

# Turn design and progression

## *Aiyou* in Mandarin conversation

Ruey-Jiuan Regina Wu

San Diego State University

The temporal character of talk is one fundamental feature of language *in situ*. As interaction unfolds, participants need to not only monitor the temporal progression of talk toward a completion, but also attend to how the current turn ties back to the preceding turns. Whereas such dual-directional consideration is often a latent aspect of turn construction, at times efforts to clear up possible ambiguity are in order. This article introduces a Mandarin practice, *aiyou*-preface, which seems to be used just to this end, and demonstrates an intimate relationship between the prosodic design of *aiyou*-preface and the displayed orientation to the intended directionality of the talk. The analysis draws upon a corpus of 35 hours of conversations collected in China.

**Keywords:** particles, prosody, conversation analysis, turn design, turn progression, directionality, *aiyou*

**關鍵詞：**助詞，韻律學，會話分析，話輪設計，話論行進，方向性，哎呦

### 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The temporal character of talk is perhaps one of the most fundamental features that enable and facilitate the production and understanding of language *in situ* (Lerner 1996; Auer 2005; Goodwin 2006; ten Have 2007). With the progressivity of each turn at talk ordinarily being onward and forward, each next incremental unit of talk — be it a turn-constructional unit (TCU) or a turn — is generally understood as designed to come after some such prior units (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974; Lerner 1996). Indeed, as conversation analytic studies have long

---

1. This is a reprint of “Turn Design and Progression: The Use of *Aiyou* in Mandarin Conversation” in *Turn-Initial Particles Across Languages* (John Benjamins, forthcoming a).

established (e.g., Jefferson 1972; Schegloff & Sacks 1973; Schegloff 1979; Lerner 1996; Wu 1997; Schegloff 2007; Sidnell 2007), when such an expectation of sequential contiguity is not supposed to be followed — that is, when an utterance ought *not* to be understood as responsive to, or emerging from, the talk it directly follows — the use of a “misplacement” or “disjunction” marker (Schegloff & Sacks 1973) is normally in order.

It may be worthwhile to register, however, that a break in continuity is directionality-relevant. By that I mean to underscore that when the interpretive constraints of “next position” (Schegloff & Sacks 1973; Schegloff 1979) are violated, it could be because what is projected next is a *return*, or a *response*, to some much earlier talk than that which immediately precedes (e.g., Sacks 1995; Lerner 1996). Alternatively, the violation may occur because of a *redirection* of the talk away from an already established trajectory of action (e.g., Jefferson 1972; Schegloff & Sacks 1973; Wu 1997; Sidnell 2007). While both can be considered a departure from the normal interpretive constraints, the former hearably involves a backward-looking orientation and the latter a forward-looking orientation.

In fact, directionality of talk may be a more complex topic than is generally assumed. In the conversation analytic literature, directionality is often treated in the context of projectability (e.g., Lerner 1996; Ford, Fox & Thompson 2002; Hayashi 2004; Auer 2005; ten Have 2007) — that is, the extent to which the emerging turn construction and turn shape of unfolding talk prefigures a possible trajectory of action to be projected next. However, while projectability primarily concerns onward movement, consideration regarding directional aspects of turn construction in the real time unfolding of talk is normally twofold. On the one hand, participants need to monitor, beat by beat, the temporal progression of talk toward a completion. At the same time, they also need to attend to how the current turn in progress ties back to the immediately preceding one(s). Whereas such dual-directional consideration is, for the most part, a latent aspect of turn construction, at times efforts to clear up possible ambiguity are in order.

In this article, I will introduce a Mandarin practice which seems to be used just to this end and will be looking at the directionality and the issue of turn-initiality of particles by analyzing the use of *aiyou* as an initial particle. Specifically, I will show that there is a distinction between what I will call “backward-looking” and “forward-looking” usages of prefacing by *aiyou* and will demonstrate a previously unreported intimate relationship between the prosodic design of *aiyou*-prefacing and the displayed orientation to the intended directionality of the talk.

The data for this article are drawn from a corpus of approximately 35 hours of audio- and videotaped face-to-face conversations collected in Beijing and Hebei, China, during 2001–2002 and 2006–2010. All participants spoke what is considered the standard variety of spoken Mandarin, Putonghua, although they were

not all from Beijing or Hebei originally. Some participants were from Dongbei, Shandong, Shanghai, Sichuan, Tianjin, and Yunan, among other provinces. Most participants came from middle-class backgrounds, and their ages ranged from the early twenties to the late sixties. Participants in each conversation were family members, friends, and acquaintances who were recorded during activities such as lunches, dinners, visits to relatives, and mahjong games or simple get-togethers for chitchat.

Out of approximately 10 hours of this corpus, 148 instances of *aiyou* were coded for the purposes of this study. In what follows, I will first propose and demonstrate that a major function of *aiyou* is to convey a heightened sense of unexpectedness and/or deviance with respect to the matter being addressed. I will then show that in initial position when *aiyou* is followed by, or is part of, a subsequent turn-constructional unit, it can exhibit either a backward-looking feature or a forward-looking feature. Using conversation analysis together with some quantitative data, I will finally demonstrate that the distinction between backward-looking and forward-looking *aiyou*-prefacing is often embodied in its prosodic turn design.

## 2. The Mandarin *aiyou*

Traditionally, *aiyou* has been classified under “interjection” (Chao 1968) or as a word of exclamation (Hu 1987). Like many other such expressions, *aiyou* has no referential meaning and is only indexical in nature. In the Chinese linguistics literature, *aiyou* has received very little scholarly attention and is discussed only in a few comprehensive grammars, which simply gloss its function as a strong expression of “Goodness me” (Chao 1968, 818) or an exclamation of surprise or pain (Hu 1987, 100).<sup>2</sup>

A close examination of the use of *aiyou* in my data appears to support these proposals and suggests that *aiyou* serves mainly to convey a heightened sense of unexpectedness and/or deviance the speaker perceives as involved in the matter being addressed. Such a stance display may be conveyed through the use of stand-alone *aiyou*, as in excerpt (1), from the beginning of a conversation among a group of former classmates in their fifties. Here, Lily (L), who hasn’t seen the hostess, Carla (C), for more than 40 years, initiates an inquiry about her father’s health.

---

2. Although other expressions, such as *iou*, *aiyouwei*, or *aiyouhe*, appear to share some interactional functions performed by *aiyou*, I’ll focus mainly on *aiyou/ouyou* in this article.

Ex. 1 (Cao\_6\_26\_06 1:36:05)

- 1L: *ei ni ba- ni mama*  
 PRT you dad you mom  
 ‘Hey, your da- your mom,’
- 2L: *ni- ni baba shenti hai hao*  
 you you dad body still good  
 ‘your- your dad is still in good health?’
- 3 (0.6)
- 4C: °(*hao ma*)° (0.2) *pajinsen* [(...)<sup>3</sup>  
 good Q Parkinson’s  
 °(Good?)° (0.2) Parkinson’s [(...).’
- 5L:→ [*< aiy* [[ou>  
 PRT  
 [*< ai* [[you’>
- 6H:→ [[ou:you.  
 PRT  
 [[‘ai:you.’

As it turns out, Carla’s father is not only *not* in ‘good health’ but in fact suffers from Parkinson’s disease (line 4). Notably, this dreadful news is receipted with *aiyou/ouyou*<sup>4</sup> almost simultaneously by two recipients in the next turns.

Stand-alone *aiyou*, like the instance in excerpt (1), is not uncommon in my data. Of the total 148 cases in the collection, 40 were stand-alone *aiyou*. However, *aiyou* is also frequently followed by additional turn components. The following excerpt, from a dinner conversation among a group of friends in their twenties, illustrates two common types: reinforcing exclamations and second pair-part actions. Earlier in the conversation, Geoff, whose girlfriend was not present on this occasion, had peeled a cooked shrimp for a female co-participant. This action was apparently considered too intimate and somewhat inappropriate by another co-participant Heather (H), who then teasingly warned Geoff of the presence of the camcorder. This excerpt begins when, a few minutes later, Geoff peels another shrimp and presents the shrimp to Heather, with a somewhat dramatized tone and demeanor:

3. In this article, where there are overlaps between speakers’ utterances, I have aligned the Mandarin originals as well as the English translations; the result of this is that the English translations may not always appear directly below their word-by-word glosses.

4. *Ouyou* is arguably a phonetic variant of *aiyou*.

Ex. 2 (HR\_01\_27\_09 tape 2 19:03)

- 1 [(G reaches over and gives H a shrimp that he had just peeled.)  
 2G: [<sup>↑</sup>*aiya*. (.) *meimei*.  
           PRT     sister  
           [‘<sup>↑</sup>Here (.) Sis.’  
 3H:→ *ai<sup>↑</sup>you*, *wode tian a*.  
           PRT     my   sky PRT  
           ‘*ai<sup>↑</sup>you*, my God!’  
 4H:→ *aiyou*. (.) [*xiexie ge*  
           PRT     thank brother  
           ‘*aiyou*. (.) [Thanks, Bro.’  
 5G:             [*lu xialai le ba*  
                   record down ASP PRT  
                   [‘(It) has been recorded, huh?’  
 6             (all laugh)

In response, Heather, who appears to be completely caught off guard by Geoff’s offering, first receipts it with an *aiyou*-prefaced exclamation (*ai<sup>↑</sup>you*, *wode tian a*. ‘*ai<sup>↑</sup>you*, my God!’). Immediately thereafter (line 4), she repeats *aiyou* again but this time follows it not with a reinforcing exclamation but with a relevant second pair part (i.e., thanking) to the action of offering.

With its canonical use to mark a heightened sense of unexpectedness and/or deviance, it is no surprise that *aiyou* is also commonly followed by assessments. A case in point is the following, from a group of old friends in their fifties. In this excerpt, Leah (L) is describing the location where she works.

Ex. 3 (Cao\_6\_11\_06 48:58:14)

- 1L:     *jiu zai nei ge baiheqiao:::*  
           just at that C (place)  
           ‘Right at the uh- Baiheqiao:::’  
 2M:→ <*aiyou*>, *li jia hai name jin a=*  
           PRT     away home still so   near PRT  
           ‘<*aiyou*>, so close to (your) house.’=  
 3L:     =*zuyuan nar*  
           (place) there  
           =‘Near Zyuan.’

In line 2, Melissa receipts this information with *aiyou*, followed by an assessment of the distance between this workplace and Leah’s house. Notably, Melissa’s use of the intensifier *name* ‘so’ (cf. Goodwin & Goodwin 1987) in her assessment is clearly compatible with a heightened sense of unexpectedness and/or deviance conveyed through *aiyou*.

Aside from reinforcing exclamations, second pair-part actions and assessments, another common type of turn components that follows *aiyou* is an account. That is, following the production of *aiyou*, the speaker gives reasons for, or otherwise makes explicit, what has prompted his or her use of *aiyou* (and the stance display). Excerpt (4), from a family dinner table conversation, provides one such instance. Prior to this excerpt, the daughter (D) had expressed some reservations about the wine (which had been opened a while ago), only to be assured by her father (F) that wine does not have an expiration date. Here, as the father raises his cup and looks inside, he utters an *aiyou*, which immediately draws the attention of his daughter, who is focused on the food at the moment (line 3).

- Ex. 4 (HR 01\_23\_09 00:53:02)
- 1 (F raises and looks inside the cup.)
- 2F:→ *aiyou*  
PRT  
'aiyou!'
- 3 (D raises her head and looks toward F.)
- 4 [(F shows the cup to D.)
- 5F: [*zhen you dongxi a*  
really have stuff PRT  
'There is really something.'
- 6 (D gets closer to look into the cup.)
- 7D: *shi a. fugenr (de)*  
yes PRT last:drop:wine NOM  
'Yeah. (It's) the last drop of wine.'

In lines 4–5, the father proceeds to make explicit the cause for his use of *aiyou*, which apparently was opaque to the daughter. Note in this account the use of the intensifier *zhen* 'really,' which appears to mark the matter being addressed as opposed to what was said or assumed earlier. As with excerpt (3), then, the selection of the intensifier is again consistent with the heightened unexpectedness and/or deviance adumbrated by the use of *aiyou*.

Excerpt (5), from an extended family get-together, provides a similar instance. Where this excerpt begins, Olivia (O) has just noticed that the host's cat is playing with, and biting, a scarf.

- Ex. 5 (HR\_01\_25\_09 tape 1 00:47:59)
- 1O: *nimen shei nei ge:: e::: (. ) maojin a*  
you who that c wrap PRT  
'You (guys), whose uh::: e:: (. ) wrap is that?'
- 2 (. )

- 3O: (... [gang..)  
 (... [...])
- 4G:→ [↑*aiyou*, *wode mao*[[jin.  
 PRT my wrap  
 [‘↑*aiyou*, my wr[[ap.’
- 5H: [[*shenme*=  
 what  
 [[‘What?’=
- 6H: =*shenme dongxi a*.=  
 what stuff PRT  
 =‘What’s that?’=
- 7H: =[*toujin a*  
 scarf PRT  
 =[‘A scarf?’

In response to Olivia’s alert, another guest, Grace (G), produces a high-pitched *aiyou*, whereupon she makes explicit her connection with the object that has fallen victim to the cat (*wode maojin* ‘my wrap’), making clear thereby what exactly her *aiyou*-implicated stance was meant to address.

What we’ve seen across these diverse interactional contexts, then, is the consistent use of *aiyou* to convey the speaker’s stance toward a heightened sense of unexpectedness and/or deviance concerning the matter being addressed. Such a stance may be conveyed by either stand-alone *aiyou* or *aiyou* followed by additional turn components. As we’ve also seen, most common among these additional turn components are reinforcing exclamations, relevant second pair-part actions, assessments, and accounts.

### 3. Directionality: Backward-looking or forward-looking

In the excerpts examined thus far, the *aiyou*-prefacing not only occurs in responsive position but is arguably backward-looking in character; that is, its use serves mainly to mark the speaker’s stance toward what has just transpired in interaction, whether it’s another’s immediately-prior talk or embodied action (Exs. 1–3), or some matter or state of affairs that was just noticed or has surfaced in the interactional setting (Exs. 4–5).

However, the use of *aiyou* is not always backward-looking in nature, nor is backward-looking *aiyou* restricted to responsive positions. Consider the following two excerpts, in both of which *aiyou*, unlike the instances previously examined, occur within an extended telling and are used to address some matter raised in the speaker’s own talk, rather than another’s prior turn.

Excerpt (6) comes from a conversation among a group of longtime friends in their fifties. This excerpt is part of a sequence in which Lily (L), a retired chairperson of a local committee at her former workplace, talks about the challenges she had to deal with while in this position.<sup>5</sup> Here, Lily's *aiyou*, produced with marked loudness and followed by emphatic reduplicated assessments (*lei ji, lei ji le* 'really, really tired,' line 6), serves to address the extreme effort she had to put forth in resolving the workplace conflicts:

Ex. 6 (Cao\_6\_26\_06 45:18:21)

- 1L:     *ranhou nimen ba ge ren bu tong de xinyan*=  
           then you eight C person N same ASSC thought  
           'And then the eight of you, different considerations'
- 2L:     =*wo hai dei: [(quan... zheng ge) pingheng le*=  
           I still must all whole C balance ASP  
           ='I gotta: [(all... totally) balance.]='
- 3M:                     *[(dou dei gei zhuomo...)*  
                           all must for deliberate  
                           ['(all gotta be carefully considered...)]
- 4M:     =*dui=dui=dui=dui*=  
           right right right right  
           ='Right=right=right=right'
- 5M:     =*dui*.  
           right  
           ='right.'
- 6L:→    [AI::*you. lei ji, lei ji le*.  
           PRT tired extreme tired extreme ASP  
           'AI::you. Really, really tired.'
- 7M:     [[*shi=shi=shi*.  
           yes yes yes  
           [['Yes=yes=yes.'
- 8L:     [[*wo gen ni jiang*.  
           I with you speak  
           [['Let me tell you.'

And excerpt (7) is taken from a conversation among three middle-aged female friends, Mary (M), Carla (C), and Rita (R). Prior to this excerpt, Mary has repeatedly stressed the importance of closely monitoring one's diet. In response, Carla argues for a more relaxed approach about food, citing two family members as living proof of its usefulness (line 1). The use of *aiyou* occurs in the midst of Carla's informing and, as is subsequently made clear, concerns the fact that these two

5. For a more detailed explication of this sequence, see Wu (2012).

perfectly healthy family members not only eat one of the worst foods for cholesterol (i.e., crab eggs, line 6), but also appear to do so with astonishingly high frequency (i.e., *zheng tian* 'all day long,' line 5):

Ex. 7 (Cao\_6\_12\_06 40:12:12)

- 1C: >*Sula gen Miaobi liang ge ren*=  
(name) with (name) two c person  
>'Sula and Miaobi, the two of them,'=
- 2C: =*iou shenti hao de budeliao*  
PRT body good CSC extremely  
= 'goodness (they) are so healthy.'
- 3R: *shi [ma*  
be Q  
'Are th[ey?'
- 4C: [*a. ranhou shenme dou bu guan.*  
PRT then what all N care  
['Yeah. And (they) don't care about anything.'
- 5C:→ *ai↑you=jiu zheng tian chi nei ge-*  
PRT then whole day eat that c  
'ai↑you=(they) eat all the time the uh-'
- 6C:→ *.hh e:: pangxie huangr*  
crab egg  
'hh uh::: crab eggs.'
- 7 (.)
- 8R: *mm*  
PRT  
'Uh huh.'

As can be noted in excerpts (6) and (7), these two instances of *aiyou*-prefacing, although not in sequentially responsive positions as in excerpts 1–5, serve similarly to mark a stance toward a heightened sense of unexpectedness and/or deviance with respect to the matter at issue. In excerpt (6), the unexpectedness and/or deviance has to do with the exceptional amount of deliberation required to tackle the tough workplace conflicts, and, in excerpt (7), with the constant devouring of crab eggs of two perfectly healthy people. However, a closer look at these excerpts reveals a clear distinction between excerpt (7) and the other cases. That is, whereas the other *aiyou*'s, including the one in excerpt (6), appear to be backward-looking, concerned primarily with some matter that has just transpired in interaction, the *aiyou* in excerpt (7) is essentially forward-looking, serving instead to mark the unexpectedness and/or deviance regarding that which is about to be uttered next.

It should be noted, however, that forward-looking *aiyou*, as illustrated in excerpt (7), is by no means an isolated phenomenon. Excerpts (8)–(10) below offer three additional instances, and illustrate how the use of forward-looking *aiyou* figures in different sequential positions.

Excerpt (8) is taken from the same conversation as excerpt (7). At this point, Mary (M) is lamenting the sad reality of aging. While Rita (R) clearly echoes these sentiments (lines 2–3), Carla (C) appears to hold a different view.

Ex. 8 (Cao\_6\_12\_06\_14:28:01)

- 1M: *bu de zhei bing jiu de nei bing*=  
 N catch this illness just catch that illness  
 ‘Will get sick with this or that.’=
- 2R: *=mei cuo*  
 N wrong  
 =‘(That’s) right.’
- 3R: *[kending dei you bing*=  
 definitely have:to have illness  
 [‘Definitely will get sick.’=
- 4M: *[ni shuo shi bu shi,*  
 you say be N be  
 [‘Don’t you think so?’
- 5M: *na [ni shuo wo ma ne*  
 that you say I mom PRT  
 ‘You see [like my mom,’
- 6C: *[(...mei bing)*  
 N illness  
 [‘(...not sick.)’
- 7C: *[[youde hao- ting-*  
 some very pretty  
 [[‘Some (are) very- pretty-’
- 8R: *[[uh*  
 PRT  
 [[‘Yeah.’
- 9C: *ye you hao duo laotou laotaitai*  
 also have very many old:guy old:lady  
 ‘There are also very many old guys, old ladies’
- 10C: *jiankang mei bing (de)*  
 healthy N illness NOM  
 ‘(who) are healthy and are not sick.’
- 11 (0.2)

- 12R: *keshi yiban dou shi a=*  
 but generally all be PRT  
 ‘But in general (it’s) all like that.’=
- 13R:→ =*aiyou=wo xianzai (jiu) juede=*  
 PRT I now just feel  
 =‘aiyou=now I just feel’=
- 14R: =*maobing tebie [duo]*  
 problem especially many  
 =‘(I have) so many [problems.]’
- 15M: *[jiu shi nianling [[da (...)]*  
 just be age big  
 [(As you) get [[older (...)]’
- 16R: *[[tch!=*  
 [[‘tch!’=
- 17R: =*jintian zher bu shufu na-*  
 today here N comfortable that  
 =‘Don’t feel right here today, ther-’
- 18R: *mingtian nar bu shufu de le*  
 tomorrow there N comfortable NOM ASP  
 ‘(and) don’t feel right there tomorrow.’
- 19R: (continues to talk about her health issues)

In response to the counterexamples provided by Carla (lines 6–7, 9–10), Rita first launches a disagreement with her by marking the contrastive condition (i.e., health declines with age) as a general condition (*keshi yiban dou shi a* ‘but in general (it’s) all like that; line 12). Immediately thereafter, Rita initiates a “stepwise” topic transition, i.e. she makes use of the sequential environment to launch self-oriented talk (Jefferson 1984), and launches an *aiyou*-prefaced informing of her own health problems (lines 13–14, 16–19). Note in this informing that Rita employs not only an intensifier (*tebie* ‘especially’; line 14) but also some hyperbolic statements (lines 17–18) (cf. Pomerantz 1986; Couper-Kuhlen & Thompson 2005); both underscore her perception of the highly unexpected and/or deviant nature of the matter she’s reporting (i.e., her deteriorating health). Here, her use of *aiyou*-preface, an apparent cry of dismay, appears to mark a stance toward just this sense of unexpectedness and/or deviance. Concerned as it is with a matter that is being projected rather than that which was already delivered, this *aiyou* can thus be seen as forward-looking in character.

A similar use of *aiyou* is the following, from a conversation among a group of former classmates, most of whom have retired at the official age. At this point, the talk has turned to a discussion of a few other classmates who are teaching in college and have thus been granted an extension of their appointments beyond the retirement age.

Ex. 9 (Cao\_6\_26\_06\_20:29:09)

- 1L: *Linwen zai [Nongda*  
(name) at (college)  
'Linwen is at [China Agricultural University']
- 2H: [*Linwen: shuo de: shi::* (0.5)  
(name) say NOM be  
['What Linwen: said: was::' (0.5)]
- 3H: *ruguo yaoshi zhe hui::* (.) *yong ta,*  
if if this c use 3SG  
'if this time:: (they) (.) use him,'
- 4H: *ping ta, haoxiang ta jiu neng*  
hire 3SG seem 3SG then can  
'hire him, (it) seems that he will then be able to.'
- 5 (.)
- 6M: *kending neng yong ta,*  
definitely can use 3SG  
'(They) definitely can use him.'
- 7M:→ [*aiyou=ta (xianzai shi) jiaoyan zu zuzhang*  
PRT 3SG now be teach:research section head  
['aiyou=he's (now) the Head of Teaching and Research.']
- 8H: [*(kending ha)*  
definitely PRT  
['(Definitely, huh?)]
- 9L: [*ou*  
PRT  
[['Oh.]]
- 10H: [*ou:you=na- [mei wenti*  
PRT then N problem  
[['Wow=then- [(he has) no problem.]]
- 11M: [*ta tie: de budeliao*  
3SG iron csc extremely  
['He is really: powerful.]]

In lines 2–4, Hanna (H) begins to share a report by this old classmate about the prospect of his being granted another extension of service. Apparently in response to the highly uncertain and tentative tone in Hanna's report (e.g., *ruguo* 'if' and *yaoshi* 'if' in line 3; *haoxiang* 'seem' in line 4), Michele (M) first indirectly corrects Hanna's report by sounding an upbeat note on the prospect of Linwen keeping his appointment (line 6). Immediately thereafter, she delivers what appears to be news

to the recipients<sup>6</sup> (i.e., that this classmate is in a high-powered position), and prefaces that piece of news with *aiyou* (line 7). Here again, the use of *aiyou* is arguably forward-looking as the *aiyou*-marked stance concerns that which follows *aiyou* rather than that which precedes it.

In both excerpts (8) and (9), we can note that *aiyou* occurs as part of a multi-unit responsive turn, bridging a “transition” (Jefferson 1984) from responding to what another has just said in a prior turn to projecting some sort of relevant information which is news or newsworthy to the recipient. However, forward-looking *aiyou* can also occur in turn-initial position of a responsive turn. Excerpt (10) offers a case in point. Here, Carla’s cousin (CC) and CC’s husband are talking about a brief encounter they had with Carla’s stepmother on a prior occasion.

Ex. 10 (Cao\_6\_3\_06\_13:41:15)

- 1CC: *wo- kan wan ta= wo jiu yugan=*  
I see finish 3SG I then predict  
'After I- saw her=I got the feeling that'=
- 2CC: *=ta nei ge ren ye bu shi sheng you °de deng°.*  
3SG that c person also N be save oil NOM lamp  
'she was also not easy to °deal with.°'
- 3CC: *neng ganjue de °chulai°=*  
can feel CSC out  
'(You) could feel °that.°=
- 4C:→ *=ai↑you=ta genben- ta y- nei shenme jiu-*  
PRT 3SG at:all 3SG that what just  
'ai↑you=she's not at all- she al- what's-that-'
- 5C: *wo ba te daomei.=wo gen ta- ta-*  
I dad especially unlucky I with 3SG 3SG  
'My poor dad=I and she- she-'
- 6C: *dang zhe women mianr, °ta bu gan°*  
in:front:of ASP we face 3SG N dare  
'In front of us, she °didn't dare.°'
- 7C: *dan wo ba te daomei*  
but I dad especially unlucky  
'But my poor dad,'
- 8C: (continues about her stepmom's temper tantrums)

In lines 1–3, CC initiates an assessment of Carla’s stepmother based on that encounter, employing the Chinese idiom *bu shi sheng you de deng* (meaning ‘not

6. Note the recipients’ reactions to this information — the use of a “change-of-state” *ou* (line 9) (Heritage 1984; Wu & Heritage forthcoming) and a surprise-adumbrated *ouyou*-prefaced turn (line 10) respectively.

easy to deal with') to describe her impression of her. It can be noted here that CC's assessment is formulated in impressionistic terms (e.g., *yugan* 'predict'/'got the feeling' in line 1 and *ganjue* 'feel' in line 3), which clearly reflect her rather limited access to, and the lack of evidence of, this matter. In response, Carla proceeds to produce an *aiyou*-prefaced turn (lines 4–8), in which, after some apparent initial difficulties in articulating and framing the matter, she goes into detail about how her (Parkinson's-stricken) father suffers from her stepmother's temper tantrums. Note here that Carla's *aiyou*-prefaced telling, in contrast to CC's assessment in the prior turn, offers a firsthand account couched in relatively extreme language (e.g., *genben* '(not) in the slightest' in line 4; *te* 'especially' in lines 5, 7). Here, as with excerpt (9), Carla's use of the *aiyou*-preface serves to mark the newsworthy quality as regards the matter at issue (in this case, her stepmother's reported tantrum behavior), and embodies a declaration of epistemic independence on the part of the speaker (cf. Heritage & Raymond 2005; Heritage 2013; inter alia).

In sum, we've seen in this section the use of *aiyou* with a forward-looking feature. Such forward-looking *aiyou* shares the function of marking the speaker's stance toward a heightened sense of unexpectedness and/or deviance in regard to the matter in question. However, what sets them apart from backward-looking *aiyou* is that the matter being marked by the *aiyou*-prefacing follows rather than precedes it. As was demonstrated, forward-looking *aiyou* commonly prefaces and projects an informing which delivers news that can be seen as departing from expectations and/or the usual norms. Such *aiyou*-prefaced informing may occur in the initial or non-initial position of a responsive turn, or as part of an extended telling on the speaker's own initiative.

#### 4. Directionality and turn design

Given that backward-looking *aiyou* and forward-looking *aiyou* share similar functions and even occur in similar sequential positions, the question arises of whether the speaker may design his or her *aiyou*-prefaced turn or turn-constructional unit in a way that conveys the intended directionality and progression of the turn — that is, to indicate whether the *aiyou* is mainly in the service of projecting, or responding to, a matter taken by the speaker as highly unexpected and/or deviant.

Whereas a strictly one-on-one correspondence between the turn design and the directionality of a given use of *aiyou*-prefacing is hard to come by, a notable differential pattern emerges from a more detailed examination of the data: That is, in contrast to backward-looking *aiyou*, which tends to be prosodically separated from the additional turn component that follows, there is a strong tendency of forward-looking *aiyou* to be latched onto the additional turn component.

A comparison of the use of *aiyou* in the previously examined excerpt (10) and in excerpt (11) below illustrates. Both *aiyou*'s are produced by the same speaker, Carla (C). As already noted, Carla's *aiyou* in excerpt (10) (partially reproduced below) projects what turns out to a report of her stepmother's violent angry outbursts and how her Parkinson's-inflicted father becomes the scapegoat:

Ex. 10 (Cao\_6\_3\_06\_13:41:15)

3CC: *neng ganjue de °chulai°*=  
can feel CSC out  
'(You) could feel °that.°='

4C:→ =*ai↑you=ta genben- ta y- nei shenme jiu-*  
PRT 3SG at:all 3SG that what just  
'=ai↑you=she's not at all- she al- what's-that-'

5C: *wo ba te daomei.=wo gen ta- ta-*  
I dad especially unlucky I with 3SG 3SG  
'My poor dad=I and she- she-'

6C: *dang zhe women mianr, °ta bu gan°*  
in:front:of ASP we face 3SG N dare  
'In front of us, she °didn't dare.°'

7C: *dan wo ba te daomei*  
but I dad especially unlucky  
'But my poor dad,'

8C: (continues about her stepmom's temper tantrums)

In excerpt (11), Carla is chatting with two long-term friends. Here, in the midst of a discussion of food safety concerns in China, Beth (B) raises the issue of "gutter oil" and explains to Carla how such oil is recycled from restaurant waste oil that has entered the sewers. In turn, Carla produces an *aiyou*-prefaced assessment, marking the matter reported by Beth as "really scary" (line 6):

Ex. 11 (Cao\_6\_28\_06 34:35:16)

1B: *wan le jiu dou lao- lao shanglai-* (0.2)  
finish ASP then all drain drain up  
'And then (they) would drain- drain it-' (0.2)

2B: *zai jiagong*  
further process  
'and reprocess (it).'

3 (1.0)

4B: *wan le jiu mai gei naxie zha youtiao=*  
finish ASP then sell to those fry (food)  
'Then (they'd) sell it to those who fry bread sticks'=

- 5B: =*zha youbing*  
fry (food)  
=‘or those who fry dough cakes.’
- 6C:→ *ai↑you:. hh [zhen(de) xia ren ha.*  
PRT (laugh) really scare person PRT  
‘*ai↑you:. hh* [Really scary, huh?’
- 7B: [*a. zhen-*  
PRT really  
[‘Yeah. Real-’
- 8C: [*(ting zhe. zhen shi.)*  
hear ASP real be  
[‘((When you) hear this, (it’s) really-’
- 9B: [*tch! tebie nei shenme*  
especially that what  
[‘tch! Really:: uh-’

Comparing these two excerpts, we can note that whereas Carla’s forward-looking *aiyou* in excerpt (10) is prosodically latched (indicated by the “=” sign after the “*aiyou*”) onto the informing she’s tried to launch, her backward-looking *aiyou* in excerpt (11) is prosodically separated from her follow-up responsive assessment. In this latter case, Carla’s *aiyou* is slightly stretched (indicated by the colon) and reaches a prosodic completion (indicated by the period) before she initiates a bit of laughter and follows it with the assessment.

Excerpts (12) and (13) below provide another contrastive pair of the use of *aiyou*, both produced by the same speaker, Gina (G). In excerpt (12), Gina is raving about one of her favorite TV talk shows, which her friend Carla (C) has never watched. Prior to this excerpt, Gina has just spoken about the format of the show — how it is structured as a series of daily five-minute talks on a given topic with a summary discussion by the hostess during the weekend session. In response, Carla appears not to be taken in by Gina’s enthusiasm, questioning instead how much depth such five-minute talks can possibly delve into (lines 3, 6).

Ex. 12 (Cao\_6\_4\_06 13:05:23; C4\_audio)

- 1G: *jiu ba zhe yi zhou de quan=*  
then BA this one week NOM all  
‘Then (she’d) review the entire week’s (contents)’
- 2G: =*[jiang yi bian=ranhou zai zuo yi ge zongjie*  
speak one time then further do one C wrap  
=‘one more time=and then give a summary.’
- 3C: [*wu fenzhong neng jiang sha ia, ha*  
five minute can speak what PRT PRT  
[‘What can be covered in five minutes, huh?’

- 4 (0.2)
- 5G: *hang=*  
*huh*  
 ‘huh?’=
- 6C: =*wu fenzhong neng jiang shenme ne*  
 five minute can speak what PRT  
 =‘What can be covered in five minutes?’
- 7G:→ *aiyou=jiang de hai-ting shenke de=*  
 PRT speak CSC still pretty deep NOM  
 ‘aiyou=the show has gone- into quite some depth.’=
- 8C: =*[shi ma*  
 be Q  
 =‘[Has it?’
- 9G: =*[jiang wenhua de wuqu*  
 speak culture ASSC myth  
 =‘[(It has) talked about the myth about culture.]’
- 10G: *jiang le san ge-gu wenhua de wuqu*  
 speak ASP three C ancient culture ASSC myth  
 ‘Has talked about three- myths about ancient culture.’
- 11G: (continues to enumerate topics talked about in the show)

In response to Carla’s implied criticism, Gina produces an *aiyou*-prefaced disagreement-implicated response (line 7): Following the production of *aiyou*, Gina rushes (indicated by the “=” signs) to continue on with a telling of what can be seen as a highly unexpected/deviant matter — in this case, the unusual depth (and breadth) of the subject matter covered in these otherwise seemingly unremarkable five-minute talks. Note as well that here, as with other instances of forward-looking *aiyou*’s we’ve seen so far, the *aiyou* is prosodically latched onto the turn-constructional unit that follows.

In contrast, Gina’s use of *aiyou* in excerpt (13), below, produced slightly later in the same conversation, projects a different turn shape. Here, Gina and Carla are engaged in a small but somewhat extended debate regarding whether the channel which airs the talk show in question is available in the area where Carla’s father lives (i.e., the State Council residence hall). Gina assumes that Carla can’t get access to the channel because they aren’t subscribed to that channel (line 1), advising Carla that this TV channel requires a separate subscription (lines 2, 6–7, 9).

Ex. 13 (Cao\_6\_4\_06 13:51:20; C4\_audio)

- 1G: *tamen mei jiao qian=*  
 they N pay money  
 ‘They didn’t pay (for that).’=

- 2G:    =*(e- ren    nei) lingwai*        [*keneng*:  
          person that separately        maybe  
      ='(uh- that- people) separately-[maybe:]'
- 3C:    [<*bu shi*>  
  N be  
  ['<No.>']
- 4C:    *jiao qian ye mei you*  
      pay money also N have  
      'Can't get access to (the channel) even if (you) pay.'
- 5C:    *zhe guowuyuan [(...) mei you*  
      this State:Council        N have  
      'The State Council [(...) (you) don't get (it).'
- 6G:    [*bu dui*  
  N right  
  ['(That's) not true.']
- 7G:    *women dan jiao de*  
      we        single pay NOM  
      'We pay (for that) separately.'
- 8  
(0.5)
- 9G:    *nei dei dan*                        [*jiao (...) qian*.  
      that have:to single        pay        money  
      '(You) gotta pay separately [(...) for that.'
- 10C:    [<*wo zhidao*=  
  I know  
  [<'I know'=
- 11C:    =*hao duo difang dou you*=  
      very many place all have  
      ='Very many places have (that).'=
- 12G:    [*ang*.  
          PRT  
          ['Yeah.'
- 13C:    =[*keshi zher- zher mei you*.  
          but here here N have  
      =['But here- not here.'
- 14G:→ [[↓*aiyou*::                        ]]  
          PRT  
          [[['↓*aiyou*::'                    ]]
- 15C:    [[*zher mei you nei ge*        ]]  
          here N has that c  
      [[['(We) don't have that here.']]

- 16G:→ *na shi: [ting na shenme de*  
 that be pretty that what NOM  
 ‘That’s [pretty uh:]’
- 17C: *[shou bu dao*  
 receive N arrive  
 [‘Can’t get it.’
- 18 (0.2)
- 19G: *fanzheng wo juede te hao=*  
 anyway I feel especially good  
 ‘Anyways I think (the show) is so good.’=
- 20G: (talks about how other programs follow the model)

As adamant as Gina appears to be about the availability of the channel to all who are willing to pay for it, Carla claims otherwise (lines 4–5). She (i.e., Carla) additionally asserts prior knowledge that a separate subscription is required of that channel (line 10), while at the same time maintaining that her father’s neighborhood is an exception (lines 11, 13). In response, Gina produces an *aiyou* (line 14) at a lower pitch (represented by the “↓” sign). Thereafter, she follows up with what appears to be the beginning of an assessment, possibly to comment on the unusualness/uniqueness of the matter at issue (e.g., *na shi: ting qiguai de* ‘that’s pretty odd’). Eventually, though, Gina trails off and leaves the actual assessment unspecified (*na shi: ting na shenme de* ‘that’s pretty uh:’; line 16). Notably here, rather than rushing to latch the *aiyou* onto the turn-constructural unit that follows, as she did earlier when *aiyou* projected an informing (cf. Ex.12), Gina stretches the *aiyou* in a way that allows Carla’s overlapping turn (line 15) to come to a possible completion before proceeding to produce the follow-up responsive beginning of an assessment in line 16.

Similarly, different turn shapes are also observed in the two *aiyou*-prefaced turns produced by Beth (B) in excerpts (14) and (15). Immediately before excerpt (14), the participants were reminiscing about how several of their former classmates got their respective nicknames. Here, the discussion has turned to another classmate, Shilin (who wasn’t present on this occasion).

Ex. 14 (Cao\_6\_28\_06\_40:58:10)

- 1B: *Shilin::* (1.0)  
 (name)  
 ‘Shilin:’ (1.0)
- 2B: *Shilin ye bu zhidao zenme qi de*  
 (name) also N know how pick NOM  
 ‘Don’t know how Shilin got (her nickname).’
- 3 (1.5)

- 4C: *Shilin jiao shenme wo yijing wang le dou=*  
 (name) call what I already forget ASP all  
 ‘I don’t even remember what Shilin’s (nickname) was.’=
- 5B:→ =*tch=°↓haiyoh°=Shilin mingr zui nanting le*  
 PRT (name) name most difficult:hear ASP  
 =‘*tch=°↓(h)aiyou(h)°=Shilin got the most horrible nickname.*’
- 6C: *Shi: shenme*  
 (name) what  
 ‘“*Shi:*” something?’
- 7 (0.5)
- 8B: *hehhhh [h*  
 (laugh)  
 ‘hehhhh [h’
- 9C: *[hehhe [[he*  
 (laugh)  
 [‘hhhe [[he’
- 10B: *[[°shhi°penr hh=* (smile voice)  
 food:bowl (laugh)  
 [[“°sh(h)i°penr”=hh’=
- 11C: =*[SHipenr. hhh* (smile voice)  
 food:bowl (laugh)  
 =[“SHipenr.” hhh.’
- 12 [(participants laugh)

In line 4, Carla confesses her failure to remember what Shilin’s nickname was. While this confession makes the recipient’s providing of the nickname in question relevant next, Beth actually produces an *aiyou*-prefaced assessment in the next turn, registering the highly undesirable quality of the nickname only (line 5). Here, Beth’s use of *aiyou* is similar to Gina’s in excerpt (12). That is, even though the *aiyou* speaker initially only makes reference to the highly unexpected and/or deviant nature of the matter, the projected matter is eventually delivered in the immediately ensuing talk — and in this case through a co-construction with the recipient (lines 6–12). Beth’s *aiyou* here, then, can be understood as marking the matter to be projected as highly unexpected and/or deviant in nature and is thus forward-looking in character. Here again, as with other similar instances, the forward-looking *aiyou* is prosodically latched onto the follow-up turn-constructive unit (line 5).

Compare this *aiyou* with another *aiyou* Beth produces a bit later in the same conversation. Here, the *aiyou*-prefaced turn is launched (line 23) when Beth responds to Carla’s report (lines 1–20) of a recent investigation into the validity of the legend of Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya (1923–1941), one of the most respected female martyrs of the former Soviet Union.

Ex. 15 (6\_28\_06 43:43:04)

- 1C: *fangwen ta zai dangnian de zhanyou ha*  
interview 3SG at at:that:time NOM battle:friend PRT  
'Interviewed her former fellow soldiers.'
- 2C: *houlai*  
later  
'Later on.'
- 3 (.)
- 4C: *qiu ta- qushi shi you °zheme huishir°=*  
3SG really be have this thing  
'conf- it- actually was a °true story, °='  
5C: =°zenme:zenme:zhao (...)'°=  
and:so:on  
=°and so on and so forth (...)'°=  
6B: =*tamen zhanyou hai hhh huo zhe na hh (...)=*  
they battle:friend still (laugh) alive ASP PRT (laugh)  
='Her fellow soldiers are still hh alive hh (...)?!'=  
7B: =*[hhh*  
(laugh)  
='[hhh'  
8C: =*[a:. you yi ge zhanyou huo zhe=*  
PRT have one C battle:friend alive ASP  
='[Yea:h. There's one fellow soldier who is alive.'=  
9B: =*hehe*  
(laugh)  
='hehe'  
10C: *dangshi si le hao duo ren. [(hai)*  
then die ASP very many person still  
'Many people died at that time. [(Actually.)'  
11B: *[uh*  
PRT  
['Yeah.'  
12 (0.2)  
13C: *fanzheng zuoya qushi bei yi ge pantu chumai le*  
anyway (name) truly BEI one C traitor betray ASP  
'Anyway Zoya was truly betrayed by a traitor.'  
14B: *ou*  
PRT  
'Oh.'  
15C: (...)

- 16B: (*u-aw*)  
PRT  
'(Whoa.)'
- 17C: *fanzheng jiang de xiangxi de jingguo*  
anyway speak CSC detail NOM event  
'Anyway (it) reported in detail what had happened.'
- 18C: (...)
- 19B: *hhh*  
(laugh)  
'hhh'
- 20C: *ting dou de*  
pretty funny NOM  
'Pretty funny.'
- 21 (1.0)
- 22B: (*name-*)  
so  
'(So-)'
- 23B:→ ↓*ai:you. z- zhe- zhe-*  
PRT this this  
'↓ai:you. Th- this- this-'
- 24B: *yiqian naxie shir dou gei ren fan le chulai le ou*  
past those thing all for person turn ASP out ASP PRT  
'all the things in the past were dug out by people.'
- 25B: *tch!*  
'tch!'
- 26 (0.5)
- 27B: *xiemen le*  
weird ASP  
'Weird.'

In the telling, Carla's focus seems to be on the confirmed truth about the legend of Kosmodemyanskaya. In her reactions in lines 6–7, however, Beth appears to take more of an interest in the investigation itself — such as the effort to gather evidence from the soldiers who had fought with Kosmodemyanskaya some 65 years earlier.<sup>7</sup> This stance by Beth is clearly embodied in her responses when Carla's report is brought to a close. Here, after an aborted *name* 'so' (line 22), Beth first initiates an *aiyou* (line 23). After some difficulty (*z- zhe- zhe-* 'th- this- this'), she then proffers her version of the upshot of the story (i.e., that things from the past were all 'dug out', line 24), before giving a summary assessment of the matter (*xiemen le* 'weird',

7. This conversation was recorded in 2006.

line 27). In providing an account making explicit what has prompted Beth's use of *aiyou* (cf. Exs. 4–5), as well as an assessment (cf. Ex. 3), these follow-up turn-constructional units suggest that the matter being marked as highly unexpected/deviant concerns the information already delivered in Carla's prior report rather than something to be projected next; that is, this particular use of *aiyou* is primarily backward-looking. Here again, then, we see that, in contrast to what she does with her forward-looking *aiyou* in excerpt 14, the speaker allows the backward-looking *aiyou* to come to prosodic completion, rather than to latch it onto the follow-up turn-constructional unit.

The linkage between the prosodic design and the intended directionality of the talk, as demonstrated in these contrasting instances, is a fairly robust pattern in the present data. Table 1 shows the overall distribution of the 148 *aiyou* instances in the collection.<sup>8</sup>

**Table 1.** Distribution of *aiyou* types

<i>aiyou</i> type	latched	non-latched	Total
stand-alone			40
backward-looking	6 (7.59%)	73 (92.41%)	79
forward-looking	22 (75.86%)	7 (24.14%)	29

( $X^2(1, N=108) = 51.48, p < .0001$ )

As summarized in Table 1, notwithstanding deviant cases,<sup>9</sup> there appears to be a strong tendency of backward-looking *aiyou* to be prosodically separated from the additional turn component that follows (73 out of the 79 cases), and for forward-looking *aiyou* to be latched onto the additional turn component (22 out of the 29 cases), suggesting an intimate interconnection with regard to the prosodic turn design and the directionality of a given use of *aiyou*-prefacing in Mandarin conversation. As can also be observed, there seems to be a preponderance of backward-looking *aiyou* cases in my data, especially if we were to add in the cases of free-standing *aiyou*, which are backward-looking in nature. This distribution lends support to the possibility that the less common prosodically integrated cases are perhaps an extension of a more fundamental backward-looking prosodically self-contained *aiyou* pattern.

8. In the coding, I have excluded examples where *aiyou* occurs in reported speech when the speaker is reporting what he/she or someone else has said on another occasion.

9. Among other factors, individual differences and the speaker's bodily conduct at the time when *aiyou* is uttered may account for exceptional cases. These deviant cases will be dealt with by the author in a separate paper (Wu forthcoming b).

In summary, we've seen in this section an interrelationship between the design of *aiyou*-prefaced actions and the temporal progression and directionality of these actions. Through the use of quantitative data and the paired comparison between contrasting instances of *aiyou*-prefacing, I have shown that in contrast to backward-looking *aiyou*, which tends to reach prosodic completion before the production of the follow-up turn-construction unit, there is a strong tendency for the speaker to latch the *aiyou* onto the follow-up turn-construction unit if the *aiyou* serves to project news or newsworthy information — that is, if the *aiyou* is forward-looking in character.

## 5. Concluding discussion

Drawing upon a corpus of approximately 35 hours of videotaped face-to-face conversations collected in China, I hope to have demonstrated in this article a previously unreported intimate relationship between the design of a particle-prefaced turn or turn-constructional unit and its designed progression. Specifically, I have shown that in turn- or TCU-initial position, the particle *aiyou* can exhibit either a backward-looking or forward-looking orientation. The backward-looking *aiyou* serves mainly to respond to what has just transpired in one's own or another's talk, while the forward-looking *aiyou* works mainly to mark what is to be projected as particularly newsworthy and/or unexpected. I have demonstrated that, in contrast to backward-looking *aiyou*, which tends to reach prosodic completion before the production of the follow-up turn-construction unit, there is a strong tendency for the speaker to latch the *aiyou*-preface onto the follow-up turn-constructional unit if the *aiyou* is forward-looking in character. As we have also seen, such forward-looking *aiyou*-preface serves primarily to project news or newsworthy information.

The analysis presented here has strong implications for the increased interest in initial particles, and in particular how turns or turn-constructional units prefaced with such particles help manage the temporal progression of actions and sequences. There is evidence to suggest that, in Mandarin Chinese at least, the prosodic integration of particles and the turn-constructional units they preface appears to play a crucial role in this respect. For example, elsewhere (Wu 2014), I have shown that the prosodic design of prefacing by another Mandarin particle, *ei*, can embody the would-be next speakers' orientation to the fit between the incipient turn entry and the currently on-going talk: Whereas speakers commonly deliver an *ei*-preface in an independent intonation contour when claiming speakership at a transition-relevance place, they tend to latch the *ei*-preface onto the turn component it prefaces if the attempt is made at a non-transition-relevance

place. In this article, as we have seen, the prosodic design of the Mandarin *aiyou*-preface similarly figures in the temporal progression and unfolding of actions and sequences — although what is at issue here has to do with the indexing of the directionality of the talk to be projected, rather than the management of turn transfer in conversation. Given the preponderance of prosocially *non*-integrated cases with both particles in my data, the prosodically integrated uses of the particles can be understood as an extension of a more fundamental usage, and are mobilized to achieve designedly interactional outcomes.

These findings thus give us a glimpse into a language-specific solution to the universal problem of the management of temporal progression of actions, and provide insights into the role prosody plays in turn design in achieving such actions. It is hoped that this analysis, albeit only the tip of the iceberg, will prompt more research to further our understanding of turn-initial particles as well as how projection of talk is managed in conversation through the use of these particles and other recurrent linguistic practices.

## Acknowledgements

I am grateful to John Heritage, Marja-Leena Sorjonen, Jakob Steensig, and Sandra A. Thompson for their valuable input on an earlier version of this paper.

## Abbreviations

ASSC	associative (- <i>de</i> )
ASP	aspectual marker
BA	the <i>ba</i> marker in the <i>ba</i> construction
CSC	complex stative construction
C	classifier
N	negator
NOM	nominalizer ( <i>de</i> )
PRT	particle
Q	question marker
3SG	third person singular pronoun

## References

- Auer, Peter. 2005. "Projection in Interaction and Projection in Grammar." *Text* 25 (1): 7–36.
- Chao, Yuen Ren. 1968. *A Grammar of Spoken Chinese*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

- Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth, and Sandra A. Thompson. 2005. "A Linguistic Practice for Retracting Overstatements: Concessive Repair." In *Syntax and Lexis in Conversation: Studies on the Use of Linguistic Resources in Talk-in-interaction*, ed. by Auli Haulinen, and Margret Selting, 257–288. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. doi:10.1075/sidag.17.14cou
- Ford, Cecilia E., Barbara A. Fox, and Sandra A. Thompson. 2002. "Introduction." In *The Language of Turn and Sequence*, ed. by Cecilia E. Ford, Barbara A. Fox, and Sandra A. Thompson, 3–13. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Goodwin, Charles. 2006. "Retrospective and Prospective Orientation in the Construction of Argumentative Moves." *Text & Talk* 26 (4/5): 443–461. doi:10.1515/TEXT.2006.018
- Goodwin, Marjorie H., and Charles Goodwin. 1987. "Children's Arguing." In *Language, Gender, and Sex in Comparative Perspective*, ed. by Susan U. Philips, Susan Steele, and Christine Tanz, 200–248. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511621918.011
- Hayashi, Makoto. 2004. "Projection and Grammar: Notes on the 'Action-projecting' Use of the Distal Demonstrative *are* in Japanese." *Journal of Pragmatics* 36: 1337–1374. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2004.05.006
- Heritage, John. 1984. "A Change of State Token and Aspects of its Sequential Placement." In *Structures of Social Action*, ed. by J. Maxwell Atkinson, and John Heritage, 299–345. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Heritage, John. 2013. "Action Formation and its Epistemic (and Other) Backgrounds." *Discourse Studies* 15: 547–574. doi:10.1177/1461445613501449
- Heritage, John, and Geoffrey Raymond. 2005. "The Terms of Agreement: Indexing Epistemic Authority and Subordination in Assessment Sequences." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 68: 15–38. doi:10.1177/019027250506800103
- Hu, Mingyang. 1987. *Beijing Hua Chu Tan* [An Exploration of Beijing Mandarin]. Beijing: Commerce Press.
- Jefferson, Gail. 1972. "Side Sequences." In *Studies in Social Interaction*, ed. by David N. Sudnow, 294–338. New York: Free Press.
- Jefferson, Gail. 1984. "On Stepwise Transition from Talk about a Trouble to Inappropriately Next-positioned Matters." In *Structures of Social Action*, ed. by J. Maxwell Atkinson, and John Heritage, 191–222. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Lerner, Gene. 1996. "On the 'Semi-permeable' Character of Grammatical Units in Conversation: Conditional Entry into the Turn Space of Another Speaker." In *Interaction and Grammar*, ed. by Elinor Ochs, Emanuel A. Schegloff, and Sandra A. Thompson, 238–276. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511620874.005
- Pomerantz, Anita. 1986. "Extreme Case Formulations: A Way of Legitimizing Claims." *Human Studies* 9: 219–229. doi:10.1007/BF00148128
- Sacks, Harvey. 1995. *Lectures on Conversation*. Oxford: Blackwell. doi:10.1002/9781444328301
- Sacks, Harvey, Emanuel A. Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson. 1974. "A Simplest Systematics for the Organization of Turn-taking for Conversation." *Language* 50 (4): 696–735. doi:10.1353/lan.1974.0010
- Schegloff, Emanuel. A. 1979. "The Relevance of Repair to Syntax-for-conversation." In *Syntax and Semantics, Volume 12: Discourse and Syntax*, ed. by Thomas Givón, 261–286. New York: Academic Press.
- Schegloff, Emanuel. A. 2007. *Sequence Organization in Interaction: A Premier in Conversation Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511791208
- Schegloff, Emanuel. A., and Harvey Sacks. 1973. "Opening up Closings." *Semiotica* 8: 289–327. doi:10.1515/semi.1973.8.4.289

- Sidnell, Jack. 2007. "'Look'-prefaced Turns in First and Second Position: Launching, Interceding and Redirecting Action." *Discourse Studies* 9 (3): 387–408. doi:10.1177/1461445607076204
- ten Have, Paul. 2007. *Doing Conversation Analysis: A Practical Guide*, 2nd ed. London: SAGE Publications. doi:10.4135/9781849208895
- Wu, Ruey-Jiuan Regina. 1997. "Transforming Participation Frameworks in Multi-party Mandarin Conversation: The Use of Discourse Particles and Body Behavior." *Issues in Applied Linguistics* 8 (2): 97–117.
- Wu, Ruey-Jiuan Regina. 2012. "Self-praising through Reporting: Strategic Use of Two Reporting Practices in Mandarin Conversation." *Discourse Processes* 49: 622–659. doi:10.1080/0163853X.2012.722060
- Wu, Ruey-Jiuan Regina. 2014. "Managing Turn Entry: The Design of *EI*-prefaced Turns in Mandarin Conversation." *Journal of Pragmatics* 66: 139–161. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2014.03.003
- Wu, Ruey-Jiuan Regina. forthcoming a. "Turn Design and Progression: The Use of *Aiyou* in Mandarin Conversation." In *Turn-Initial Particles Across Languages*, ed. by John Heritage, and Marja-leena Sorjonen. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Wu, Ruey-Jiuan Regina. forthcoming b. "Managing Participation Contingencies in Multi-party Conversation: *Aiyou*-prefacing as an Interactional Resource." *East Asian Pragmatics*.
- Wu, Ruey-Jiuan Regina, and John Heritage. forthcoming. "Particles and Epistemics: Convergences and Divergences between English and Mandarin." In *Enabling Human Conduct: Naturalistic Studies of Talk-in-interaction in Honor of Emanuel A. Schegloff*, ed. by Gene Lerner, Geoffrey Raymond, and John Heritage. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

### *Author's address*

Ruey-Jiuan Regina Wu  
San Diego State University  
Department of Linguistics and Asian/Middle Eastern Languages  
5500 Campanile Drive  
San Diego, CA, 92182-7727  
USA  
rwu@mail.sdsu.edu