

InLiSt No. 3

Interaction and Linguistic Structures

POLYPHONY AND THE "LAYERING OF VOICES" IN REPORTED DIALOGUES

An Analysis of the Use of Prosodic Devices in Everyday Reported Speech¹

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March 1998

In recognition of the enthusiasm he has brought to all aspects of the study of spoken verbal interaction, we dedicate this series to Professor Dr. Aldo di Luzio, University of Konstanz.

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1. Introduction

As Bakhtin (1981: 337-338) pointed out in his metalinguistic analysis of discourse in the novel:

The transmission and assessment of the speech of others, the discourse of another, is one of the most widespread and fundamental topics of human speech. In all areas of life and ideological activity, our speech is filled with overflowing with other people's words, which are transmitted with highly varied degrees of accuracy and impartiality. (...) The topic of a speaking person has enormous importance in everyday life. In real life we hear speech about speakers and their discourse at every step. We can go so far as to say that in real life people talk most of all about what others talk about - they transmit, recall, weigh and pass judgment on other people's words, opinions, assertions, information; people are upset by others' words, or agree with them, contest them, refer to them and so forth.....

In reporting past utterances, the speaker "decontextualizes" speech from its original co- and context and "recontextualizes" it in a new conversational surrounding². In recontextualizing utterances, speakers, however, not only dissolve certain sequences of talk from their original contexts and incorporate them into a new context, they also adapt them to their own functional intentions and communicative aims. Thus, the quoted utterance is characterized by transformations, modifications and functionalizations according to the speaker's aims and the new conversational context. Here, prosody and voice quality play important roles. The use of different voices is an interactive resource to contextualize whether an utterance is anchored in the reporting world or in the storyworld, to differentiate between the quoted characters, to signal the particular activity a character is engaged in, and to evaluate the quoted utterance.

In this paper, I will present different ways of incorporating voices in everyday reported speech and analyze prosodic and voice quality techniques speakers use in reported dialogues to produce "speech within speech, utterance within utterance and at the same time also *speech about speech, utterance about utterance*" (Volosinov 1929/73: 115).

I shall argue that participants in everyday interactions also use polyphonic strategies described by Bakhtin (1981) as "layering of voices" and "heteroglossia". In contrast to literary texts, "polyphonic layering of voices" in everyday reported dialogues is mainly achieved by means of prosody and voice quality.³

The term prosody is used to subsume the following auditory aspects of speech: loudness, duration, pitch and pause. Voice quality is used to subsume paralinguistic cues which a speaker may temporarily use in order to produce a whispery, breathy, falsetto, aspirated voice, etc.⁴

The analysis of polyphonic strategies in everyday reported speech is based on informal German conversations (dinner table conversations, coffee-break chats and telephone interactions) among friends and family members. Methods of interpretative sociolinguistics (Gumperz 1982), conversation analysis and interactional analysis of prosody (Couper-Kuhlen/Selting 1996) will be used.

2. Polyphony and heteroglossia in everyday reported speech

2.1. The use of different voices to stage different characters

In reporting other people's words, speakers often restage past dialogues. Different prosodic and voice quality features are a central means for reporters to signal not only where reported speech starts and ends but also whose voice is being quoted.⁵

In the following transcript segment, Gerda is telling her friend Anna about the talk she just gave at a local cultural center. She is annoyed, because the organizer of her talk did not announce it in the local cultural magazine "Kulturanzeiger" and therefore only very few people showed up.

KULTURANZEIGER

- 36 Gerda: also katherina meinte hinterher es wär sehr
 <<f> leBE:Ndig> gewesen,
 anyway Katherina said afterwards that it was very <<f> lively>
 37 und eh: also trotzdem hats mich das ERSTmal,
 but eh: well in spite of all this
 38 hat mich das <<f> TO!TAL! AB GE NERVT;>
 I was <<f> totally frustrated>
 39 hh dann auch <<all> ich hab der katherina jetzt auch geSAGT;>
 hh then well <<all> then so I said to Katherina>
 40 <<ff> warum !`STE:HT! DAS NI:CHT IM KUL TUR AN ZEI GER.>
 <<ff> why wasn't it announced in the Kulturanzeiger>
 41 Anna: und was SAGT die katherina?
 and what did Katherina say
 42 Gerda: hh eh::m <<behaucht> .hh ja::hh >
 hh ehm <<aspirated> .hh yes >
 43 <<behaucht, h> es es würd immer alles an ^IH:R hängen,>
 <<aspirated, h> she always had to do everything herself>
 44 <<behaucht, h> und sie hätt des halt irgendwie
 s=wär irgendwie zu^VIE:Lund- > (-)
 <<aspirated> and she had well somehow it was too much for her and > (-)
 45 Anna: <<stöhnend> ah::::[hhhhhhhhhhhhhhhh]>
 <<groaning> ah:::: hhhhhhhhhhhhhhh >
 46 Gerda: [<<l, f> SCHRE:CKlich>] dieses kulturzentrum.
 <<l, f>horrible> that cultural center

After the explicit introduction of her own reported speech "<<all> ich hab der katherina jetzt auch geSAGT;>" (line 39), Gerda marks off the reproduced reproach (line 40) from the preceding discourse by various prosodic features: a sudden increase of volume and a marked pitch movement with the main accent on the finite

verb"!STE:HT!". The syllable "!STE:HT!" shows a high falling glide on the lengthened syllable. The combination of the glide with the specific pitch movement, going down a step with every syllable starting from "!STE:HT!" to "AN ZEI GER", indicates a highly irritated voice: "<<ff> warum !`STE:HT! DAS NI:CHT IM KUL TUR AN ZEI GER.>". Furthermore, the utterance has a strikingly dense accentuation, and each accentuation makes up a beat in a metrical pattern.⁶ This kind of "rhythmic scansion" contextualizes "insistence and perseverance" (Müller 1991: 19).

We can observe how Gerda makes use of prosodic features to differentiate between her voice anchored in the reporting world and the animation of her voice as the protagonist in the story-world, someone who is highly irritated and reproaches another in a determined way. In response to Anna's question, Gerda (in line 42ff.) produces yet another voice: that of Katharina. The high register, the rising-falling elongated glides on the lengthened vowels "!IH:R" and " zu^VIE:L" and the marked aspiration signal exaggerated lamenting and even a whiny voice. Again, prosodic cues are used to mark the presence of a different voice. Even though both quoted voices signal heightened affective involvement, the reporter chooses different prosodic parameters to contrast the figures and their different states of mind. On the one hand, we "hear" the insisting, determined and somewhat indignant voice of the protagonist, showing an increase of loudness and low register; on the other hand, we "hear" the lamenting and somewhat whiny voice of Katherina. Her aspirated voice is produced an octave higher than Gerda's.

This transcript reveals the interplay of different voices in the reported dialogue: We have the contrast between the reporter's voice, which is anchored in the reporting world, and the animated characters' voices, which are anchored in the storyworld. Moreover, there are the voices of the two characters: We hear the insisting, reproachful voice of the I-protagonist, which contrasts with the whiny and lamenting voice of Katharina, who is uttering an excuse. The voices of the two characters are not only explicitly framed by the use of verba dicendi (lines 39 and 41) but also kept distinct from one another by means of prosodic features. The recipient, hence, hears where the quoted speech starts and ends and which character is being animated.⁷

The next transcript stems from a conversation between Ira, Eva and Willi. Eva has just mentioned a neighbor, who has told her how people were complaining about the fact that the 'cable car' was broken the day before. After a short interruption, Ira comes back to this issue and asks Eva for more details:

SEILBAHN ('cable car')
 31Ira: [<<all> na und] die hat au gsagt die hätten sich beSCHWERT.> (.)
 <<all> so what she also said that they lodged a complaint> (.)
 32Ira: GESCHtern. (oder)?

yesterday. (right)

33 (-) an der SEILboh. die LEIT.
 (-) at the cable car. the people

34Eva: die LEIT? (-) ha die hat gsa un↑MEGLich. (.)
 the people? (-) yeah she said impossible (.)

35 o jetzt war doch geschtern an der seilbah was kaPUTT,
 o now there was something wrong with the cable car yesterday

36 und des kann ja immer WIEder sei. (-)
 and that can happen every now and then (-)

37 i mein an dEr seilbah isch bsonders VIEL kaputt.
 I mean the cable car always seems to have a lot of things go wrong with it

38 <<all> aber des WISset ja die leut sowie[so] net.> (-)
 <<all> but this is something the people usually don't know about anyway> (-)

39Ira: [(ja)]
 (yes)

40Eva: und die <<h, f> leit hättet. ein ↓'THEA::ter. gmacht,>
 and these <<h, f> people had made such a fuss>

41 die hättet den SCHAFFner <<f> fErtig gmAcht.>
 they <<f> really got on the cable car attendant>

42 der schaffner hätt gar nix gar koi ANTwort mehr gebe.
 the cable car attendant didn't say a- just stopped talking

43 <<all> i WEIß net welcher schaffner.
 <<all> I don't know which cable car attendant

44Willi: (ha i) [(auch.)]
 (well I) (also.)

45Eva: [hh] die hättet <<gepreßte Stimme> GSA;>
 hh they <<tense voice> said>

46 <<gepreßte Stimme,h,f> des sei eine
 ↓'U::Nversch! ↓'Ä::MT!heit.>(.)
 <<tense voice, h, f> this was outrageous > (.)

47 <<gepreßte Stimme, h, f> was sich SONNendorf erlaube dät. >
 <<tense voice, h, f,> the things that sonnendorf got away with.>

48 <<l>da kann doch niemand was da↑FÜR,>
 <<l> it's nobody's fault though>

49 <<l>was technischs goht doch mal ^kaPUTT. hh >
 <<l>if something is mechanical it just breaks down every now and then hh>

50 <<gepreßte Stimme, h, f> und sie welltet ↓'!GE↑:LD! sofort ihr
 geld wieder raus,>
 <<tense voice, h, f> and they demanded money immediately their money back>

51 und na hat der GSA,
 and then he said

52 es kommt doch ein ↑BU:S. hh
 a bus is on its way hh

53 <<gepreßte Stimme, h, f> sie ginget uffs ↓'!RA!:ThAU.s.>
 <<tense voice, h, f> they were going to the city hall>

54 <<gepreßte Stimme, h, f> wo en des [rAthaus] ↓'!WÄR!.
 <<tense voice, h, f> where was the city hall

55Ira: [(hehe)]
 (hehe)

56Eva: da welltet sie sich [beSCHWEre] (.)
 they wanted to make a complaint (.)

57?: [()]

58Eva: [also die] hot GSA,
 and she said

59?: [()]

60Eva: des war ↓'!U::N!mE:g.[lich.]
 it was impossible

61Ira: [und der] bus isch GA:NZ pünktlich komme.
 and the bus actually came on time

62Ira und [wie d'seilbahn] unds hat NIX koschtet,
 and just like the cable car and it didn't cost a thing

63Eva: [ha jo:::,]
 yeah yeah

After having provided the relevant background information about the event, Eva states that "the people" (die Leit) had made a terrible fuss because there was something wrong with the cable car: "und die <<h, f> leit hätten. ein ↓ 'THEA::ter. gmacht,>" (*'and these people had made such a fuss'*) (line 40). In line 45 Eva initiates a 'mise en scène': the verbum dicendi "hätten GSA" introduces the reported speech. However, besides this lexical marking, prosody and voice quality are used to mark the boundary between the reporting and the reported situation. The quoted complaint of the "LEIT" (in line 46): "<<gepreßte Stimme, h, f> des sei eine ↓'U::Nversch! ↓'Ä::MT!heit.>" (*'this was outrageous'*) sharply contrasts with the prevailing utterances: the tense, high pitched voice, the increase of volume, and the upward glide on the extreme lengthened vowel "↓'Ä::MT!" indicate an overtly affective stance. The complaint has a hysterical and exaggerated subtone. The following low pitched voice (48-49) strongly contrasts with the just quoted hysterical shouting and re-anchors the commentary in the reporting situation, indexing that it is Eva again who is talking. Prosodic and voice quality cues are used to contextualize the anchoring of the voices in the storyworld versus the reporting world and to demarcate the beginning and end of the quoted utterance.⁸ In line 50, the narrator takes up the prosodic features of the hysterical voice again, and although the utterance is not explicitly introduced as reported speech, these features clearly contextualize the re-animating of the "Leit". This switch between the different voices reveals that once specific "voices" with their particular prosodic and voice quality characteristics are established for a particular character, the narrator can stage this character's speaking without having to use explicit metapragmatic framing devices, to announce who is appearing on stage. The quoted shouting (uttered as choral speaking) with the increase of volume and the high pitched tense voice (<<gepreßte Stimme, h, f> und sie welltet ↓'!GE↑:LD!sofort ihr geld wieder raus,> (50)) clearly contrasts with the following prosodically unmarked reaction of the conductor (line 52), who calmly responds by informing the crowd that a bus is on the way. In line 53 we "hear" the "voices" of the "Leit" again, indicated by the features already familiar to us: tense, high pitched voice, slowly upwards-moving glide and increase of volume. The fact that the "Leit" are animated in a consistent way (i.e. by utilizing the already introduced prosodic and voice quality features) helps the recipient to assign a particular voice to a particular character. The prosodic contrast between the highly affective speech of the "Leit" and the calm, unmarked speech of the conductor is used as a rhetorical strategy to highlight the misconduct and exaggerated reaction of the antagonists and thus calls attention to metapragmatic strategies in language use. This transcript illustrates how reporters in restaging past dialogues as "little dramas" (Goffman 1974/86) often directly confront their audience with different voices

without explicitly introducing the particular characters. This dramatic staging is possible once a particular voice is established as being a characteristic feature for a particular character (Günthner 1997a, b).

The two transcript segments introduced so far reveal that reporters in everyday interactions make use of prosody and voice quality (i) to differentiate between the anchoring of an utterance in the reporting world vs. the storyworld; (ii) to keep the different characters of the storyworld distinct from one another; and (iii) to indicate the activity (e.g. reproach, excuse, complaint...) and (iv) to contextualize the affective disposition (e.g. hysterical, calm, insistent, determined) of the quoted characters.⁹ However, as will be outlined in the following section, besides the voices mentioned above, we still "hear" another voice: the evaluation of the reporter towards the quoted utterance.

2.2. The layering of voices in the reconstruction of dialogues

In restaging past utterances and interactions, speakers not only signal whose voice is being quoted and what kind of activity the quoted character is aiming at, but, at the same time, reporters comment on the reported utterances and provide "speech about speech, utterance about utterance". I.e. in restaging past reproaches from my neighbors, I evaluate these reproaches as appropriate, hysterical, unjustified, too aggressive, etc. These evaluations can range from "explicit denotational signalling" (e.g. by assessing the following quote as "a hysterical reproach") to "implicit non-denotational signalling" (Silverstein 1993) (e.g. by the use of prosodic cues which index a hysterical reproach). Of course, speakers may also combine explicit denotational signalling with implicit non-denotational features (e.g. by announcing a quote as "a hysterical reproach" as well as using prosodic features to index the hysterical reproach).

Let us now look at some transcript segments to explore in detail how speakers use prosodic features and voice quality to contextualize their stance towards the reconstructed utterances.

The following transcript, which is taken from a telephone conversation between two friends, Inge and Klara, shows how the reporting speaker may let her perspective intrude on the reported utterance and produce a many-voiced text. Inge has applied for a scholarship to study in Paris and has just come back from the interview, when Klara calls her up to "find out" how the interview has gone. Inge has just reported how "horrible" the interview was, when Klara asks her for more details:

STIPENDIUM (SCHOLARSHIP)

- 38Klara: [ja=und] wie LIEFs=n dann?
yeah and then what happened
- 39Inge: ja also die also die alle saßen mir (.) so gegenÜBer.
yeah well they well they all sat across from me (.)
- 40 <<behaucht> lauter f FU:RCHTbar wichtige gesichter;>
<< aspirated> a bunch of terribly important faces>
- 41Klara: hihihihihhhhhhh[hh]
heeheeheeheehh
- 42Inge: [un] bombard↑Ie:rten mich mit (-) echt
↑SAU blödn fragen.
and they bombarded me with (-) totally stupid questions
- 43Klara: ()
- 44Inge: der eine kam mit <<manieriert, h> ↑tja (.) bernard is doch
eine epi↑GO::ne.>
one of them said <mannered voice, h> yeah (.) Bernard is really an epigone>
- 45Klara: HHH O::H .hhh [^IRRE.]
hhh oh .hhh wild
- 46Inge: [der nächste] meinte ich sollte ihm mal erKlÄRN,
the next one wanted me to explain to him
- 47 was man unter ↑DEkonstruktion ver[steht.]
what deconstruction is
- 48Klara: [hihihi]
heehee
- 49Inge: das das wär doch en ^MO::de (.)↑GAG. <<all> un weiter nichts.>
it was just a silly fashion <<all> and nothing more>
- 50Klara: ja sind die eigentlich be↑SCHEUert. ne::h.=
yeah well are they totally stupid or what
- 51Inge: ja <<all> man könnt's echt mein=n>.
hm <<all> you'd think so>
- 52 (--)
- 53Inge: naja. eh: hh ja:hh und ein einer(.)der war echt Ü:bel drauf.
oh well eh hh well and one one of them he was really bad
- 54Klara: (heh?)
(hm)
- 55Inge: () hat mich auf FRANzösisch angesprochen.
() he started talking to me in French
- 56Klara: [mhm. wollt dich testn.]
mhm he wanted to test you
- 57Inge: [(prüfungsmässig)]
(like an exam situation)
- 58 jaja. <<all> war so=n ↑OBERSchullehrer (.) typ.> =
yeahyeah <<all> he was the school inspector type>
- 59Klara: kanns mir leibhaftig VO:R [stellen.]
I can really imagine that
- 60Inge: [naja] (-)
jedenfalls machte er mich auch ↑BLÖD an;
oh well (-)
in any case he also got on my back
- 61 von=wegen <<h, f>pour↑quoi ça doit être à pAr↑I:s. >
went like <<h, f>pourquoi ça doit être à pari:s. >
- 62Klara: ^NE::HH. (hast du)
no. (did you)

Starting in line 39 ff., Inge depicts the details of the interview. By metaphorically calling the communicative actions of the interviewers "bombarding", she evokes the image of a war setting, where she is being attacked by her opponents sitting "across from her". She explicitly evaluates the interviewer's questions as being "totally stupid questions" (42), and in order to illustrate this evaluation, she reconstructs them in reported speech. The interviewer's commentary "↑tja (.) bernard is doch eine

epi↑GO::ne.>." ('*yeah Bernard is really an epigone*') (44) is reproduced in such a way that it receives an arrogant overtone: The mannered "↑tja" contextualizes the arrogance of the quoted character in an exaggerated way, and the noun "epi↑GO::ne." ('*epigone*') is prosodically distorted in such a way that we can detect a "layering of voices" (Bakhtin 1981; Günthner 1997c; Schwitalla 1997). On the one hand, we "hear" the voice of the interviewer; on the other hand we "hear" Inge's evaluation of this utterance as totally exaggerated, inappropriate, and arrogant. Thus, several voices can be superimposed on one utterance: The reported speech of the character blends with the narrator's evaluation. Here "the speaker's expressivity penetrates through the boundaries" (Bakhtin 1986: 92) of the speaking subjects and spreads to the other's speech, by transmitting it in a caricatured way.

In re-animating the second antagonist, Inge uses indirect speech. However, we are also able to recognize the phenomenon of "layering of voices" within this indirect mode: "↑mO::de(.)↑GAG." ('*silly fashion*') (49) starts out with a low voice and is thus marked off from the preceding utterances. The lengthening of the vowel "O::" communicates a certain condescension. By means of the high starting point on "↑GAG", the reported speech is stylized in such a way that it comes close to what Bakhtin (1981) calls "parodistic stylization".¹⁰ The narrator, thus, not only uses speech to reconstruct past dialogues but also to evaluate these reconstructed utterances. Silverstein (1985), who draws on Jakobson's insights on the metalinguistic function of language ("messages about messages"), treats reported speech as "metapragmatic activity" par excellence: By quoting past utterances, speakers represent and comment on the use of language. In doing so they express their "ideology" (Silverstein 1992); i.e. their norms of communication. Here, the communicative behavior of the antagonists are portrayed as being arrogant and inadequate. This dramatic staging invites Klara to communicate her indignant co-alignment with the reporter's perspective.

The third interviewer (line 53) is introduced by the explicit comment "he was really bad". The fact that he spoke French is interpreted by Klara (line 54), as well as Inge (line 58), as being "an exam situation". Inge adds the membership category "↑OBERschullehrer(.) typ." ('*the school inspector type*'). The interviewer's question is marked off from the surrounding text by codeswitching into French combined with marked prosody; i.e. increase of volume, high register and an aggressive, impertinent-sounding voice.

Although direct reported speech claims authenticity for the reproduced utterance, it is always at the same time a stylization of the "original" utterance and a rhetorical device to animate the figures of the "drama" presented (Goffman 1974/86; Tannen 1989; Brünner 1991). The reported speech here clearly reveals these apparently

contradictory functions¹¹: On the one hand the speaker pretends to "report" the quoted figure's words and thus to preserve not only the "original" utterance but also its constructional form and original language. The quoted speech is presented as having an independent identity, lying outside the given context. These aspects contribute to its claim of "authenticity". On the other hand, the reporter remodels the past text according to the situative communicative intention and imprints her perspective into the reconstructed event. The recipient Klara shows her co-alignment with the reporter's stance, and her indignant reaction ((^{"^NE::HH."}(^{'no'})) is oriented towards the mannered staging of the interviewer's utterance.

Thus, marked prosody is not only used to stage a particular character and his activity (an interviewer asking questions), but at the same time we "hear" the reporter's stance towards the quoted utterance. Her evaluation of the reconstructed question as being inadequate shimmers through.

In this transcript segment the reporter explicitly comments on the reported utterances by the use of negatively evaluated terms for the character's activities, such as "bombard[↑]le:rten mich mit (-) echt [↑]SAU blödn fragen." (*'they bombarded me with (-) totally stupid questions'*), "prüfungsmässig (testen)" (*'like an exam situation'*), "[↑]BLÖD anmachen" (*'he got on my back'*). This explicit denotational signalling of her stance towards the animated characters and their utterances is further supported by prosodic and voice quality features which mark the reported speech as aggressive, impertinent and inadequate.

The next transcript is taken from a family dinner conversation between three persons: Thea, Karla and Rudi. Thea has just mentioned that she likes to dunk her cake in her coffee, although many people are disgusted by this habit. She then recalls an event from her childhood: As a child she once visited a friend of her parents (Frau Berg), and when Frau Berg saw her dunking her cake, she was totally appalled.

DUNKEN (DUNKING)

- 10Thea: damals wo i DUNKT han amal (.)
that one time when I was dunking something at the table (.)
- 11 als KIND bei der frau berg,
as a child visiting Mrs Berg
- 12 dIe hat sich schier ent[SETZT.]
she was totally appalled
- 13Karla: [^{!^WA::S.!}]
what
- 14Thea: des tät ma NICHT.
you weren't supposed to do that
- 15 na han i gsa (.) no han i GSA,
then I said (.) then I said
- 16 mei <<all> als kInd damols des WEIß i no.>
my <<all> when I was a child I still remember that>
- 17 .h, mei dande [↑]ERna hot gsa:, (-)
.h, my aunt Erna said to me (-)

18 weisch [hahahahahaHAHAHA]
you know hahahahaHAHAHA

19Karla: [hahahaHAHAHAHA]
hahahaHAHAHAHA

20Thea: <<kindliche Stimme, h, f> .hh sie war scho bei h, (--)
bei GUEte leit.> (.)
<<childlike voice, h, f> .hh she had already worked h, (--)
for fine people> (.)

21 <<kindliche Stimme, h, f> bei (-)BESSere leit in stellung.>(.)
<<childlike voice h, f> in (-) their homes> (.)

22 <<kindliche Stimme, h> und die hättet au DUNKT.>[hahahahahahaha]
<<childlike voice, h> and they had dunked too.> hahahahaha

22Karla: [hahahahahahaha]
hahahahahahaha

23Thea: haha <<lachend> hab i zu der frau haha berg [GSAGT;> hihi]
haha <<laughing> this was what I told Mrs haha Berg> heehee

24Karla: [hihihihihi]
heeheeheehee

25Thea: <<1, all> des verGEß i gar net.>=
<< 1, all>I shall never forget that>=

26Rudi: =was hat die dann GSA?
=and what did she say

27Thea: <<h, Ton schleift langsam nach oben, legato> ^hhhNOI:::::
des DUT ma ↑ne:t,>
<<h, slow rising tone on the lengthened syllable, legato> hhh no
you should not do that>

28 <<h> also des ^ghört sich Über^!HAU::PT! net. >
<<h> well that is not appropriate behavior>

29 daß mer ↑DUNKT.
this dunking

Bakhtin (1981: 339) points out in his analysis of the "speaking person in the novel", the conveyence of past everyday speech always contains forms of "re-conceptualization and re-accenting" and may vary from a "direct verbatim quotation" to a "malicious and deliberately parodic distortion of another's word, slander". In our case, we are confronted with a "parodistic stylization" of the quoted character.¹³

These examples show how reporters may use prosodic means not only to establish quotes as belonging to a particular character but also to modify the reported utterances in ways suitable to the reporters' own aims. The recontextualized utterances are stylized, exaggerated and caricatured and are made to accommodate shadings of the reporter's evaluations. These kinds of polyphonic utterances, simultaneously expressing both the intention of the character who is being quoted, and the refracted intention of the reporter, are not restricted to literary texts, but are frequently used in everyday interactions as well. In producing such double-voiced discourse, in which the quoted character's text blends with the reporter's evaluation, prosodic devices as well as voice quality play a major role.

2.3. The layering of voices in the reconstruction of characters' thoughts

Layering of voices and heteroglossia not only appear in cases in which a speaker reproduces past dialogues, but also in cases of reconstructing past inner monologues.¹⁴

The following episode is taken from a dinner table conversation among friends (Hanna, Urs, Fritz, Klara, and Gert). After Hanna (1) mentions Mustafa, a Turkish friend of hers and Urs', Urs reports news about Mustafa: He just received the "MUSTER (.) BÜRGER PREIS" (the prize for a model citizen). (Fritz, Klara and Gert know Mustafa only by hear-say.)

MUSTAFA

1Hanna: des hat doch hi MUS(h)tafa(h) au schon hi festge(h)stellt.
actually hee Mus(h)tafa(h) already hee no(h)ticed that

2Urs: MUSTafa hat den (.) MUSTer(.)BÜR ger PREIS bekommen.
Mustafa got the (.) model (.) citizen prize

3Hanna: <<behaucht> ↑WA:(h)S.> hahaha[haha ^NEI::N.]
<<aspirated> wha(h)t> hahahaha no.

4Fritz: [hahahahaha] ^NEI::N.
hahahahaha no.

5Gerd (verwendet) oder.
(used) or

6Urs: also daß es sOwas über↑HAUPT gibt,
actually it's astonishing that they would do something like this

7 also es gibt irgendwie jeder LANDkreis darf also
*vorbildliche bür[ger,]
every county is allowed to choose model citizens*

8Hanna: [hhm]

hhm9Urs: so ein, zwei pro LANDkr [eis aussuchen.]

about one or two per county

10Hanna: [↑oh:::::oh::]
oh:::::oh::

11Urs: und die kriegen dann die <<f> MUS ter BÜR ger ur KUN de.>
and these people receive a <<f> model citizen certificate>

12 <<f> baden WÜRTTem[berg,>]
<<f> baden württemberg>

13Gerd: [hm.]
hm

14Urs: [natürlich sEIn dorf]schultes hihi in BER(h)gen(h)dorf
hat gedAcht,
of course the mayor heehee in Ber(h)gen(h)dorf thought

15Gerd: [()]

16 <<f> U- !TÜR!ke.>
<<f> U- a Turk>

17 <<l> der sich gegen AUSländerfeindlichkeit engagiert,>
<<l> who is committed to fight against discrimination of foreigners,>

18 Und gleichzeitig en HÄUSle ba[ut,]
and at the same time builds a little house,

19Gerd: [haha]

20Urs: [der sich ANpaßt] und gleichzeitig gegen dIskriminierung;
who conforms to German life and at the same time is against discrimination

21Gerd: [hahahahahahahahahha]

22Urs: [<<p> des isch doch Ideal.>]
<<p> this is just ideal>

23Klara: [AU::::: ^nei:::::n.]
oh no

24Urs: <<flüsternd> und der SCHAFFT (.) wie en brunnebUtzer,>
<<whispery voice > and he works like a dog>

25 <<flüsternd> hot no a GSÄCHFT und goht no in d schIcht zum-=>
<<whispery voice > has his own business and besides goes to shift work>

26Hanna = <<l>und [d=frau] trägt au koin SCHLEIer.>
<<l> and his wife doesn't wear a veil either>

27Urs: [zur (.)]
to (.)

28Urs: und d=frau trägt koin SCHLEIer. (-) <<f> GENAU.>
and his wife doesn't wear a veil (-) <<f> exactly>

29Klara: und fünf KINder ham se.
and they have five children

30Urs: genau. und no hat ihn VORgschlage,
exactly and then he suggested to him,

31 und no dann wurd wurde er jetzt MUSTerbürger.
and then- then that now he would become a model citizen

32U/K/F: hahahahahahahahaha[hahahahahahaha]hahahaha

33Hanna: [↑NEI::::::::::N]
no

34K/G/U: hahahahahahahahaha[hahahahahahahahahahahahaha]

35Hanna: [<<h> woher weisch DU [des.>]
<<h> how do you know >

36Klara: [(ach)GOTT ach gott)
oh God oh God

37Urs: und ich denk daß er des so::-
and I think that he like

38 ich kann mir des gUt vorstellen wie er erzÄHLT hat;
I can imagine how he said that

39 so halb irOnisch, halb mit [STOLZ.]
half ironically half proudly

40Hanna [jaja.]
yeah yeah

41Urs: eh: em KLAUSpeter hat ers erzählt.
eh: em he told it to Klauspeter

42U/G: hihihihihihihihihhi
heeheeheeheehee

43Klara: sind nicht die KINder leider (-) ehm nur MÄDchen geworden.
isn't it unfortunate that the children (-) ehm they all turned out to be only girls.

After providing the news about Mustafa's prize for being a "model citizen", Urs in line 14 starts to reconstruct the mayor's inner monologue by announcing it metapragmatically as "natürlich sein dorf[schultes hihi in ber(h)gen(h)dorf hat geDACHT," (*of course his mayor heehee in Bergen((heehee)dorf thought.*). The giggling interspersed with this announcement contextualizes the change to a playful modality. In form of direct reported speech, Urs confronts his recipients with the imagined world of thought of the mayor:

16Urs: <<f> U- !TÜR!ke.>
<<f> U- a Turk>
17 <<l> der sich gegen AUSländerfeindlichkeit engagiert,>
<<l> who is committed to fight against discrimination of foreigners,>
18 Und gleichzeitig en HÄUSle ba[ut,]
and at the same time builds a little house,
19Gerd: [haha]
20Urs: [der sich ANpaßt] und gleichzeitig gegen dIskriminierung;
who conforms to German life and at the same time is against discrimination
21Gerd: [hahahahahahahahahahha]
22Urs: [<p> des.isch.doch Ideal.>]
<p> this is just ideal>

This episode with the fictitious thoughts of the mayor is highly stylized: The low register combined with the slow tempo and the broad dialect variety sounds naive and simple-minded. The caricature of the simple-minded mayor is supported by the thoughts attributed to him. He values a Turkish citizen who is not only engaged in the fight against discrimination but who, at the same time, meets the Swabian ideals of "Häusle bauen" (*'build your own home'*). The recipients' reactions motivate Urs to go on with his 'mise-en-scène' of the mayor's thoughts, and he continues with the typification of the mayor as a simple-minded Swabian who appreciates Swabian values, such as "schaffen wie en Brunnebutzer" (*'to work like a dog'*). By selecting particular prosodic and verbal parameters to animate the quoted character, Urs, at the same time, typifies the mayor. The fusion of the low register voice and the slow tempo with codeswitching into a broad Swabian dialect variety constitutes the image of a stolid, provincial and simple-minded person. These features are furthermore connected to his Swabian cliché values, and thus create the social type of a simple-minded, provincial Swabian citizen. What is striking about this example is that the co-participant Hanna (in line 26) chimes in with Urs's animation of the mayor: "<< und [d=frau] trägt au koin SCHLEier.>". When she animates the mayor in her collaborative completion of Urs' turn, she takes over Urs' prosodic design: low register, slow volume and also uses broad Swabian dialect. In line 29, Klara, a further co-participant, chimes in with "und fünf KINder ham se". This transcript reveals how prosodic cues in combination with codeswitching serve as resources to construct a particular type (the simple-minded, provincial Swabian citizen) and at the

same time to implicitly evaluate this character's reported thoughts. Furthermore, it shows how co-participants join into the common construction of a fictive voice by taking over the already established prosodic marking of the particular character.¹⁵ This kind of chiming in and taking over the prosodic design of a quoted character functions as an indirect means to contextualize the co-participants' co-alignment with the reporter's evaluation.

2.4. The layering of voices in the animation of written texts

Speakers not only stage characters in reconstructing spoken dialogues, but they also animate characters in orally reproducing written texts. When "translating" a text from a written medium to an oral one, the reporter "fabricates" a particular prosody and voice quality to animate the character of the writer and to stage her/his activity. As the following transcript segment shows, the reporter not only transmits referential meaning but also communicates her evaluation of the quoted character and his writing. The phenomenon of voicing and the use of prosody and voice quality play central roles in this process.

The transcript is taken from an interaction between Ulla and her daughter Sara. Ulla is telling about an acquaintance who was searching for a husband and wrote many personal ads, when finally, one candidate responded. Ulla then stages the figure of this candidate and presents parts of his letters:

HEIRATSANZEIGE (PERSONAL AD)

- 22Ulla: die hot DAUsende heiratsannonce uffgebe,
she put in thousands of personal ads
- 23 do war ^NI::CHTS dAbei. (--)
but nothing came out of it (--)
- 24 oiner (-) oiner hot no gschriebe, (--)
one guy- (-) finally one guy replied, (--)
- 25 er wär au so FUFFzig,
he was around fifty too,
- 26 ond wenn sie ihm <<p> schreibe dät,>
and if she <<p> answered his letter>
- 27 <<behaucht, p> s'dürfdet JO:: net seine eltern
erfah[re] hahahahaha
<<aspirated, p> his parents weren't supposed to know about it> hahahaha
- 28Sara: [<<f> hahahahaha]
<<f> hahahahaha
- 29Ulla: [i han müsse] ↑LACHE wo i die sache glese han.
I had to laugh when I read that
- 30Sara: [<<f> hihhi]
<<f> heeheehee
- 31Ulla: <<p> die dürftet des net ^WISSE daß er (no) gschriebe hot>,
<<p> they weren't to know that he replied>
- 32 <<p> und () sie müßt des postlagernd schicken,>
<<p> and () she should write to him via a p.o.box>
- 33 <<p> sonst dätet seine eltern den brief in d'finger kriege.>
<<p> otherwise his parents might discover the letter>

Starting in line 25, Ulla begins to reconstruct parts of the candidate's letter. The reconstructed text is marked off from its surroundings by a soft, aspirated, timid voice which comes close to whispering. The softness of the voice and the whispering contextualize the character's fear that his parents might find out about his answering personal ads. Again, prosodic and voice quality features play a major role in the construction of a particular type: that of a "sissy". In line 29 the voice switches back to Ulla's unmarked voice. Therefore the utterance "i han müssse ↑LACHe wo i die sache glese han." (*I had to laugh when I read that*) is no longer part of the storyworld but belongs to the reporting world. Starting in line 31 we "hear" the voice of the candidate again, indicated by features already familiar to us: the soft, timid and fearful voice. This prosodic consistency allows the reporter to confront her recipient with the quoted utterances without having to frame the reported text explicitly. The quoted voice is exaggerated in such a way that the reporter not only animates the quoted character as a timid, shy person, but she is also ridiculing him by means of exaggeration.

The examples so far reveal how indexical signs, such as prosodic and voice quality cues serve to construct the contextual grounds for particular situated interpretations concerning the evaluation of the animated characters and their utterances. The prosodic recontextualization of the spoken dialogues as well as the written text is subordinated to reporter's situative goals.

2.5. "Concealed forms of polyphony"

So far, I have presented cases in which speakers reanimate particular characters by staging their utterances or thoughts. Sometimes, however, we find cases in which a speaker's utterance is interspersed with short passages of "borrowed texts" from another person without explicitly quoting a particular character. Such incorporated quotations¹⁶ or "concealed forms of polyphony" (Bakhtin 1981) into a seemingly monological utterance may range from short embedded passages up to longer sequences of text.

The following segment is taken from a conversation between Anni, Geli and Kara. Anni and Kara are trying to describe an acquaintance (Eva) to Geli, who Geli apparently does not know:

NEUE WOHNUNG (NEW APARTMENT)

32Anni: ach. die KENNST du [auch.]
oh I'm sure you know her.

33Kara: [so=ne] BLONde, kleIne,
she's blond, short

34Anni: immer <<sehr manierierte Stimme, h, f> TOTschick (.)
nur ARmani> (.)

<<very affected voice, h, f>always terribly chic (.) only Armani> (.)

35 <<sehr manierierte Stimme, h, f> frau [TRÄGT designermodElle.>]
<<very affected voice,h,f>you should only wear designer clothes>

36Kara: [hihi<<all>jaja genau.
hihi>]

heehee<<all>yeahyeah exactly>

37Geli: hihhihi i ich kenn die ECHT nich. hihhihi
heeheehee I I really don't know her. heeheehee

In line 34 Anni starts off with unmarked prosody. Then, however, she switches to a different voice: "<<sehr manierierte Stimme, h, f> TOTschick (.) nur Armani>" ('<<very affected voice, h, f> terribly chic(.)only Armani'). Within one utterance, the recipients are suddenly confronted with another person's speech, which is clearly separated from the preceding context by means of high register and a very affected articulation. Anni injects someone else's voice into her utterance.

In contrast to the reported utterances discussed so far, where the speaker stages a particular figure and reconstructs his or her utterance and at the same time merges his or her own perspective with the reproduced utterance, in the case of "concealed form of reported speech" (Bakhtin 1981), the reporter's utterance is penetrated by words, prosodic features as well as speech quality characteristics of another character. The speaker "borrows" for a moment words and prosodic means which "belong to someone else".

The utterance "<<sehr manierierte Stimme, h, f> TOTschick (.) nur Armani. frau TRÄGT designermodElle.>" ('always terribly chic(.)only Armani (.) you should only wear designer clothes'; 34-35) serves several functions: It describes Eva's clothing habits, and at the same time, it characterizes Eva's "habitus" of speaking about her way of dressing up. Thus, the speaker's perspective on the incorporated speech shimmers through: The incorporated quotation is presented in such an exaggerated, mannered way that it caricatures the character Eva and reveals Anni's mocking attitude towards her. Here we have an example of a "hybrid construction"; i.e.

... an utterance that belongs, by its grammatical(syntactical) and compositional markers, to a single speaker, but that actually contains mixed within it two utterances, two speech manners, two styles, two 'languages', two semantic and axiological belief systems....there is no formal (...) boundary between these utterances, styles, languages, belief systems; the division of voices and languages takes place within the limits of a single syntactic whole, often within the limits of a simple sentence. (Bakhtin 1981: 304/305).

The utterance "immer <<sehr manierierte Stimme, h, f> TOTschick (.)nur ARmani. frau TRÄGT designermodElle." (34-35) belongs to two different people: the reporter Anni as well as the portrayed character Eva. Uspensky (1973: 32f.) describes this kind of polyphony in his poetic theory as "contaminations of the authorial text", i.e. "the modification of the authorial text under the influence of speech which does not belong to the author himself - that is, someone else's speech". As our example reveals, this kind of polyphony is not restricted to literature; it is a strategy used in everyday interactions as well.

KINA KINA (*CHINA CHINA*)

416Hilla: das WIRKlich verrückt.
 that's really crazy
 417Sara: hmhm

With the announcement of "HORrormeldungen" (*'horror stories'*) (405), Hilla keys the affective stance and provides important cues for the orientation of the story to follow: the recipient's involvement and rejection of the wrongdoing is to be expected. Instead of starting the narrative with "once a Black guy invited a Chinese woman for tea", Hilla begins by introducing the consequence of an action ("der eine war ma verDROSCHen worden" (*'one of them had been beaten up'*) (406)) and thereby builds up narrative tension about the reason for this action. This tension is aggravated by the prosodically marked (high onset, additional loudness and lengthening) conjunction "!"[↑]WEI:L!" (*'because'*) (408), focusing on the reason to come. Then, however, Hilla changes perspectives: The choice of the words ("erdreistet hatte"; *had the audacity*) reveals her irritation over the Chinese. At the same time, the utterance "<all> !"[↑]WEI:L! er sich erdreistet hatte,> eine chiNEsin zum !TEE! einzuladen;= nachmittags" (*'because he had had the audacity to invite a Chinese woman for tea'*) (408-410) is permeated with the ironic comment of the reporter. In this hybrid construction Hilla distances herself from this incorporated text. Again, we are confronted with other people's speech which is introduced into the author's discourse (...) in a "*concealed form*", that is, without any of the *formal* markers usually accompanying such speech, whether direct or indirect. But this is not just another's speech in the same 'language' - it is another's utterance in a language that is itself "other" to the author as well...." (Bakhtin 1981: 303). This hybrid construction with the incorporation of a different voice into the speaker's own utterance is used to invite the recipient to distance herself from this perspective and win her sympathy for the Black student. Behind the portrayed perspective, we "hear" a second perspective: the reporter's indignant evaluation about the attitude of the quoted people. Sara orients to these cues by responding with an affectively marked sign of disapproval "^NEIN::" (411), thus displaying her alignment with the reporter's stance.

3. Conclusion

The analysis of everyday reported speech reveals that speakers make use of voicing and prosodic as well as voice quality features to achieve various interactive goals:

- (i) to contextualize whether an utterance is anchored in the reporting world or the storyworld;
- (ii) to animate the quoted characters and to differentiate between the quoted characters;
- (iii) to signal the speech activities and the affective stance of the reported characters;
- (iv) to comment on the reported speech as well as on the quoted characters.

Thus, polyphony and hybridization cannot be reduced to literary texts, but speakers in everyday conversations also make use of polyphonic strategies and produce "many-voiced" texts. The technique of "layering of voices" is employed to implicitly present various perspectives within one utterance: the perspective of the quoted figure and the perspective of the reporter. Thus, what Volosinov (1978) calls "speech interference" also happens in everyday reported speech: one utterance can simultaneously belong to two persons (the quoted figure as well as the reporter), it can be anchored in two "worlds" (the storyworld and the reporting world) and it can carry two points of view (the quoted figure's perspective and the ironic, mocking, evaluative perspective of the reporter). In order to infiltrate reported speech with their own commentaries and produce multi-voiced texts, speakers in everyday interactions draw heavily on the use of oral resources such as prosodic features and voice quality.

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Appendix: Transcription conventions (based on GAT)¹⁷

Sequential structure

[]	overlap
[]	
=	latching of new turns or single units

Pauses

(.)	micro-pause
(-), (--), (---)	short, middle or long pauses of ca. 0.25 - 0.75 seconds, up to ca. 1 second
(2.0)	estimated pause of more than ca. 1 second
(2.85)	measured pause (measured to hundredths of a second)

Other segmental conventions

and=uh	slurring within units
., ::, :::	lengthening, according to duration
uh, ah, etc.	hesitation signals, so-called "filled pauses"
'	glottal stop

Laughter

so(h)o	laughter particles during speech
haha hehe hihi	syllabic laughing
((laughing))	description of laughter

Final pitch movements

?	high rise
,	rise to mid
-	level pitch
;	fall to mid
.	low fall

Other conventions

((cough))	paralinguistic and non-linguistic actions and events
<<coughing> >	accompanying paralinguistic and non-linguistic actions and events over a stretch of speech
<<surprised> >	interpretive comments over a stretch of speech
()	unintelligible passage, according to its duration
(such)	presumed wording
al(s)o	presumed sound or syllable
(such/which)	possible alternatives
((...))	omission of text
->	specific line in the transcript which is referred to in the text

Accents

ACcent	primary or main accent
Accent	secondary accent
!AC!cent	extra strong accent

Pitch step-up/step-down

↓	pitch step-down
↑	pitch step-up

Change of pitch register

<<l>	>	low pitch register
<<h>	>	high pitch register

Intra-linear notation of pitch movement within an accent

`SO	fall
˘SO	rise
SO	level
^SO	rise-fall
˘˘SO	fall-rise
↑˘	small pitch step-up to the peak of the accented syllable
↓˘	small pitch step-down to the bottom of the accented syllable
↑˘SO or ↓˘SO	conspicuously high or low pitch step-up or down to the peak or the bottom of the accented syllable
↑ SO or ↓ SO	pitch jumps to conspicuously higher or lower accent

Volume and tempo changes

<<f>	>	forte, loud
<<ff>	>	fortissimo, very loud
<<p>	>	piano, soft
<<p>	>	pianissimo, very soft
<<all>	>	allegro, fast
<<len>	>	lento, slow
<<cresc>	>	crescendo, becoming louder
<<dim>	>	diminuendo, becoming softer
<<acc>	>	accelerando, becoming faster
<<rall>	>	rallentando, becoming slower

Breathing in and out

.h, .hh, .hhh	inbreath, according to duration
h, hh, hhh	outbreath, according to duration

¹ I would like to thank Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen for her comments on the paper. Thanks to Bill Flowe for correcting my English.

² Cf. Bauman/Briggs (1990) for the process of re- and decontextualization.

³ Cf. also Günthner (1993; 1997a).

⁴ Cf. Couper-Kuhlen (1986).

⁵ Cf. Couper-Kuhlen (1997).

⁶ For dense accentuation see Uhmann (1992).

⁷ Cf. Couper-Kuhlen (1997).

⁸ Cf. also Couper-Kuhlen (1997).

⁹ Cf. also Couper-Kuhlen (1997).

¹⁰ Cf. also Günthner (1997a, c) on prosodic stylization in reported speech.

¹¹ Cf. Bergmann (1987) on the double function of direct reported speech: authenticity and fictionality; and Günthner (1997b).

¹² For typification see Schütz/Luckmann (1979).

¹³ Cf. Günthner (1997c) on prosodic stylization in reported speech.

¹⁴ I use the term "inner monologue" for all forms (ranging from direct reported thoughts to stream of consciousness techniques) of presenting the thoughts of a character.

¹⁵ Cf. also Couper-Kuhlen (1997).

¹⁶ Cf. Clark/Gerrig (1990) use the term "incorporated quotations" for this kind of "borrowed utterances" and state, that such incorporated quotations "are rare in conversations" (Clark/Gerrig 1990: 790). However, as my data reveal, they are not that "rare" but are used rather often in spoken interactions.

¹⁷ The transcription conventions follow GAT „Gesprächsanalytisches Transkriptionssystem“, Selting et al. (in print).

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