

An initial description of syntactic extensions in spoken Czech

Florence Oloff and Martin Havlík

University of Oulu / Czech Language Institute

This paper aims to describe different patterns of syntactic extensions of turns-at-talk in mundane conversations in Czech. Within interactional linguistics, same-speaker continuations of possibly complete syntactic structures have been described for typologically diverse languages, but have not yet been investigated for Slavic languages. Based on previously established descriptions of various types of extensions (Vorreiter 2003; Couper-Kuhlen & Ono 2007), our initial description shall therefore contribute to the cross-linguistic exploration of this phenomenon. While all previously described forms for continuing a turn-constructional unit seem to exist in Czech, some grammatical features of this language (especially free word order and strong case morphology) may lead to problems in distinguishing specific types of syntactic extensions. Consequently, this type of language allows for critically evaluating the cross-linguistic validity of the different categories and underlines the necessity of analysing syntactic phenomena within their specific action contexts.

Keywords: interactional grammar, conversation analysis, syntactic extensions, increments, spoken syntax, Czech, ordinary conversation

1. Introduction

Extensions of speaking turns beyond a point of syntactic completion by the same speaker have been of major interest to the domain of interactional linguistics for more than two decades now (Couper-Kuhlen & Ono 2007; Luke et al. 2012; Schegloff 1996). As syntactic extensions have since then been described for typologically diverse languages, continuing one's turn by adding syntactically fitted material to it can be said to be a cross-linguistic practice. However, it has been pointed out that in order to give a more general and robust description of this grammatical practice, it should be studied within a larger variety of languages (Couper-Kuhlen & Ono 2007, 549; Ford, Fox & Thompson 2002, 33; Luke et al. 2012, 160). This paper shall contribute to a cross-linguistic investigation by providing a first, general

introduction to the formats of turn extensions in Czech, a West Slavic language. Within interactional linguistics and conversation analysis, Czech has hardly been considered, whereas some interactional features of other Slavic languages such as Russian (Bolden 2008, 2016) or Polish (Ogiermann & Zinken 2011; Zinken & Ogiermann 2013) have already been described (see also the contributions in Thielemann & Kosta 2013). However, with regards to turn extensions there has been no systematic account of Slavic languages up to now, though due to their complex inflectional system and the ensuing variable word order, this language family represents an interesting domain for the study of syntax-in-interaction.

The twofold aims of our study are, on the one hand, to establish a first systematic description of turn extensions in Czech, and, on the other, to contribute more generally to the description of spoken syntax in Czech, based on examples taken from naturally occurring interactions. After having established a small state of the art concerning syntactic extensions in various languages (1.1), we will introduce some basic grammatical features of Czech which are possibly relevant to the practice of syntactic extension (1.2), comment on the typology we have chosen for this initial description (1.3), and present our data (1.4). We will then describe various extension types in Czech (2), reflect on problematic or ambiguous issues (3), and conclude with some recommendations regarding further research on syntactic extensions in Czech (4).

1.1 Turn extensions in various languages

Within linguistics, “non-canonical” syntactic structures such as *clefts*, *hanging topics*, *apo koinu constructions*, and *right or left dislocations* have been noticed from early on, typical examples being “inversions” or “afterthoughts” in Chinese (cf. Luke 2012), or left/right expansions in German (Altmann 1981; Auer 1991) and English (Geluykens 1987, 1994). We will not consider previous discussions related to various data types (made-up vs. written vs. spoken), but instead we will focus on the way this phenomenon has been treated within interactional linguistics (e.g. Auer, Couper-Kuhlen & Müller 1999; Ford, Fox & Thompson (eds.) 2002; Hakulinen & Selting 2005; Ochs, Schegloff & Thompson 1996; Selting & Couper-Kuhlen 2001).

Syntactic continuations beyond a possible syntactic completion point in speaking turns have been given various names, such as *added units* or *added segments* (C. Goodwin 1979; M. Goodwin 1980), *expansions* (Auer 1991, 1996), *right dislocations* (Selting 1994), *supplementation* or *inclusion* (Nekvapil 1991), *post-predicate additions* or *recompleters* (Tanaka 2000), or *increments* (Schegloff 1996), inter alia. The interest in and frequency of this type of phenomenon can be traced back to Sacks', Schegloff's, and Jefferson's (1974) seminal study on turn-taking, in which they sketched the existence of points of possible completion, and thus places of possible

speaker change – so-called *transition relevance places* (TRP) – mostly in terms of syntax. They underlined the “*inherent extendability*” (see Luke et al. 2012, 158) of *turn constructional units* (TCU) beyond any TRP, which has also been skilfully illustrated by Jefferson’s studies on overlap onset (e.g. 1973, 1983). Regardless of earlier accounts (see, for example, Goodwin 1979, 1981), the English-speaking research community has been displaying a growing interest in syntactic extensions mainly since Schegloff (1996) introduced the notion of *increment* for the description of post-possible completions of TCUs (ibid., 83ff.).

The same speaker can continue speaking beyond a point of possible syntactic completion (i.e., a TRP) by either continuing in a syntactically fitted (i.e., an increment) or syntactically independent way (i.e., a new TCU, such as in *multi-unit turns*). Phenomena such as address terms, courtesy terms, tag questions (Jefferson 1973), or post-position stance markers (formulaic elements such as “I dunno”) are mostly excluded from the class of increments (Schegloff 1996, 90). Schegloff defines increments mainly with regards to the grammatical relationship, i.e., there must be a syntactical link between the initial or *host TCU* and its continuation, as “[s]ome of these appear to add a new grammatical unit (often a phrase or a clause) to what preceded [...]” (Schegloff 1996, 90), or “*complement [...] a grammatical construction with which the prior TCU had apparently come to closure [...]*” (ibid.). Ford, Fox & Thompson (2002) also rely on a very general syntactic criterion for defining extensions, according to them they are “*nonmain-clause continuations after a possible point of turn completion*” (2002, 16), although for them there is no strict need to have a syntactic coherence (see the notion of the *free constituent*).

Today, “[s]cholars agree that there can be different ways of accomplishing turn continuation, including with or without syntactic continuation and with or without prosodic integration.” (Couper-Kuhlen 2012, 274). While this has given rise to different typologies of increments, most researchers do seem to agree on the fact that TCU extensions typically do not implement a new action. Instead, they extend or advance the action of the host TCU and are thus *retrospective* (vs. *prospective* / new TCUs, cf. Schegloff 1996; Sidnell 2012; Zhang 2012). Although the exact role of different features (syntax, prosody, action / pragmatics) in TCU extension seems to be up for discussion (see Auer 2007; Couper-Kuhlen 2012), since Schegloff’s initial description a variety of studies on more or less related phenomena in different languages has been published.

While a large number of studies have investigated English (Couper-Kuhlen 2012; Ford, Fox & Thompson 2002; Schegloff 1996, 2000a, 2001; Sidnell 2012; Walker 2004) or Japanese (Koike 2003, Tanaka 2000), there has also been a considerable number of studies concerning other languages, such as German (Auer 1991, 1996; Imo 2012; Selting 1994), Swedish (Lindström 2006), French (Horlacher 2007, 2015), Finnish (Laury 2012; Seppänen & Laury 2007), Chinese (Luke & Zhang 2007; Zhang

2012), Korean (Im 2004; Kim 2001), or even Navajo (Field 2007). A similar phenomenon has been described in Czech regarding written examples (Nekvapil 1991, 1993), while on Czech oral discourse, some preliminary remarks on added or inserted syntactic elements have been made (cf. Hoffmannová & Zeman 2017, 48–50). Explicit cross-linguistic comparison of turn extensions has been carried out on English, German, and Japanese (Couper-Kuhlen & Ono 2007; Vorreiter 2003).

Consequently, speakers of typologically different languages have the possibility to go on talking beyond a possibly complete spate of talk in a way that *extends* the prior unit or alternatively *adds* a new unit to it. However, there seems to be

[...] an apparent correlation between the authors' interests (i.e., the kind of syntactic or prosodic features that they pay most attention to) and the structure of the languages that they are working with. (Luke et al. 2012, 159)

Some language material thus seems to be more adapted to discussing syntactic features (e.g. German), whereas in other languages, researchers struggle with less obvious syntactic features and try to approach extension from a rather actional perspective (see Krekoski 2012 for a discussion related to Japanese and its grammatical features). This has led to studies being more strongly focused on syntactic or prosodic aspects, whereas others are mostly considering functional aspects. While functions cluster mainly around the domains of repair and information giving (e.g. Auer 1991; Luke 2012; Selting 1994) and the management of recipient response (e.g. Ford, Fox & Thompson 2002; Horlacher 2015; Schegloff 1996), it seems difficult to give a clear cut, cross-linguistically valid description of how turn extensions are used in social interaction. This leads to a highly heterogeneous field of study that considers a diversity of notions, phenomena, and language-specific grammatical features. Consequently, Couper-Kuhlen's and Ono's initial appeal for carrying out more research in this domain (2007, 549) still seems to be a burning issue (see also Luke et al. 2012).

1.2 Some basic grammatical features of Czech relevant for turn extension

Being part of the Indo-European language family, Czech is a highly inflected fusional language in which syntactical relations are articulated mostly through suffixes (expressing number, i.e., singular, plural, and eventually dual; gender, i.e., masculine, feminine, neutral; and case, i.e., nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, vocative, locative, and instrumental) or through prepositional phrases. In syntactic constructions, words are connected by means of their coordination – or dependency – which is rendered by government (1.), agreement (2.), or adjunction (3.) (cf. Čechová et al. 1996, 253ff.; Greppl & Karlík 1985, 202ff.; Hausenblas 1958; Havránek & Jedlička 1963, 321ff.; Panevová et al. 2014, 34ff.):

1. Syntactic subjects usually carry nominative case marking, and syntactic objects mostly carry accusative case marking (rarely dative or genitive morphemes):
 - (1) Pracovník pozdravil šéfa.
 employee[NOM.M.SG] greet-PST[M.SG] boss-ACC.M.SG
 ‘The (male) employee greeted the (male) boss’
2. The predicate must agree with the subject in gender and number, while adjectives have to be congruent in gender, case, and number with the substantives on which they depend.
 - (2) a. Mladý pracovník pozdravil
 young-NOM.M.SG employee[NOM.M.SG] greet-PST[M.SG]
 svého šéfa.
 POSS-ACC.M.SG boss-ACC.M.SG
 ‘The young (male) employee greeted his (male) boss’
 - b. Mladá pracovnice pozdravila svou
 young-NOM.F.SG employee-NOM.F.SG greet-PST-F.SG POSS-ACC.F.SG
 šéfovou.
 boss-ACC.F.SG
 ‘The young (female) employee greeted her (female) boss’
3. Adjunction is mostly expressed by prepositional phrases, adverbs, or infinitives that have no stable positions in an utterance (cf. Čechová et al. 1996, 279, Hausenblas 1958, 90ff., Karlík et al. 1995, 436ff.).
 - (3) Na chodbě pozdravil zdvořile šéfa.
 in corridor-LOC.F.SG greet-PST[M.SG] politely boss-ACC.M.SG
 ‘In the corridor he politely greeted the (male) boss’

Due to its more intact inflectional system (especially compared to English), Czech has a high projective force (Auer 2005), e.g., adjectives might project not only a noun, but also its gender, number, and case. Though its inflectional system seems to be slowly being reduced (e.g. differences in grammatical gender are being diminished in colloquial spoken Czech, cf. Cvrček et al. 2010, 304), it clearly allows for a relatively free word order, with some exceptions: enclitics do have a compulsory position according to the rhythm (mostly at the end of a first phonological word, Daneš et al. 1987, 604; Naughton 2005, 217), and substantive attributes are usually located right behind their governing substantive. Whereas the basic word order of Czech is subject – verb – object (SVO), other variations such as SOV, OVS, OSV are grammatically correct, although they might differ with respect to semantics and style (Čechová et al. 1996, 305ff.; Daneš et al. 1987, 614ff.; Karlík et al. 1995, 645ff.). Such flexibility in word order might indeed influence the possibilities of continuing a turn-at-talk post-possible syntactic completion.

In Czech, word order is also used for topicalisation. Traditionally, the utterance beginning is said to contain the theme, while the so-called focus (or rhema) of the utterance is supposed to be in the last position of an utterance (Čechová et al. 1996, 305 ff.; Daneš 1974; Daneš et al. 1987; Mathesius 1942; Naughton 2005, 215; Panevová et al. 2014, 190ff.; Sgall 1982). Consequently, a particular word or component can be accentuated by moving it to the final position. This traditional view on the theme-rheme distribution, the so-called *topical sentence structure* or functional sentence perspective (“aktuální větné členění”, Daneš 1974; Firbas 1992; Hajičová et al. 1998; Mathesius 1939, 1942), would predict syntactic extensions in Czech to be highly rhematical. However, Luke and Zhang (2007, for Mandarin Chinese) suggest on the contrary that adding new information will lead to a new TCU, while the addition of already known material will be more likely to lead to a TCU extension or increment. More generally, Nekvapil (1993, 214) notes that the “producer” and “recipient” of a syntactic extension might perceive its informational content very differently, as containing a completion or, on the contrary, an emphasis. While Auer (2007, for German) shows that TCU extensions may indeed contain “new” information, he also underlines the fact that informational value depends not only on syntax, but also on prosody, semantics, action structure, and even on visible components. Since, to date, there is no clear-cut correlation between syntactic and action structure in post-completion extensions (retrospective or prospective, “old” vs. “new”, Auer 2007, 650–1), this issue is still in need of further investigation.

1.3 Different types of syntactic extensions

The previous sections have revealed that there seems to be no consensus regarding the exact structural delimitation or analytic vocabulary that one should apply to syntactic utterance extensions; moreover, no cross-linguistically valid link between interactional tasks and specific syntactic features has been established. As syntactic extensions in spoken Czech have not yet been systematically described, we will adopt a pragmatic approach in view of this heterogeneous body of research and restrict our contribution mostly to formal aspects, i.e., the presentation and discussion of various forms of turn extensions in Czech. We will therefore adopt one of the most quoted and used typologies for turn extensions, i.e., the one presented in Vorreiter (2003) and applied by Couper-Kuhlen & Ono (2007, see also Horlacher 2015, 110). Compared to other descriptions of syntactic extensions (Ford, Fox & Thompson 2002; Schegloff 1996), this classification scheme appears to be more fine-grained. By applying the same notions, we aim at supporting the cross-linguistic comparison formulated as a major endeavour in the field, although it might also reveal some analytical challenges as regards the grammatical features of Czech (cf. Section 3).

The first and most basic distinction is the one between *new TCU* and *TCU continuation*. According to Couper-Kuhlen & Ono (2007, 515), while the former has minimal syntactic and semantic dependence on the prior unit of talk, the latter possesses maximum dependency. Within the different types of *TCU continuation*, a first distinction is that between *non-add-ons* and *add-ons*. Whereas the former are prosodically integrated, the latter are audibly additions (cf. Vorreiter 2003, 5–6). *Add-ons* are thus preceded by a prosodic break after the host turn. The group of *add-ons* can then be further divided into *replacements* and *increments*. As their name indicates, *replacements* are co-referential to an item in the host turn and replace that element, i.e., present an alternative version of a part of the host. *Increments* can be further divided into *glue-ons* and *insertables*. *Glue-ons* have a “particularly tight” grammatical bond (Vorreiter 2003, 13) to the host, i.e., host and *glue-on* form a syntactically coherent construction (Schegloff 1996, 90–91). In English, *glue-ons* can correspond to various types of syntactic constituents, clausal as well as phrasal ones (Couper-Kuhlen & Ono 2007, 521). *Insertables*, on the contrary, do not form a canonically well-formed structure when put together with the host turn (Vorreiter 2003, 16). They seem to be “out of place” as they could be more canonically positioned somewhere inside the host TCU. Finally, Vorreiter mentions the so-called *free constituents* (corresponding to the “unattached nominal phrases” described by Ono & Thompson 1994). They show no syntactic – but nevertheless, a semantic and pragmatic – dependency on the prior unit. Whereas Vorreiter treats the *free constituents* as being a type of *increment* – as according to her, *glue-ons* and *insertables*, as well as *free constituents*, “add further material to the host” (Vorreiter 2003, 21–22), Couper-Kuhlen & Ono (2007, 515) do not treat *free constituents* as being *increments*, but as being “somewhere in between these extremes” of TCU continuation vs. new TCU. For convenience, we reproduce the scheme used by Horlacher (2015, 110), which contains all types of turn continuations used by Vorreiter (2003) and Couper-Kuhlen & Ono (2007), and captures as well the slight divergence regarding the classification of free constituents.

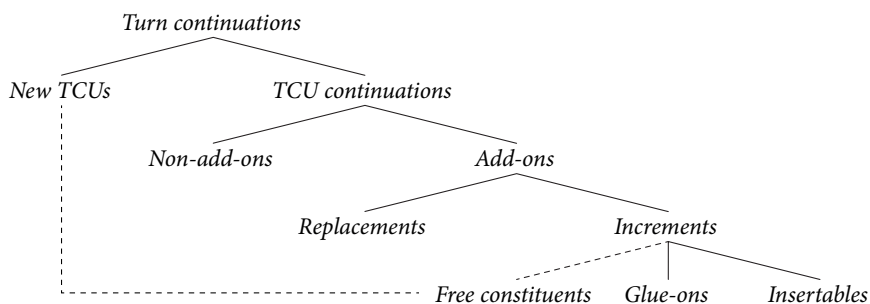


Figure 1. Types of turn continuation (Horlacher 2015, 110)

1.4 Data

The data stem from a series of video recordings of mundane conversations in Czech among friends and acquaintances, taking place at home or in public places such as bars or cafés. The data were recorded between 2013 and 2016 within the framework of a research project (SNSF Ambizione, PI F. Oloff, see acknowledgments). All participants are native speakers of Czech and have received education in the Czech Republic. Within the frame of this paper, we have chosen one hour of each of the following four recordings: (1) CAJ (2014): two women (expat) at home in Switzerland (total duration of 1 hour); (2) FOSNA (2013): three men in a bar in Prague (total 2.5 hours); (3) HAMR (2014): six men at a terrace in Prague (total 2.5 hours); and (4) SOUSED (2016): three female neighbours at home close to Ostrava (total 1 hour). Data have been recorded with one ((1), (4)) or two cameras ((2), (3)), and in all settings a supplementary audio recorder has been placed close to the participants. However, due to noisy surroundings (settings 2 and 3), detailed phonetic features are not systematically available. Excerpts have been transcribed according to Jeffersonian conventions (Jefferson 2004), in addition, semicolons indicate a slightly falling intonation (Selting et al. 2009), thus four intonation markers are used (i.e., ? / , / ; / .). If none of the aforementioned signs is used as final prosodic mark, this corresponds to level intonation (Jefferson 2004, 27). Proper names – except for publicly known celebrities or brand names – have been replaced by pseudonyms. Orthography has been adapted to correctly reproduce recurrent features of spoken Czech (Kaderka & Svobodová 2006), e.g., prothetic “v” in lexical items beginning with the vowel “o”, i.e., “(v)on” / “he”, “(v)okno” / “window”, or “ej” replacing the adjectival suffix “ý”; i.e., “výbornej” instead of “výborný” (see also Hronek & Sgall 1992; Kodýtek 2007; Townsend 1990; Wilson 2010).

2. Analysis

We will now illustrate different types of TCU continuations in Czech. Following the classification scheme (see Figure 1), we will show clear cases of *non-add-ons* (2.1), then of *add-ons* (2.2), the latter being divided into *replacements* (2.2.1) and different types of *increments* (2.2.2), i.e. *insertables* (2.2.2.1), *glue-ons* (2.2.2.2), and finally *free constituents* (2.2.2.3). Whereas this section will underline the similarities between Czech and other languages, we will later (3) discuss several analytical and taxonomic problems related to the grammatical and pragmatic features of spoken Czech.

2.1 Non-add-ons

Non-add-ons describe extensions that show no prosodic break between the host TCU and its extension, despite the syntactic closure. Due to the relatively free word order in Czech, it seems more difficult to identify *non-add-ons* and they thus seem to be rather rare. One example is shown in Excerpt (4). The girl's surname "Boudová" is appended to an otherwise already complete syntactic construction (lines 4–5, "Eva was there", see also Example (1) in Couper-Kuhlen & Ono 2007, 517–8).

(4) (HAMR_ evička_4052)

- 1 IVA pak tam byl i Radek Moravec, že jo;
 then there is-PST.M also ((name[NOM.M])) TAG TAG
 then there was also Radek Moravec huh
- 2 [se Z-] (0.2) se Zlatanem,
 with Z- with ((first name-INS))
 [with Z-] (0.2) with Zlatan
- 3 MAR [no:]
 [yeah]
- 4 MAR no:, a I TA Evička
 yeah and also DEM-F.SG.NOM ((first name-DIM-NOM.F))
 yeah and also Eva
- 5 tam byla Boudová.
 there is-PST-F ((last name-NOM.F))
 was there Boudová
- 6 IVA jo.
 yeah

2.2 Add-ons

In the case of *add-ons*, the extension is prosodically and perceptually separated from the host TCU, i.e., material is audibly added to an otherwise complete syntactic structure. In case of *replacements* (2.2.1), the extension replaces an element of the host TCU, establishing a kind of co-referential relationship. The other category of *add-ons*, *increments* (2.2.2), does concern the addition of new material without replacing a previous element.

2.2.1 Replacements

Replacements can concern various grammatical elements: nouns or adjectives (English, Couper-Kuhlen & Ono 2007), but also verbs (Japanese, *ibid.*, 540) or whole clauses (German, *ibid.*, 529). In our data, extensions of this type frequently concern nouns or pronouns, i.e., either a full noun gets replaced by a pronoun (anaphoric relationship), or a pronoun gets replaced by a full noun (cataphoric relationship). These examples seem to have in common that the extensions are related to the precise description or identification of a specific referent – a person

or object. A first set of cases concerns proper names which are replaced by a more general description (not shown). In other cases, an indefinite pronoun gets replaced by a more precise referent, such as in Example (5). Karel asks about the current situation of his and his friends' soccer team.

(5) (HAMR_vývoj_000053)

1 KAR hele, a jak ↑to je tedka; e: teda
 look-IMP and how DEM-NOM.N.SG is now er then
 listen and what's up with that now er:
 (1.1)
 3 KAR ten vývoj;
 DEM-NOM.M development[NOM.M]
 the development
 (0.4)
 5 IVA .h tak necháme to na nahrávky [khh] .Hh
 SO LEAVE-1.PL DEM-ACC.N for recording-ACC.F.PL
 .h so let's keep that for the recordings [khh] .Hh
 6 KAR [jo.]
 [yes]
 7 MAR vývoj fotbalu?
 development[NOM.M] soccer-GEN.M
 the soccer development
 8 KAR no: ,
 yes

Karel's enquiry contains as referent only the neutral pronoun "to" / "it" (line 1). After more than one second, he replaces "to" by "ten vývoj" / "the development" (line 3). Marcel's repair initiation (line 7) shows that this first *replacement* could need yet another precision in order to be fully understood by this recipient.

Another type of *replacement* concerns elements that have already been mentioned, therefore this type of *replacement* does seem to cope less with explicit recognition, but rather with the action type of the sequence and possible recipient answer types.

(6) (CAJ_špaget_002717)

1 MAR .hh zkusila sis někdy: , [n-
 try-PST-F.SG AUX.2SG.REFL some time
 .hh have you already tried [n-
 2 YVE [zvážit
 weigh-INF
 [to weigh
 3 (.)
 4 YVE [ne
 [no
 5 MAR [zvážit a nabrat na talíř kolik
 weigh-INF and ladle-INF on plate[ACC.M] how much
 to weigh and put on a plate and see how much
 6 je sto gramů těsto°vin°,
 is-3SG hundred gram-GEN.M.PL noodle[GEN.F.PL]
 is one hundred grams of noodles

7 (.)
 8 YVE e[::;
 er[:m
 9 MAR [pro ↑zajímavost jsem včera ↑večer, [.h;&
 for interest[ACC.F] AUX.1SG yesterday evening
 [out of curiosity yesterday evening I'vee [.h&
 10 YVE [°no,°
 [yeah
 11 MAR & dětem, .h nabírala špagety;
 kids-DAT.PL ladle-PST-F.SG spaghetti-ACC.F.PL
 & given the kids spaghetti
 12 sto gramů špaget;
 hundred gram-GEN.M.PL spaghetti[GEN.F.PL]
 one hundred grams of spaghetti
 13 YVE no,
 yeah
 14 (0.4)
 15 MAR .hhh (0.3) e::; Robin to sněd (0.2)
 erm ((name[NOM.M])) DEM-ACC.N eat.up[PST.M]
 .hhh (0.3) erm Robin ate it up (0.2)

Marta is telling Yveta about a nutritionist's recommendation to eat portions of one hundred grams of carbohydrates per meal ("one hundred grams of noodles", line 6). As a preliminary to a story, she asks if Yveta knows what this quantity corresponds to when put on a plate (lines 1, 5–6). Marta then starts talking about her experience, i.e., serving this precise quantity to her children for dinner. In her turn, she replaces "spaghetti" with the precise amount, "one hundred grams of spaghetti" (lines 11–12). Yveta's response after the *replacement* (line 13) shows that it is perceived as an important element of Marta's turn and story. Thus, a *replacement* can also be used in order to format a storytelling and emphasise possible key elements.

2.2.2 Increments

When a prosodic break between the host turn and its extension occurs (i.e., *add-on*), speakers might also add new material. These so-called *increments* can be grammatically fitted to the host turn (*glue-on*, 2.2.2.2) or not (*insertable*, 2.2.2.1), i.e., the latter extensions are syntactically "out of place" compared to a more canonical position.

2.2.2.1 Insertables

Insertables seem to be quite rare in Czech. One rather clear example can be seen in Example (7), in which Marcel is talking about a chain of pubs in the UK. He first describes where the type of chain ("sít") is located – all over Great Britain. After an inbreath he then states more precisely what type of chain it is – a chain of "hospod" / "pubs" (lines 1–2).

(7) (FOSNA_sít_011157)

- 1 MAR .Hh voni tam maj potom takovou sít
 they there have.3PL then such-ACC.F net[ACC.F]
 .Hh there they have such a chain
- 2 po celý Británii, .Hh hospo:d
 along all-LOC.F Britain-LOC.F pub[GEN.F.PL]
 all over Britain .Hh of pubs
- 3 která je le- jako levná,
 which-NOM.F.SG is che- like cheap-NOM.F
 which is somehow cheap

Here, the case marking (“hospod” being the genitive plural of “hospoda”) clearly shows that this item belongs to the noun “sít”. As the canonical position of the modifier in the form of substantive attribute in Czech compounds would be just after the head – in this case “sít hospod” – this is a clear-cut example of an *insertable* in this language.

In Excerpt (8), Marta and Yveta discuss various nutritional recommendations, here, how many meals one should have per day. Yveta reports what her nutritionist told her (line 1).

(8) (CAJ_petkrat denne_001705)

- 1 YVE ne; mně říkala, .hh .tsk e::m;
 no me-DAT tell-PST-F.3SG erm
 no she told me .hh .tsk er:m
- 2 MAR třikrát denně?
 three-times daily
 three times a day
- 3 (0.3)
- 4 YVE .hh
- 5 (0.6)
- 6 YVE pětkrát; (.) denně.
 five-times daily
 five times (.) a day
- 7 (0.5)
- 8 MAR [pětkrát °denně.°]
 five-times daily
 [five times a day]
- 9 YVE [°to si° nep-] až šestkrát;
 DEM-ACC.N.SG REFL un- up to six-times
 [(this is-)] up to six times
- 10 počkej, já ti to-
 wait-IMP.2SG I you-DAT DEM-ACC.N
 wait I will-
- 11 (0.2)

Yveta corrects Marta’s first guess, three times a day (line 2), to “five times a day” (line 6, regarding the question if “denně” here could be analysed as an extension see the discussion in Section 3.3). She then abandons a possibly new TCU in overlap

with Marta and adds “(up) to six times” (line 9). The “až” / “(up) to” shows that these elements are semantically and syntactically connected to her turn in line 6, meaning “pětkrát až šestkrát denně” / “five to six times a day”. The fact that she does not repeat “a day” in line 9 (versus Marta’s repeat line 8 of “denně”) shows that these elements are formatted as an *insertable*.

2.2.2.2 *Glue-ons*

In our data, *glue-ons* frequently correspond to prepositional phrases. After a prosodic break, they can state more precisely place, Example (9), time, Example (10), means and manners, persons (“with X”), or different types of measures or quantities, Example (11). The added information is not syntactically compulsory, but fitted to the host TCU. These *glue-ons* mostly occur after gaps or minimal responses that indicate that these *increments* might be linked to a missing or inadequate recipient response (Ford, Fox & Thompson 2002).

(9) (SOUSED_Olomouc_001104)

1 JAN tak zítra jedu;
so tomorrow go-1SG
so tomorrow I go
2 zítra jedu v jedenáct vlakem,
tomorrow go-1SG at eleven train-INS.M
tomorrow at eleven I go by train
3 (.)
4 JAN do Olomouce,
to ((city name-GEN))
to Olomouc

(10) (HAMR_fotbal_001820)

1 MAR a ta desítka nebyla, špatná.
and DEM-NOM.F number.ten-NOM.F NEG-is-PST-F bad-NOM.F
and this ((beer type)) was not bad
2 (0.5)
3 MAR po tom fotbale; myslim;
after DEM-LOC.M soccer-LOC.M think-1SG
after this soccer match I think

(11) (CAJ_za480euro_001141)

1 MAR já jsem si koupila ten super (.) vitamix;
I AUX.1SG REFL buy-PST-F DEM-ACC.M super ((brand name[ACC]))
I have bought this super (.) vitamix
2 (0.7)
3 MAR za čtyry sta osmdesát euro;
for four hundred-ACC eighty euro
for four hundred-eighty euros
4 to jsem nemohla ani Petrovi říct,
that AUX.1SG NEG-can-PST-F even ((name-DAT)) say-INF
this I couldn't even tell Peter

Although non-clausal *glue-ons* seem to be more frequent, another important group of Czech *glue-ons* are clausal. These can take on the apparel of different types of finite dependent clauses, e.g. relative clauses (introduced by “což”, “which” / “that”), adverbial clauses (e.g. introduced by “než” / “than”), or noun clauses introduced by “že” / “that”.

2.2.2.3 Free constituents

Free constituents do not syntactically depend on the host turn, but do so only semantically and pragmatically (Couper-Kuhlen & Ono 2007, 515). They thus do not represent a new TCU. In our data, we have relatively few instances of this phenomenon. This is the case of the extension “such a (silly) goose” (Example 12, line 6).

(12) (CAJ_husa_002026)

- 1 YVE .hh a pak jsem si říkala; .h tyjo- .h
 and then am REFL-DAT tell-PST-F.1SG INTERJECTION
 .hh and then I told myself .h gosh .h
- 2 **teď už by stačí; lo zmáčknout**
 now already AUX.COND.3SG suffice-PST-N push-INF
 now it would be enough to push
- 3 **ten knofl (h) ík; eh::**
 DEM-ACC.M button[ACC.M]
 this b(h)utton eh::
- 4 **a m(h)ám p(h)o prst(h)u; °he, hm; hm; °**
 and have-1SG after finger-LOC.M
 and I w(h)ould l(h)ose my f(h)inger °he, hm; hm; °
- 5 (.)
- 6 YVE .hh **t(h)akov(h)á husa;** .hhh
 such-NOM.F goose-NOM.F
 .hh s(h)uch a s(h)illy goose .hhh

Yveta talks about trying to clean the interior of a blender with her hand and her then becoming aware of the risks (lines 1–4). The *free constituent* (line 6) is added after a last TCU, some laughter particles, and a micro pause. Semantically, the self-deprecating assessment is clearly related to the previously described possible accident, its host, as it is “[...] *backwards-looking and dependent on the prior unit for [its] interpretation*” (Couper-Kuhlen & Ono 2007, 525).

3. Discussion

The exploration of our small data set has shown a large variety of TCU extensions in Czech. Although all types of syntactic extensions suggested by the main typology (1.3) seem to exist, some are clearly more frequent than others. *Non-add-ons* seem to be generally quite rare in Czech, whereas in the group of *add-ons*, both *replacements* and *increments* are frequent. Within the group of *increments* however, the majority of cases are *glue-ons*, while *insertables* and *free constituents* are rather rare.

The frequency of the various types of extension obviously depends on the way in which each type is delimited and distinguishable from other types or from related phenomena. In this part, we thus aim to discuss analytical problems that arise when applying the classification suggested by Vorreiter (2003) and Couper-Kuhlen & Ono (2007) to Czech. First, we will discuss problems in clearly distinguishing between *replacement* and *glue-on* (3.1). Then we will illustrate possible similarities between *glue-ons* and *insertables* in Czech (3.2). Finally, we will present an analytic problem specific to the free word order in Czech, namely the fuzzy boundaries when contrasting TCU continuations with TCU extensions (3.3).

3.1 The difference between replacements and glue-ons in Czech

The main difference between the two *add-on* types *replacement* and *glue-on* is that the former is *replacing* an element of the host turn, while the latter is *adding new information*. Grammatically speaking, *replacements* are co-referential because they explicitly refer to an (obligatory) element of the host turn, while *glue-ons* are not: they typically contain non-obligatory elements such as prepositional phrases, clauses, or adjectives. While at first sight this distinction seems to be quite clear (see previous examples in 2.2.1 and 2.2.2.2), it becomes less clear-cut when considering cases that contain several TCU extensions in a row. With respect to action format, Example (13) illustrates that chains of syntactic extensions frequently occur in itinerary descriptions (Schegloff 1972) in which participants formulate a series of places, ranging from more general or larger locations to more specific or smaller ones.

(13) (HAMR_doskolydoBranika_011347)

- 1 MAR ale já většinou:, když jedu do práce tak- .hh
 but I mostly when go-1SG to work-GEN.F so
 but mainly I when I go to work then .hh
- 2 to mám přes školu;
 DEM-ACC.N have-1SG over school-ACC.F
 I'm going past the school
- 3 že vodvezu děti do školy:
 that take-1SG kid-ACC.PL to school-GEN.F
 so that I take the kids to school
- 4 (0.6)
- 5 do Braníka
 to ((quarter name-GEN.M))
 to Braník
- 6 (0.2)
- 7 a pak z toho Braníka
 and then from DEM-GEN.M ((quarter name-GEN.M))
 and then from Braník
- 8 jedu tramvají.
 go-1SG tram-INS.F
 I go by tram

Marcel has been asked about his daily travels within Prague. He states that he takes his kids to school, adding after a 0.6 second pause the name of the quarter where the school is situated. Does “to Braník” (line 5) actually replace “to school” (=replacement), or is it rather added in a grammatical continuity, providing new information (=glue-on, i.e., “I take the kids to school to Braník”)? Interestingly, the name of the quarter seems to function as a sort of topological pivot, as Marcel then formulates the next step in this itinerary (from the quarter where his kids go to school to where he works). In cases where the extension is a prepositional phrase using the same preposition, the distinction between *replacement* and *glue-on* seems rather difficult.

Another tricky issue regarding the distinction between *glue-on* and *replacement* is linked to a grammatical feature of Czech. As Czech is a pro-drop language, subjects can be encoded in the verb only, i.e., they are not obligatorily expressed as full (pro)nouns (Naughton 2005, 74). In a previous section, we have already presented cases where demonstratives or pronouns (2.2.1) have been replaced by more precise referents, thus clearly being *replacements*. If there is a full or dummy noun phrase in the host TCU, the notion of *replacement* obviously fits. But how should one treat cases where a subject in the host TCU is expressed through morphological features of the verb only, such as in Excerpt (14) (lines 6–8)?

(14) (CAJ_salát_005259)

- 1 YVE [nejhorší je naloupat a &
worst is peel-INF and
[the worst part is to peel and &
2 MAR [°(co)°
[(what-ACC)
3 YVE & nakrájet [ty brambory,=
cut-INF DEM-NOM.PL potato-ACC.F.PL
& to cut [the potatoes=
4 MAR [.hhh
5 YVE =[pak už to je jednoduché;]
then already DEM-NOM.N is easy-N
=[after that it's easy]
6 MAR [HELE a jak ↑dlouho ti vydr]°žič°.
look-IMP and how long you-DAT last-3SG/PL
[listen and how long can (it/they) be kept]
7 (0.5)
8 MAR ten salát.
DEM-NOM.M salad[NOM.M]
the salad
9 (.)
10 YVE než ho sním; takže (h)asi
than him[ACC] eat.up-1SG so maybe
until I eat it so r(h)ound about
11 tak půl d(h)ne(H) hehehe,
so half day-GEN.M
half a day hehehe

Marta enquires about Yveta's recipe for potato salad. When Marta asks how long the salad can be kept, the host TCU (line 6) does not contain a clearly expressed referent. As in Czech, finite verbs do not obligatorily have to be accompanied by personal pronouns, only the final morpheme in the verb form "vydrž-*í*" (line 6) indicates a third person subject (the "it /they" being necessary in the idiomatic English translation only in order to convey the possible syntactic completeness of the Czech original). As in this conjugation type, number is underspecified for the third person, it could also refer to the "brambory" / "potatoes" (line 3). After a short pause, Marta adds "the salad" (line 8), making the subject of the host TCU both explicit and available in post overlap resolution position (Schegloff 2000b). Should this extension be treated as a *glue-on*, as it is syntactically fitted to the host utterance and as it adds more information (corresponding to something like "how long can be kept (0.5) the salad")? In general, a co-reference hints at a *replacement* ("how long can *it* be kept (0.5) *the salad*"), however, how should we treat a co-reference in case of a subject being expressed in a verbal morpheme only (here, the "*í*" in "vydrž-*í*" indicating a third person)? In other words, can a noun phrase "replace" a non-expressed – or at least underspecified, as only contained in one morpheme within the verb – referent? Treating this example as a *replacement* would indeed presuppose the existence of some kind of "zero pronoun", as has been discussed in case of possible "zero arguments" in Japanese, where the distinction between *insertables* and *replacements* seems to meet similar problems (Couper-Kuhlen & Ono 2007, 543).

3.2 The difference between glue-ons and insertables

Insertables seem to be rather rare in Czech (cf. 2.2.2.1). In languages with a free word order, the boundaries between *glue-ons*, i.e., newly added grammatically fitted material, and *insertables*, i.e., newly added, but grammatically unfitted, "out of place" material, seem to be rather fuzzy. In highly inflectional languages, the perception of some material as syntactically "out of place" seems to be somewhat difficult. In contrast, languages with a rather fixed word order possess potentially clearer syntactic boundaries. If we look at syntactic extensions in German, the concept of "sentence brace" (e.g. Auer 2007) seems to make it easier – at least from a rather normative perspective on syntax – to distinguish "well-placed", i.e., inside the sentence brace, from "out of place" elements, i.e., *insertables* (see also Couper-Kuhlen & Ono 2007, 542–543 regarding Japanese). In Czech, a sentence brace does not exist, and adjectives, adverbs, or full nouns can be freely positioned (with some clitic elements being bound to specific positions, cf. 1.2). Examples (15) and (16) illustrate some interesting instances of this problem, where an adjective,

Example (15), or a noun, Example (16), is in final position. The “@” indicates an alternative position of the final element.

(15) (SOUSED_občanství_000424)

1 NOR i když má- (.) e dítě se Španělem,
 even if has-3SG kid[ACC-N] with Spanish-INS.M
 although she has (.) er a child with a Spaniard
 2 ale nemá @ občanství°; španělské°
 but NEG-has-3SG citizenship[ACC.N] Spanish-ADJ-ACC.N
 she doesn't have the citizenship (the) Spanish (one)

In Czech, the adjective can be positioned in front of or after the noun it qualifies. Therefore both “občanství španělské” and “španělské občanství” (“Spanish citizenship”) would be possible. Thus, in Czech, the post-positioning of the adjective as such does not indicate if it is a single TCU or a host TCU with an extension, and if – in case of a TCU extension – it would best be treated as a *glue-on* or an *insertable*. This is due to the fact that Czech does not have obligatorily expressed articles, which in other languages might indicate a certain type of TCU extension (as conveyed in the idiomatic translation “the citizenship – *the Spanish one*”), as they are using a retraction to the determiner (e.g. in German, Birkner et al. 2010).

(16) (Soused_holky_000649)

1 JAN jsem ráda; zatím se @ jako drží; holky
 am happy-F so far REFL-ACC @ like hold-3PL girl-ACC.F.PL
 I'm happy now (they/@) are like disciplined the girls

In the case of the post-positioned noun “holky” / “girls”, Example (16), although the position indicated by the @ could be described as a more canonical position, both positions would correspond to grammatically correct sentences (and maintain the same scope of “jako”, in this case concerning the verb “drží”). A slightly falling intonation on the verb shows us that the following noun seems indeed to have been added, though there is no clearly perceivable pause between both items. Thus we would have arguments for treating this case either as a *glue-on* or as an *insertable*.

We might indeed wonder if the concept of *insertable* is useful for languages with a free word order – or if it is a useful concept at all. Couper-Kuhlen & Ono (2007, 524) proclaimed *insertables* to be “vanishingly rare” in their English material, and Horlacher (2015, 115) states the same for spoken French. As has been suggested, canonicity of a syntactic construction should thus not be assessed with regards to standard grammar, mostly based on written language, but on frequency in spoken discourse (Couper-Kuhlen & Ono 2007, 524–525). In that sense, one could argue that the final elements in Excerpts (15) and (16) are possibly in a marked position (see also Auer 1991, 147–8 for German), but not necessarily “out of place” and thus *insertables*. This conceptualisation would also correspond to the

traditional description of *topical sentence structure* in Czech (cf. Cvrček et al. 2010). If one assumes a canonical syntactic structure as opposed to marked ones, the above-mentioned excerpts could be treated as *insertables*. Grammatically however, they are *glue-ons*, as they do provide more material in a position of post completion. In that sense, the conceptualisation and distinction of *insertables* vs. *glue-ons* largely hinges on the conceptualisation of a more or less standardised syntax of a given language.

3.3 TCU continuation vs. TCU extension in Czech

Yet another basic problem when trying to describe various types of syntactic extensions in Czech – also linked to free word order – is how to distinguish simple TCU *continuations* from TCU *extensions* such as *glue-ons* (see also the case of “denně” in Example 8, line 06). Example 15 (3.2) already illustrates this point quite clearly: is the adjective “Spanish” to be treated as being part of the initial TCU, or rather as an *add-on* (*glue-on*)? As both “španělské občanství” and “občanství španělské” would be acceptable, the status of “Spanish” here remains ambiguous with regards to TCU extension. But the falling intonation on “citizenship” as well as the low volume afterwards might indicate that in this case the adjective has indeed been “added”.

A similar problem arises in Example (17) in the case of the adverb “vzteky” / “angrily” (line 1). The lengthening on the noun “display” could hint at the completion of a possible host turn to which then “vzteky” is added.

(17) (HAMR_vzteky_003720)

```
1 MAR jo HH HI, .HH kousnul          sem    do displeje:;  vzteky;
   yeah          bite-PST.M.1SG AUX.1SG to display-GEN.M angrily
   yeah HH hi .HH I've bitten in the display angrily
2   .HH Hh a    potom- potom už        jako na tom
   .HH Hh and then- then any more like on DEM-M.LOC
3   displeji:,  už        nebylo      ↑nic    vidě:t; .hh
   display-LOC.M any more NEG-is-PST-N nothing see-INF
   display nothing could be seen anymore .hh
```

A prosodic break can be perceived between the words “displeje” and “vzteky” (line 1). The analysis with PRAAT shows that the intonation decreases during the two final syllables of the word “displeje” by 4.1 semitones and that there is a perceivable vowel lengthening (see Figures 2 and 3). On the other hand, Marcel did not finish the word “displeje” with a descent to the low level of his voice register, and neither did the loudness nor articulation rate decrease significantly – in other words, there do not seem to be enough distinguishable prosodic features for deciding on this adverb’s clear status as *add-on* or not.

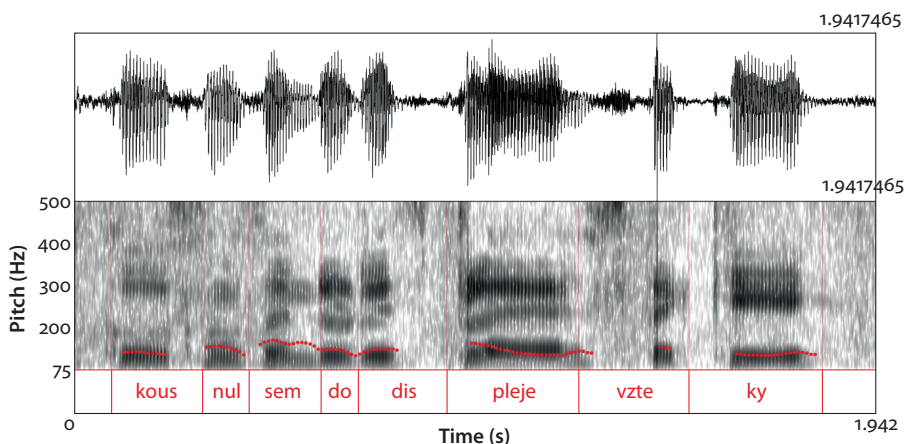


Figure 2. (PRAAT-picture for Example 17, line 1)

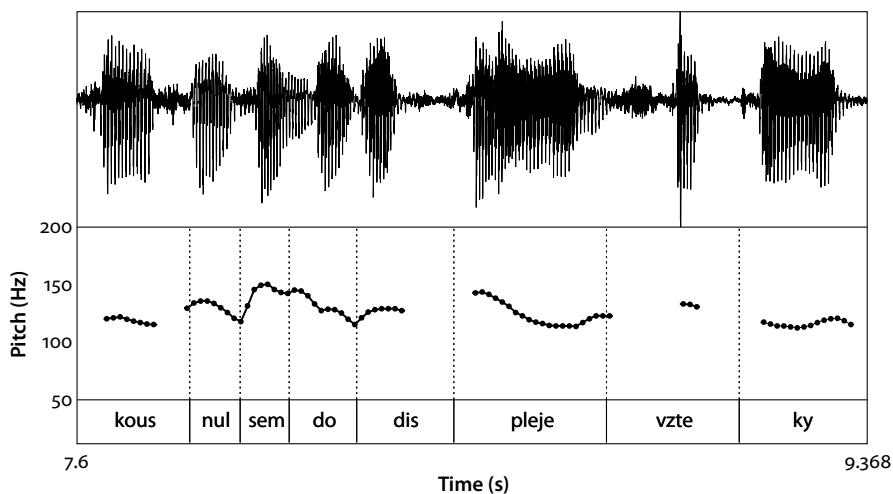


Figure 3. (PRAAT-picture for Example 17, line 1)

Another grammatical ambiguity can be discovered in Example (18), as “the girls have which citizenship” appears to be a syntactically complete (interrogative) structure. Can a direct object – which seems to be a rather obligatory component when considering the valence of the verb (“to have”) – also be treated as a TCU extension? This view would be also supported by the closing intonation on “jake”:

(18) (SOUSED_jakéobčanství_000551)

- 1 NOR .h no a **holky** **mají-** a
 yeah and girl-NOM.F.PL have-3PL and
 .h yeah and the girls have- and
- 2 **holky** **mají** **jak[°]é[°].** **°občanství[°]**
 girl-NOM.F.PL have-3PL which-ACC.N citizenship[ACC.N]
 the girls have which citizenship

This analytical difficulty can be resolved when considering the full sequential context of the turn Example (19). Nora self-selects (line 2) in overlap with Jana's turn ending (leading to a post-overlap recycling, Schegloff 1987). As we can see, Jana starts responding to Nora's question right after the lexical item "jaké" (lines 3–4, see also Schegloff 1996, 91). This shows that Jana treats Nora's question as being complete after "jaké" (which in Czech would correspond to a grammatically complete question, i.e., "And the girls have which?", vs. "And the girls have which citizenship?"). Thus, a final element being in full overlap with a response to this turn indicates here that it could be analysed as an added element (similar to overlapped tag-positioned address-terms described by Jefferson 1973), i.e., a TCU extension (possibly a non-clausal *glue-on*, see also the omission of "občanství" in Jana's reply, line 5).

(19) (SOUSED_jakéobčanství_000551_long)

- 1 JAN [a **potom máš** **něké pohovory-**]
 and then have-2SG some interview-ACC.M.PL
 [and then you have some interviews]
- 2 NOR [.h no a **holky** **mají-** a]
 yeah and girl-NOM.F.PL have-3PL and
 [.h yeah and the girls have- and]
- 3 **holky** **mají** **jaké.** [**°občanství[°]**]
 girl-NOM.F.PL have-3PL which-ACC.N citizenship[ACC.N]
 the girls have which [citizenship]
- 4 JAN **[holky] maj**
 girl-NOM.F.PL have-3PL
 [the girls] have
- 5 **pouze °je[°]nom něme[°]cké;[°]**
 only just German-ADJ-ACC.N
 only the German (one)

The last example does also illustrate the usefulness of embedding syntactic structures within their sequential context. If isolated from its sequential context, Yveta's turn in Excerpt (20) (line 1) would be possibly ambiguous. Is the prepositional phrase "v mikrovlnce" / "in the microwave" part of the host / initial TCU or an extension?

- (20) (CAJ_mikrovlmka_002624)
- | | | | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-----|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1 | MAR | vo- | (.) | vohřej | trošičku[:, | v mi]krovlmce, |
| | | he- | | heat.up-IMP.2SG | little | in microwave-LOC.F |
| | | he- | (.) | heat it up a little | [in the mi]crowave | |
| 2 | YVE | | | | [jo; |] |
| | | | | | [yes |] |
| 3 | | | (.) | | | |
| 4 | YVE | | jo; | | | |
| | | | yes | | | |

First, Yveta complies (line 2) with Marta’s request to warm up the milk for her coffee. When Marta states more explicitly how she should warm up the milk (“in the microwave”), Yveta responds a second time (line 4). Although the prosodic features are less clear-cut (no clear pause before the add-on, rising intonation), the addressee’s reactions can show that “v mikrovlmce” is indeed an *add-on* (in this case a *glue-on*), as both the host and the *add-on* are responded to – or rather are *treated by* Yveta as elements that are in need of separate responses. Although one might argue that this type of analysis works obviously well in cases where there indeed is a first response to the host TCU and then a second one to its extension, these examples certainly hint at the potential of a detailed sequential analysis for better understanding and classifying TCU continuations and TCU extensions.

4. Conclusion

In this contribution we have endeavoured to carry out a first description of syntactic extensions in spoken Czech using Vorreiter’s (2003) classification. In sum, the different types of syntactic extensions that have been suggested do also exist in Czech. However, there seems to be a specific distribution of extension types. In general, *add-ons* (i.e., *replacements* and *increments*) seem to be more frequent than *non-add-ons*. Within the group of *add-ons*, *replacements* and the *increment type glue-on* seem to be the most frequent ones. Compared to the summary of preferences for TCU continuation in English, German, and Japanese (Couper-Kuhlen & Ono 2007, 546), Czech seems to be most similar to English.

Whereas clear cases of various TCU extension types can be found in Czech, some of its grammatical properties do lead to fuzzy boundaries between some extension types. As the discussion (3) has shown, some interesting interferences between *replacements* and *glue-ons* emerge (3.1). On the one hand, this is related to the possibility of not overtly expressing the referent in Czech. In cases where the referent is encoded in the verb only, only a theoretical zero pronoun would make it possible to clearly distinguish between *replacement* and *glue-on*. On the other, the possibility of creating chains of prepositional phrases enables speakers to both

replace previous elements *and* add new material. The overlapping of *glue-ons* and *insertables* (3.2) also shows that bare syntactic structure can be ambiguous with regards to clear-cut classifications. A possible solution to this problem might be to distinguish between more (i.e., “canonical”) and less (i.e., “marked”) frequent syntactic structures for a given language, the latter then corresponding to *insertables*. However, whether the notion of *insertable* for this type of TCU extension would still be useful (as it relates to a rather normative view on syntactic positions) remains up for discussion. This type of analytical problem relates to a third, more general one (cf. 3.3). What are the necessary criteria for perceiving TCU extensions in languages where obligatory and non-obligatory elements can move rather freely within a given syntactic construction? In cases of clear boundaries, prototypically, when there is a clearly perceivable pause between the end of a TCU and a subsequent element, there seems to be no problem in identifying a TCU extension of the *add-on* category. However, in cases where a prosodic break between a possible host TCU and its extension is missing, and where the extension is consequently defined according to syntactic position only (see Couper-Kuhlen & Ono 2007, 515), the recognition of turn extensions is clearly more problematic. If there is hardly any perceivable pause and relatively weak prosodic cues (such as a decrease in loudness and articulation rate, or a vowel lengthening), the boundaries between “standard” TCU continuation and TCU extension (as *non-add-on* or *add-on*) become fuzzier.

As we have sketched out, a possible solution to this problem would be to analyse a given turn within its specific and larger sequential context, a topic which shall be elaborated in a follow-up paper to this contribution. More specifically, taking into account the interlocutors’ response(s) to these emerging turns show if these final elements are treated as belonging to one TCU (one response) or as being extensions (several clearly separate responses). Systematically taking the participants’ perspective on emerging syntactic structures into account seems to be a useful way for describing turn extensions in languages where both obligatory and non-obligatory syntactic components can occupy a large variety of positions. Specifically for Czech, this approach might lead to a possible revision of the concept of sentence element actualisation (cf. Daneš 1974; Firbas 1992; Hajičová et al. 1998; Mathesius 1939, 1942) and might show whether – and if so, how – this central principle for explaining word order in written Czech can be transferred to spoken Czech.

These specific points might lead to more general reflections on how to analyse and understand syntactic extensions. Though more normative, strictly structural descriptions of syntax can be a helpful starting point for describing syntactic structures in spoken discourse, the overlapping of various structural categories might point towards the necessity of taking the sequential and interactional embeddedness of these structures more explicitly into account. In that sense, syntactic extensions might perhaps be better organised around specific sequential contexts, and

thus action and sequence formats (Auer 2006). As emerged from our data, syntactic extensions seem to cluster within specific sequence types, such as extended tellings, (requests for) explanations (e.g. recipes, instructions, advice giving), or itinerary descriptions. A next step would thus be to focus the analysis less on structural criteria for syntactic extensions, and more explicitly on turn and TCU extension as a *situated practice* (specifically considering the temporality of spoken language, cf. Auer 2009).

Adopting a “*focus on action-oriented accounts for turn-construction*” (Ford, Fox & Thompson 2013, 49) also implies that the investigation of syntactic extension in face-to-face interaction should be based on video data. The absence and presence of mutual orientation, of visible and audible responses, or the possible presence of visible types of TCU and turn extensions (Ford, Fox & Thompson 2002; Ford, Thompson & Drake 2012) then become available for analysis, and can contribute to a better understanding of their use within longer sequences. A fully-fledged sequential and multimodal approach (e.g. Goodwin 1979, 1981; Iwasaki 2009; Mondada 2013, 2015) to TCU and turn extension might indeed show why specific formats of TCU extensions seem to cluster around prototypical sequence or action types. In that way, the possible ambiguity or fuzziness of various TCU extension types in Czech and other languages might then be comprehensibly connected with moment-by-moment negotiations of reciprocity, responsiveness, and action formats, and might, ultimately, lead to a revision of the currently structure-based labels for describing syntactic extensions.

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