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Interaction and Linguistic Structures

Lists as embedded structures and the prosody of list construction as an interactional resource[*]

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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.

Previously published in this series:

1. Introduction: Aims and previous work on lists

The starting point of my analysis is a practice or an action in everyday conversation: lists. My analysis aims at the following points: I will first analyse the sequential organisation and embedding of lists in general, then describe the prosody of lists, with data from conversations of speakers of Standard German; finally, I will demonstrate that the prosody of lists is indeed oriented to as a constitutive cue in the signalling of lists in interaction.

1.1 Treatment of lists in the literature

Lists have been the object of analyses by conversation analysts, linguists specializing in prosody and intonation, and interaction analysts who have tried to combine both approaches. I will summarize the results of these approaches.

1.1.1 Conversation analysts have described the sequential structure of lists

Jefferson (1990) describes the three-part structure of lists as an interactional resource that participants orient to. She poses "recognizable list-initiation" as one of the methodical tasks in conversation that need to be analysed. In particular, she writes:

> "The foregoing considerations indicate that the programmatic relevance of three-part list construction can serve as a basic sequential resource. Specifically, a completed list can constitute a completed turn at talk, and the projectability of third-as-final component permits a recipient to monitor for turn completion" (Jefferson 1990: 77)

In order to prevent the first item of a list from being heard as "a single, non-list-implicative sentence component", Jefferson poses the conversationalists' "issue of recognizable list-initiation as a problem for which, again, methodic solutions may exist" (ibid.). Jefferson comes to the following conclusion:

> "[...] it appears that principled list construction serves as a methodic resource for the organization of conversational sequencing, establishing an analog to sentences and

other 'turn constructional units' and thus enabling the achievement of precise transition from a current speaker to a next. Finally, it appears that such list-constructional principles as serial unit-replication and adequate cross-item representivity can serve as methodic resources for the conduct of interactional negotiations" (Jefferson 1990: 90).

While Jefferson focuses on the recognizability of the first item as a list item, Lerner (1994) claims that the second item is the first to make a list recognizable as such. He describes the practice of 'responsive list construction' in accomplishing multifaceted action. He argues that the systematic basis for the regularity of the three-part-structure of lists is to be found in the necessities of the turn-taking system and the principle of minimization (1994: 22ff). While 'List completion can be oriented to by recipients as possible utterance completion' (iidem.: 23), 'three seems to be the minimum number of parts needed to demonstrate that one is doing listing' (iidem.: 23). He then concentrates the search for the solution of Jefferson's 'problem of the recognizability of a list in progress' on the second list item:

"The design of the second item as a second yet not final item marks the utterance retrospectively and prospectively as a list in progress. [...] it is not until the second item is produced [...] as a list item that the utterance is shown to be a list in progress. It is the recognizability of a list in progress from the design of the second item that furnishes the possibility of anticipatory completion [...] by another speaker" (Lerner 1994: 24).

Lerner goes on to show how list construction can be used as a response in order to incorporate a recipient's item, e.g. provided after a speaker's word search, into a list of items and thus "as a receipt-slot alternative to acceptance and rejection, thus providing procedures that contribute to the preference for agreement in talk in interaction" (1994: 27).

Lerner (1995) describes list construction as an interactional practice that produces opportunities and possibilities for participation in instructional discourse in the classroom. He also hints at the embedding of list construction in other activities. In particular, he writes:

"Beginning a list opens the possibility of student involvement. Through the inductive procedure of illustration, a list-in-progress furnishes recipients with the characteristics and form of a proper list item and a site for it to be issued. A list-in-progress furnishes a form for additions (a next list item of the type already produced), and as such it provides an opportunity for syntactically tying subsequent utterances by various participants to a

prior turn as an extension of it. This can relax the proscription against entering another's turn at talk, insofar as a next list item is designed as a completion for or an extension of the prior turn. The affiliated list item is designed as and can be treated as a conditional entry into the turn of another participant." (Lerner 1995: 118)[1]

In these studies, prosody has not been taken into account. Even though Lerner (esp. 1994) in his examples presents both lists embedded in single sentences as TCUs as well as list items which seem to constitute separate TCUs each, he sticks to a CA-style analysis with attempts to elaborate on what 'produced/presented *as a list*" (my emphasis, M.S.) means and implies, restricted to sequential and positional accounts. Yet, as I will show later on, my data show that (a) intonation plays a crucial role here, and that (b) by using a typical list-intonation for a possible list-item, already first items can be made recognizable as list items.

1.1.2 Intonologists have described the prosody, especially the intonation of lists.

A classical treatment of lists, Schubiger (1958), is described and built on by Couper-Kuhlen in her 1986 'An Introduction to English Prosody". She distinguishes between complete and incomplete lists. Here is what she says about lists (in the following quote, tadpole representations of pitch accents are substituted by small accent symbols):

"They are likely to have one of the following patterns, depending on whether they are complete or incomplete:

Complete
(i)   ´   ´   ´   `
(ii)   `        `   ´   `
(iii)   `        `   `        `

(i)   there are hundreds of RÚSSian // CÚBan // and East German [SPÈCialists] and adVÌSors //

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[1] Cf. also Atkinson (1984) and Heritage and Greatbatch (1986) on the use of list construction as a "claptrap" in political oratory.

(ii)   the horses were NÈIGHing; the oxen were BÈLlowing; the cows were LÓWing; and the pigs were GRÙNTing
(Schubiger 1958: 72)

(iii)   and they're about to die // M‾Utilated // and B‾URNED // and HÙRT [...]

Incomplete

(iv)   ´   ´   ´   ´   ´

(v)   `        `   `        `   `   (Schubiger 1958: 72f.)

(iv)   if you ask people to speak about their LÁWyers // or their WÁSHer repairman // or their CÁR mechanic

(v)   it's like FL‾Uoride // it's like [C‾APital] PÙ^{n}Nishment // it's ‾ONE"
(Couper-Kuhlen 1986: 150)

A little later, with reference to Schubiger (1958), she gives the following account of the apperception of lists:

"In discussing the intonation of lists, Schubiger (1958) remarks that with patterns such as ´   ´   ´   `        or        `   `        ´        `   'apperception is comprehensive; from the beginning the speaker has all the items he is going to mention in mind'. On the other hand, with a pattern such as   `        `   `        ` 'the speaker's apperception is gradual. That is why *and* mostly introduces each item; for each might be the last and in this case have a low fall (1958: 72)."
(Couper-Kuhlen 1986: 153)

Another classical treatment of lists is given in von Essen's (1964) description of German intonation. Under the heading of 'Aufzählung', he only gives examples of lists that are constructed as several or multiple occurrences of the same part of speech within full sentences. The non-final items have progredient pitch, final items are said to have falling pitch (von Essen 1964: 42f.). To add emotional involvement in the formulation of lists, however, list items may end with falling pitch and successive list items may even be upstepped in pitch before ending with falling to low, each list item thus exhibiting a larger bandwidth (ebd.: 62).

More recent descriptions have treated lists again. Féry (1993: 76) gives an example of a list "Wollen Sie Orangensaft Apfelsaft oder lieber Kaffee?". She analyses this as a "multi-phrase yes-no question [IP[ip *Wollen Sie Orangensaft*] [ip *Apfelsaft*] [ip *oder lieber Kaffee?*]] 'Do you want orange juice, apple juice or coffee?'. Féry only analyses the organization of this example in terms of Intermediate Phrases. Intonationally, the list is organized as follows: the first two list items *Orangensaft* and *Apfelsaft* have rising pitch, while the last item *(oder lieber) Kaffee* has falling pitch. All three items, however, are formulated on a descending line that clearly falls from the first to the last list item. As will become clear later, these examples resemble my 'closed lists'.

Further on, Féry (1993: 90) gives the example of a different list in German which was constructed in the following context "Kannst Du ein paar Sachen einkaufen? BROT, MILCH, BUTTER... (das Übliche) 'Can you buy a few things? Bread, milk, butter ... (the usual things).'" The list items are labelled as L*M. Here, each list item first rises a bit and then remains fairly level; all three items are produced on similar mid pitch height, denoted by Féry's 'M'. As my analysis will show, this list resembles 'open lists' in my data.

Downstepped lists are dealt with later by Féry (1993: 163f.). She quotes Beckman & Pierrehumbert (1986) and their example of a list "blueberries boyberries raspberries mulberries and brambleberries" formulated on a descending line with downstep of each new item in relation to the prior item. Lists are given as a context for downstep to take place. And also the corresponding list constructed for German by Féry, "Erdbeeren, Heidelbeeren, Himbeeren, Brombeeren, Johannisbeeren und Stachelbeeren" is spoken with downstep by Féry's experimental subjects (Féry 1993: 164). In a footnote, she discusses an analysis of lists by Liberman & Pierrehumbert (1984), who found that in lists of the quoted kind, i.e. (read aloud closed – my addition, M.S.) lists of berries,

> "'the overall impression is of an exponential curve, each step is smaller than the one before'. They make twenty different lists of varied length, from two to five items, spoken by four subjects. They obtain the following results:
> - There is a tendency for the shorter lists to begin lower.
> - Downstep is exponential decay.
> - The list-final measurements are generally lower than would be expected from extrapolating the trend of the non-final points. This final lowering was the largest and most striking effect" (Féry 1993: 164f, fn. 7).

Grabe (1998) first distinguishes between two types of rise-plateaux which seem to be usable for lists in German read-aloud texts, in her notation (a) H*>0% which is downstepped in succession, and (b) L*+H 0% which is not downstepped in succession (cf. Grabe 1998: 101f.). These are illustrated in the following figure:

(a)   (b)

H*> 0%   L*+H 0%   L*+H 0%   L*+H 0%

        H*> 0%

              H*> 0%
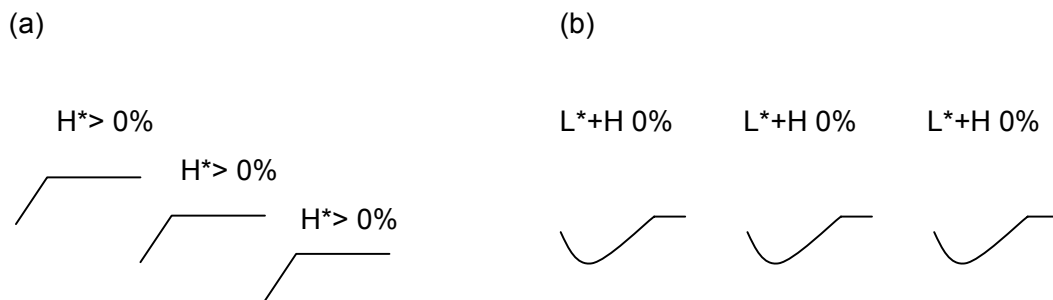
Figure 33   Schematic illustration of the difference between two types of rise-plateau in sequence.

(Grabe 1998: 102)

In a later experimental study, Grabe compares lists with L*+H 0% and L*+H H% contours. She found that "speakers did not mix nuclear tones within coordination structures; rather, coordination structures were produced with one nuclear tone or the other" (ibid.: 182). That means that in read-aloud lists, speakers choose the same nuclear tone or accent type for the list items. As Grabe's focus, however, was not on the investigation of list intonation per se, but on truncation or compression of selected mid-list items, she does not consider the last list item but leaves this out of her analysis altogether. Furthermore, "in the data recorded for this experiment, downstep did not apply to nuclear rise-plateaux" (Grabe 1998: 172; capital letters changed to lower case here, M.S.).

As we have seen, thus, one of the issues is what contours lists, and in particular final list items, are produced with; another is whether the list items are produced with or without downstep on each successive item. It should be clearly kept in mind that the data that the experimental subjects in all these studies produced were pre-constructed and read-aloud lists, not lists produced spontaneously in order to fulfill some real conversational task.

1.1.3   Combined forces:

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lists as sequentially and phonetically/prosodically organized structures

Turning more to the phonetic characteristics and thus the achieved cohesion of lists is a study by Müller (1989). He describes lists in everyday story tellings by Southern Italian speakers. He shows how Southern Italian speakers use sound assonances and sound series as everyday rhetorical strategies. Lists are activities or practices that speakers exploit for the production of artful 'Klangzauber' as an element of oral rhetorical style in order to amplify the effect of their utterances.

Erickson (1992) was, to my knowledge, the first one to combine an analysis of the sequential structure of lists with a description of the prosody of lists. He analyses an extended example of a collaboratively produced list in a family dinner conversation and shows that for the collaborate construction of the list participants use, besides parallelisms in syntax, also the timing and prosody of speech, in particular of accented syllables on the list items, for the establishment of a common rhythm that makes the listing routine a recognizable and a collaboratively constructable one. Even the timing of eating behavior was adapted to the production of the list and used as a production resource. The list was thus shown to function as a strong resource for the family to engage in and demonstrate collaborative interaction:

> "The list routine [...] is an especially striking example of a collective speaking activity in which coherence and intelligibility (as matters of comprehension) and social participation (as management of access and transition) appeared to be facilitated by members' participation in a shared rhythmic framework" (Erickson 1992: 395).

In the following paper I will follow this line of combined sequential and prosodic analysis.

1.2 Open questions and overview over the analysis

Let me come back again to Jefferson's (1990) analysis of lists as three-part structures and her posing of the recognizability of list construction for recipients as an interactional task. How is this recognizability accomplished in detail? If there are particular list intonations, as everyday listening to lists as well as the linguistic studies on the intonation of lists suggest, then it is

worthwhile to connect this to the conversationalists' task as formulated by Gail Jefferson. In particular, the questions for research are:

Besides the syntax and semantics of lists, as described by Jefferson:
How are lists in everyday conversation structured prosodically?
In particular:

- How are lists initiated and embedded in talk-in-interaction?
- What contours are used for the organization of list items?
- In what ways are they combined in successive list items to form a complete list?
- Is there downstep in the production of conversational lists, and if so - what could be its relevance?
- How can the functioning of the prosody of lists be explained?
- Is there variation in the construction of lists in conversation?

The answers to all these questions contribute different aspects of the one task, i.e. to reconstruct the ways in which prosody, and in particular intonation, besides and in co-occurrence with the sequential and structural resources described by Jefferson, is used as a resource to methodically make list initiation recognizable for recipients, and further make entire lists interpretable <u>as</u> lists in conversational talk.

2. The construction of lists in Standard German talk-in-interaction: structural description

I will describe the construction of lists in my corpus of conversations in, mostly, Northern Standard German. All the data used for this analysis come from informal face-to-face conversations or telephone calls, mostly from everyday contexts, some also from radio call-in programmes. They have been transcribed according to the transcription system GAT (Selting et al. 1998), an adaptation of the Jefferson-style transcription system developed by a group of German linguists and conversation analysts that tries to represent the prosody of spoken language more systematically and in a way compatible with the conventions in phonetics and prosody research in linguistics. The symbols are listed in the Appendix.

With respect to the general structure of listing and lists, I will show the following points:

(i)   Listing is always an embedded practice; lists are normally middle parts of a larger three-component structure.

(ii)   We should distinguish between (a) closed lists that suggest a closed number of items, and (b) open lists that suggest an open number of items. These classes of lists are produced with different kinds of practices. It seems to be the prosody that is used to suggest the intended kind of list, irrespective of its syntactic embedding.

(iii)   Lists may be produced with different kinds of, albeit similar, intonation contours. But it is not so much the particular intonation contour that is constitutive of lists, but a variety of similar contours plus the repetition of the chosen contour for at least some or even all of the list items. Furthermore, intonation is deployed to suggest the interpretation of a potential final list item as either a list completer or as another item of the list with some kind of gestalt closure still to come.

With these points I wish to show that intonation is indeed one of the methodically used constitutive cues that makes the production and structuring of lists recognizable for recipients.

2.1   The three-part structure of lists and the three-component structure that lists are the middle part of

Extract (1) shows an example of what Jefferson calls a three-part list:

(1)   K1: 741-749
```
    1    Nat:    `DAS hab ich jetz `AUCH wieder gemerkt.=
                  that's what I noticed too
    2             =ich war drei tage auf ↑¯FEHmarn;
```

```
                     I spent three days on Fehmarn
      3              und <<p> ah: ¯dAs is> (0.3)
                     and          that is
  •   4              ich ↑`FIND das ↑`SO ´TOLL,=
                     I think that's so gorgeous
->    5              =[↑¯MEE:R]-
                       the sea
      6    Ida:      [`´ja  ]
                       yeah
->    7    Nat:      und ↑¯STRAND-
                     and the beach
      8              und
                     and
      9    Ida:      ((lacht 0.4 Sek.))
                     ((laughs for 0.4 secs.))
->    10   Nat:      diese ↑`WEI:te auch [so. ] ´ne,
                     this wide countryside     you know
      11   Ida:                          [`´hm]
                                           hm
      12             (0.3)
=>    13   Nat:      ↑ich `KÖNNT da nich drauf ver`ZICHten [glaub ich.=
                     I couldn't do without that            I believe
      14   Ida:                                            [ja;
                                                            yeah
      15   Nat:      =also:: `Unten in den ↑`BERgen da; (0.8)
                      so:    down there in the mountains
      16             `FURCHTbar.
                      horrible
```

The list is constructed in lines 5, 7 and 10 and consists of three items that are conjoined with the conjunction *und*. The items are formulated in three separate TCUs. The parallel structure can be more easily seen in the representation in (1'):

(1')

```
                  ↑¯MEE:R-
      und         ↑¯STRAND-
      und diese   ↑`WEI:te   auch so.
```

The first two items are, apart from the conjunction *und*, formulated syntactically parallel, i.e. two noun phrases without articles or other additions, the third item has a similar kernel, but is accompanied by the demonstrative article *diese* and the particles *auch so*. Similarly, the items differ slightly in semantics: the first two items name nouns with concrete meanings: the *sea* and the *beach*, while the third item has a more abstract meaning that you can see near the sea: *this wide countryside*. This is what Jefferson might perhaps subsume under 'generalized list completer' (Jefferson 1990) or what Lerner might refer to as a 'class formulation for the list that the prior items instantiate' (Lerner 1994: 25). The list is thus made up of three partly different, yet compatible and often collocationally combined lexical items that appear in slightly varied, yet

fundamentally still parallel syntactic constructions. (Cf. also Lerner's 'conjunctive list format (X and Y and Z)', 1994: 30.)

As can be seen in the figure k1-1353 (see next page), the prosody of the list items also shows some parallelism: The first two items *MEE:R* and *STRAND* are configured with very similar intonation contours, loudness and length. The intonation contour in these first two items can be described as a rise up to level pitch in the accented syllable; this level pitch is maintained for the duration of the accented syllable and falls slightly towards the end of the unit. The third item differs, though: Here we find, after the rise up to the high peak in the accented syllable of the word *WEI:te,* large pitch movements and overall falling pitch to the end of the unit. – I will show that this kind of at least partly parallel prosodic structuring of lists is constitutive of list construction and interpretation.

If we now look at the sequence that this list is embedded in, we can see a sequential structure that is very typical of the surroundings of lists. The three participants Nat, Ida and Ron have been talking about their reluctance to move away from the northern part of Germany. Ida has just claimed that she wants to stay near the sea and in lines 1ff, Nat agrees with her by detailing on her own attachment to the sea. In line 4, Nat makes a general point, a statement referring to her three day's stay on the isle of Fehmarn that she has just mentioned before in lines 2-3: *ich FIND das SO TOLL,*, i.e. something like *I find that so gorgeous*. Both the pronoun *das*, which is used cataphorically here, i.e. it "looks forward", the emphatic evaluation *SO TOLL* as well as the rising intonation project something more to come to fill the recipient in on the details of what Nat likes so much about Fehmarn. This can be analyzed as projecting more-to-come, a 'pre-detailing component' which is then 'detailed' and 'expanded' with the three-part list itself. The list gives details or examples for the general point put forward in line 4. After the evaluation and throughout the list, Ida responds with recipiency tokens and brief laughter. After the list and a brief pause, Nat in line 13 produces a kind of conclusion: she relates the positively evaluated details in the list back to her wish to stay in Northern Germany by stating that she believes she could not live without that, before she gives a negative evaluation of Southern Germany with its mountains, where she

k1-1353

12
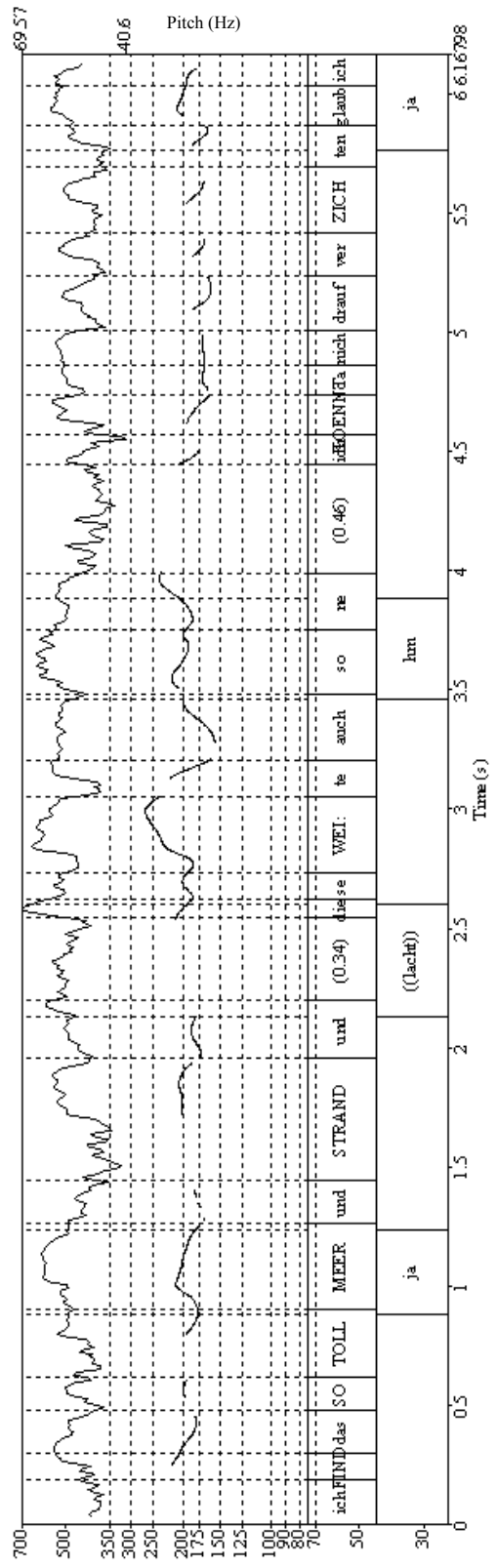
feels horrible. Line 13 is a 'gestalt-closure', a 'post-detailing component', of the three-component structure that lists are a part of.

The three-component structure that the three-part list is part of consists of the following components:

(a)   the 'projecting component', projecting more-to-come (pointed out with '•' in the left margin of the transcripts), via

(aa)   'pre-detailing', with cataphoric expressions announcing or projecting detailing of this expression in further talk, (e.g. *das*, *was*, *so*, *welche*, *darauf*, *das/des alles*, ('that, what, so, which, all that') etc., pointing to the detailing of references in further talk; the continuation is formulated with or without latching), or

(ab)   'general formulation' projecting detailing by way of elaboration, explication, exemplification, illustration in further talk, (e.g. *richtig bibliographie*, *totschick*; the continuation is formulated without latching),

(b)   the 'list' as a practice of detailing, via e.g. elaborating, explicating, exemplifying, illustrating of (a): list items with at least partly parallel syntax and prosody (pointed out with '->' in the left margin of the transcripts),

(c)   the 'gestalt closure', a 'post-detailing component', most often linking back to (a), mostly with falling final pitch (pointed out with '=>' in the left margin of the transcripts).

This is the general formal and context-free structure that I found around almost all the examples of lists in my data. The particular details that this structure is filled with are, of course, sensitive to the context at hand; they achieve the embedding of the list into the surrounding activity. The projecting component (a) projects more-to-come, not a list in particular. If a list is constructed in (b), this is the speaker's choice of continuation; an alternative way of detailing might be, for instance, describing. If, after the production of a list, (c) is missing, this can always be accounted for.

2.2 Evidence that participants orient to the three-partedness and to the general three-component structure that lists are a part of

In order to warrant my analysis so far, I will present evidence from the data themselves that participants indeed orient both to the three-partedness of lists as well as to the three-component structure with lists as their middle part.

2.2.1 Evidence for the preference of three-parted lists

As Jefferson (1990) presented ample evidence for the preference for three-parted lists, I will only illustrate this issue here with my own data. Many of the extracts presented below give some evidence for the preference of three-parted lists. A first kind of evidence for the three-partedness of lists proper is quantitative: Three-parted lists proper seem to be the most frequently constructed ones. Yet, the following kinds of evidence seems to me to be even more important.

2.2.1.1 The use of general list completers as third items

We often find general items, or even dummy items, presented like and thus as the third item of the list proper in order to make it a three-part list. The following extracts present some evidence:

(2)   K2: 448-460

```
•      448 Ron:    undann hab ich ´HIER halt so: die gesangs`TECHnik dann;=
                   and then here (i attended) techniques of singing
       449            =nich,=
                       you know
•      450 Ron:    =<<l> was: [also ↑`KLASsischen gesang an[geht so.=ne,> (1.9)
                             as for classical singing            you know
       451 Ida:               [`´mhm                  [`´mhm
->     452 Ron:    <<l> wie man  (0.5)  reso-NANZräume ausnut[zt-=>
                        how to take advantage of resonance rooms
       453 Ida:                                            [mm
->     454 Ron:    =[u:nd wie man vo-KA:le fo:rmt-=
                    how to do vowels
       455 Ida:    [(hhh)
->     456 Ron:    =und so [`weiter.=ne,
                   and so on you know
       457 Ida:           [ja;
                            yes
       458          (1.0)
=>     459 Ida:    [das: aber ↑`GUT;
                    but that's good
```

```
        460 Nat:    [((haucht))
                     ((breathes))
```

Here, we find Ron producing his projection component in lines 448f and 450, and detailing it with his list in lines 452 and 454 with a rather rarely used intonation contour with mid level pitch plateaus.

(2')
```
              wie man  (0.5)  reso-NANZräume ausnut[zt-
        u:nd  wie man         vo-KA:le fo:rmt-
```

After two such list items, Ron quickly adds as a third item *und so weiter.=ne,* in line 456, i.e. a typical et-cetera-formula as a generalized list completer. This is a piece of evidence to show that such a generalized list completer is deployed, apparently in order to produce some other item to complete the list as a three-part list. This third item functions as a generalized list completer to complete the list proper, but it does not yet relate back to the general point made in lines 449f. This linking back is then – after a 1.0 pause in which Ron has not supplied it – provided by Ida's proffering an evaluation in line 459, which in this case then functions as a gestalt closure of the three-component structure, produced by the recipient of the list.

Another piece of evidence comes from my corpus of regionalized lists from the Hamburg vernacular:

(3)   HH01: 376 ff. ((HH01 on his profession))
```
        381     HH01:    glAser geLERNT
                         had been apprenticed to a glazier
  •     382              .hh ich hab aber mein (-) WISsensgebiet
                            but i've been improving my field of knowledge
  •     383                 hab ich also SOweit erweite' äh äh
                            actually so far
  •     384                 sowei äh äh erWEItert
                            so far improving
  •     385              .h äh äh (.) daß ich jetzt nebenBEI: noch
                            er er    that i now besides that
  •     386                 so priVAT (.)
                            so in private
        387              zum BEIspiel (.)
                         for example
->      388              tape↑ ̄ZIE:ren;
                         papering
        389     I:       hm [hm-
                         hm  hm
->      390     HH01:       [↑ ̄MA:len; (.) ne,
                            painting      you know
        391     I:       also hAuptsächlich so .h prAktische sachen
                         so mainly practical things
        392                 die man gebrAu[chen kann [im' (.)
```

15

```
                           you make use of              in
=>   393   HH01:                        [a'         [Alles
                                                      all
     394   I:              [im haus bei der renoVIErung-
                            in the house when redecorating
     395   HH01:           [MÖGliche nech
                            sorts of things you know
->   396   HH01:   e↑‾LE:Ktroleitungen legen;
                   laying electric cables
=>   397          und (.) und ALles sowat [ne
                  and all that stuff you know
     398   I:                             [MAchen sie das auch
                                           are you still doing this
     399          mAnchmal noch
                  sometimes
```

In this case, after making his projection in lines 382-387, HH01 produces a list of two items in lines 388 and 390,

(3')

```
tape↑‾ZIE:ren;
↑‾MA:len; (.) ne,
```

but then leaves a gap and adds a tag question *ne,*. The interlocutor I takes over and formulates a possible gestalt closure, a kind of conclusion from HH01's list. Yet, while I is formulating his conclusion, HH01 tries to regain the turn in line 393. At first, he overlaps I's talk in order to add a generalized list completer *ALles MÖGliche nech*, but when I has yielded the turn, HH01 in line 396 provides still another list item which then is the third list item proper:

```
e↑‾LE:Ktroleitungen legen;
```

After this, he gives another version of his generalized list completion, namely *und (.) und ALles sowat ne*.

This case shows that even after "disturbances" and after a first completion of the list has already been provided, speakers sometimes still add a third item to make the number of list items amount to three. This, however, seems to make another completion of the list proper necessary. - There is indeed then, as Jefferson 1990 has shown, a preference for lists to have three items.

2.2.1.2 Speakers take the right to complete the entire list/turn with a third item or a completer

In the next extract, Dollis grandmother, Omi, has asked Dolli how she gets from one place in the city to another. After Dolli has given a condensed description of her route in lines 64 by mentioning the most important part of her route, and after Omi has confirmed that information in line 65, Dolli starts clarifying that she means her way by car. In line 70, she projects more-to-come by beginning with *also: h* ('well'), and then produces a list in lines 72, 73, and completes it in line 75.

(4)   T3-10: 56-82

```
      56   O:    .hh wie kOmm ich daHIN;
                 how do i get there
      57   O:    weil ich UNter der erde ja: (.) daHIN komme;
                 because i get there by underground
      59   D:    hm,
      60   O:    .h (habe ich äh:) dafür h
                 i have er       therefore
      61   O:    .hh ich wEiß wie=s AUSsieht;=nich,
                 i know what it looks like
      62   O:    dafür habe: l:ange genug in hAlensee ge´WOHNT `und so;
                 after all i was living in halensee for long enough you know
      64   D:    .h naja (.) kOnstanzer STRAße fährste lang;
                 well you have to drive down konstanzer strasse
      65   O:    .h ja;=dAnn fahr ich konSTANzer;=ja,
                 yes then i ride down konstanzer yes
●     67   D:    nee;=´Ich mein jetz auch mi=m `AUto;
                 no i mean by car as well
●     69   D:    von `MIR aus;
                 from my place
      70   D:    also: h
                 well
      71   O:    [ja:;]
                  yes
->    72   D:    [.hh ] von `MIR: mi=m `AU:to (äh) über fehrbel´LIner,
                     from my place by car across fehrbelliner
->    73   D:    kon[´STANzer,
                 konstanzer
      74   O:    .h [(ab fehrbelliner
                    from fehrbelliner
=>    75   D:    [und ´Einfach] nur grade `AUS;]
                 and just straight on
      76   O:    [platz          )]
                  platz
      77   O:    ja;=am fEhrbelliner vorBEI:;=ja;
                 yes pass fehrbelliner yes
      78   D:    ja:;
                 yes
      80   O:    .h hm;
                 hm
      81   D:    .h dis is ALles;
                 that's it
      82   D:    aber ich fAhr meistens mit der U-BAHN,
```

<p style="text-align:center">but i usually take the underground</p>

Dolli's list consists of two items, in which streets are named; after that, a generalized list completer is given:

(4')

```
      [.hh ] von `MIR: mi=m `AUto (äh) über fehrbel´LIner,
                                          kon[´STANzer,
      [und ´Einfach] nur grade `AUS;]
```

In this case, however, Omi does not wait for Dolli to complete her list, before she takes over the turn. Already in overlap with Dolli's second list item in line 73, Omi repeats Dolli's first item, completing and thus covertly correcting it into the full term *fehrbelliner platz* in lines 74 and 76. Dolli, however, neither stops to hold or yield her turn nor gives any other signal of having been disturbed. She continues as if nothing has happened and thus demonstrates that she simply takes her right to complete her turn. - This extract thus shows that speakers demonstrate that they have and take the right to complete their turn with at least another item after two prior items that recognizably initiate and continue a list.[2]

In extract (5), Nat tells her recipients Ida and Ron about the authors they dealt with in a feminist seminar on film and theatre. The seminar is named in line 30.

(5)   K1: 28-40

```
      28   Nat:  <<p> wie `HIEß n das;>
                      what was it called
      29         (1.7)
●     30         <<f> ↑`FILM und `THEAter [für `FRAUen;>
                      film and drama for women
      31   Ida:                           [ja-
                                            yes
      32   Ida:  <<p> geNAU;>
                      exactly
      33   Nat:  geNAU.
                 exactly
      34         (0.2)
->    35         un da war hier so: (.) ma-grEt (.) dü↑¯RA¯
                        M(                 ¯        ¯    )
                 and that was about     margueret     duras

->    36         und (0.2) ↑¯JElinek¯ (0.2)
                           (     ¯     )
                 and       jelinek

      37         <<p> `WEISS nich;> (0.3)
                      don't know
```

---

[2] For another extract in which Omi indeed several times interrupts a list that Dolli has begun, see T1-2: 447-480.

```
38              `HAT mir vorher `AU nix gesacht.
          F( \              \              )
            didn't know either what it was all about before that

39          (0.9)
40    Ida:  `´hm,
```

In order to explain what the seminar was about, in lines 35 and 36, Nat produces two list items by giving the names of authors with 'upward staircase contours', ending with high level pitch each (see below). After the second list item, however, she takes a brief pause of 0.2 seconds and then gives a completion by formulating a kind of disclaimer that seems to deal with her recipients' display of non-recognition: *WEISS nich; HAT mir vorher AU nix gesacht.* As, arguably, the list in this case is not completed, not even with a phrase easily hearable as a generalized list completer, the turn still remains with Nat to produce some kind of continuation. The disclaimer in lines 37-38 makes a general remark about the items mentioned in the list, without really completing this list. But it provides a gestalt closure and completes the turn which contained the list. Yet, it is only after another 0.9 second gap that recipient Ida responds with a recipiency token. This extract thus shows that even when a list is not continued and completed, the turn nevertheless remains with the current speaker to give her/him the opportunity to still complete his or her turn.

2.2.2 Evidence for the orientation to the three-component structure that lists are the middle part of

There is some evidence that participants indeed orient to the three-component structure that the list is part of and not only to the three-part list within it.

2.2.2.1 Recipients' responses after the list proper are restricted.

In general, recipients refrain from taking over the turn directly after the production of a list but leave the turn with the prior speaker for the production of the gestalt closure. So, also in extract (1), speaker Nat leaves a pause of (0.3) seconds after the list and before the production of the gestalt closure, yet Ida does not take over here. As can be seen in the examples dealt with in this paper, recipient's responses after the list proper are restricted to the following:

(1)   Recipients in general respond at most with recipiency tokens such as *hm,* or *ja,* or *ja;* - all other kinds of responses are only given after the gestalt closure. These recipiency tokens or laughter are provided in the following places:

　　(i)   after or near the end of the production of the projection component (a) of the three-component structure,

　　(ii)   after or near the end of the list items proper,

　　(iii)   after or near the end of the full list,

　　(iv)   after or near the end of the gestalt closure.

(2)   Other responses and recipients' turn-taking are restricted to very particular kinds of activities, namely

　　(i)   claiming of the gestalt closure (extract (6)),

　　(ii)   queries/initiations of repair (extracts (4), (12)),

　　(iii)   evaluation (see extracts (2), (3), (8), (9)),

　　(iv)   topic change for repair initiation (extract (21) after lacking gestalt closure).

(3)   Recipients join in in the production of the entire structure by producing collaborative productions (see extracts (3), (6), (9) and (20)).

This shows that participients indeed orient to the completeness of the entire structure, taking over early only for very particular kinds of activities. Of these, queries or initiations of repair always warrant immediate taking over in order to achieve repair, evaluations can be looked upon as stronger forms of recipiency tokens in this context; the cases in which a conclusion was claimed and the topic was changed in response to a list could be shown to be cases of repair initiation by the recipient.

2.2.2.2　　Recipients claim the expected gestalt closure

In a few cases, recipients of a list claim the expected gestalt closure when the producer of the list does not seem to be about to produce it. Such a case is given in extract (6), where Mia tells her recipients Eli and Dor about her visit to a doctor for a general check-up on her health:

(6)　　K0: 218-249
```
217 Eli:   [((lacht))
```

20

```
                                ((laughs))
•    218 Mia:  [(-) <<all> also was die> ge↓´MACHT habm is?
                        so what they did is
•    219      die habm: .h `Erst bei soner ↓´ÄRZtin?
                        they          first with such a (woman) doctor
•    220      .h was hat die eigentlich ge`MACHT; (.)
                        .h what was she doing actually
->   221      die hat äh: (.) ↑`BRUST abgeklopft-
                        she was           tapping my chest
->   222      abge↑‾Hö:RT‾
                        sounding
->   223      .h und: ähm: (.) ge↑‾WO:gen:-
                        and            weighing
->   224      .h und ↑‾GRö:ße ge[messen-=
                        and measuring height
     225 Eli:                   [((grinst leise))
                                 ((grins quietly))
     226 Mia:  =<<t> ich bin eins sechsensechzig> ↑‾GRO:ß‾ (--)
                        i am one metre sixtysix centimetres in height
->   227      und `DANN hat se: (1.0) m:: (-)
                        and then she was
     228         n ↑‾BAUCH abgetastet irgendwie:-
                        palpating my belly
->   229      .h un dann (.) <<h> ↑´KUCKN(?) (.) ‾MUßte man‾> (.)
                        and then          vision        had to be tested
->   230      <<h> ´SEHtest? > (.)
                        visual screening test
     231 Eli:  ´JA?
                        really
->   232 Mia:  `´jaa,=`Und `HÖRtest.
                        yeah   and an auditory test
=>   233 Eli:  UND?
                        and
     234 Eli:  [s'
     235 Mia:  [meine latente `schwErhörig[keit is
                my      latent  deafness       was
     236 Eli:                             <<f>[OH: : :
                                                oh
     237 Mia:  ↑`!NICH! raus]gekommen(h);=[hihihi
                not discovered
     238 Eli:  :  :  :  :  ;]>

     239 Dor:                              [is ↑`!NICH! ´rAusgekommen,=
                                            was not discovered
     240 Mia:  =´NEIN;
                no
     241 Mia:  [((lacht))
                ((laughs))
     242 Dor:  [ou, <<t>da MUß man aber da no ma HINgehn,>
                oh        one should go there once again
     243 Dor:  [und sagn(h) daß(h) das ga(h)ran(h)TIERT (h)nich stimmt,
                and tell them that this is definitely not true
     244 Mia:  [                    ((lacht))
                                     ((laughs))
     245 Mia:  ich GLAUB ja das is ne FUNKtionale Schwerhörigkeit, ne'
                well i suppose that my deafness is a functional one anyway
     246 Mia:  [wenn ich äh was nich hörn WILL dann hör ich nich,
                when i   er don't want to hear something i don't hear it
     247 Dor:  [        ((lacht leise))
                         ((laughs quietly))
     248 Mia:  <<lachend> ich GLAUB da nich so richtig dran,>  .
                <<laughing> i don't really believe in it
     249 Dor:  `wIe un wo[für ´WAR dat] jetz?
```

21

```
                  and what was that for
250 Eli:          [  (  ???  )  ]
251 Mia:   (-) für: (.) für die ernennung zur ↑`HOCHschulassistentin;
                 for      my appointment as an assistent professor
```

The extract starts with the projection component in lines 218-220 which announces that Mia is about to tell the others what the doctor did. In lines 221-232 Mia gives one or two lists of altogether 9 items detailing the doctor's examinations. I will not go into detail about this list itself here. Only this much: Most list items in lines 221-229 show some syntactic parallelism and what I will call upward staircase intonation contours, with high level plateau pitch, ending either high or mid.

Syntactically, the first four list items are organized with sentences in the present perfect tense, with the past participles of this construction being used as the fixed structural item:

(6')

```
die hat äh: (.) ↑`BRUST  abgeklopft-
                         abge↑¯HÖ:RT¯
.h und: ähm: (.) ge↑¯WO:gen:-
.h und          ↑¯GRÖ:ße ge[messen-
```

Within this part, the first list item has slightly falling final pitch in the nuclear accented syllable, ending in mid level pitch, all the others have a contour very often used for lists: a jump up from a lower level pitch to a high level pitch peak in the final, i.e. nuclear, accented syllable of the unit plus a high level plateau pitch for the postnuclear unaccented syllables, ending either high or mid.

The next item does not fit the list syntactically and semantically, because here Mia does not name another of the doctor's examinations but gives the result of the previously mentioned one:

```
=<<t> ich bin eins sechsensechzig> ↑¯GRO:SS¯
```

Yet, prosodically, this utterance is formulated as if it were part of the list, i.e. it also has the jump up to high level pitch in the accented syllable *GRO:SS* plus high plateau pitch till the end of the unit.

The item in line 227f. resumes the prior list semantically, but changes the syntactic format in comparison to the first four items of the list and adds a particle of vagueness at the end, while the intonation contour is still similar to the one in the prior items:

```
und `DANN hat se: (1.0) m:: (-) n ↑‾BAUCH abgetastet irgendwie:-
```

The next item in line 229 again starts with *un dann*, but after this has a different syntactic construction altogether, although it still has a similar intonation contour:

```
.h un dann (.) <<h> ↑´KUCKN(?) (.) ‾MUßte man‾> (.)
```

Finally then, in line 230, the prior item is reformulated by giving the technical term for this kind of examination, *SEHtest*, in a single word unit, which then leads to the last item given here, the syntactically and morphologically parallel item *HÖRtest*.

```
<<h> ´SEHtest?> (.)
`Und `HÖRtest.
```

These final list items are displayed with rising and falling final pitch, thus suggesting the listing as completed.

Here now, when the item *HÖRtest.* is presented as the final item of the list, Eli responds by asking

```
UND?
```

in line 233. This *UND?* demands a continuation of the turn by the producer of the list. The continuation might consist of the telling of some kind of outcome or result of the examinations detailed in the prior list. Indeed, however, this *UND?* is ambiguous: It might prompt the telling of the particular result of the last-mentioned test, i.e. the *HÖRtest*; this seems to be Mia's own interpretation as revealed in her reaction in lines 235-248. But it might also prompt the telling of the outcome of the entire procedure of going through all the examinations detailed in the long list; this seems to be an issue brought up again by Dor in line 249, when she asks what Mia did all this for. These recipient reactions to the list show that the list cannot stand for itself, but the entire structure of (a) projection component, (b) list, and (c) gestalt closure is oriented to.

Next, I will look at the different practices of organising closed and open lists.

2.3   Closed lists

'Closed lists' are those in which the format of the listing suggests that the list is made up of a finite number of items. This can be signalled in different ways: (1) the formulation of the list within a single TCU, or (2) the projection of the number of items prior to list construction. The projection component that the closed list details is often formulated in the same sentence as the list itself. As with all lists, the end of the list is not interpreted as the end of the structure, but a gestalt closure seems to be necessary.


2.3.1   Closed lists within one single TCU

A few examples are given in extracts (7) and (8):

(7)   K1: 539-547


```
•     539 Ron:   .hh ´wElche tage `MACHST du eigentlich wollt ich
                      which days are you working actually i'd just like
•     54O             noch wissen.=außer `mIttwochs.
                       to know      apart from wednesdays
      541            (0.5)
•     542 Ida:   ja; ´jEtzt hab ich ähm: (0.3) `Umge´stellt,
                      well i have just              shifted
      543            <<all,p> ich `hAtte denn die `mÖglichkeit `UMzustellen;>
      544             i had the chance to shift
->    544            auf .hh ´MITTwoch `SAMStach und `SONNtach.
                          F(/        \       \     )
                         to      wednesday saturday and sunday
      545            (1.1)
=>    546 Ida:   weil das ↑`WOLLT ich mir nich mehr `LEIsten hier.
                      because i just couldn't afford to go on that way
      547            (0.5)
      548 Ida:   hm: ´mEhrmals inner `wOche wä:hrend ich hier:
                      several times a week while at the same time I have to come
      549            nach `OLdenburg muß;
                      to oldenburg
      550            (0.7)
      551 Nat:   `´hm,=
```

In (7), Ron has asked Ida what days, apart from wednesdays, she is working. Ida's list is syntactically part of the projection-component sentence begun in line 542, then suspended for a parenthesis in line 543, and continued with the list in line 544. The list itself is constructed by giving three items, i.e. naming weekdays in the form of nouns without articles, in one single prosodic unit with globally falling pitch to a low ending, and with successively downstepped peaks on the list items.
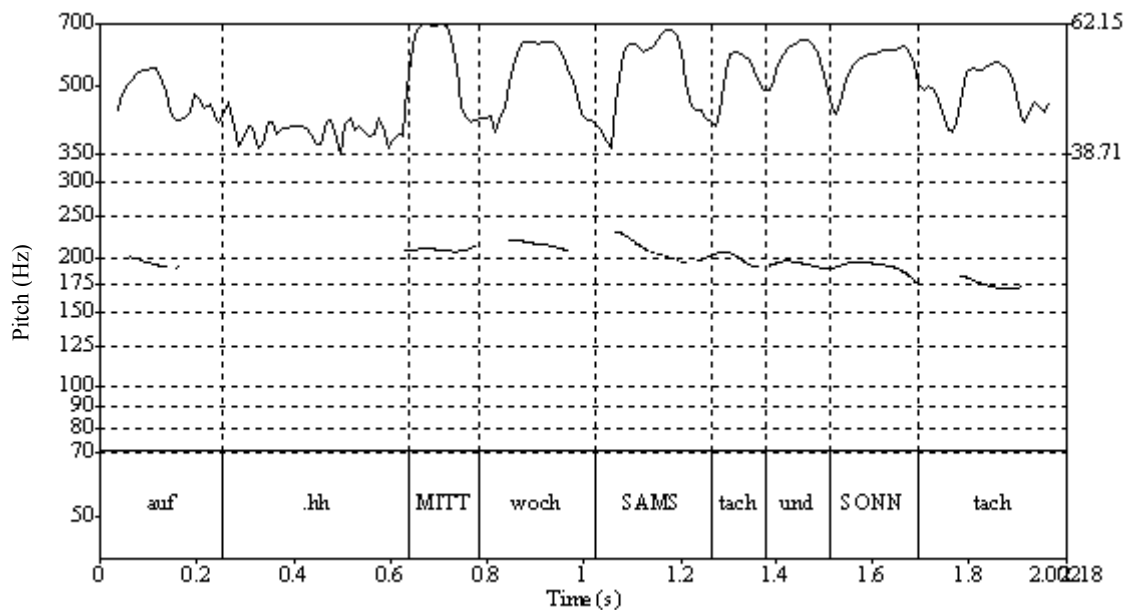
k1 - 0990

While the first item *MITTwoch* has rising pitch in the accented syllable, reaching its peak only in the next syllable, the other items have peaks and falling pitch accents in the accented syllables. The peaks of all list items are gradually descending for each item, i.e. there is downstep of each successive list item. This formating suggests a closed list, indicating that Ida does not work for more than the days listed. This interpretation is corroborated by Ida's comment in lines 546-549, when she explains that she did not want to work more days during the week any longer, when she has to go to Oldenburg for studying. Ida's comment here functions as the gestalt closure after the list. Yet, note that after the list, Ida leaves a pause of 1.1 seconds in which no recipient takes the turn but they wait for her to complete her turn.

(8)   K2: 851-658

```
•     851 Ron:    du ´wOhnst zu`HAUse;=ne,
                  you're living at home aren't you
      852         (.)
•     853 Ron:    <<all> bei deinen> `ELtern sagtest du.
                          with your parents you said
      854 Ida:    <<all> `JA;=bei meiner> ↑`MUTter;
                          yes with my mother
      855         (--)
->    856 Ida:    un meiner ↑`SCHWESter un meiner `OMA und unserm `HUND.
                            F(\              \              \    )
                  <all                                            all>
                  and my sister      and my grandma    and our dog
      857 Ida:    ((atmet leise lachend aus))
                  ((breathes out, laughing quietly))
      858         (1.0)
```

25

```
859 Nat:    ↑`OH;
              oh
860          (2.0)
861 Ida:    ↑`FULL `hAus.
              full house
862          (.)
863 Nat:    un dein ´PAba,
             and your dad
```

In (8), Ron in a queclarative question (Geluykens 1987) asks in lines 851-853, whether Ida lives at home, with her parents, thus formulating a question that Ida is projected to answer and detail on. In line 854, Ida confirms Ron's inferences, although substituting 'parents' with 'mother' (cf. Jefferson 1983 on 'embedded repair'). After a gap, she then in line 856 gives a list of the other inhabitants of her home: her sister, her grandmother and their dog, all formated as noun phrases with possessive articles. Like in the prior example, this list syntactically links up with the prior clauses up to Ron's queclarative question in line 851. Prosodically, it is formated as a separate prosodic unit and TCU with globally falling pitch to a low ending. All the list items have high peaks with falling pitch in the accented syllables, all the pitch peaks forming a gradually descending line, i.e. downstep. Again, this formating of the list suggests a list with a closed number of items. Here, this interpretation is warranted by both Nat's and Ida's reactions in the next lines: Nat expresses her surprise with a high peaked and falling *OH;*, to which Ida responds by explicating and confirming the reason of her interpretation of Nat's surprise, i.e. *FULL hAus*, functioning as a gestalt closure after the closed list. Another piece of evidence is then given by Nat in line 863: she asks about Ida's father, the format of her question suggesting that she assumes he does not live in Ida's home. This confirms that Nat indeed has interpreted Ida's list as a closed list. Again, after Ida's list, she breathes out with a quiet laugh and there is a 1.0 second pause, before Nat responds with *OH* and thus returns the floor to Ida for a gestalt closure. Again, the end of the list proper is not immediately taken to be the end of the turn.

Thus far, in lists that are produced within single clauses, sentences or TCUs, with no prior projection of the number of list items to follow, downstep of the list items seems to be deployed to signal the list under production as a closed list; with the final item of the list displaying falling pitch in and after the accented syllable.

2.3.2   Projection of the number of items prior to list construction

26

Closed lists with a prior projection of the number of items are exemplified in extracts (9) and (10):

(9)   Tel 7-6: 7-26

```
        7      Gitta:     kannst du am bäcker anhaltn paar brötchn mitbring
                          could you stop at the baker's to get us some bread
                             rolls
        8      Marco:     hat unter uns der bäcker auf
                          is the baker's below our place opened
        9      Gitta:     weeß nich
                          don't know
       10                 aber da sin=se bestimmt schon alle
                          but they certainly don't have any left by now
       11      Marco:     meinste
                          you think so
       12      Gitta:     ja::
                          yeah
       13      Marco:     geh doch schnell mal runter guckn
                          couldn't you just go downstairs to have a look
       14      Gitta:     na dis weeßte doch
                          come on you know
       15                 außerdem
                          besides
       16                 nee ich glaub der hat nur bis zwölf oder eins offn
                          no i think it's just opened until twelve or one
                             o'clock
       17      Marco:     ja
                          okay
       18                 ick guck ma
                          i'll see what i can do
       19      Gitta:     [ja ]
                          okay
•      20      Marco:     [wie]viel soll ickn `MIT´bringn,
                          how many shall i bring home
       21      Gitta:     na:
                          well
->     22                 Eins für ´DICH?
                          one for you
->     23                 Eins für `MICH;
                          one for me
       24                 ((lacht))
                          ((laughs))
=>     25      Marco:     ((lacht))
                          ((laughs))
       26                 (sicher is) `SPARsam.
                          sure that's economical
```

As a reply to Marco's question, how many bread rolls he should bring home for supper, Gitta produces a short list of two items in lines 22-23: *one for you, one for me*. The question word *wieviel* projects some number to be relevant in the answer. When Gitta, after having implied in line 7 that he should bring home more than one roll, does not give a straight number, such as *two* or *three*, but starts a list with saying *one for you*, a continuation of this list with further items is projected. As it is for their supper as a couple, however, this list will not get too long either. Syntactically and semantically, the list ties back to the prior question and is formed with parallel constructions. Prosodically, the list is constructed with separate prosodic units for each list item:

the first item ending with final rising pitch is followed by the second item ending with final falling pitch. The activity and gestalt is closed by Marco laughing with Gitta and commenting that this is economical, thus demonstrating again that the overall three-component structure can be constructed collaboratively.

In the following long extract (10), we find a complex list. In line 208, Mutti has been telling Gitta that her oncle Paul was her grandmother's third husband. When Gitta is very surprised that her old grandmother had three husbands and that she was divorced from her first two husbands, Mutti starts to explain who these husbands were. This is done in the list format, although each list item is elaborated on before giving the next list item. From the prior talk it is clear that the list will have three items.

(10)   Tel 8-4: 196-254

```
        196   Gitta:    sach mal wie wie sind wir mit (       ) verwandt (-)
                        just tell me in what way we are related to (    )
        197             das is deine
                        she is your
        198   Mutti:    (       )
        199   Gitta:    das is deine cousine (-) weil
                        she's your cousin        because
        200   Mutti:    weil ihre mutter
                        because her mother
        201   Gitta:    ja
                        yes
        202   Mutti:    die schwester von opa walter war
                        was grandpa walter's sister
        203   Gitta:    ah (-) ja genau
                        ah     yes exactly
        204   Mutti:    ham=ne gemeinsame o:ma
                        they have the same grandma
        205   Gitta:    ihre mutter (-)
                        her mother
        206             und was was macht dann onkel paul (-)
                        and what about uncle paul then
        207             wer war der
                        who was he
•       208   Mutti:    onkel PAUL: (--) war der (.) der (.) zweite <<all> nee
                        uncle paul      was the     the     second       no
        209               der> `DRITte mann (-) von (-) opas schwester;=
                            the third husband    of     grandpa's sister
        210             =also von tante HANnelore ihrer mutter.
                        that is aunt hannelore's mother's
        211   Gitta:    !WAS?!
                        what
        212             der `DRITte;
                        the third
        213   Mutti:    `JA;
                        yes
        214   Gitta:    ´DA¯mals schon¯
                        even then
        215   Mutti:    ja(h)ahahaha
                        yes
        216   Gitta:    hat die die alle über´LEBT¯ oder was¯
                        has she outlived them all or what
```

28

```
      217   Mutti:    `nee; `IMmer ge`SCHIEden;
                      no      always divorced
      218   Gitta:    ´DA:mals `SCHON;
                      even then
->    219   Mutti:    `´jaa, der ´ERste mann war der kaufmann ´FRITze,=
                      yes   her first husband was that shopkeeper fritze
      220             =das was hannelores `VAter is;
                      the one who's hannelore's father
      221   Gitta:    wo in dem dem das `HAUS gehört hat wo se
                      who      who is the owner of the house where they
      222   Mutti:    dem das `HAUS gehört hat;
                      who is the owner of the house
      223   Gitta:    `´hm, (-)
                      hm
->    224   Mutti:    und der ´ZWEIte (-) is der vater von onkel jo`ACHIM;
                      and the second    is uncle joachim's father
      225             der in `SCHIR:ke wohnt;
                      the one who lives in schirke
      226   Gitta:    ach und `DESwegen hängen wir mit denen zusammen;
                      ah and that's why we are related to them
->    227   Mutti:    un der ´DRITte is (-) a`NItas vater.
                      and the third is anita's father
=>    228   Gitta:    aber dann sin mer ja mit den schirkern überhaupt nich
      229                 verWANDT;
                      but that means we are not related to those from
                        schirke at all
      230   Mutti:    (3.0) das is doch von tante hannelore der
      231                `STIEF:bruder;=
                           but he still is aunt hannelore's stepbrother
      232             =die ham doch alle die selbe `´MUTter,
                      they all have the same mother
      233   Gitta:    ach so (-)
                      oh i see
      234             `STIEF:bruder;
                      stepbrother
      235             aber is nich `RICHtig bruder.
                      but he's not her real brother
      236   Mutti:    nee=n stiefbruder (-) aber die ham de selbe mutter
                      no stepbrother      but they have the same mother
      237   Gitta:    hm
                      hm
      238   Mutti:    sind von o:pas schwester
                      they are (the children) of grandpa's sister
      239             die hat drei kinder bloss von verschiednen männern
                      she has three children only with different husbands
      240   Gitta:    ah (--)
                      oh
      241             aha (-)
                      oh
      242             na dann passt=s ja
                      well then it all ads up
      243             dann dann (       ) hat sich ja och dreimal scheidn
      244                lassn oder
                      then then    was divorced three times as well was she
      245   Mutti:    (---) zweimal
                            twice
      246   Gitta:    na ja (---)
                      well
      247             hm gut (-) kannste mir auch nich weiterhelfen
                      hm okay    so you cannot help me on with this either
```

Gitta has asked Mutti how they are related to some particular relatives and mother in explaning
tells Gitta that her grandfather's sister had three husbands (lines 208-210). After Gitta has

expressed her surprise (line 211-212) and asked whether her grandfather's sister outlived all her husbands, she is informed that her grandfather's sister was divorced twice (line 217). All this functions as the projection component that Mutti then details in listing the husbands.

The list items proper are given in lines 219, 224 and 227:

(10')

```
     der ´ERSte mann war der kaufmann ´FRITze,
und der ´ZWEIte (-) is  der vater von onkel jo`ACHIM;
un  der ´DRITte    is  (-) a`NItas vater.
```

The list items are constructed with similar syntactic constructions and they fit together semantically. Prosodically, the first accented syllables in each item have locally rising pitch, but the final accented syllables differ: the first list item ends with rising pitch, the second with falling to mid, the third with falling to low pitch. Thus here, too, although the list items are complex and are not produced in immediately successive units, final pitch falling-to-low in the final list item is used to close the list proper. In line 228, Gitta draws a conclusion with respect to their relations to their relatives.

2.3.3   Conclusion for closed lists

So far, then, in all closed lists, whether formated as one or as more than one prosodic units, final falling pitch is used to complete the list proper; with some other TCU following to close the superordinated activity, by either the speaker him/herself or the interlocutor. In those cases in which the number of list items are not projected, especially if formulated within single syntactic clauses or sentences, downstep of the successive list items is deployed to make the list recognizable as a closed list. In cases in which the number of list items are projected prior to list production, and especially if the list items are rather complex or elaborated on, downstep does not seem to be necessary as a cue to make the closed list recognizable as such.

As the lists in extracts (7) and (8) were formulated in close syntactic tying with prior sentences or clauses, either in one single prosodic unit or in previously projected units, we might hypothesize that there is a tendency for lists that are produced within sentences, clauses or other projected constructions, to be formatted as closed lists. That this is not necessarily the case, however, is demonstrated by extract (11):

(11)   K2: 253-262

- 253 Nat: oah ich glaub präsi`DENT hat auch kein inTRESse daran (2.0)
             well i think the president himself is not interested in

-> 254   so mu↑¯SI:K¯
                 M[(↑-)
                  you know music

   255   oder (1.0) welche `FÄcher;=
                                      (\   )
                 or   which subjects

-> 256   =päda↑¯GOgik war das noch;
                      (↑-   )
                  pedagogics also it was

-> 257   ↑¯RUSsisch; (1.0)
                    (↑-   )
                    russian

-> 258   `NEE;=sla`vIstik `ÜBERhaupt glaub ich;=ne, (--)
                  no slavistics in general   i think

- 259   so `Aufrecht[zuer↑`HALten.
                    (\   \   )]
                 maintaining them
   260 Ron: [na das `Is ja das↑`SELbe;=ne,
                            well that's the same isn't it

   261   (2.0)

   262 Nat: ´JA?
              is it'

Nat's entire utterance in lines 253-259 makes up one complex sentence. The basic syntactic structure is as follows:

```
ich glaub präsiDENT hat auch kein inTRESse daran so XYZ so AufrechtzuerHALten.
```

XYZ are filled with list items as follows, partly expanded with side remarks or expressions of vagueness:

(11')

expansions	*list items proper*	*expansions*
	mu↑¯SI:K¯	
oder (1.0) welche `FÄcher;	päda↑¯GOgik	war das noch;
	↑¯RUSsisch;	
`NEE;	sla`vIstik `ÜBERhaupt	glaub ich;

For the list items, we here in lines 256 and 257 find pitch contours normally associated with open lists (see below). Yet when Nat in line 258 substitues *slavIstik ÜBERhaupt* for *RUSsisch*, she also changes from more like level plateau pitch to more clearly falling pitch for the last item, thus closing down the list before possible sentence completion. In this case, instead of waiting for a gestalt closure, Ron in line 260 initiates repair on Nat's proposed relation between *Slavistik* and *Russisch*, claiming that the two are identical. Nevertheless, this extract shows that also within a single complex sentence, speakers can suggest the interpretation of list items as items of an open list. For this, they deploy the intonation contours usually deployed for open lists, as described below.

In most closed lists, we find downstep of the successive list items and/or final falling pitch to complete the list proper. Especially in short and syntactically less compley lists that are produced within a single clause or sentence, there is a tendency for downstep to signal the list as a closed one, whereas for syntactically more complex lists with the number of list items projected prior to production downstep does not seem to be a necessary cue to make the list recognizable as a closed one. In all cases, final falling pitch is used to complete the list proper. After the list proper, some other TCU is following as a gestalt closure, produced by either the speaker him/herself or the interlocutor. This display of closed lists suggests some degree of pre-planning. Nevertheless, list intonation is not determined by syntactic structure: also within a single complex sentence, speakers can suggest the interpretation of items as items of an open list. For this, they deploy the intonation contours usually deployed for open lists, as described below.

2.4   Open lists

Open lists are lists that by their way of construction suggest an open number of items, the items given being presented as examples of a larger number of items that might be mentioned as part of the list. Most open lists are constructed with the list items <u>not</u> integrated into a syntactically and/or prosodically cohesive TCU, but with each list item constituting a prosodically packaged separate TCU (according to Selting 2000). Naturally, we do not find any projection of the number of items before list production. Note that although speakers may display their list via the chosen prosody as an open list, suggesting an open <u>number</u> of list items that could in principle be mentioned, they nevertheless often use a list completer (Jefferson 1990) to complete the listing as a <u>practice</u>, before producing the gestalt closure.

Extract (1), (2) and (7) already showed examples of open lists. To discuss the principles of construction of open lists, we can look at extract (1) again:

(1)   K1: 741-749

```
        1   Nat:   `DAS hab ich jetz `AUCH wieder gemerkt.=
                    that's what I noticed too
        2          =ich war drei tage auf ↑¯FEHmarn;
                    I spent three days on Fehmarn
        3          und <<p> ah: ¯dAs is> (0.3)
                    and        that is
   •    4          ich ↑`FIND das ↑`SO ´TOLL,=
                    I think that's so gorgeous
   ->   5          =[↑¯MEE:R]–
                     the sea
        6   Ida:    [`´ja  ]
                      yeah
   ->   7   Nat:   und ↑¯STRAND–
                    and the beach
        8          und
                    and
        9   Ida:   ((lacht 0.4 Sek.))
                    ((laughs for 0.4 secs.))
   ->   10  Nat:   diese ↑`WEI:te auch [so. ] ´ne,
                    this wide countryside      you know
        11  Ida:                       [`´hm]
                                         hm
        12         (0.3)

   =>   13  Nat:   ↑ich `KÖNNT da nich drauf ver`ZICHten [glaub ich.=
                    I couldn't do without that             I believe
        14  Ida:                                         [ja;
                                                          yeah
        15  Nat:   =also:: `Unten in den ↑`BERgen da; (0.8)
                     so      down there in the mountains
        16         `FURCHTbar.
                    horrible
```

I already pointed out that besides syntactic parallelism it is the prosodic parallelism that makes lists such as these recognizable, in particular the repetition of intonation contours and the similar loudness and length in the first two list items. The repetition of intonation contours on the same pitch height or register, <u>without</u> gradually stepping down, here suggests that the number of items to be presented before the list completion in line 10 has not been pre-planned but is open to the exigencies of the moment of producing the list.

In my data set of lists by Northern German speakers of Standard German, the intonation contours that are deployed most frequently for the construction of open lists are the ones shown

in the following sketches. The order given here represents the relative frequency with which they are used:[3] The vertical dotted lines indicate the final accented syllable of the TCU.

(a) so-called 'upward staircase with final high plateau',

i.e. lower reference level-plateau, fast jump or rising to high peak in the (nuclear) accented syllable plus higher level-plateau till the end of the unit:
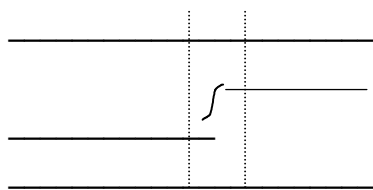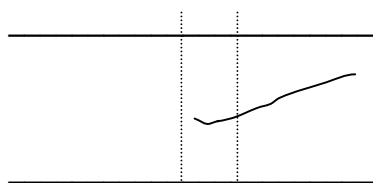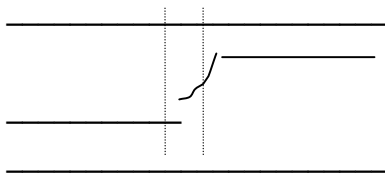
H*...............%   (used in ca. 35% of my cases)

In my transcripts this contour will be notated as ↑‾XXXxxxxxx‾.

(b) rising intonation,

i.e. low valley in the (nuclear) accented syllable plus continually rising tail till the end of the unit:

L*   H%   (used in ca. 27% of my cases)

In my transcripts this contour will be notated as ´XXXxxxxxx, for final rise-to-mid, or ´XXXxxxxxx? for final rise-to-high pitch.

---

[3] The phonological notation given here is an adaptation of the ToBI labelling system (Beckmann & Ayers 1994 as developed in our project on dialect intonation in German (see Auer, Gilles, Peters & Selting 2000, Selting 2001). The frequencies given refer to my corpus of clear cases of lists by Standard speakers from Northern Germany only, not including lists by regionalized speakers and boundary cases of enumerations with list-like intonation contours.

(c) so-called 'upward staircase with slightly falling final pitch',

i.e. lower reference level-plateau, fast jump or rising to high peak in the (nuclear) accented syllable plus higher level-plateau with slightly falling pitch at the end of the unit:
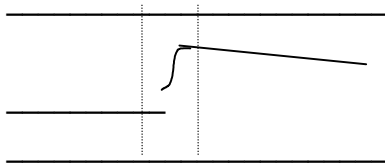
     H*   %   (used in ca. 20% of my cases)

In my transcripts this contour will be notated as ↑‾XXXxxxxxx- for falling very slightly and remaining higher than mid, sometimes also ↑‾XXXxxxxxx; for falling-to-mid.
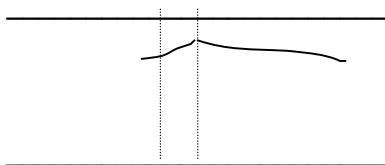
(d) so-called 'upward staircase with slow rising and final high plateau',

i.e. lower reference level-plateau, slow rising to (delayed) high peak after the (nuclear) accented syllable plus higher level-plateau till the end of the unit:

     L*+>H….…....%   (used in ca. 6% of my cases)

In my transcripts this contour will be notated as ´XXX‾xxxxxx‾.

(e) rising plus falling pitch in a high register:

35

L*+>H   %   (used in ca. 6% of my cases)

In my transcripts this contour will be notated as ´XXX`xxxxxx-.

(f) mid level-plateau:
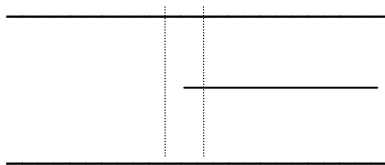
                M*.........…….....%   (used in ca. 6% of my cases)

In my transcripts this contour will be notated as -XXXxxxxxx-.

Note that, although these contours are different, they also share similarities: they mostly end with high and/or level pitch, after often plateau or rising trajectories.

It seems to be constitutive of open lists that for at least two or three of the syntactically parallel list items the same kind of contour is repeated, with also similar loudness and lengthening characteristics of these items, without stepping down on successive items.

A final item of the open list, which can be either another item of the list proper or a 'generalized list completer' (Jefferson 1990), can be displayed in two different ways: It can either be formulated prosodically parallel to the prior elements and thus be presented as another item of the list proper, i.e. a designed non-final list item; or it can be presented prosodically different from the prior ones, e.g. with falling pitch, thus signalling it as a designed list completer, before a gestalt closure of the three-component structure is given. This list completion, if used, does not relate to the suggested number of items, but completes the listing as a practice. As both options can be chosen for the last item in open lists, the kind of contour for the final list item is thus not determined by the list routine, but it is deployed for signalling and suggesting a particular kind of structuring that surpasses the list itself and is related to the three-component structure of the activity that the list is embedded in.

In the following I will give a few examples of lists with the sketched contours (a), (b) and (c) before presenting evidence that indeed the participants orient to the prosody of lists. Lists with other contours can be seen in the examples in other sections of this paper.

### 2.4.1   Lists with so-called 'upward staircases with final high plateau'

This most frequently used contour is used in extract (12).

(12)   Tel 8-2: 97-107

```
•       123    Jule: ja dann also wenn du `WÖRTlich zitierst; '
                       okay thus when you're using real quotations
•       124          wenn du mit `ANführungs[strichen zitierst;
                       when you're using quotations with quotation marks
        125    Gitta:                      [ja ja
                                            yeah yeah
•       126    Jule: dann musst du (.) RICHtig bibliographie;
                       then you have to    proper bibliographic footnotes
->      127          welcher ↑¯BA::ND¯
                       which volume
->      128          welches er↑¯SCHEInungsjahr¯
                       the year of publication
->      129          und [so `WEIter;
                       and so on
        130    Gitta:    [aber das steht doch  alles hinten in meiner
        131          litera`TURliste;
                       but that's all in the list of references at the end
        132    Jule: JA::; (.)
                       yes
        133          aber das musst du dann noch mal `MAchen;
                       but you have to do it once more then
        134    Gitta:WER sacht des;
                       who's saying that
        135          (2.0)
        136    Jule: ähm das `IS so;
                       ehm that's the way it is
        137          (2.0)
        138    Gitta:´ECHT?
                        really
        139    Jule: JA:::;
                       yes
```

Gitta has asked Jule whether if you write a seminar paper, you really have to give footnotes with full bibliographical details for all references. After Jule's projection component in lines 123-126, claiming that for real quotations you have, Jule exemplifies her expression *RICHtig bibliographie* with a list of two items and a generalized list completer. The two items *welcher ↑¯BA::ND ¯* and *welches er↑¯SCHEInungsjahr ¯* are formulated with high pitch peaks in the accented syllables plus high level plateaus till the end of the units (see next page).

The third item is the generalized (list) completer *und so `WEIter;* which is formulated with falling pitch. In this case, however, the production of the third item is overlapped with Gitta's early response, because for her this information is unexpected as she presumably thought that an

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38
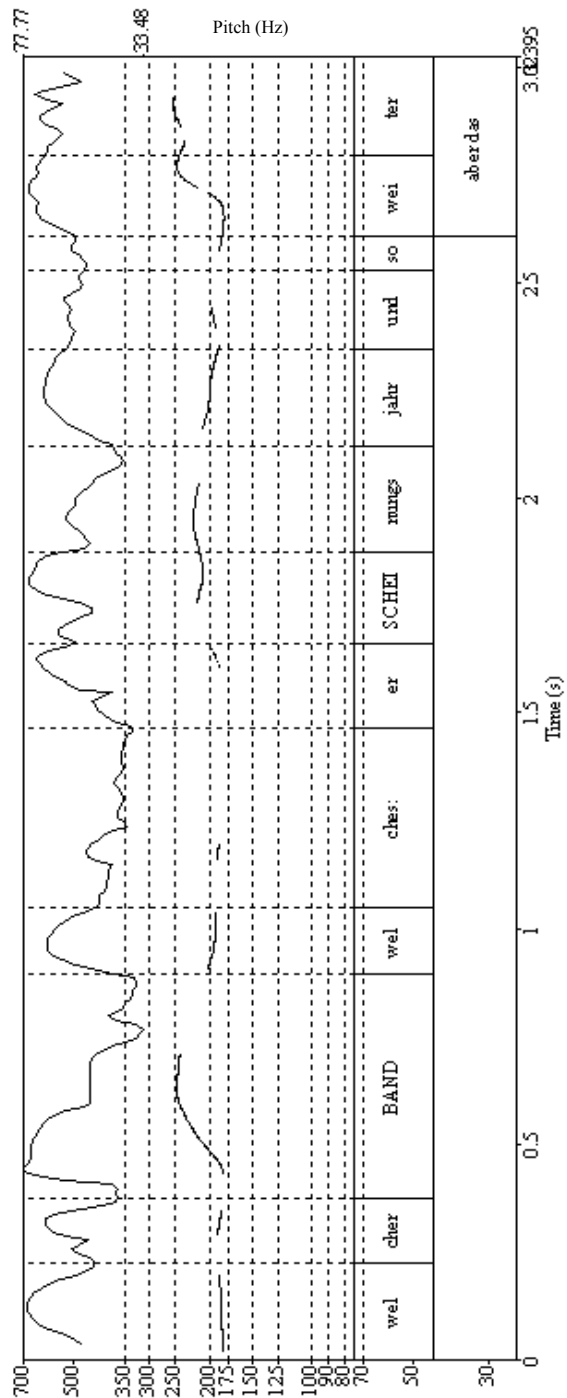
abbreviated reference was enough. Here, then, both the third list item as well as Jule's gestalt closure are interrupted by Gitta's early initiation of repair and argumentation.

A more complex list is produced with the same kind of contour in extract (13):

(13)   'Blue Moon', Call from Angelika (p. 7: 15-40)

```
        15    Ang:  .hh aber: (.) ich find sie inzwischen ganz
        16             `FU:RCHTbar;
                       but by now i think she's just horrible
        17    Mod:  [<<p> aha >
                       oh
        18    Ang:  [also `Irgendwie is es so ne ´PHAse,
                     you know somehow this is some kind of period
●       19           also (.) bei `MIR is das immer so-
                     you know with me it's always like that
        20           es gibt mal ne phase da les ich `GANZ vie:l
                     sometimes there are periods when i'm reading a lot of
->      21             <<t,p> weiß ich nich> persÖnliche ↑ˉSCHICKsaleˉ
                               don't know      personal biography
->      22           dann les ich ganz viel ↑PSYchokramˉ
                     then i'm reading a lot of psychological stuff
(->)    23           und dann les ich [auch mal ne zeitlang (.)
                     and then i'm reading for some time
        24    Mod:                    [hmm
                                       hm
=>      25    Ang:  .hh `IRgendwie hab ich dann auch mal hera `LIND
        26             ge´lesen,
                       somehow i just happened to read hera lind once
        27    Mod:  hmm
                    hm
        28    Ang:  und die ersten ´BEIden fand ich auch irgendwie
        29             ganz `WITzig;
                     and i thought the first two were quite funny somehow
        30           s war so ne LEICHte unterHALtung-
                     it was some light entertainment
        31           die man so in der U bahn lesen konnte;
                     the stuff you can read in the tube
        32           .hh und jetzt dieses ALlerletzte-
                     but now this last one
        33           wovon: irgndwie die VORletzte hörerin auch
        34             so SCHWÄRmte-
                     the one the last but one listener was so enthusiastic about
        35           oder es LIEGT bei ihr schon die ZAUberfrau,
                     or maybe she's already reading that zauberfrau
        36           .hh da hab ich grade irgendwie so DREIßig
        37             seiten geschafft;
                       i only managed about thirty pages of that
        38           und das fand ich so FURCHTbar-
                     and i thought that was so horrible
        39           .hh daß ich s gleich WEGgepackt habe;
```

39

```
                        that i put it aside right away
     40    Mod:    aha
                   oh
```

The moderator and caller Angelika are talking about the German popular writer Hera Lind. In line 15f, Angelika has told that by now she thinks that Hera Lind is horrible. After that she begins an explanation by first in line 18 alluding to the fact that it has to do with a phase, then breaks this line of telling off in order to explain her reactions to books more generally. In line 19, she produces the projection component *also (.) bei MIR is das immer so-* , before she lists two different phases in her reading life in lines 20f and 22: there is a phase when she reads lots of biography, in another phase she reads lots of psychological books.

(13')

```
     es gibt mal ne phase
     da les ich `GANZ vie:l <<t,p> weiß ich nich> persÖnliche ↑¯SCHICKsale¯
     dann les ich ganz viel                                   ↑¯PSYchokram¯
     und dann les ich [auch mal ne zeitlang (.)
```

Syntactically, this list is built around the construction *da(nn) les ich xyz.* Both the items listed in lines 20f and 22 are displayed with the so-called 'upward staircase with final high plateau'. The production of a possible third list item with the same syntactic format is broken off at the end of line 23 in order to form a new TCU with a new syntactic format and a different intonation contour, namely falling-rising at the end of the TCU, in line 25f. Thus, by juxtaposition to the list items, Hera Lind is presented as another phase in Angelika's reading life, but syntactically and prosodically this phase is not presented as another list item but as the gestalt closure after the list that links back with her projection as made in lines 18 and 19.[4] Here then, we have only two list items proper, a third possible list item is broken off, before a gestalt closure is given that completes the three-component structure that the list is a part of.

2.4.2   Lists with rising intonation

A list with simple rising intonation for the list items can be seen in extract (14):

(14)   K0: 880-893

---

[4] It is indeed only retrospectivley that we can interpret the combination of lines 18 and 19 as the projection component, since the formulation at line 19 at first suggests a repair of line 18.

```
      880 Mia:   un ↑`DANN isse n halbes Jahr nach ´FRANKreich gegangen?
                 and then she went to france for half a year
      881        .h ´KAM ´WIEder,
                   came back
      882        ↑`TO:T`SCHICK;
                   super stylish
      883 Eli:   ((lacht leise kurz))
                 ((laughs quietly for a moment))
●     884 Mia:   ↑¯TO:T¯ ↓_SCHICK_ (.)
                   super stylish
->    885        hat nur noch ´RöCKe (.) [getragen? (--) ]
                 wearing skirts all the time
      886 Eli:                          [((lacht leise))]
                                         ((laughs quietly))
->    887 Mia:   hatte ´THÄSCHchen an? (.)
                 carrying a handbag
->    888        hatte ´PöMS an?
                 wearing high heels
      889 Dor:   <<p> tjaa; >
                    yeah
      890        (--)
=>    891 Mia:   to↑¯TAL (.) `UMgedreht. (.)
                 completely  changed
      892        und die is ´SO b' ge`BLIEBM;
                 and she remained that way
      893 Eli:   <<p>`´mhm, `GUT; >
                          okay
```

This extract is part of a fairly involved telling of a story (cf. Selting 1994). Mia is telling about a friend of hers who changed completely during a stay in France. This is what lines 880-882 refer to. The first version of Mia's descriptive term for her friend's change, *TO:TSCHICK* in line 882, is already contextualized as emphatic via the use of dense accentuation. In line 884, the term is repeated in an even more emphatic way, with two level plateaus. This functions as the projection component which Mia then details by a list of what this meant in lines 885-888. The three list items as shown in (14')
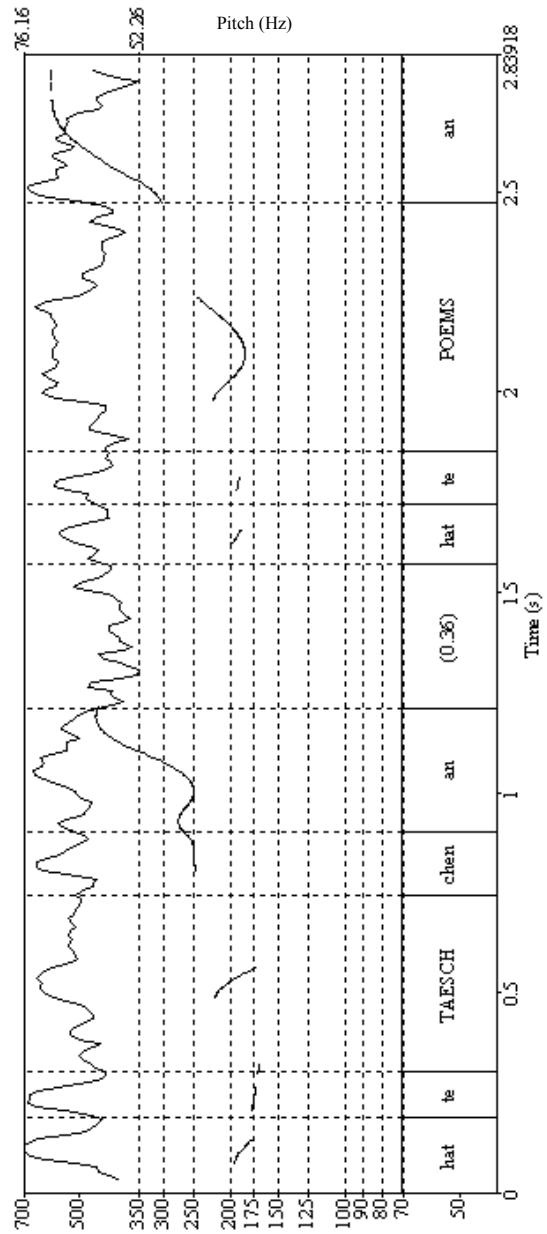
(14')

```
      hat nur noch ´RöCKe (.) [getragen? (--) ]
      hatte         ´THÄSCHchen an? (.)
      hatte         ´PöMS an?
```

have parallel syntax and are intoned with rising final pitch (see next page).

Dor responds with the recipiency token *tjaa;* in low voice, and after a pause, Mia adds the gestalt closure *to↑¯TAL (.) `UMgedreht.* etc. Only after this, Eli takes the turn and gives an evaluation of Mia's little story.

k0-1292

k0-1296

42
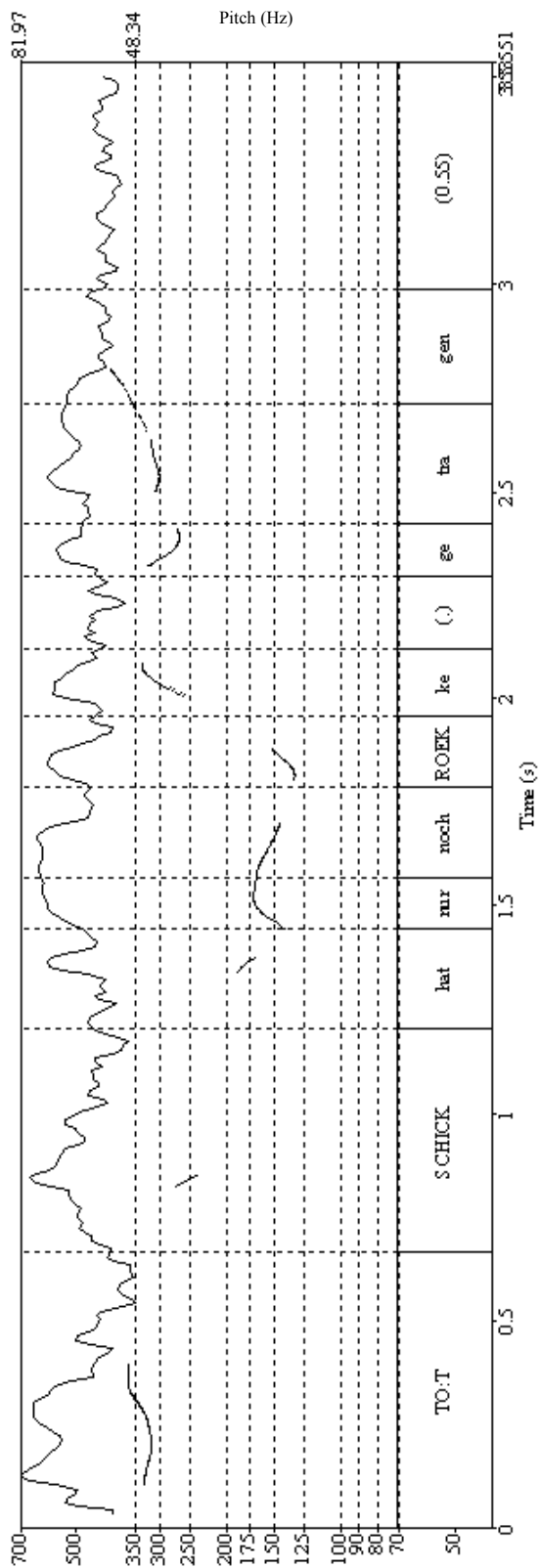
Another example can be seen in extract (15).

(15)   Tel 8-2: 103-126

```
        103   Gitta:muss ich (.) JEdes bisschen (.) JEde idee die ich aus nem
                   do i have to every detail    every idea i borrow from some
        104         anderen buch hab muss ich da SOfort dahinter ne fussnote
                   other book        do i have to put a footnote after that
        105         knallen
                   right away
        106   Jule: hm (-)
                   hm
        107         kommt drauf an ob du dem mitteilen willst dass die ni von
                   that depends on whether you want to tell him that it's not
        108         DIR is
                   yours
        109   Gitta:((lacht))
                   ((laughs))
        110   Jule: also es is (.) mAcht sich ganz `GUT; (.)
                   well it always makes a good impression
   •    111         also man MUSS immer SO machen;=
                   well you always have to do it this way
  ->    112         =entweder (.) det du machst hinter die ideen ne ´FUSSnote?
                   either       you put a footnote after those ideas
  ->    113         und schreibst dann bloss ver:GLEIch:e,
                   and then you only write compare
  ->    114         und den ´NA:men,
                   and the name
        115   Gitta:hm,
                   hm
  ->    116   Jule: und die ´SEIte?
                   and the page
        117         und
                   and
        118   Gitta:hm,
                   hm
        119   Jule: und wenn du zi´TIERST? (.)
                   and everytime you quote
        120         musst du ´FUSSnote, (.)
                   you have to put a footnote
        121         dann musst du=n `vOllen namen und ne richtsche
                   then you have to give the full name and a proper
        122           bibliogra`PHIE machen.
                   bibliography
        123   Gitta:!WA:S?!
                   what
        124   Jule: hm,
                   hm
        125         (---)
        126   Gitta:SIcher?
                   are you sure
```

Gitta has asked Jule whether in her paper she really has to put a footnote after every idea that she borrows from someone else's book. Jule first replies that this depends on whether Gitta wishes her teacher to know that the idea is not hers. After then in line 111 she has projected a general explanation by saying *well you have to do it this way;*, Jule in lines 112-114 and 116 produces a list. This list utilizes syntactic parallelism in that lines 113, 114 and 116 are

syntactically coordinated ellipses that syntactically depend on the full sentence construction in line 112.

(15')

```
    =entweder (.) det du machst hinter die ideen ne ´FUSSnote?
    und               schreibst dann bloss   ver:GLEIch:e,
    und                                      den ´NA:men,
    und                                      die ´SEIte?
```

Prosodically there is parallelism in so far as all items have final rises. Yet the first and the last rises end higher than the two mid ones. The rises-to-high can be interpreted here as contextualising a frame for Jule's *entweder*-part of her explanation, i.e. units after which there will be other units dependent on this one, while the rises-to-mid contextualize units as dependent upon a prior unit. This means that the height of the rise for the list item contributes to contextualize the internal structure of the list. This list is then followed by another list that was analysed before (see above, ex. (12)), before the entire explanation is responded to by Gitta's query. (Further examples of lists with rising intonation will be presented further down in this paper.)

2.4.3 Lists with 'upward staircases with final falling pitch'

This contour is the one you have already seen for extract (1). As I already noted, the first two list items *MEE:R* and *STRAND* are intoned with a high pitch peak in the accented syllable; the high plateau falls slightly towards the end of the unit. The third item differs, though: Here we find, after the high peak in the accented syllable of the word *WEI:te,* falling pitch to the end of the unit.

Another example is given in extract (16), in which a long list is formulated by Eli:

(16)   K0: 1291-1311

```
•    1291 Eli:   nee=das sind ↑`sO viele de`tAils mit denen
                 well there's such a lot of details you're
     1292           man an denen man ↑`HäNGT;=
                 you're attached to
•    1293          =wemman so son n `ARbeitssystem entwickelt;=ne,
                 when you develop a working method you know
     1294 Dor:   h[m;
->   1295 Eli:    [<<all> das is > der ↑¯BLEI:stift-=
                        it's the pencil
->   1296 Eli:   =oder .h[h besondre art von ↑¯MI:nen;
                   or a special sort of cartridges
```

44

```
        1297 Mia:          [((lacht leise, dann lauter))
                            ((laughs quietly, then louder))
->      1298 Eli:    [m:: bestimmte sorte ↑‾KU:]gelschreiber;
                         special sort of ball pens
        1299 Mia:    [    h i   h a    h a    ]
->      1300 Eli:    .h das sind ↑‾FA:Rbm;
                        it's the colours
->      1301         das is: (--) matri↑‾A:L `vom ↑‾ORDner;=
                        it's the material the file is made of
=>      1302         <<all> das sind so ↑`sAchen zu denen man wirklich
                        that's just the things you really
        1303            n persönliches ver`HäLTnis entwickelt.>=ne,
                        develop an attachment to you know
        1304         (--)
=>      1305 Eli:    aso ich ↑`LIEbe diese sachen mit denen ich
                        well i just love these things i
        1306 Eli:       arbeit[e: wirklich;=ne,
                        work with          you know
        1307 Dor:          [´JA,
                            yeah
        1308 Eli:    `´JAA,
                      yeah
        1309 Mia:    ((räuspern)) `WIEso; ´DU ´NICH?
                      ((clears her throat)) how come  don't you too
        1310 Dor:    (<<p> ?  ?  ?  ? >)
        1311 Dor:    <<p> NÖÖ;
                         not really
```

Eli, Dor and Mia are talking about their ways of working. In the projection component in lines 1291-1293, Eli makes the point that you develop an attachment to the details you are working with. In lines 1295-1301, this is exemplified by giving a list of such details, before a gestalt closure is formulated in lines 1302f and again topped in lines 1305f. The list is structured as shown in (16'):

(16')

```
<<all> das is > der            ↑‾BLEI:stift-=
=oder .hh      besondre art von ↑‾MI:nen;
[m::           bestimmte sorte  ↑‾KU:]gelschreiber;
.h das sind                     ↑‾FA:Rbm;
das is: (--)                    matri↑‾A:L `vom ↑‾ORDner;=
```

The first item is given as a simple clause; the second and third items link back syntactically to that clause and produce parallel structures for part of the clause; items four and five again form simple clauses parallel to the first one. We just see variation in formulating or leaving out the grammatical subject and predicate *das sind/is*, and in filling the article/determiner-slot. All nouns are formulated as parallel, except the complex noun phrase in the last item. Prosodically, we find contours beginning like 'upward staircases' in the nuclear syllables of the final nouns, but then mostly falling slightly towards the end of the TCU.
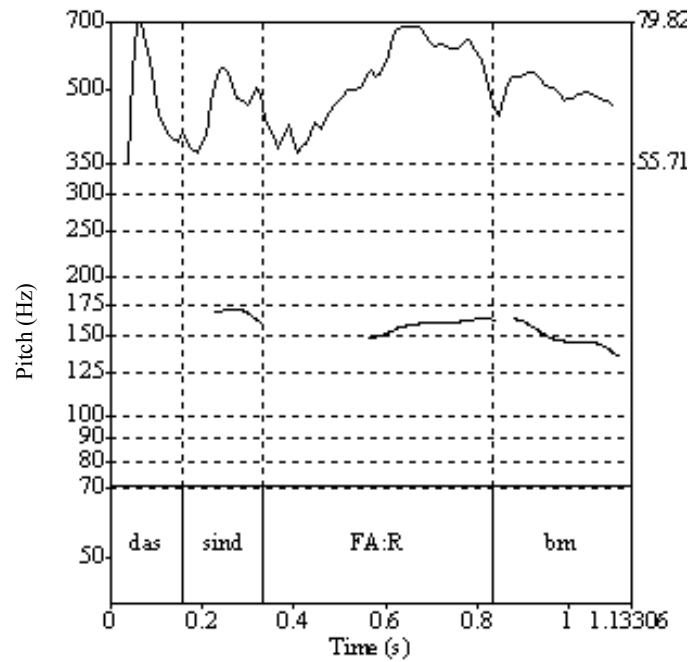
k0-1954

Again, thus, we find the same contour deployed for each of the list items. Although Mia accompanies Eli's listing with laughter, the turn remains with Eli for the entire structure. It is only after Eli gives a second version of her gestalt closure that addressee Dor responds with a query *JAA,*.

The same kind of contour is displayed in the following extract (17), but here only two list items are formulated:

```
(17)   T3-8: 342-351
       342   Mutti:    äh[m: (              )]
                         ehm
       343   Dolli:      [.h wo IS n dieser] dieses SCHAUspielhaus;
                              where is that that theatre
       345   Mutti:    ja:;
                         well
   •   346             na dis `IS da;
                         well it's
  ->   347             .hh äh äh ↑⌐STAA:TSoper;
                           er er the state opera
  ->   348             ↑⌐SCHAUspielhaus;
                         the theatre
  =>   349             das is ´ALles neben`NANder;=[dolli; ]
                         they're all side by side
       350   Dolli:                               [ja;=ne,]
                                                    yes is it

       351   Mutti:    ja::
```

46

yes

After having talked about some places in the city, in line 343, Dolli asks her mother where the theater called Schauspielhaus is. In line 346, her mother produces the projection *na dis IS da;*, which she then details with a list, giving the names of two famous and well known buildings near the places they have just been talking about: *STAATSoper* and *SCHAUspielhaus* are given as simple unmodified name-nouns with parallel pitch and length and loudness.[5] The list is completed by mother's gestalt closure of the three-component structure, *dis is ´ALles neben`NANder;=dolli;*. This example shows again that the formulation of two list items in syntactically and prosodically parallel formats is enough to make a list interpretable, when the structure is completed by a gestalt closure or a formulation that might be interpreted as such. Here, Dolli refrains from giving her recipiency tokens till after the completion of the entire three-component structure.

So far, I have been describing the structure and embedding of lists in their three-component structures. Now, I will turn to the further warranting of my description.

2.5   Evidence that participants indeed orient to the prosody of lists

Next, I will warrant my analysis of the prosody of lists by presenting evidence that participants indeed orient to the prosody of lists. There are two kinds of evidence, presented in sections 2.5.1 and 2.5.2, with several subkinds.

2.5.1   Lists can be produced collaboratively, with following speakers orienting to the prosody of prior speakers' list items

Extract (18) shows speakers Dor and Mia producing a long list collaboratively. Dor, Mia and Eli have been talking about fashion and their ways of dressing some years ago.

(18)   K0: 906-930
- 906 Dor: <<all> also so ´DAmals dt `WEIß ich noch>

---

[5] Even though in the acoustic analysis *SCHAUspielhaus* ends with high level pitch, auditorily I perceive it as slightly falling like the prior unit. This perception, if not warranted by the F0, seems to be related to the fast decreasing loudness/intensity in the final syllable *haus*.

```
              well then i can remember
•   907         als ´ICH zur `schUle ging;
              when i went to school
•   908        .h da ↑`SIND wir ↑`WIRKlich so ↑`FLIPpig rumgelaufen;=ne,=
              we were really dressing so oddly
    909 Eli:   =`´m[hm,
    910 Mia:   =`´m[hm,
->  911 Dor:      [so `lAnge pul↑ˉLO:ver-=
              you know long sweaters
->  912 Dor:   =[möglichst drei ↑ˉHEMden überˉnAnder-=
               best wearing three shirts one upon the other
    913 Mia:    [ja:;
               yes
->  914 Dor:   =unterschiedlich ↑ˉLANG und so-=
              different sizes you know
    915        =un ´mEine eltern `AUCH immer;
              and my parents always said
    916        .hh <<h> ´bIst du ver`RüCKT kind;>
                    are you crazy dear
    917        <<h> so ↑ˉRUMzulaufen->
                    running around like that
    918        und [da ↑`WAR auch
              and then there was
->  919 Mia:      [möglichst ver`WA[schen] un etwas ↑DRECK[elig aussehen-=
                   best looking washed out and a little shabby
    920 Dor:                    [JA;  ]                    [<<p>ja; geNAU;>
                                yes                              yes exactly
->  921 Mia:   =[durfte nich ganz] ↑ˉWEIß seinˉ
               not supposed to look too white
    922 Eli:    [ja=das is vorBEI;
                <p            p>
               yes that's over now
->  923 Dor:   ´´`JA;=und möglichs ↑ˉWEI:Tˉ
              yes and as loose as possible
->  924        und ↑ˉGRO:ßˉ
              and wide
    925        und (1.[5)
              and
    926 Mia:       [((räuspern))
                   ((clears her throat))
    927 Dor:   ´´`JA; (.)
              yes
=>  928        und JETZ, (--)
              but now
=>  929        ja:;=<<all> da fall ich> `UM wenn ich die schüler
              yes        it just knocks me off my feet when i look at
    930           von heute seh;
                 today's pupils
```

Dor produces a projection component in lines 906-908, making the point that when she went to school, they really dressed in a flippy way. This point she exemplifies with her list of three items: In lines 911, 912 and 914 she lists three descriptive phrases of what that meant. All three TCUs are syntactically parallel adverbial phrases with semantically compatible content. Prosodically, all three items are intoned with the 'upward staircase with slightly falling final pitch'. After Dor then started telling about her parent's reaction to this style of dressing, Mia comes in and continues the prior list with further list items in lines 919 and 921. Syntactically, these items are

similar to the prior ones, semantically they are more general. Prosodically, they are also similar. Mia in line 919 uses the same intonation contour that Dor used in her list items before, before she in line 920 varies it a bit by ending with final high level pitch. After having provided recipiency and agreement tokens for Mia's continuation of the list in line 920, Dor then takes over again in line 923 and herself now continues with an agreement token and two further list items. Syntactically, Dor's last items are coordinated descriptive adjectives as simple continuations of the prior syntactic structures. Prosodically, Dor now converges at Mia's last intonation contour: the upward staircase with final high level pitch. While thus first Mia continued Dor's list, first repeating her contour but then making her second item a bit different, Dor then again continues Mia's list and presents this continuation with the same contour that Mia had chosen in her last item. The entire gestalt is closed with Dor's comparison with respect to today's young people's different orientation to fashion in lines 928-930.

This extract shows that following speakers, in continuing their predecessors' list, orient at their prosody as well: they converge at the contour that was used before and thus signal continuation. Thus, a recipient demonstrates his or her orientation to - besides the syntax and semantics - also the prior speaker's prosody.

2.5.2   Prosody may be deployed as the only device to signal the status of an item in relation to the list

Prosody may be deployed as the only device to make recognizable an item as (a) a list item at all, as (b) a designed non-final list item, or as (c) a designed list completer.

(a) In extract (19), it is <u>only</u> the prosody that makes the list items recognizable <u>as</u> such at all.

```
(19)   T1-1: 809-845
       809   Doli: [.hh fand ich ´GANZ schön `KRASS muß ich ehrlich sagen;]=
                      i think that was quite extraordinary i say
       810   Vati: [(muß ich sagn;                                  ) ]
                    i must say
       812   Vati: =ja;
                    yeah
       813   Doli: .h weißte,=ich mein: (.)
                    you know   i mean
       814         ich hab zu ihm geSAGT-
                    i told him
       815         ähm: TIlo-
                    hey tilo
       816         ((zögernd und stotternd)) w:was äh
```

```
                      ((hesitating and stuttering)) what er
        817           was `wÄr denn ge´WEsen, (--)
                      what would have been
        818     ich ´HÄTT mir den ähm: fernseher auch `alLEIne
        819           kaufen können;
                      i could have bought that tv set by myself
        820     ich hätt die au' (.) `COUCH auch alleine
        821           [kaufn könn]en;
                      i could have bought that couch by myself
        822  Vati:    [(ja ja;   )]
                         yeah yeah
        823  Doli: .h un ich hab das ´AUto auch alleine gekauft,
                      and i have bought that car by myself too
        824  Vati: [.h ja=a,]
                       yeah
    •   825  Doli: [.hh      ] ähm: ok`Ey=er hat auch n bißchn was da´ZUgegebm,
                              er   okay he also added a little bit
   ->   827     für die ´REIfn,
                      for the tires
   ->   828     und so ´WEIter,
                      and so on
   ->   829     einige repara´TURN,=
                      some repairs
   =>   830     =`SAG ich ja gar nichts [gegen;]
                      i'm not saying he didn't
        831  Vati:                          [nee;  ]
                                             no
        832  Doli: .h aber: ähm:: (.)
                      but    er
        833     ja ich `WEIß nich;
                      well i don't know
        834     also ´MIR gehörn `AUCH einige dinge im hAushalt;
                      you know some objects in our home are still belonging to me
        835     und ich zahl ´Immerhin auch ´drEihundert mark ´MIEte,
                      and i still pay threehundred marks of our rent
        836     .h ähm dis is die ´HÄLfte,
                      er that's half of it
        837     [ähm::           ] von der wohnung-
                  er                of the flat
        838  Vati: [(wollt ich sagn;)]
                     i'd say so
        839  Doli: und ´IRgendwo fin:' äh ´hElf ich ihm da ja `AUCH mit;
                      and somehow i think er i'm doing my part too
        841  Vati: .h jA=a,=`GEnau;
                      yes exactly
        843     (--)
        844  Doli: .h und ´dA hab ich `AUCH gedacht;
                      and that's when i thought
        845     also HALlo?
                      draw it mild
```

The list that I want to deal with here is produced in lines 827-829. Dolli is telling her father about her troubles with her boyfriend, giving details in reported speech. After enumerating what she said to her boyfriend in lines 818f, 820f., 823, the last claim being that she paid for her own car herself, she makes the reservation *okey he also added a little bit* in line 825. This reservation, which functions as a projection component here, is then detailed with the list in lines 827-829. Then she formulates a gestalt closure for her general point in line 830 and relates her

reservation back to the telling of her troubles in lines 832-834ff. And only here, after the entire three-component structure, Vati gives a response. The list thus is as shown in (19'):

(19')
```
für die ´REIfn,
und so ´WEIter,
einige repara´TURN,=
```

We here see syntactical parallelism only partly: the first item is a prepositional phrase; the second item is an et-cetera-formula, which here functions like a generalized list completer; the third item links back to the syntactic format of the first item again and gives another noun phrase that morpho-syntactically agrees with the preposition *für*. The syntactic parallelism can thus only be represented as shown in (19''):

(19'')
```
für die   ´REIfn,
    einige repara´TURN,
```

Prosodically, every item is produced in its own prosodically packaged TCU, with every item ending with pitch rising-to-mid. The items are roughly similar in length. Indeed, in this case, it is only the packaging of all three items in separate TCUs with partly parallel syntax and parallel prosodic structures that makes these items hearable as a list at all.

Yet, the first item can clearly be analysed as a syntactic continuation of the prior clause *ok`Ey=er hat auch n bißchn was da´ZUgegebm*, and the second item as a simple continuation of the first item. Disregarding the prosody we might thus represent lines 825-830 as shown in (19'''):

(19''')
```
ok`Ey=er hat auch n bißchn was da´ZUgegebm für die ´REIfn und so ´WEIter
einige repara´TURN
```

We would never interpret this structure as a list.

As actually produced, however, the prosody suggests the three items as a list. This example thus demonstrates that even though the syntax and wording alone might allow other interpretations, the prosody can be used to clearly present such items <u>as</u> lists.

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(b) Another case can be seen in extract (20): a possible completer is presented like another list item. Here, a list seems to be begun but then completed after the first item:

(20)   T3-8: 210-231

```
        210    Dolli:[.h ich] mein ich verLIER ja dabei nichts;
                        i just think i'm not losing anything
        211           auch wenn ich jetz zum beispiel nich besonders
        212             viel FITneß mache;
                        even if i won't train that much for fitness
        213    Mutti:ja; h
                        yes
  •     214    Dolli:e: es kOmmt mir ja gar nich so darauf AN;
                        that's not what i want
 ->     215           diese ganzn ´LAU:F`bänder-
                        all those treadmills
 ->     216           <<all> und wAs=de da alles `MAchen kannst->
                        and what else you can do there
        217           [also ich  ]
                       i just
 =>     218    Mutti:[.h sOndern] dir kommt=s hauptsächlich auf:
        219             (.) BRÄUNEN drauf an;
                        but what you want above all is getting a tan
        220    Dolli:NEE:;
                        no
        221           auf die KURse;
                        the courses
        222    Mutti:ACH so;
                        i see
        223           auf die KURse;
                        the courses I want
        224           <<p< (ach [SO;>)      ]
                            i see
        225    Dolli:         [<<p> ja;>]
                                    yes
        226    Mutti:<<p> ja:;>
                        yes
        227    Dolli:.h weil ich mein: wenn:
                        because i think if
        228           wenn ich: in=ner UNI: stEpaerobic mache;
                        if I do step aerobics at the university
        229    Mutti:[ja; h ]
                       yes
        230    Dolli:[dis=is] zwar nich SCHLECHT,
                       that's not at all bad
        231           aber des fOrdert mich nich mehr herAUS;
                        but that just doesn't challenge me anymore
```

Dolli is telling her mother about her fitness studio. In line 214 she begins a projection component, *es kOmmt mir ja gar nich so darauf AN;*, saying that for her some things are not so important, projecting more-to-come about what it is that is not so important for her. In the next line, 215, she then formulates the noun phrase *diese ganzn ´LAUF`bänder-* like the first item of a list, ending with pitch falling-to-mid plus mid plateau. But instead of presenting more list items, Dolli then continues with *<<all> und wAs=de da alles `MAchen kannst->*, again ending with falling-to-mid and mid plateau pitch. The syntax and semantics of this TCU clearly do not suggest another list item; prosodically, the pitch contour is not identical to the one used before, but also ending with falling-to-mid plus mid plateau pitch; and the latter TCU is set off via a

change of tempo to *allegro*. Furthermore, the primary accent on the word *MAchen* suggests a semantic focus on the many activities in the fitness studio, not the downplaying of this TCU to just complete the list. Altogether, line 216 nevertheless <u>does</u> sound like the continuation of the list proper, thus suggesting that a lot more could be named but need not. In the next line 217, Dolli seems to project the gestalt closure of her overall three-component structure by starting with *also*, a discourse marker often used to project summaries, conclusions etc. In her overlapping response, Mother in line 218 displays this very interpretation: She starts her own reaction to Dolli's turn just after Dolli's projection of a gestalt closure. Mother seems to come in here in order to collaboratively join in in the production of Dolli's activity: she links back to Dolli's turn as projected in line 214 and produces a possible gestalt closure of Dolli's three-component structure. Mother thus displays that she understood Dolli's list to be completed and comes in for a collaborative closure of the entire structure by offering her understanding of Dolli's relevances before Dolli has formulated them herself. The fact that mother's understanding turns out to be wrong and is corrected by Dolli in lines 220-221 does not invalidate this analysis of her practices.

If we now look back and ask what it is that makes Dolli's lines 215-216 recognizable as list items, we must conclude this: After producing a projection component, in line 214, first of all the production of a mere noun phrase, then this noun phrase with vowel lengthening and ending with mid plateau pitch, suggest more similar items to follow. In line 216, then, in the production of the possible list completer, it is the still similar prosody alone that makes the item interpretable as a continuation of the list and not a generalized list completer which would have, e.g., falling-to-low pitch.

With another prosody, e.g. lines 215 and 216 in one TCU with overall falling pitch, the entire construction would be heard as a simple coordination that is right-dislocated after the prior sentence, as shown in (20'):

(20')
```
    diese ganzn LAU:Fbänder und wAs=de da alles MAchen kannst
```

This extract shows that some TCUs that are positioned after prior list items might be contextualized either as a next list item or as a generalized list completer. If indeed the wording and phrasing allow both possibilities, it is the prosody that suggests the interpretation of the status of such an item as either another list item or a generalized completer.

In the list in the next extract (21), a generalized list completer is presented prosodically like the prior list items:

(21)   'Blue Moon', Call from Kathi (p. 32: 42-58)

```
        42    Mod:   [u:nd warum sollen frauen `NICH irgendwie alles
        43            `KRASS nach ihren nach ihrem sinne regeln.
                     but why shouldn't women drastically arrange everything just
                       as they like
        44    Kat:   ja aber sie is voll domi´NANT so,
                     yeah but she's so extremely dominant you know
        45           vOll in ihren büch
                     extremely in her nov
        46           also nich `SIE aber (.) ähm
                     well not she but         ehm
        47            die `FRAU da (.) .hh `In ihren bÜchern;
                       that woman          in her novels
        48           und (.) und irgendwie muß ↑`ALles unter einen
        49            ↑`HUT bringen;=
                     and and somehow having to put everything under one umbrella
   •    50           =also ich find das n (sagn wa mal) n bißchen
        51            zu `VIEL so;=
                     you know i think that's (i would say) just a bit too much
  ->    52           =erst mal (.) kar↑‾RIEre‾
                     firstly       the career
  ->    53           und und ↑‾KINder‾
                     and and children
  ->    54           und dann noch weiß ↑‾ICH‾ .hh
                     and then what do i know
        55    Mod:   hmm,
                     hm
        56    Kat:   ahh;
                     ehm
        57    Mod:   du ´bIst jetz `FÜNFzehn kathi;
                     you're now fifteen years old kathi
        58           wie wärst ↑`DU denn als `sUperweib;
                     what would you be like as a superwoman
        59    Kat:   (-) ahm also ich denk mal NICHT-
                         ehm well i don't really think
        60           daß ich gern so n superweib WERden möchte;
                     i'd like to become such a kind of a superwoman
```

Caller Kathi criticises that the female hero in a novel is presented as managing too much. This projection component is produced in line 50f. In order to detail this point, Kathie forms a list with two items that fit together syntactically, semantically and prosodically:

(21')

```
        =erst mal (.) kar↑‾RIEre‾
        und und       ↑‾KINder‾
        und dann noch weiß ↑‾ICH‾ .hh
```

In lines 52 and 53, she lists first the career and then the children. The item in line 54 starts like a third list item, i.e. with *and then also*, but then the phrase *(was) weiß ICH* ('what do I know') is

added, a hedge expression for a projected continuation that is, however, left unsaid. After the list items, this item now functions like a generalized list completer. Nevertheless, it is prosodically formed like the prior list items proper, thus projecting more-to-come. A completion for the list as well as a gestalt closure for the three-component structure is left missing. - The moderator responds with a recipiency token in line 55, thus leaving the turn with Kathi. Only after Kathi in line 56 still has not produced a gestalt closure, he changes the topic. Here then, we see the use of the list contour for the generalized list completer. It is heard by the moderator as the projection of more-to-come, which then, however, turns out to not be fulfilled.

This example is thus evidence that the use of a repeated list intonation for even an item that by its wording could be a list completer, suggests the interpretation of designed list continuation and projects more-to-come, i.e. displays it as a non-final list item. As, however, the production of the gestalt closure is still missing, too, the moderator's interpretation of the projection of more-to-come cannot be interpreted as only related to the prosodic presentation of the list item.

(c) Prosody may suggest the interpretation of possible list items as a designed list completer. In the following extract (22), a possible next list item proper is presented like a completer. In line 522, a list seems to be started but then abandoned after the first item:

(22)   T1-2: 512-528
```
        512  Omi:   .h im=im=im `FACH ´MAthe,
                        in in in mathematics
        513         was is denn bei euch ´DRAN,
                    what are you working at at the moment
        514  Dolli:.hh ähm: wird dir [nichts]
                        ehm   you won't
        515  Omi:                    [is   ] doch für GRUNDschule;
                                      but it's for primary school
        516  Dolli:ja: `TROTZdem;
                    yes but anyway
        517         aber du mußt ja den: `stOff de:r (.)
                    you still have to know the subject-matter of
        518           bis zur dreizehntn ´KLASse `können;
                      up to the thirteenth grade
●       519         [und des] wird dir alles nichts (.) nichts ´SA`gen;
                     and you wouldn't understand that
        520  Omi:   [(      )]
->      522  Dolli:also des sind be-WEISverfah:rn-
                    well that's ways of argumentation
->      523         und h .hh ähm: ja <<l> di´DAK`tische dinge und so:;>
                    and        ehm   well    didactic stuff and so on
        527  Omi:   ach;
                    oh
=>      528         `JA davon hab ich alles keine `AHnung;
                    yes i don't really have an idea about all that
```

55

Omi has asked Dolli, who studies mathematics, what she is working on at the moment. This is the question asked in line 512f. Dolli is reluctant to answer this question: In line 514 she begins a TCU with *ähm: wird dir [nichts]* ('ehm you won't'), which her grandmother responds to by pointing out that Dolli is studying in order to become a primary school teacher, implying that it can't be too difficult for Omi to understand. After Dolli has pointed out that even as a primary school teacher you still have to know the subject matter for up to level 13, she recycles her fragmentary TCU from line 514 in 519 and completes it, yielding *[und des] wird dir alles nichts (.) nichts ´SA`gen;* ('and you won't understand it'). This TCU now contains the quantifier *alles*, implying a greater number of mentionables, and functions as the projection component that Dolli in the next line begins to exemplify in the format of a list:

```
also des sind be-WEISverfah:rn-
```

The discourse marker *also* plus the phrase *des sind be-WEISverfah:rn-* are interpretable as giving an exemplification of the prior point. Yet, as I will claim that it is indeed at least doubtful whether or not a second item of a list is produced at all, we need to ask here what it is that suggests and justifies the interpretation of this item as a list item at all. And indeed it seems to be the plateau intonation with the mid level ending that contextualizes it as the first item of a list, projecting more items to follow.

Yet, in the next line, after the projection of continuation via the connector *und*, Dolli displays some hesitation signals (breathing out and in, producing *ähm:*) and then continues with

```
und h  .hh ähm: ja <<l> di´DAK`tische dinge und so:;>
```

('well didactic things and so'). Looking at the syntax and wording alone, we might perhaps argue that *di´DAK`tische dinge* could indeed be a second item of the list and *und so:* could be a generalized list completer. Yet, here, the prosody suggests another interpretation: The intonation used in the first item is not repeated here; instead, a new rising and falling contour is constituted in the phrase *di´DAK`tische dinge*, with *und so:* integrated into this unit. Furthermore, the change to slow tempo sets this unit off the prior one. This prosody contextualizes the entire TCU *ja <<l> di´DAK`tische dinge und so:;>* as one single TCU which functions as a generalized list completer after only one single list item.

Omi's reaction seems to confirm my interpretation. After Dolli's generalized list completer, she responds with *ach;* ('oh'), and then confirms Dolli's prior projection-component point by

producing a very similar gestalt closure of the entire three-component structure with `*JA davon hab ich alles keine `AHnung;*. Interestingly, Omi here also uses the quantifier *alles*, thus implying that indeed she understood Dolli's fragmentary list as only the hinting at a greater number of mentionables which she could have produced in a longer list. Omi's reaction thus displays her and corroborates our interpretation of Dolli's line 522 as suggesting the interpretation of a list. This interpretation, however, seems to have been brought about by using, after a projection, a typical list intonation, even if only in one single list item.

And here again, with other prosody altogether, e.g. with a simple rising intonation in line 522, the entire sequence in lines 522-523 would be heard as a simple coordinated structure, without suggesting a list in the first place. This then would be representable as in (22')

(22')

```
also des sind beWEISverfah:rn und h .hh ähm: ja di´DAK`tische dinge und
so:;
```

This is a case, then, in which it was again <u>only</u> the prosody that suggests the interpretation of the activities produced as the beginning of a possible list that is then, however, completed early after only one single item.

In this section, I have tried to give evidence that indeed 'list intonations' are deployed in order to make recognizable a potential list item as either (a) a list item at all, (b) a designed non-final item of the list proper, or (c) a designed final item as list completer. The use of a possible list intonation projects more-to-come, which could be either another list item or the gestalt closure of the three-component structure. The use of final falling pitch displays an item as a designed list completer. The recipients' responses corroborate this analysis of lists and list intonations within their surrounding structures: In extract (19), after Dolli has produced her list items with list intonations, Vati does refrain from responding till almost at the end of Dolli's gestalt closure; in extract (20), after Dolli has formulated her list items with list intonations, Mutti does not come in earlier than at the recognition point of Dolli's imminent gestalt closure, for a collaborative closure of the three-component structure; in extract (21), after Kathie has presented her items as list items with list intonations, the moderator only takes over after having given Kathie plenty of space to continue herself; and in extract (22), only after Dolli has presented her list as complete with a final item with falling final pitch, Omi comes in with her agreement to Dolli's point made in the projection component.

Furthermore, I have presented evidence for the relevance of prosody by contrasting the given prosody with possible alternative ones and comparing their effects, albeit intuitively. Unfortunately, however, the difference between contextualizing the items as list items or as simple coordinations does not seem to demand different recipient responses. This means that the additional contrasting method that I have used does make my point more plausible, but does not give us further sequential evidence for the relevance of list intonation as compared to alternative intonation in the same items.

3. Conclusions

I have first presented a structural, descriptive analysis of lists in everyday natural conversational data by speakers of Standard German, and I have then warranted this analysis with reference to the same kinds of data. The results of my study can be summarized as follows.

For my structural analysis, I have given examples to show that apart from the three-part structure of lists, lists are always themselves embedded into a three-component structure, with

(a) the projection component, projecting more-to-come, i.e. a multi-unit turn to be constructed, either a pre-detailing and/or a general formulation;

(b) the list itself, preferably three-parted, suggesting the items as part of either a closed or an open number of list items, as a practice of detailing;

(c) the gestalt closure, i.e. a post-detailing component, completing the structure around the list.

This general three-component structure that the list is a part of seems to be oriented to for all lists. The projection and gestalt-closure components are used for embedding and contextualizing the listing practice into the surrounding activity.

With respect to lists proper, I have differentiated between closed and open lists. Constitutive of all lists is syntactic parallelism and semantic compatibility of the list items, with often the final list item being a more general item or a class formulation, i.e. a superordinate item to the prior list items.

Closed lists are those for which their prosody suggests a closed number of items. They can be signalled as closed via (a) prosody or (b) the prior projection of the number of list items to follow. Closed lists of type (a) are very often, but not necessarily, formulated within single sentences, and they very often have successively downstepped pitch peaks for each of the list items. (It is

only these kinds of lists that somewhat resemble Beckman & Pierrehumbert's (1986) and Fèry's (1993) examples of read-aloud lists from their experiments, for which they found downstepping of the successive list items.) Closed lists of type (b) do not regularly exhibit downstep; their prior projection of the number of list items to follow renders pitch free to fulfill other functions. In lists of both types (a) and (b), the final list item is most often displayed with falling final pitch.

Open lists are those for which their prosody suggests an open number of items. These lists are most often, but not necessarily, constructed with separate TCUs for each list item. For these lists, some particular intonation contours are used more often than others and may be better usable to make a list recognizable. But in principle, it is not so much the particular intonation contour as such but the repetition of the same intonation contour and other prosody for at least part of the list items that is constitutive of lists and contributes to the recognizability of lists <u>as</u> lists. The repetition of the same contour for several list items enhances the interpretation of the sequence of items as a cohesive structure and practice. These kinds of lists are <u>not</u> downstepped in my data.

In my data, the contours that are used for the construction of open lists mostly end with high and/or level pitch. This pitch offset is most often reached after a contour that I called 'upward staircase' with high level plateau, with either high level final pitch or slightly falling final pitch – altogether 67% of my lists show these characteristics. Another 20% of my lists show continuously rising pitch from the accented syllable to the end of the item units. The rest of my data show mid or low level plateau pitch in the list items. So, what characterizes list intonation in my Standard German data is either full plateau or almost plateau intonation with only slightly falling final pitch and/or rising pitch from the nuclear accented syllable to the end of the unit. In other dialects, however, there are also contours involving falls for lists.

The intonation used for open lists can be accounted for as follows: Within the sequential structure around the list proper, and in co-occurrence with the parallel syntactic and compatible semantic structure of the list proper, the use of these list intonations functions as a turn holding device for the production of either another list item or the gestalt closure. Each production of such a list item projects more-to-come, i.e. at least one more unit to come: the projected unit is either another list item with similar characteristics - which then again projects another unit to come - or the gestalt closure which in most cases has falling pitch. *In this way, the repetition of the structure and in particular the contour constitutes a continuing and in principle infinitely expandable non-complete gestalt that projects its own completion.* Final items of the list proper

can via pitch be signalled as having either of two statuses: either they also have the same pitch contour and are thus presented as designed non-final items of the list; or they have a different pitch contour, mostly falling, and are thus presented as a designed completion of the list proper.

If the representation <poss l item> is used to denote a possible list item with respect to its syntax and semantics, and <poss l inton> is used to denote the possible list intonations described above, the following Schema is intended to summarize the functioning of these intonation contours with respect to turn-holding and projecting more-to-come.

Schema: Functioning of possible list intonations

<poss l item n> with <poss l inton> => poss l item n+1 with

{<poss l inton>} =>

{L%} => completion
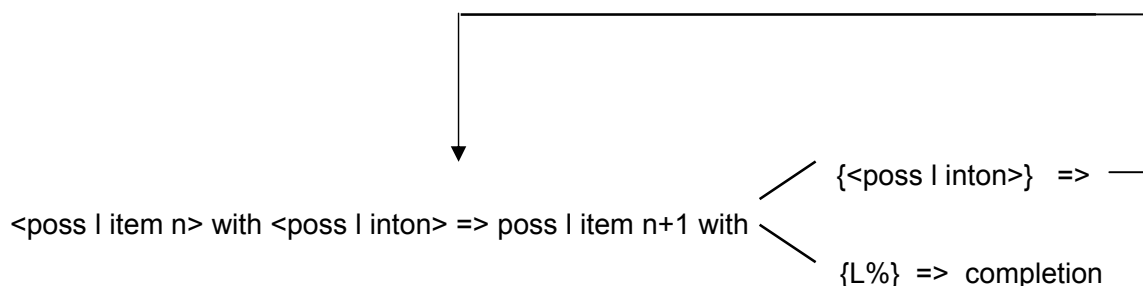
Legend: => denotes 'projects', {} denotes alternative options

In order to warrant my analysis, I have shown that participants indeed orient to the three-component structure that lists proper are embedded in and to prosody as a device that is deployed in order to signal list-production as such as well as the internal structure of the list. The evidence that I used came from (a) the structuring of the lists proper and their surrounding activities, from (b) recipient responses, and from (c) contrasting the used to possible alternative prosody.

In collaborative list constructions, recipients were demonstrated to also orient to the prosody of the prior items. In some cases that I presented, it was <u>only</u> the prosody that made possibly ambiguous items interpretable as either designed list items or as designed list completers. With alternative prosody, list items might not be hearable as list items at all.

The production of a projection component is thus a device for projecting a multi-unit turn, with the construction of lists being a device or practice for expanding the projection component. As Jefferson (1990) showed, there is indeed a preference for three-parted lists. Yet, different from what Lerner (1994) presumed, it does not always need three or at least two items to make listing interpretable, but even single items, which are by their syntactic and semantic relation to the prior pre-list component interpretable as possible list items, can via intonation be presented and made recognizable as list items. This shows the relevance of intonation for the display and interpretation of lists in conversation.

Appendix: Transcription conventions

<u>Sequential structure</u>
[   ]   overlap and simultaneous talk
[   ]
=   latching

<u>Pauses</u>
(.)   micropause
(-), (--), (---)   brief, mid, longer pauses of ca. 0.25 - 0.75 secs.;
                               until ca. 1 sec.
(2.0)   estimated pause, more than ca. 1 sec. duration
(2.75)   measured pause (notation with two digits after dot)

<u>Other segmental conventions</u>
und=äh   assimilations within units
:, ::, :::   segmental lenghtening, according to duration
äh, öh, etc.   hesitation signals, so-called 'filled pauses'
'   cut-off with glottal closure

<u>Laughter</u>
so(h)o   laugh particles within talk
haha hehe hihi   laugh syllables
((lacht))   description of laughter

<u>Recipiency tokens</u>
hm,ja,nein,nee   monosyllabic signals
hm=hm,ja=a,   disyllabic signals
nei=ein, nee=e
'hm'hm   with glottal stops, usually for negative responses

<u>Accentuation</u>
akZENT   strong, primary accent
ak!ZENT!   extra strong accent
akzEnt   weaker, secondary accents

<u>Pitch at the end of units</u>
?   rising to high
,   rising to mid
–   level
;   falling to mid
.   falling to low

<u>Conspicuous pitch jumps</u>
↗   to higher pitch
↓   to lower pitch

<u>Changed register</u>
<<l>   >   low register
<<h>   >   high register

```
Changes in loudness and speech rate
<<f>      >              =forte, loud
<<ff>     >              =fortissimo, very loud
<<p>      >              =piano, soft
<<pp>     >              =pianissimo, very soft
<<all>    >              =allegro, fast
<<len>    >              =lento, slow
<<cresc> >               =crescendo, continuously louder
<<dim>   >               =diminuendo, continuously softer
<<acc>   >               =accelerando, continuously faster
<<rall>  >               =rallentando, continuously slower

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

Other conventions
((hustet))              para- und extralinguistic activities and events
<<hustend>      >       concomitant para- und extralinguistic activities
                        and events with notation of scope
<<erstaunt>     >       interpretative commentaries with scope
(     )                 unintelligible according to duration
(solche)                uncertain transcription
al(s)o                  uncertain sounds or syllables
(solche/welche)         possible alternatives
((...))                 omissions in the transcript
—>                      indication of relevant lines for the discussion
```

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