affairs about which the recipient is believed to have some knowledge (cf. Labov and Fanshel 1977:101). In example (142), H produces the utterance *I don't know if he was trying to call but I'm too tired to go all the way back to Westwood anyway*. This is interpretable as expressing a gap in knowledge with respect to whether or not Grahame was trying to call H. N has no particular access to whether or not Grahame was trying to call H. Marked by the conjunction *if*, the complement is a hypothetical clause. H produces more turn after the complement of the *I don't know* clause without any pause. N makes no response at the end of the *I don't know* clause which would indicate that she interpreted it as doing questioning.

When the matrix clause expresses a gap in the speaker's knowledge, and neither participant has any special access to knowledge about the state of affairs encoded in the

complement clause, the utterance may function as a question. According to Labov and Fanshel's rule of confirmation, "(i)f there is any doubt about the status of a particular event, it automatically falls into the class of D-events" (Labov and Fanshel 1977:100).

They state:

If A makes an assertion about a D-event, it is heard as a request for
B to give an evaluation of the assertion.

By evaluation, they mean agreement, disagreement, and "more extended types of evaluation" (p. 101). In example (67), repeated here as example (144), the complement clause is interpretable as a D-event. In this example, H expresses a gap in her knowledge with regard to the procedures of the telephone company. This is not information which N has any special access to, i.e., it is not a B-event for N. It is, rather, a D-event, i.e., one about which there is some doubt. Note, however, that the utterance appears with the associated discourse marker *so* and the tag *or not*. Both *so* and *or not* are themselves markers associated with question function. It is not clear, therefore, to what extent *I don't know* is contributing to the functional interpretation of the utterance as a question.

- (144) N You called Richard,=
 () =hh-hh=
 H = y(h)Yea(h)h
 and I h(h)ung up
 wh(h)en he ans [wer
 N [Oh: Hyla why::: [::,
 H [*hhh
 well first of all
 I wasn't about to spend seventy five cents for three mi [nutes *uh] *eh=
 N [Yea:h,]
 N =That's true,=
 H =*hihhhh that's a lot of money
 plus (.) uh then it's twenty five cents for extra minute a [fter that.]=
 N [Yeah,]=
 H =* hh y [ou know,]
 N [How do you] know he [answered could you tell his voi:ce?]

[so for four minutes its a bu:ck.]

(0.2)

H Hu:h?

(.)

N Could you tell his vo[i:ce,]

H [Yea]h I knew his voice,=

N =Oha::: [w,

H [hhhih*hh=

N =Ho:w was it to hear his [voice,]

H [ah:]::,

*u-*ehhh I wanted to tape [record ihhhh [heh [heh]

N Did you wanna [say [hi]:;, so ba:d?=
 H =What:t?=
 N =Didn't you wanna really say hi:;=
 H =Ye:s, but as soon as he said hello I hung up.=
 N [°Oh :::::,]
 H [So 'I don't know if I'll get char]ged the seventy-five ←
 "c(hh)ents(h) or not,= ←
 N =No I don't think you will but- (.) (you) might get charged something,
 (0.3)
 H ↓Oh:.

HG II 24:9

This example shows that the phrase *I don't know* which expresses a gap in the speaker's knowledge may function as a marker associated with question function when the information in the complement clause is a D-event, i.e., disputable. In this case, however, there are other markers associated with the utterance which may be playing a crucial role in determining the question function of the utterance.

Examples (142) through (144) demonstrate that the same lexical element may appear in utterances which do questioning, as well as in utterances which do not. The information status of the complement clause is relevant, as is the cooccurrence of other markers.

Word Tag

In example (145), C produces two utterances which are followed by the word *right*. In these cases, however, *right* is not functioning as a word tag associated with question function.

- (145) D We use to do some really a:wful things though
some of the girls uh- in the hotel
(I mean) we use to call it Menopause Manor.
(y' know)
khm khmm because of all the old ladies.
(0.8)
- D ((swallow)) t!a:nd, we'd get on the elevator
and we'd be smoking awa:y y'know,
(0.4)
oThey g- ekhhuh! ekhuuh! ekh!
*hh S'we use to take smoke and blow it in front of their fa:ces
and, *hhhh m(h)y (h)one roommate she was really embarassing
she really was.
She use to knock on doors
and y' know these little old ladies would open
and sh::sh::sh::!
and she'd s:qui(h)rt th(h)m (h)a(h)a(h)ll=
C =[Oh Go::d,]
D =[ih ih ih! uh] *hhh!=
D =We use to do te::rrible thin [gs.
C [Oh the:y use to have a really (good)
ti [me (there)]
D [Oh::]:=
D Go:[d I know.]
C [(in the hotel.)]
(0.7)
- D It was (just) incredible,
(really)
- C But the- the year after we left they.
(0.3)
u-they: uhm,
I think,
you must not'v been that far behind me
cause pretty soon there [after they-
[I was sixty si:x.=
D =so I think we just mis[sed each other,]=
C [Yeah you were] [tw]o years behind me=
D [=Yeah,]
C = (at any rate)
()
cause I graduated in sixty four but-
(0.5)

C uh:m, they closed down the hotel (uh-) right there- after.
(what-)

(0.3)

D Well in my year [actually, in sixty six] they uh (m),
C [Built the new do:rm.]

(0.5)

D We were there I guess (for the:-) until Ja:nuary
or something like tha::t
and the:n, y' know,=

C =(Th') had the new "do:rms. "Right. ←

I did see the new do:rm.

(That's the only)

(Last year on a house tour.

D It wasn't ba::d.

We lived in it en:d uh,

(0.5)

It was pretty ni:ce.

It really wa: [s.

C [°(Yeah it [wa:s. Yeh).]

D [It was nice and it was] clean:;=

C =[Right.]

D =[It was] new:

and they [have]y'know like made the be:ds and,

C [°Right]

(0.5)

D ° fu [rniture (and s]tuff.)

C [(Y') had (choice) "furniture. "Right.= ←
(trellised)

=W 'we had that over in our p- uh,

(0.8)

u-They had bought that for our house.

°When they furnished the house.

Clacia 7:11

Clacia 7:24

In this example, C produces the utterance *(Th') had the new do:rms. Right*. Both intonation and sequential position are relevant factors in the interpretation of the utterance as a statement rather than as a question which is requesting confirmation. This utterance redoes the last clause of C's prior turn which is overlapped. C is, therefore, repeating information which she had just previously stated. Both *(Th') had the new do:rms.* and *Right.* have terminally falling intonation. This contour differs from other utterances in the data with the word tag *right* which are doing questioning. In those cases, the declarative clause has terminally level or falling intonation, and

the tag has terminally rising intonation (cf. Quirk 1985). C subsequently produces the utterance (Y') *had (choice) furniture. Right*. Sequential position does not appear to be a crucial factor determining statement function for this utterance. Intonation, however, is crucial. C is not requesting confirmation about the furniture in the new dorms; she is confirming that she knows about the furniture.

These examples contrast with example (31), repeated here as (146). In the following, *right* functions as a word tag associated with question function.

- (146) B What's this: ((signs)) *hhh ha ha
 L That's She knows what that [is.
 M [That?
 they taught me the other night.
 It's, it's (.) you know,
 this is (.) your mother, ((signs))
 and this is (.) your grandmother, ((signs))
 and this is (.) mother-in-law ((signs)) ((laughter))
 B Must be Italian.
 ((laughter))
 M That's a joke. Actually it's not.
 L The mother and grandmother are "right, "right?
 M Yeah.
- ⇐
Shapley/Boys 16:550

Particles

In the following example, C produces the particle *hm* which displays C's attention and interest in V's story. This particle is functioning as a continuer.

- (147) V and he said
 we'll probably have to put an artificial knee in in five years:.
 (0.2)
 V for my Dad.
 C "ohm,=
 V =because his knee is is deteriorating and weak.
- ⇐
Ford 5:141

This example may be contrasted with example (83), repeated here as (148), in which the same particle is functioning as a question, specifically, an NTRI.

- (148) C Well it was a funny feeling to make him leave.
 What did I have to do,
 Oh, I know what it was.
 I was having fifty people to lunch the next day.
 ((laughter))
 It was just a couple of months ago he was here.
 It was in January.
 I was having luncheon for fifty the next day.
 An [d he called.
 K [Why were you having luncheon for fi- for fifty.
 C "Hm? ←
 K Why were you having luncheon for fifty.=
 =It seems a biza [rre thing to do.]
 L [(cause) it's one way to get] rid of A____.
 Shapley/Nel 18:27

What differences in these two cases account for the difference in function? Both occur during the course of narrative; both are produced by recipients of the narrative. The only difference is the intonation. When it functions as an NTRI, *hm* takes rising intonation. When it functions as a continuer, *hm* takes level or falling intonation.

Second Person Subjects

In example (149), the second person subject *you* is not serving as a marker of question function even though the speaker's utterance is interpretable as relating to a B-event (cf. ch. 4, sec. 4.3). This conversation takes place during a dinner. N is the hostess/cook. L is her daughter. B and E are guests.

- (149) L What's the da:rk green thing.
 (0.4)
 N Pardón?= ((French))
 E =he=
 L =What's this?
 N That's Japanese eggplant.
 (0.1)
 "You like it.= ←
 B Oh↑ it's Japa [nese eggplant.]
 E [It's goo:d.]
 B °It's delicious.

Weber 5: 51

In this example, L asks her mother, N, about the identity of a vegetable on her plate. N answers by identifying the vegetable as Japanese eggplant. N then takes more turn in which she tells her daughter that she (the daughter) *likes it*. Guest B then takes a turn in which she responds to the identification of the vegetable as news. E and B both then give a positive assessment of the food.

Why is the utterance *You like it* not interpretable as a request for confirmation? An individual certainly has access to knowledge relating to what s/he likes in terms of foods. An utterance by speaker A about a food preference of B's, on the face of it, should be interpretable as a request for confirmation. In this case, however, it is not. Although the sequential position and the information status of the utterance might suggest that it is doing questioning, the intonation in this example crucially determines its function as a statement rather than a question. The *you* has pitch prominence and there is falling terminal intonation. In order to be interpretable as a request for confirmation, this utterance (in this sequential position) would have to have the pitch prominence on the verb and rising terminal intonation. Utterances like example (149), in which speaker A makes a statement about a B-event which is interpretable as a statement are not unusual among individuals who are in an intimate relationship, e.g., parents and children, husbands and wives.

This example may be contrasted with example (27), repeated here as (150), which exhibits the same stress on the second person subject in conjunction with falling terminal intonation

- | | | | | |
|-------|---|-----------------------------------|---|-----------|
| (150) | E | Did I tell y- Oh, "yo:u heard it. | ← | |
| | L | Yeh, [a]bout K__? | | |
| | E | [()] | | |
| | | No:, about (1.2) A__. | | Weber 2:4 |

In this example, the utterance is interpretable as a request for confirmation in terms of

A-events and B-events. As in the previous example, the second person subject has pitch prominence and there is falling terminal intonation. The prior aborted interrogative clause appears to be a factor, however, in occasioning the interpretation of this utterance as a request for confirmation rather than as a statement.

Examples (149) and (150) may be contrasted with example (42), repeated here as (151), which is interpretable as a question.

- (151) M I came to talk to Ruthie about borrowing her (0.1) notes (-) from (0.1) econ.
 R O [h ().
 S [You didn't come to talk to "Karen? ←
 (0.5)
 M No
 (0.2)
 Karen: (0.3) Karen and I are having a fight. SN 4 4:2

In this example, the speaker's utterance is a statement about a B-event and is interpretable as a request for confirmation. Note that the second person subject is unstressed, in contrast to the preceding two examples. The verb receives pitch prominence.

Repetitions which are not NTRI's

In example (152), N repeats H's prior utterance. This repetition is not functioning as an NTRI, but rather as third position receipt (cf. ch. 2).

- (152) N What's his last name,
 H Uh:: Freedla:nd. *hh[hh
 N [Oh[:,
 H [(r) Freedlind.=
 N =Nice Jewish bo:y?
 (.)
 H O:f "cou:rse,= ←
 N ='v ["cou:rse,] ←
 H [hh-hh-hh] hnh *hhhhh= HG II 25: 22

In this example, N produces the question *Nice Jewish bo:y?* (cf. ex. 78). H then produces the second pair part answer *O:f cou:rsə*, with terminally level intonation. N receipts this answer by repeating it. Although N's 'v *cou:rsə*, repeats the entire prior utterance, it is not displaying any trouble with understanding. In order to be interpreted as an NTRI, this repetition, in the sequential slot for a third position receipt, would have to be produced with rising terminal intonation.

In the following example, R produces an answer by repeating the question.

- (153) A *hhh (Well) w [hen do you find out,
 R [ye:ah,
 *hhh ey- I don't kno:w,
 (0.4)
 R I don't kno:w,
 (0.4)
 *hh Chances are it's no::
 and I gotta start thinking that way (.) so
 A (Yuh) just in "case? ←
 R Just in "case,= ←
 R =[Yeah] ←
 A =[(*Yeah)]
 (B-) Kinjo 6: 141

In this example, A's question is realized by an affirmative token +*Just in case?* R's answer reverses the order of A's question — *Just in case, yeah*. This utterance is not displaying any trouble with understanding the prior question. As in the case of example (152), in order to be interpreted as an NTRI, this repetition, in the sequential slot for a third position receipt, would have to be produced with rising terminal intonation.

These examples may be contrasted with example (113), repeated here as (154). In this example, N repeats the prior utterance with rising terminal intonation in order to signal some trouble with hearing.

- (154) H *hh Today there was a who:le (.) review on it in [the paper.]
 N [u-Whe:re.]
 (.)
 N Oh real [ly I'm gonna loo:k,]
 H [In the View section.]
 (0.2)
 N In the ["Vie:w? ←
 H [*p*hh
 (.)
 H Yeah
 but I don't want you to read it.
 (.)
 N Okay, HGII 9:1

Note that the utterance which is the source of the trouble is overlapped. This overlap supports the interpretation that N's repetition is produced as a result of some trouble with hearing the prior utterance.

This section has presented a number of examples of utterances which, while not functioning as questions, are realized by lexical and morphosyntactic elements which have been described as associated with question function (cf. chs. 4 and 6). I have considered how intonation, sequential position, and the accessibility of information interact in these cases to occasion statement vs. question function. I have also examined two cases in which repetitions of the immediately prior utterance are not functioning as NTRI's. Intonation appears to be the crucial determinant of statement vs. NTRI function in these cases. I will next discuss an instance of an utterance which appears to be misinterpreted.

3. Misinterpretations

In this section, I will examine an utterance which is misinterpreted as doing questioning. We may ask what accounts for the possible interpretation of the utterance as a question. In this example, V is taking an extended turn describing her father's knee surgery, her mother's reaction to the surgery, and her own reaction to

both her father's surgery and her mother's behavior.

- (155) V and she's saying
his leg's gonna be an inch shorter?
- K °teh oh shit [()]
[This] is what my Mom's saying.
(0.4)
- V Because they took it out-
this is her
the doctor didn't say his leg's gonna be an inch shorter
she's saying it,
*hh and that it's unnecessary:,
and that there's no reason for it
and on and on and on and on.
- K (Well if) you're Mom's so wrong about so much stuff
why would she b-all of a sudden be an expert on [that.]
- V [an]it was like
I was with her when t [he doctor e]xplained about the knee,=
[leg bones hm]
- K and he said
we'll probably have to put an artificial knee in in five years:.
(0.2)
- V for my Dad.
- C °hm=
- V =because his knee is is deteriorating and weak.
- C and especially after they did the surgery ←
and saw what it looked "like? er ←
- V n- [N:o:]
- C [There's just not enough ("left,)] ←
- V they can jus- the xray or whatever.
- V [They can just see.]
- C [I mean "your Mom's weird.] ←
- V So then *hh I was there.
I was there,
I heard it,
doctor knew what he was talking about,
made my Dad feel comfortable,
said that he's gonna have this same operation when he's- in about (0.2)
twenty years
cause he had bad knees from football in high school [l.
C [mm Ford 5: 145

C and K are recipients of V's story. C produces the utterance *and especially after they did the surgery and saw what it looked like? er*. V responds as if the utterance is a

request for confirmation; she produces a negative token and an account.

First, let us consider C's utterance and V's response in detail to see if doing questioning is a possible interpretation of C's utterance. C produces the utterance after a multiclausal turn of V's in which she is describing her mother's version of her father's condition. In contrast to this version, she then tells what the doctor actually said. This is introduced by *he said*. This takes the complement clause *we'll probably have to put an artificial knee in in five years*. After a pause, V produces the transition repair *for my Dad*. This repair does not report "what the doctor said". C responds with *ohm* which signals her interest in the continuation of the story. V takes more turn — *because his knee is deteriorating and weak*. It is ambiguous as to whether V is resuming her report of the doctor's words or whether she is giving a reason why the doctor thought an artificial knee would be necessary in the future. C then produces the utterance *and especially after they did the surgery and saw what it looked like? er*.

How does V interpret C's utterance? V infers that C is requesting confirmation that the doctors' prognosis must be correct since it is based on very credible evidence obtained from his actual visual inspection of the joint during surgery. This assumes that doctors would have more/better information about a knee after surgery than before, i.e., after they actually got to look at the inside of it. What the doctor had to say after surgery, therefore, should be very credible. V responds with a negative token *No* which overlaps C's *There's just not enough (left)*. What is V objecting to? This is made clear as V takes more turn — *they can jus- the xray or whatever*. The subject *they* refers to the doctors; the word *just* is cut off before it is completed. V then produces the noun phrase *the xray or whatever*, and goes on to redo the clause she aborted — *They can just see*. This repetition makes *the xray or whatever* an insert repair. The entire utterance is interpretable as "the doctors can see the knee

before surgery by means of xrays". In summary, V objects to the point that the doctors must see a knee during surgery in order to diagnose whether or not an artificial knee is required. Does this utterance display that V interpreted C's utterance as a question? What could it be interpreted as asking? V's objection suggests that she interpreted C's utterance as "Since they already did the surgery and got to look at the knee, the doctors must be right in their diagnosis, right?" This assumes they could not make as adequate a diagnosis before surgery. It is this assumption which is objected to by V. C overlaps V's *They can just see* with a third turn repair *I mean your Mom's weird*. (cf. ch. 2). A third turn repair occurs when there is some trouble with that speaker's prior turn. The trouble becomes apparent as a result of another speaker's turn. In this case, V's utterance has shown some misunderstanding of C's original utterance *and especially after they did the surgery and saw what it looked like? er*.

We may ask in what way *I mean your Mom's weird* clarifies the meaning of *and especially after they did the surgery and saw what it looked like? er*? V's "answer" deals with doctors and medical technology. C's clarification repair makes no mention of anything medical, but rather refers to V's mother. In order to understand this, we must consider how C may have intended *and especially after they did the surgery and saw what it looked like? er*? to be interpreted. V is talking about her mother's reactions and reporting what her mother had to say about the surgery. She then makes it clear that what her mother is saying is not what the doctor actually said. K takes a turn which questions V's mother's authority to speak on the issue at all — (*Well if*) *you're Mom's so wrong about so much stuff why would she b-all of a sudden be an expert on that*. He is implicitly claiming that she is not an expert on knee problems at all. V continues her story by telling what the doctor said. C's utterance *and especially after they did the surgery and saw what it looked like? er*? is

interpretable as contrasting the validity of what V's mother's had said vs. what the doctors' had said. It supports K's claim that V's mother is not an expert. When what V's mother is saying conflicts with what the doctors are saying, the fact that the doctors have actually seen the knee supports their judgment vs. V's mother's. Note that C begins her turn with *and*. This is a connective. To which prior utterance is C displaying a connection? This utterance is connected in terms of argumentation to K's prior utterance. It is interpretable as "why should she be an expert on that (leg bones) in conflict with the doctors especially after they (the doctors) did the surgery and saw what it (the knee) looked like?" C then takes more turn *There's just not enough (left)*. This is interpretable as stating that what the doctors saw was that there was not enough existing knee left. C's clarification *I mean your Mom's weird*. supports the above interpretation of *and especially after they did the surgery and saw what it looked like? er*. Only a weird person would make medical pronouncements on the condition of a knee which disagree with the experts, especially after the experts have visually examined the knee during surgery.

The factors which are involved in V's interpretation of *and especially after they did the surgery and saw what it looked like? er?* as a question are sequential position and intonation. C produces the utterance during the course of a narrative. V, as the teller, has access to the relevant medical information. C's utterance appears to be interpreted by V as a request for confirmation. The utterance has rising terminal intonation. C's third turn repair (cf. ch. 2), however, displays that she did not intend the utterance to be a question requesting confirmation.

In this section, I have examined an utterance which was misinterpreted as doing questioning. The factors which conjoined to occasion this misinterpretation are the sequential position of the utterance during the course of a narrative by another speaker in conjunction with rising terminal intonation.

4. Distribution of Markers in Declarative Statements

The lexical and morphosyntactic markers associated with declarative questions which were described in chapter 4 also appear with declarative statements. Are these lexical and morphosyntactic markers associated with declarative statements with the same frequency as with declarative questions? When the first 10 declarative statements which occur in each conversation are examined, the 140 declarative statements exhibit the following distribution of markers.

Associated Marker	48	34%
No Associated Marker	92	66%
Total	140	100%

Table 8.1.
Declarative Statements with an Associated Marker
vs.
Declarative Statements with No Associated Marker

This table shows that declarative statements without associated lexical and morphosyntactic markers appear more frequently than declarative statements with associated markers. Declarative statements are produced without associated lexical and morphosyntactic markers in 66% of all instances, while those with associated markers constitute 34% of all cases. This distribution may be contrasted with the marking associated with declarative questions presented in Table (4.9.) which shows that declarative questions have an associated marker in 85% of all cases.

Declarative statements and questions also differ with respect to markers per form. With only two exceptions (1%), declarative statements with an associated marker have only one marker. In other words, 99% of declarative statements with an associated marker have only one marker. There is one case of a declarative statement with two discourse markers (*well, then ...*). In the other case, the clause is

introduced by *if* and has a second person subject (*if you ever cook corn again...*). This distribution may be contrasted with the marking associated with declarative questions which is presented in Table (4.10.) of ch. 4. This table shows that declarative questions have one marker in just over slightly half of all cases (54%). In slightly less than half of all cases, declarative questions have more than one marker.

The following table exhibits the temporal distribution of markers per form for declarative statements.

Within marking	9	18%
Prior marking	41	82%
Subsequent marking	0	0
Total	50	100%

Table 8.2.
Temporal Distribution of Markers per Form for Declarative Statements

Instances of markers which appear within the clause constitute 18% of all markers. This percentage includes seven *you* subjects. Of the remaining two cases, one is the subject + verb phrase *I don't know*, and the other is the particle *oh* which marks the object of the clause rather than the clause itself. The remaining 82% of instances of markers associated with declarative statements appear prior to the declarative clause. There are no subsequent markers.

The temporal distribution of markers per form for declarative statements differs from that for declarative questions. The following table exhibits the temporal distribution of markers per form for declarative questions when the second person subject *you* is considered a marker associated with question function. Note that this

table differs from Table (4.5.) in chapter 4 insofar as it includes *you* as a marker, whereas *you* is not included in Table (4.5.).

Within marking	52	34%
Prior marking	49	32%
Subsequent marking	51	34%
Total	152	100%

Table 8.3.
Temporal Distribution of Markers per Form for Declarative Questions

This table shows that when *you* is included as a lexical marker, the temporal distribution of markers associated with declarative questions is approximately equal for all temporal domains. When this table is compared to Table (8.2.) above, we see that declarative statements have fewer instances of markers which appear within the clause than declarative questions. Declarative statements have no subsequent marking, whereas declarative questions have subsequent marking in 34% of all instances of marking.

The types of markers which appear with declarative statements are mainly conjunctions, adverbs, particles, and second person subjects. The following table exhibits the markers which appear with declarative statements.

Conjunctions	but	2			
	so	11			
	if	1	}	14	28%
Adverbs	now	2			
	then	6	}	8	16%
Particles	well	10			
	oh	5			
	oh + yes	1			
	oh + yeah	1			
	you know	1			
	okay	2	}	20	40%
Verb	I don't know	1	}	1	2%
2P Subject	<i>you</i>	7	}	7	14%
Total				50	100%

Table 8.4.
Types of Markers Associated with Declarative Statements

This table exhibits the variety of markers which are associated with declarative statements. Declarative statements have a less extensive variety of associated markers than declarative questions. There are no *wh*-words associated with declarative statements in these data. When conjunctions (*but, so*) and adverbs (*now, then*) appear with declarative statements, the utterance is usually an element in a narrative sequence. The speaker of the declarative statement is also the speaker of the prior utterance. When these same conjunctions and adverbs appear with declarative questions, however, the speaker of the question is usually not the speaker of the prior utterance. Eight of the ten instances of *well* which appear with declarative statements appear in utterances which are answers to questions. The function of *well* as a response marker has been described by Wootten (1981), Owen (1983), Pomerantz (1984), and Schiffrin (1987). No declarative question, however, functions as a second pair part answer. Labov and Fanshel (1977:156) note that *well* can shift talk toward shared topics. This function of *well* appears to be relevant to their use in

declarative questions. In summary, in these data, only a subset of markers which associate with declarative questions also associate with declarative statements. An examination of these markers suggest that the discourse environment of declarative statements differs from that of declarative questions. Since this work is not a full statistical study of the distribution of morphosyntactic and functional types, these results are meant only to be suggestive of the different discourse environments in which declarative questions and statements are realized. This is an area for further research.

5. Conclusion

As has been discussed in chapter 1, the fact that there is no one-to-one relation between form and function has been regarded as a problematic issue in linguistics and philosophy. This study has discussed several aspects of the problem. We have seen that syntactic clause type and intonational contour both stand in a many-to-many relation with communicative function. With regard to question function, any clause type may function as a question; in addition, these same clause types may also realize non-question functions. Similarly, as Pike (1945, cited in Bolinger 1972:9) notes, any intonational contour that can appear on a question can also appear on a statement, and vice versa. These same many-to-many relations also hold for the lexical and morphosyntactic markers associated with question function which I have described in this study. While these markers associate with declarative and nonclausal questions, they also appear with declarative and nonclausal statements.

In presenting the results of this study to various audiences, I have been presented with the the argument that it is the rising terminal intonation of the utterance which is signaling question function for declarative clauses and nonclausal forms. There are, I think, three relevant responses to this. First, this study is focusing on the role

morphosyntax plays in the interpretation of declarative and nonclausal questions. Describing the role lexical and morphosyntactic elements play in the interpretation of these questions in no way detracts from the role intonation plays in their interpretation. Secondly, rising terminal intonation on declarative clauses and nonclausal utterances (particles, words, phrases), in and of itself, without taking other factors into consideration, can be shown not to exclusively determine question function. Moreover, Stenström (1984) has shown that declarative questions show variation with regard to rising vs. falling terminal pitch movement. My data confirm these findings. Furthermore, Couper-Kuhlen (1986:156) presents instances of declarative clauses, words, and phrases which have rising terminal intonation but are not functioning as questions. In other words, there is no such thing as unambiguous question intonation. Thirdly, there is no doubt that rising terminal intonation does crucially determine question function in some cases, for example, in the case of particles which are functioning as NTRI's.

Audiences also make the point, though less frequently, that since the lexical and morphosyntactic markers I have described as associated with declarative and nonclausal questions also appear with non-questions, I have not demonstrated that these markers determine question function. There are several relevant responses to this. First, of course, I have never claimed that these markers, in and of themselves, are determining question function. I have made every effort to avoid that interpretation (cf. ch. 1). In describing these markers, I suggest that they are associated with question function. By this I mean that these morphosyntactic elements play a role in the functional interpretation of an utterance as a question. I am not claiming that they alone can be shown to determine the interpretation of an utterance as a question. Secondly, the same arguments against the claim that intonation determines question function can also be made with regard to these lexical

and morphosyntactic markers. Some markers which appear with declarative or nonclausal questions can be found with declarative or nonclausal statements. These markers do not unambiguously signal question function. Even such elements as particles (*huh*) and single *wh*-words (*what*) can realize non-question functions, e.g., an exclamatory function.

The interpretation of question function involves several factors and their interaction. In this work, I have identified some relevant morphosyntactic elements. In exemplifying these morphosyntactic elements with instances found in the data, I have also described other factors relevant for the interpretation of question function, viz, intonation, sequential position, and accessibility of information. By presenting examples of statements which are realized by lexical and morphosyntactic elements which are also associated with question function, I have attempted to provide instances which are the discourse equivalents of "minimal pairs". By doing so, I have attempted to show that a change in another factor or factors occasions a change in functional interpretation.

Language makes multiple uses of its resources — word order, morphology, lexical elements, and intonation. These resources combine with the sequence of utterances and the flow of information to establish many-to-many relations among forms and functions. Although linguists and philosophers who study language may consider this to be a problem, it may be more appropriate to consider these relations to be a solution. Through many-to-many relations of form and function, language users manage to create worlds of meaning and achieve an astounding variety of communicative accomplishments.

Chapter 9

Conclusions

1. Introduction

In chapter 1, I set two goals for this work. My first goal is to show that morphosyntactic form correlates with doing questioning when questioning is identified functionally. My second goal is to consider how the structure of the morphosyntactic forms which do questioning are motivated by their function in the talk. In this chapter, I will discuss how these goals have been met. In addition, I will briefly relate the speakers' typology which I have constructed for questions in English conversation to the various syntactic strategies which other languages employ to indicate interrogativity. Finally, I will also consider the relevance of this study for the notion of typical question forms in English.

2. Goal 1

This work has demonstrated that morphosyntactic form correlates with question function when this function is broadly defined. In other words, noninterrogative forms which do questioning tend to be marked lexically or morphosyntactically, as exhibited in the following table.

	Marked Forms	Forms with No Associated Marker
Declarative	85%	15%
Nonclausal	63%	37%
Total	100%	100%

Table 9.1.
Declarative Questions vs. Nonclausal Questions
Marked Forms vs. Forms with No Associated Marker

This table shows that 85% of all declarative questions in the data have a marker associated with question function, while only 15% have no associated marker. Nonclausal questions have a marker associated with question function in 63% of all instances, and have no associated marker in 37% of all instances. In chapter 1, the question of the interface between form and function was posed. Coulthard (1977) describes this problem in terms of how a relatively small number of grammatical options can realize a relatively large number of communicative functions (cf. ch.1, sec. 3). The first goal I set for this study, then, was to explore how morphosyntactic options interact with intonation and sequential position to realize question function. An examination of declarative and nonclausal questions has shown that the role of morphosyntax in the interpretation of these questions is far greater than has been realized. Morphosyntax interacts significantly with intonation, sequential position, and information accessibility to signal question function for noninterrogative questions. In chapter 8, I have presented some cases in which utterances with the same form differ with respect to their communicative function. In these instances, utterances with the same form, including the markers I have identified in chapters 4 and 6, may function as statements or questions. These examples show that variation in intonation, sequential position, and information accessibility can crucially affect the function of an utterance. This demonstrates that it is not a single factor, in itself, which determines question function. Rather, the interpretation of question function is sensitive to the interaction of morphosyntactic form, intonation, sequential position, and information accessibility (cf. Chisholm 1984). This section has reviewed the first goal of this work and summarized how this goal has been accomplished. The second goal will be reviewed in the following section.

3. Goal 2

My second goal is to demonstrate that morphosyntactic form emerges from the discourse uses of the form. In other words, the form/function correlations exhibited in the data are not arbitrary, but rather are functionally motivated (cf. Du Bois 1985, 1987a, 1987b, Forthcoming, Weber and Bentivoglio Forthcoming). I have shown that declarative and nonclausal questions exhibit specific patterns of morphosyntactic marking. The relevant aspects of morphosyntactic marking to be explained in terms of specific discourse functions of declarative and nonclausal questions are (1) the percentage of marked forms vs. forms with no associated marker; and (2) for forms with an associated marker, the number of markers per form and their temporal distribution. I will suggest below that the difference between the marking patterns of declarative and nonclausal questions are explainable in terms of function when this function is described more specifically than doing questioning.

With respect to the percentage of marked forms vs. forms with no associated marker, we have seen in Table (9.1.) that more declarative questions exhibit marking than nonclausal questions (85% vs. 63%). This difference will be related to differences in the functions of declarative vs. nonclausal questions. With respect to the number of markers per form and their temporal distribution, we may ask why declarative and nonclausal questions also show different patterns of marking. The following table presents the distribution of markers per form (cf. ch 4, Table (4.10.) and ch. 6, Table (6.4.)).

	1 Marker per form	1+ Marker per form	Total
Declarative	54%	46%	100%
Nonclausal	90%	10%	100%

Table 9.2.
Declarative Questions vs. Nonclausal Questions
Number of Markers per Form

This table shows that different syntactic forms correlate with differences in the number of markers per form. If a declarative clause has any markers, it will have one marker more than half of the time, and more than one marker slightly less than half of the time. At this level of functional analysis, then, the number of markers per form cannot be strongly predicted. In contrast, we can predict that if a nonclausal question has any markers, it will have one marker fully 9 out of 10 times. This skewed distribution will be related below to differences in function between declarative and nonclausal questions.

The following table presents the temporal distribution of markers when the second person subject *you* is included as a marker (cf. ch. 4, Table (4.3.) for a comparison of declarative clause markers which exclude *you*).

	Within	Before	Subsequent	Total
Declarative	34%	32%	34%	100%
Nonclausal	71%	16%	13%	100%

Table 9.3.
Declarative Questions vs. Nonclausal Questions
Temporal Distribution of Markers
(includes *you*)

This table shows that different morphosyntactic forms correlate with differences in the

distribution of temporal marking. When *you* subjects are included, declarative questions have marking within the structure of the clause 34% of the time, while nonclausal questions exhibit marking within the form 71% of the time. In contrast, declarative questions have an associated marker in 66% (32% + 34%) of all instances of marking either before or after the clause. Nonclausal questions have an associated marker in 29% (16% + 13%) of all instances either before or after the form. In summary, declarative questions have approximately equal instances of marking in all three temporal domains. In contrast, for nonclausal questions, more than two out of every three instances of marking appears within the structure of the form. This difference in distribution will be related below to the difference in function between declarative and nonclausal questions.

4. Functional Explanations of Morphosyntactic Patterns

The aspects of morphosyntactic form which I suggest emerge from their use in discourse are (1) the percentage of forms which appear with associated markers; (2) the number of markers per form; and (3) the temporal distribution of markers per form. The differences in percentages for declarative and nonclausal questions for these factors are interesting because they reflect morphosyntactic patterns which are functionally motivated. These form/function patterns of noninterrogative questions are the result of the choices which speakers make in conversation in order to accomplish their interactional and informational goals. Questions are realized in different ways — by different morphosyntactic forms and with different associated patterns of marking — depending on what the question is doing in the talk. Declarative and nonclausal forms, in conjunction with their associated patterns of marking, are well suited to their respective functions. In the following sections, I will consider how declarative and nonclausal forms are designed to accomplish their

functions.

4.1. Declarative Questions

We may ask why the percentage of marked declarative questions (vs. those with no associated marker), as well as the number of markers per form and their temporal distribution, make sense when the typical function of declarative questions is considered? Typically, declarative questions function to request confirmation in terms of A-events and B-events; they are rarely NTRI's (cf. ch. 5). Thus, in general, in contrast to many nonclausal NTRI's, repetitive elements, as well as *wh*-marking within the clause, do not play a significant role in the interpretation of declarative questions. These do play such a role in the interpretation of nonclausal NTRI's (cf. ch. 6). Other types of associated markers, however, do play a significant role in the interpretation of declarative questions; speakers use them to mark declarative questions 85% of the time. We may infer that speakers employ this marking to facilitate the interpretation of declarative questions as questions rather than as statements (cf. ch. 8, Table (8.1.)).

Declarative questions not implicated in repair are well suited to confirming information which is related to some prior utterance. In these data, this prior utterance is most often the immediately prior utterance which is produced by another speaker, i.e., not the speaker of the declarative question. In terms of speaker turns, then, the declarative question often has a different speaker from the utterance which precedes it. The declarative question relates to the prior utterance through its subject. Fully 94% of all subjects of declarative questions in the data which are not implicated in repair are personal pronouns (*you*), demonstrative pronouns (*that, these*) or noun phrases with demonstrative adjectives (*these beans*). These subjects most often refer to the recipient of the utterance, i.e., *you*, or to a referent explicitly mentioned in the

prior utterance. The information for which the speaker requests confirmation is realized in the verb phrase of the declarative question. This part of the utterance is not a repetition or restatement of previously mentioned information, but rather relates to the prior utterance as an inference or an elaboration. Since the information for which confirmation is being requested has not been previously mentioned, syntactic clause structure is required to encode it. This may be contrasted with repair function. Quite simply, it is not the case that speakers need to use a complete syntactic clause to locate a source of trouble in a prior turn. As we have seen in chapter 6, nonclausal forms are frequently employed to do repair (cf. sec. 3.1.2)

When declarative questions are considered with respect to how many markers occur per form, we see that slightly more than half of all forms have one marker, while slightly less than half of all forms have more than one marker. If declarative questions are generally marked to facilitate their interpretation as questions, we may ask why some of these questions receive more than one marker. The discourse environments and interactional motivations which condition the appearance of multiple markers is an area for further research. It is, however, beyond the scope of this dissertation.

We may also ask how the temporal distribution of markers associated with declarative questions makes sense. We have seen that 32% of markers associated with declarative questions appear before the clause. These questions resemble yes/no requests for confirmation in that the marking occurs early, if not immediately, in the utterance. It is also true that *wh*-questions are marked early, if not immediately, in the turn by both a *wh*-word and subject/verb inversion, except in those instances in which the subject is itself a *wh*-word. We have seen that for the 34% of markers which appear within the clause, most of that marking consists of verbs and second person *you* subjects which occur early in the turn. There are, in fact, only three cases of within-the-clause marking which do not exhibit this early-in-the-turn marking.

Thus, only the two cases of NTRI's with *wh*-words within the clause and the single case of the use of a gap strategy do not have early-in-the-turn marking when the marking appears within the declarative clause. When these three cases are excluded, the instances of prior marking and marking early in the turn within the clause constitute 64% of all instances of marking. This pattern resembles the temporal dimension of the marking which characterizes interrogative questions.

Some declarative questions are marked only by tags. In conjunction with intonation, tags unambiguously signal question function. How the discourse environment conditions the use of declarative questions marked only by tags is an issue beyond the scope of this dissertation. A more detailed analysis of the function of requesting confirmation might reveal significant differences in function for declarative questions marked only by tags vs. those with prior and within-the-clause marking, both of which occur early in the turn (cf. Brown 1981).

This section has discussed the functional motivation of the morphosyntactic patterns of declarative questions. The relevant patterns are whether or not the clause has morphosyntactic marking, the number of markers per form, and the temporal distribution of the markers. Nonclausal questions are equally suited to their communicative functions, as will be shown in the next section.

4.2. Nonclausal Questions

Why does the percentage of marked nonclausal questions (vs. those with no associated marker), as well as the number of markers per form and their temporal distribution, make sense when the functions of nonclausal questions are examined? In other words, why are fewer nonclausal questions marked than declarative questions, and why do marked nonclausal questions typically have a single marker within the structure of the nonclausal form?

Table (9.1.) has shown that 63% of all nonclausal questions are marked, while 37% have no associated marker. We have seen in chapter 7 that over half of nonclausal questions are NTRI's (cf. Table (7.1.)). When these nonclausal NTRI's are considered, we see why not all nonclausal NTRI's need to be marked to accomplish their repair function. Marked nonclausal NTRI's use a particle or a *wh*-word to target the trouble source in the prior turn alone (cf. ex. (108) and ex. (109)) or in conjunction with a repetition of part of the prior turn (cf. ex. (111)). Since it is usually not necessary to repeat the entire prior clause to target the source of the trouble, most NTRI's in the data which work by repetition are not realized by a complete syntactic clause, i.e., they are realized by a (repeated) word, or phrase. Nonclausal NTRI's do not need to be marked, however, in order to locate the source of trouble in the prior turn. One type of unmarked nonclausal NTRI utilizes only a partial repetition of the prior turn (cf. ex. (113)). Another type of nonclausal NTRI is an appender question (cf. ex. (117)). These NTRI's utilize the constituent structure of the trouble source utterance by adding an additional "final" constituent (L: *he's...made a big success*. M: *with his rock group?*) Appender questions solicit more information by adding a constituent which can be integrated into the syntactic structure of the prior utterance. Nonclausal questions show a greater percentage of forms with no associated marker than do declarative questions, in part, because nonclausal questions which are NTRI's can be unambiguously interpreted as questions without any associated markers in any sequential position. NTRI's are sequentially relevant after any utterance. Information accessibility in terms of A-events and B-events is irrelevant to the interpretation of NTRI's. As has been mentioned in chapters 2 and 6, the next turn position and the repetitive elements themselves constitute a kind of marking for NTRI's. For appender questions, interpretation is made on the basis of the syntactic structure of the prior utterance and

that of the appended nonclausal form. Rising terminal intonation also appears to be a crucial factor for the interpretation of nonclausal forms as NTRI's (cf. Cruttenden 1986:108). Nonclausal questions with no associated markers are, therefore, as well suited to doing repair, i.e., locating a trouble source, as are marked nonclausal NTRI's.

Nonclausal questions in the data which are not NTRI's serve a broad variety of functions. The interpretation of many of these utterances depends upon the recipient's visual access to an entity in the physical environment. Many other of these utterances make reference to a story. They are semantically and/or syntactically related to the prior utterance.

Nonclausal questions which exhibit marking associated with question function have just one marker fully 90% of the time. Many of these nonclausal questions are NTRI's and the morphosyntactic markers are particles or *wh*-words which appear alone or in conjunction with repeated elements of the prior turn. This pattern of marking is, of course, well suited to locate a source of trouble in the prior turn. There are also nonclausal questions, which are not NTRI's, which are marked, e.g., *what*, in response to pre-announcements.

The fact that nonclausal markers appear within the constituent form 71% of the time is also related to the repair function of 60% of these forms. The single repair function of NTRI's is to locate the source of the trouble. We have seen that 52% of within-the-constituent-form marking for nonclausal questions is constituted by *wh*-words and particles (cf. ch. 6, Table (6.3.)). In most instances, these markers constitute the entire form.

In this section, I have discussed the functional motivation of the morphosyntactic patterns associated with nonclausal questions. As in the case of declarative questions, these forms are well suited for the communicative functions which they realize. In the

next section, the major syntactic types which have been discussed in this study will be related to strategies for doing questioning in other languages.

5. Universals of Question Function

Moravcsik (Forthcoming) notes the universality of structures which do questioning and states that languages show "considerable resemblance" insofar as they utilize morphology, word order, and intonation to determine question function vs. statement function. It is interesting to note that the types of morphosyntactic question marking which have been presented in chapters 4 and 6 can be found in other languages of the world.

5.1 Question Marking Strategies

The major types of marking associated with question function which have been discussed in this work are the following.

Lexical elements

We have seen that some verbs which take a complement clause can be markers of question function, e.g., *know*, *wonder*, *hear*. In some of these instances, e.g., *know*, *wonder*, the complement of the matrix clause constitutes an embedded question. Embedded questions appear commonly in the languages of the world and are often introduced by markers which signal question function. In English, *wh*-words and the conjunctions *whether* and *if* mark embedded questions (cf. ex. (22) and ex. (144)). There are many other languages which employ such markers in embedded clauses, e.g., Georgian (cf. Harris 1984). Embedded questions may appear without such markers, however, as in Mandarin (cf. Li and Thompson 1984).

Question pronouns

Question pronouns (*wh*-words in English) in languages are often related to indefinite pronouns. In interrogative clauses in English, *wh*-words appear at the beginning of the clause and there is subject/verb inversion, with the exception of those cases in which the *wh*-word is itself the subject. As we have seen, *wh*-words may appear in declarative clauses in noninitial position. These questions are usually NTRI's. In other languages, non-NTRI questions may have question pronouns in clause initial position without any subject/verb inversion, e.g., Russian (cf. Comrie 1984). In fact, the conjunction of initial question pronouns and subject/verb inversion is rare (Chisholm 1984:5). In some languages, question pronouns exhibit a great deal of freedom as to where they can appear in a clause, e.g., Bengali (cf. Saha 1984) and Mandarin (cf. Li and Thompson 1984).

Prior question marker/pronoun

In English, question function may be projected over a clause, phrase or word by a prior marker, e.g., *what, how about*. This strategy is also found in other languages. In Bengali, a question marker may appear before a clause to project question function, e.g., *ki* 'what' (cf. Saha 1984). As in English, there are two intonation contours to distinguish this syntactic type from question pronouns which appear within a clause. In Russian, the conjunction *a* is used to ask a question of a topic in the same way *how about* is used in English.

Particle, word, and clause tags

Particles are commonly used to signal questions in languages of the world. In my data, the particle *huh* or *uh* comes at end of the utterance and has the entire utterance under its scope. Other particles in English are *eh* and *hah*. In other languages,

question particles are often related to disjunctive conjunctions and may appear in positions other than clause final, e.g., before the clause (Polish), after the first constituent (Ute), or after the focussed constituent (Russian) (Moravcsik Forthcoming). Like English, Mandarin uses a particle tag only at the end of the utterance (Li and Thompson 1984). Word tags are also used in other languages, e.g. Mandarin.

Alternative questions

In English, noninterrogative forms may pose alternative questions. There are two types of alternative declarative questions in the data: [clause + *or not*] and [clause + *or what*]. The alternative realized by *or not* is constituted by the negative alternative to the affirmative clause which precedes it. Li and Thompson (1984) report that Mandarin has grammaticized the disjunction of an affirmative and its negative counterpart. The disjunctive particle is generally omitted and repeated material is omitted in the negative clause. In the second type of alternative question in the data, *or what* presents an open-ended alternative to the affirmative clause which precedes it.

5.2. Implication for Typological Studies

Typological studies attempt to describe what is the same and what is different in the languages of the world. The discovery of language universals has obvious implications for cognitive science; universal structures and functions of language may reveal significant aspects of cognition. Given this relation between typological studies and cognitive science, the relevant data for typological investigations ought to include the structures which speakers actually use (cf. Chisholm 1984). My study is relevant to typological studies because it presents English structures speakers actually use to do questioning when that action is functionally defined. From the perspective of the

relatively infrequently is as important as the description of more frequently used structures. The importance of frequency distributions will be addressed in the next section.

6. Typical Questions

In chapter 1, the issue of which clause structure typically realizes question function was discussed. This study raises the following question: what sense does it make to talk about typical questions in English? We all believe that typical questions in English are realized by interrogative clauses, i.e., *wh*-questions and yes/no questions which exhibit subject-verb inversion. When the data of this study are considered from the point of view of frequency of clause types, however, we see that interrogative questions comprise 59% of all questions, while the remaining 41% are declarative clauses or nonclausal forms (cf. ch. 6, Table (6.1.)). In some sense, then, 41% of all the questions in these data are not typical, i.e., not interrogative. In the light of the correlations of these syntactic types to specific question functions, however, do we really want to say this? Since this work is not a large distributional study of syntactic clause types which accomplish questions in English conversation, these percentages are only suggestive. Nevertheless, they do raise some interesting issues about ways of asking specific functional types of questions. This work suggests that any discussion of typical question forms must include some further specification of communicative function if this notion is to accurately reflect the way speakers ask questions in conversation. When function is considered in this more specified way, we may ask, for example, what is the typical syntactic form speakers use to do other-initiated repair in conversation. We know from this study that when only noninterrogative forms are considered, we can confidently say that NTRI's are typically realized by nonclausal forms rather than by declarative clauses (cf. Schegloff

Forthcoming). Of the 101 NTRI's in the data, 90% are nonclausal forms and 10% are declarative forms. Similarly, when only noninterrogative forms are considered, a request for confirmation in terms of A-events and B-events, which is not also implicated in repair, is typically done by a declarative clause. Of the 87 requests for confirmation in the data which are also not implicated in repair, 78% are declaratives and 22% are nonclausal forms. Of course, yes/no questions, which have not been analyzed in this study, also function to request confirmation. In summary, declarative questions and nonclausal questions are typically used by speakers to accomplish certain specific functions, e.g., to request confirmation and to effect repair.

This section has considered the implications of this study for the notion of a typical question in English. Given the frequency with which speakers in conversation use noninterrogative questions, and the correlation of these questions to specific question functions, it is appropriate to expand the notion of typical question to include some further specification of function. The concluding section will discuss some implications of this study for other areas of research.

7. Implications for Other Areas of Language Study

7.1. Descriptive Linguistics

From the perspective of description alone, this work has shown that speakers have a number of morphosyntactic options available to them when they do questioning with declarative clauses or nonclausal forms. These options include the use of lexical elements, discourse markers, and *wh*-words. Both intonation and the accessibility of information are relevant to the interpretation of noninterrogative questions. Descriptive linguistic studies which do not include data from naturally occurring conversations may omit functionally important constructions.

7.2. Speech Act Theory

This study is relevant for linguists and speech act theorists who are interested in the form/function problem. Further discussion of this issue must take into consideration the fact that there are many options available to speakers in conversation which have not been specifically noticed or have not been brought to bear on issues of form/function correlations. In other words, there are options for syntactic marking available to speakers who do questioning with declarative clauses and nonclausal forms. This study shows the importance of looking at conversational data in any attempt to explain how people manage to use language to do things. The fact that the language people actually use contrasts so strikingly with the language which is imagined by those working on the theory of speech acts is, I suggest, a problem for speech act theory. The data show that the morphosyntactic options available to speakers to mark noninterrogative questions are used very frequently. These options interact with other factors, e.g., intonation, sequential position, and information accessibility, giving rise to complex interpretive procedures. In contrast, speech act studies present "recreated" examples of utterances which lack this complexity.

7.3. Formal Linguistics

Although our assumptions are different, I suggest that descriptions of language use as revealed in examinations of naturally occurring conversations can be valuable to formal linguists. Such descriptions can reveal aspects of the grammar of a language which are not accessible to intuition. The use of prior markers to project question function to declarative clauses, for example, is something speakers know and make use of, in a variety of ways, to accomplish their goals in interaction. Although the distribution of morphosyntactic structures may not be relevant within formal linguistics, the frequency of the types of questions described in this study suggests

that they are part of the grammar which speakers must learn — somehow. As such, these forms are just like other parts of the grammar and ought, therefore, to be explained by formal linguists on their own terms.

7.4. Cognitive Science

My work shows that when conversational data are examined, and the temporal dimension of language is taken seriously, morphosyntactic patterns which are associated with communicative functions are revealed. Because they are associated with communicative functions in a motivated way, these patterns are learnable. My work, then, has implications for cognitive science in terms of both interpretation and language acquisition. To the extent that cognitive science is interested in language processing (interpretation) and language acquisition (learnability), the results of this study reveal correlations between morphosyntactic patterns and communicative functions which have implications for both these areas of research.

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Appendix

- (1) N This is so (good.)
 I never u- drink during the week.=
 () = [heh]
 () = [ha]
 B = [mmh] We'll be so (ho)rry, (.) [tomorrow.
 L [toMOrrrow ha ha ha
 E [(toMOrrrow
 L hehehehehehe
 (.8)
 N I fall asleep too fast,
 L hehehehe ⇐ Weber 4:34
- (2) B Can you imagine (.) letting somebody (0.2) do that? O:h ⇐
 N At that age.
 Well that's what goes on with Ann's daughter
 (etc. on this topic) Weber 12:194
- (3) C He:y. Where c'n I get a::, uh, 'member the old twenny
 three Model T spring,
 (0.5)
 C Backspring 't came up like that,
 Kid_ Come on let's go get it! Come on Mi:chael,=
 =[c'mon
 (1.0)
 C [Dju know what I'm [talk] what I'm talkin a [bout,]
 M [Ye:h,] [I thi] nk - I know
 whatchu mean,
 C Wh'r c'n I get o:ne.
 (0.8)
 Kid Mi:ke!
 (0.4)
 G Just use a regular one. ⇐
 (0.7)
 C Mmm I'd like t'get a, high one if I cou:ld. AD 22:21
- (4) C But where'd your Mom get the idea
 that the surgery was unneces-
 (0.2)
 C Well it was on his knee:=
 V =Okay,
 C She thinks [the] who:le knee surgery [was unnecessary?] ⇐
 V [He-] [Okay]
 wull no *hh he- Ford 2:32

(5) N Do you have Italian at your school? ⇐ Weber 7 :100
 L ~uh~uh

(6) -----

(7) Mom I need a kiss. ⇐
 Kid ((gives her a kiss)) Weber (3/28/87) 2:10

(8) M She has an appointment.
 T At what time?
 M Four.
 T Where?
 M Sawtelle.
 T Alright.
 M Do you think (.) you could take her? ⇐
 T She's not working tomorrow?
 M I don't know.
 M Now either I could take the Bronco.
 T no:
 M an
 T yeah , yeah
 T I wish you guys would tell me this not before I went to bed. you know
 that way in=
 T =case I do have plans I don't make the plans. Weber (7/16/86) 4:1

(9) N °Pass the salad, ⇐ Weber 9:132