

Response tokens in interaction – prosody, phonetics and a visual aspect of German JAJA

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English Abstract

This paper contributes to the growing body of knowledge on current listeners' responses in talk-in-interaction. In particular, it complements earlier findings on double sayings of German JA by describing some additional prosodic-phonetic parameters and a visual feature of its realization in institutional and semi-private interaction (doctor-patient interaction, Big Brother, TV talk shows). These include pitch contour, pitch range and phonetic ending, on the one hand, and nodding on the other.

The paper shows that JAJA is a truly multimodal phenomenon, with the individual features accomplishing interactional functions across sequence-organizational habitats, including (re)claiming epistemic priority in an aside, making continuation relevant, agreeing/ acknowledging with reservation and aligning with the continuation of a sequence. Lack of nodding is suggested to have situational as well as misalignment reasons.

On the basis of its observations, the paper also raises the question whether it is the applicability of response token variants across action and sequence types which makes them memorable despite their variability.

Keywords: response tokens, continuers, epistemic priority, pitch, phonetic ending, duration, nodding, alignment, affiliation.

German Abstract

Dieser Beitrag ergänzt bisherige Erkenntnisse zum Rückmeldeverhalten in der alltäglichen Interaktion am Beispiel von JAJA. Er beschreibt zusätzliche prosodisch-phonetische Eigenschaften sowie ein visuelles Merkmal der Realisierung dieser Partikel in institutionellen und quasi-privaten Interaktionen wie Arzt-Patienten-Gesprächen, Big Brother und TV-Talkshows. Im Mittelpunkt der Betrachtungen stehen Tonhöhenbewegung, Tonhöhenumfang und phonetische Realisierung des Endes der Partikel sowie ihre Koordination mit Nicken.

Der Beitrag zeigt, dass JAJA ein multimodales Phänomen ist, dessen spezifische Realisierungsmerkmale bestimmte interaktional-relevante Funktionen kontextualisieren, darunter die Unterstreichung epistemischer Rechte "nebenbei", die Relevantmachung der Fortsetzung eines *turns*, die eingeschränkt positive Aufnahme einer Handlung sowie die Einwilligung bezüglich der Fortsetzung einer Sequenz. Fehlende Koordination von JAJA mit Nicken wiederum scheint fehlende Intersubjektivität der Teilnehmenden anzudeuten.

Auf der Grundlage dieser Beobachtungen problematisiert der Beitrag schließlich die Variabilität von JAJA vor dem Hintergrund der ebenfalls beobachtbaren handlungstypübergreifenden Einsetzbarkeit dieser Partikel.

Keywords: Rückmeldepartikel, epistemische Priorität, Tonhöhe, Auslaut, Segmentdauer, Nicken, Ausrichtung (alignment), Zugehörigkeit (affiliation).

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1. Introduction¹

In CA and IL, recent years have witnessed increasing attention to current listeners' response. Of special interest have been small tokens of response in the respective languages (e.g. Ward 1996; Gardner 2001; Sorjonen 2001; Norrick 2008, 2009; Reber 2008; Tanaka 2010). For German, Golato and her collaborators have contributed to describing the interactional function(s) of phonetically very diverse items such as *ach(so)* (Golato/Betz 2008), *achja* (Betz/Golato 2008), *ok* (Barske 2006), as well as phonetic variants of segmentally similar items, such as *ja* and *jaja* (Golato/Fagyal 2006, 2008).

This research, similar to that for English (cf. e.g. Gardner 2001) and Japanese (e.g. Tanaka 2010), points towards the fact that both phonetic shape and prosodic form of an item play a major part in contextualizing its interactional function. In a paper on double sayings of *ja* in German, Golato/Fagyal (2008) claim, for instance, that JAJA² not only accomplishes something different from *ja* but also that JAJA with a pitch peak on the first syllable is to be differentiated from JAJA with a peak on the second syllable (for a similar claim with regard to *achja* see Betz/Golato 2008). For their investigation Golato/Fagyal did not restrict themselves to continuers, but included JAJA in all sequence-organizational positions, also as second pair parts of requests for information, i.e. answers to questions.

¹ This paper is an extended version of Barth-Weingarten (2011) with special focus on the prosodic-phonetic features of JAJA. It resulted from research carried out at the *Institut für Deutsche Sprache*, Mannheim (Germany), partly inspired by workshops with Lorenza Mondada and Johannes Wagner. It has greatly profited from discussions with and comments by Arnulf Deppermann. Thanks is also due to Karin Birkner, Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen, Lorenza Mondada, Elisabeth Reber, Reinhold Schmitt and an anonymous reviewer for their helpful comments at various stages of this project. Part of this paper was presented at the international conference "Interaction and usage-based grammar theories" at the FRIAS in Freiburg in December 2009. All remaining errors are, of course, my own.

² In this paper, this capitalized spelling refers to double sayings of *ja* in general regardless of their prosodic-phonetic make-up.

Adopting a similarly broad starting point, this present paper complements these earlier findings in going beyond private (telephone) conversational data and showing that the doubling of JA and the positioning of the pitch peak are not the only features relevant. The analysis of a corpus of some altogether 200 examples from a range of semi-private and institutional contexts (see section 3) has yielded that, apart from pitch contour, other prosodic-phonetic parameters are also systematically employed by the participants to contextualize interactional functions of JAJA. Among them are pitch range, phonetic ending, type of phonation, duration and vowel quality. This paper illustrates how various kinds of JAJA with these prosodic-phonetic features accomplish various tasks in talk-in-interaction.

In addition, it draws attention to the fact that JAJA is a multimodal phenomenon. Following a recent upsurge in interest in visual response (e.g. Aoki 2008; Stivers 2008; Tanaka 2010), the paper also complements earlier findings by describing one visual aspect of the use of JAJA in German face-to-face interaction, namely its coordination with nodding. Nodding can serve to display reciprocity as well as affiliation. What seems to be important in this regard, though, is its sequential position and specific realization (cf. Maynard 1989; Aoki 2008; Stivers 2008). This paper touches upon yet another aspect of JAJA as a multimodal phenomenon, namely the lack of nodding with some JAJA instances in face-to-face interaction.

In the remainder of this paper, I will provide an overview of previous research on JAJA in functional-pragmatic analyses as well as conversation-analytic and interactional-linguistic work (section 2). The data base for this paper will be described in section 3. Section 4 will discuss two additional pitch contours (upglide-downstep and final dip) and illustrate the effect of a narrow pitch range and voice-quality as well as glottal-closure endings with JAJA. Moreover, the effect of aspiration, duration and vowel quality will be touched upon. Section 5 will take up nodding as one visual aspect of JAJA. Finally, in section 6, I will draw some conclusions. These include considerations on the apparent variability of the item and its applicability by the participants as well as the import of detailed prosodic-phonetic analyses in Interactional Linguistics.

2. Previous research on JAJA

2.1 JAJA in functional-pragmatic analyses

To date, a number of attempts have been made in mainstream linguistics to capture the form and functions of JAJA. In terms of sequential organization, it was observed to be uttered by the current speaker as well as the current listener (Zifonun et al. 1997), and from early onwards, linguistics pointed out the relevance of the repetition ("reduplication") of JA (Trabant 1983) for the intensification of its meaning (cf. Hentschel 1986:151; Nübling 2004).

In terms of what exactly it is that JAJA accomplishes in discourse, a whole range of suggestions has been offered, including

- signaling a stance towards what had been said before, ranging from agreement (Heringer 1988; Zifonun et al. 1997:372f.; McCarthy 2003:54) via irony (Hartung 2002) to conveying a negatively evaluating metacomment on the previous utterance (Zifonun et al. 1997; Willkop 1988),
- signaling emotion, ranging from frustration/irritation (Schiewer 2000:17f.; Duden 2007:852) to resignation (Weinrich 1993) and
- organizing discourse, ranging from indicating speakership incipiency (Willkop 1988; Zifonun et al. 1997) to indexing engaged, not turn-"grabbing", listenership (McCarthy 2003:59).

Against this background, some authors pointed out that the interpretation of JAJA will mainly depend on the local context (Burkhardt 1982:157; Hentschel 1986:151; McCarthy 2003:56).

Surprisingly, the phonetics of JAJA has so far only rarely been studied systematically in these regards, though there have been attempts along these lines at other response tokens in German, in particular *hm* (e.g. Ehlich 1986; also Reisigl 1999; Schmidt 2001; Kehrein/Rabanus 2001). The studies that investigate prosodic-phonetic features, mainly focused on pitch movements, yet, there seems to be little agreement. Zifonun et al. (1997), e.g., list three contours of JAJA:

- *jajà*³ uttered by the current speaker to indicate the previous utterance to go along with previous knowledge or expectations and uttered by the current listener as an acknowledging/agreeing continuer;
- *jajá* with a similar, but intensified function, which can also indicate the superfluousness of continuation and speakership incipiency (cf. Willkop 1988; Koerfer 1979);
- *jajâ* as a response token by the current listener often expressing irritation.

Willkop (1988), in contrast, mentions *ja\ja* as the "normal" form and *ja\ja/* as the "intensifying" form.

Other prosodic-phonetic features have occasionally been taken into consideration. Rasoloson (1994) claims pitch range to modify the core meaning of the token in that greater range contextualises affectivity; volume is said to generally collaborate with pitch (Bandt et al. 2001:61f.; Reisigl 1999:184; Nübling 2004:19); and duration is assumed to be relevant in discriminating meaning, too (Reisigl 1999:186; Rasoloson 1994; Nübling 2004:19). Yet, a detailed, systematic study of the prosodic-phonetic features of JAJA, similar to those of the majority of response tokens, is still wanting (cf. also Fries 2002:655; Golato 2005:211).

³ Transcription conventions of JAJA in the respective sources have been maintained in this section.

2.2. JAJA in conversation-analytic and interactional-linguistic work

A CA study which is of immediate relevance to the research object of the current paper is that by Stivers (2004) on multiple sayings of response tokens in social interaction. Stivers explicitly includes reduplicated tokens and shows that the function of these multiplications of tokens is to oppose a perseveration of the current course of action. This can include proposing to halt the current sequence, not just the current turn (also McCarthy 2003).

While Stivers looks at multiplied response tokens in general, Golato/Fagyal (2006, 2008) studied double sayings of JA in particular. In a study of 9 hours of German non-elicited private telephone conversation, Golato/Fagyal (2006, 2008) found 54 instances of double sayings of *ja*. They report that these could be divided into two almost equally large groups of instances according to the position of the pitch peak: $\wedge jaja$. ($\wedge jaJA$; or $H^* L-\%$)⁴ and $ja\wedge ja$. ($ja\wedge JA$; or $L+ H^* L-\%$). With group 1, two (or more) JAs occur in immediate succession under one falling pitch contour with a pitch peak on the first syllable. Golato/Fagyal – in line with Stivers' more general claim – state that this form "in all cases ... indicates that the prior utterance contains already known information (known from the prior speaker's earlier turns or known from other interactions) and that therefore the current action should be stopped" (2008:249). It can be produced as a stand-alone or turn-initially followed by further evidence for the epistemic overload. Afterwards, the participants regularly move on to the/a next step in the action framework. In this sense, $\wedge jaja$ (henceforth type-1 JAJA) can be seen as sequence-closing.

With $ja\wedge ja$, two (and only two) JAs occur in immediate succession with the pitch peak and falling pitch following it on the second syllable. Golato/Fagyal claim that these instances are "always positioned in environments in which the interactants' intersubjectivity ... is fractured" (2008:252), as a consequence of which the utterance prior to $ja\wedge ja$ was misaligned in the sense that it a) was a B-event statement, b) asked for clarification of something already said or implied or c) took up a wrong/minor point (2008:252).⁵ A $ja\wedge ja$ then acknowledges that misalignment while at the same time it displays that the previous utterance was unwarranted or self-evident and will be taken issue with. The latter regularly happens in the same turn in the form of an account or some other kind of turn-expansion explaining the misalignment, pointing out the problem and/or negotiating the epistemic rights. In this sense, $ja\wedge ja$ (henceforth type-2 JAJA) can be considered sequence-continuing.

Overall, the analysis of my corpus (cf. section 3) provides further evidence for the division of the great majority of JAJA instances into these two groups according to the position of the F0 peak. However, the analysis of further instances of JAJA, first, also yielded additional contours and, second, it revealed that additional insights into the contextualization of interactional functions of response tokens such as JAJA can be gained, when attention is paid to further prosodic-pho-

⁴ These are the representations of the item according to GAT 2 (Couper-Kuhlen/Barth-Weingarten 2011) and in the autosegmental approach (cf. TOBI, for a short introduction see Couper-Kuhlen/Barth-Weingarten 2011:30-32 or Roach 1994, for instance) respectively.

⁵ Golato/Fagyal also claim for this type that "the data convey the sense that the prior speaker should have known better" (2008:252).

netic parameters and visual features. Some of these are presented here.⁶ It is to be stressed that this paper does not provide an exhaustive treatment of the range of realization variants JAJA can take but seeks to extend the picture we have of the working of JAJA in German so far by describing some further forms and functions in additional habitats and thus to induce further work on this, and other, response tokens along these lines.

3. Corpus and method

The analysis draws upon the approaches of Phonology/Phonetics for Conversation and Interactional Linguistics. Phonology/Phonetics for Conversation aims at "an integrated account of the communicative function of parametric phonetic detail and its relationship with interactional organization" (Local/Walker 2005:120). For this, it employs "a thoroughgoing phonetic and sequential analysis of talk-in-interaction" (ibid.) considering all details potentially relevant (cf., e.g., Local et al. 1986; Kelly/Local 1989; Ogden 2004; Walker 2004). Interactional Linguistics attempts to uncover the participants' orderly use of linguistic patterns to achieve particular goals in natural interaction, i.e. it treats linguistic devices as resources. Interactional Linguistics takes into account all aspects of language structure and use. It is, for the most part, based on theoretical assumptions and methods of Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis, such as using data from interaction which was consequential for the participants at the time and detailed single-case analyses to inductively uncover the participants' categories and resources (*members' devices*) and to warrant its claims via the participants' behavior (cf. Wootton 1989; also Couper-Kuhlen/Selting 1996, 2001; Selting/Couper-Kuhlen 2000, 2001; Couper-Kuhlen/Ford 2004; Lindström 2006).

In order to extend our knowledge on the working of JAJA in German interaction, the corpus investigated for this paper included genres rather different from the private telephone conversation used by Golato/Fagyal (2006, 2008). Moreover, for investigating the visual side of JAJA, it sought to include video recordings of face-to-face exchanges.⁷ In particular, the kinds of JAJA described in section 4 were established on the basis of instances collected from

- 5 sets of video recordings (30-40 min daily summaries) of the first Big Brother series recorded in 2000⁸ amounting to 3 hours 10 min, which yielded 29 instances⁹ produced by altogether 4 participants, and
- 4 video-recordings of talk shows broadcasted on German TV (1-2 hours length each) of altogether 5 hours 45 min recorded in 1989,¹⁰ which yielded 62 relevant instances produced by 15 participants.

⁶ See also Barth-Weingarten (2011), which focuses on the use of JAJA in terms of (dis)alignment.

⁷ It is acknowledged, though, that this paper does not discuss aspects of the genre-sensitiveness of the various forms and functions of JAJA.

⁸ I would like to thank Karin Birkner and Peter Auer for allowing me access to their data.

⁹ In the course of this paper I also take into account 7 instances of multiple sayings of JA from these recordings.

¹⁰ Thanks is due to Wilfried Schütte for providing me with these data.

For checking my findings on a broader data base and to extend my collection of instances of low frequency categories, I used another

- 38 instances taken from 20 audio recordings of Map Tasks from 2006 to 2009¹¹ of altogether 5 hours,
- 53 instances from 14 audio recordings of doctor-patient-consultations from the late 1960s,¹² amounting to altogether 2 hours, and
- 50 instances of low-frequency categories of JAJA selected for cross-checking purposes from the initial 1206 relevant hits (of altogether 7053 general hits) from the *Datenbank Gesprochenes Deutsch* at the *Institut für Deutsche Sprache*, Mannheim (Germany),¹³ including audio recordings of media encounters (politicians' interviews, quiz shows, features), business encounters (travel agency) and semi-private encounters (dorm conversations, telephone counseling sessions between friends) etc.

The study started off with a sequential analysis of the turns preceding the JAJA as well as those following it, including material extending the TCU/turn containing the JAJA. This analysis followed the schema for the analysis of sound objects ("Lautobjekte") (cf. Reber 2008; Reber/Couper-Kuhlen 2010), which includes

- sequential placement,
- sequence-organizational function,
- interactional function, and
- sequential consequence.

This was followed by a detailed prosodic-phonetic analysis of JAJA in terms of

- syllabic make-up and segmental substance, and
- prosodic-phonetic features, in particular:
 - duration,
 - pitch range,
 - pitch movement,
 - phonation and
 - phonetic ending¹⁴

as well as a study of

- visual-spatial properties.

¹¹ Thanks to Stefan Kleiner for allowing me access to the recordings of the project "Deutsch heute" [German today] at the IDS Mannheim (cf. http://www.ids-mannheim.de/prag/AusVar/Deutsch_heute/).

¹² I thank Thomas Spranz-Fogasy for allowing me access to these data.

¹³ I would like to thank Maria Ludwig for helping me to scan them for relevant cases. This data bank is accessible via <http://dsav-wiss.ids-mannheim.de/DSAv/DSAVINFO.HTM>.

¹⁴ Reber/Couper-Kuhlen's schema additionally involves the prosodic parameters volume, rhythmic integration and articulatory intensity. However, in the time frame available for this study, these could not yet be included systematically.

All prosodic-phonetic features were identified auditorily, to resemble the participants' access to the data. PRAAT analyses (5.0.12, Boersma/Weenink 1992-2008, <http://www.praat.org>) are used for illustrating purposes in this paper.

Finally, one issue concerning the kinds of double sayings of JA discussed here needs explicit mention again: Conversation-analytic approaches assign great importance to the sensitivity of interactional phenomena to the kind of sequence they occur in (cf., for instance, Schegloff 2007). The more it needs pointing out that with JAJA – although different realization variants are connected with different interactional functions – so far only little sensitivity of its prosodic-phonetic and visual realization to the particular kind of action sequence it occurs in was observed: Golato/Fagyal (2008) arrived at their two-category model by including instances of acknowledgement tokens, responses to requests for information and for confirmation alike, for instance. Similarly, the study presented here provided little evidence for the systematic correlation between prosodic-phonetics variants of JAJA and the larger action sequence or activity they occur in. Instead, many of the features studied were observed to be valid with JAJAs in continuer as well as full-turn functions in different activities alike. Rather, JAJA seems to manage more local contingencies of turn-taking, stance-taking and epistemic access across different action/activity-type contexts. Therefore, for this study no further attempt has been made to separate JAJAs according to action and sequence type, and the instances discussed below illustrate the cross-action applicability of many of the JAJA variants. This very point is taken up explicitly in section 6 again, where it will serve to draw a conclusion with regard to the participants' ability of successfully employing a response token as variable as JAJA.

4. Findings

4.1 Additional pitch contours

Golato/Fagyal (2006, 2008) were able to divide their JAJA instances from private telephone conversation into two groups according to whether the F0 peak is positioned on the first or the second syllable. In addition, type-1 JAJA is characterized by a "continuously falling intonation contour" (2008:248), H* L-%. For an audio impression of this, listen to an instance from a Big Brother recording, which responds to a question fit to open a side-sequence concerning shared presuppositions within a longer telling:



Example (1): type-1 JAJA (BB72-1057, 0:17:37)¹⁵



Sab: <<all>ja is (ja/doch) auch nicht SCHLIMM.>
 -> Ver: jaJA;
 k1A[r;]
 Sabr: [ne,]

For the type-2 JAJA, a pitch trace showing a rising-falling contour, L+ H* L-%, is stated to be representative (2008:252). For an audio impression, listen to excerpt (2) from another Big Brother recording. This JAJA responds to a request for information which is obvious to the current teller Verena but not the current listeners Jürgen and Andrea:



Example (2): type-2 JAJA (BB69-1518)



Jür: [ach so.]
 And: [das haste erst] s[päter] erFAHREN oder was.
 Ver: [(↑JA.)]
 -> ja^JA.
 ich hab das vom BESTen freund später erFAHREN.

In addition to these, my broadcasted data yielded some more pitch contours. To show their relevance, Table 1 provides a survey of these and their frequencies in my primary corpus (cf. also the illustrating sound samples from excerpts discussed later in the paper):

pitch contours	number of instances		
	TV talk shows (n = 62)	Big Brother (n = 27)	∑ (n = 89)
type 1 (cf. Golato/Fagyal)	22	10	32
type 2 (cf. Golato/Fagyal)	2	7	9
additional contours			
upglide-downstep	19	3	22
final dip	1	-	1
upstep	14	7	21
other	4	-	4

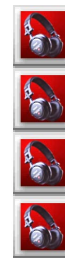


Table 1: Overview of pitch contours with double sayings of JA in the primary corpus

¹⁵ For better readability, the notation of prosodic-phonetic detail has been reduced to the GAT 2 basic transcription (see Appendix 1) for those examples for which sound and video clips are available (embedded in the PDF and on the journal's website respectively). Thanks is due to Jürgen Immerz for helping me to provide these. Readers are strongly recommended to consult these clips. The notation of the JAJAs, though, will provide all relevant parameters according to the GAT 2 fine transcript, including IPA signs where necessary.

The upglide-downstep and the final-dip variants of JAJA will be considered below. The label "upstep" refers to a realization variant in which the second syllable is audibly higher than the first, but it lacks the final fall typical of Golato/Fagyal's type 2. The example is taken from an edition of the German TV talk show *Berlin 19*, where – after a lengthy monologue by a guest (WH) on overrunning broadcasting time – the speaker himself concedes he himself may already have talked for too long:



Example (3): Overrunning (Bln19_761) (28:12)

WH: so GEHT das beim ↓fErn↑sêhn.
that's what it's like with TV

[nich-]
right

JB: [wEm] SAgEn sie das;
you are telling me

WH: JA;
yes

näh: (.) Uns wird's möglicherweise AUCH so [gehn heu][te;]
right the same will possibly happen to us today

JB: <<smiles>[ja↑JA-] [hm-]>

WH: °h <<p>ähm> <<points at himself>
 [xxx xxx xxx ja ich weiß wenn ich]
 noch weiter REde;
yes I know if I continue talking

JB: [<<all>ich kürze AUCH gleich; mAchen se mal WEIter.>]
I will also shorten {this} continue PRT

The category "other" includes the realization of the two JAs on the same pitch level, as in the following instance from the same edition of *Berlin 19* as that in example (3), where the JAJA responds to a claim of lack of knowledge on the organizational structure of a broadcasting station.



Example (4): Technical support (Bln19-2938)

WH: die drEi direktOren;
the three directors

äh FERNsehen-
uh TV

RAdio

°hh ä:hm::: v [verWALtung glaub]_ich-
uhm a administration I believe

- JB: [verWALtung-]
administration
- ja,
yes
- WH: TECHni[k weiß ich] [<p>nich</p>]
technical support I don't know
- JB: [TECHnik.]
technical support
- [**JA]JA-**
- (.)
- WH: (also) [(dEnn)] sind es [VIER;]
(well) (then) it's four
- JB: <<(to somebody in the background)>>
 [ne?] [technik auch]>
Right technical support too

Overall, the figures in the table suggest that beyond telephone-conversational German, firstly, the proportion of type-1 and type-2 instances is less than equal and, secondly, there are more than two pitch contours used by the participants. In the next sections I will show that the additional contours are also connected with specific discourse functions. We will consider the upglide-downstep and the final-dip variants of JAJA in turn. Investigation of the upstep and other contours is a task for future research (but see, for instance, Zifonun et al. 1997).

4.1.1 Upglide-downstep JAJA: an aside on epistemic priority

At times participants present themselves as "in the know", they bring up a topic or an idea or they make a claim thereby displaying epistemic rights or access (cf. Heritage/Raymond 2005). Then, however, their interlocutors take over in such a way that the epistemic rights somehow shift away from the first participant. In this situation, the originator of the idea or claim may feel the need to just point out that the primary epistemic rights were his/hers before the sequence is continued. (S)he can do so by employing JAJA with a particular pitch contour, namely an upglide to a pitch peak on the first syllable and a down-step on the second. As an instance in point, consider excerpt 3. It is taken from an audio-recording of a doctor-patient consultation. The patient originally wanted to move to a hot part of the world¹⁶ but had to return to Germany for she could not handle the heat, a fact which came up at the beginning of the consultation. Some time into the consultation, the doctor, who had been to that part of the world several times herself, returns to the topic with an expression of surprise at the patient's telling that she had to move back after only two months (not shown here). Thereupon the patient accounts for her return again.

¹⁶ Place names have been deleted for reasons of privacy.

Example (5): Temperature (AA_BI_03_350+356+364)¹⁷

- 1 PA: Un:d es ist ja nun die 'Hitze?
and it is the heat you know
- 2 (0.8)
- 3 PA: wEnn sie da <<knarrend>'ARbeiten> müssen-
when you have to <<creaky>work> then
- 4 =also da mAchen_s_sich ja keinen be^GR[IFF;]
you can't imagine
- 5 DO: [('nA),=]
well
- 6 =[d_ich <<knarrend>↓WEIß.>]
th_I <<creaky>know>
- 7 PA: [(ne) w]Ie das `IS;
(right) what it's like
- 8 ((lach[t))]
((laughs))
- 9 DO: [und ↑NORD xxx xxx] xxx xxx:
and Northern {continent}
- 10 PA: =Und ne (.) große (.) `LUFTfeuchtig[keit-]
and a (.) great (.) humidity
- 11 DO: [`jA;]
yes
- 12 =das [dAs ist das `SCHLIMMste.]
that that is the worst
- 13 PA: [(das ist fast in) ↓-GANZ xxx] xxx xxx xxx;
that is {the case} almost all over {continent}
- 14 DO: `GANZ xxx xxx xxx [xxx- =ja- (0.38)]
all over {continent} yes
- 15 PA: [()]
- 16 aber wEnn sie da schon] mal ge↓WEsen
sind vor sieben jahren-
but when you had already been there seven years ago
- 17 `WUSSten_se doch [das;]
you knew this one should think
- 18 PA: [<<f>NEIN>-]
no

¹⁷ For privacy reasons this excerpt can only be provided as a GAT 2 fine transcript with the JAJAs as soundfiles.

- 37 °hh (die/wir) möchten lieber wieder ↑`HEUte wieder
(they/we) would like to (...) today again
 (xxx xxx xxx xxx [(.)])
- 38 DO: [tat`SÄCHlich;=]
is that so
- 39 =~jA,
yes
- 40 (1.0)
- 41 DO: **JA↓JA:;=**
- 42 =↑das: (.) glaub ich `AUCH dass das-
that(.) I believe too that that
- 43 (.)
- 44 DO: un un die `FEUCHtigkeit ist Uner`TRÄGlic[h;]
(un-/and) and the humidity is unbearable
- 45 PA: [Un]
(un-/and)
- 46 also ↑`WAHnsinn-
PRT madness
- 47 ??: (xxx xxx xxx)?
- 48 (0.3)
- 49 DO: °hh <<f>↑`SO;=
right
- 50 DO: =da wOlln wer mal ´GUCKen,
then let's see

The doctor acknowledges the patient's account (line 1, 3-4) by establishing herself as "in the know" (line 5-6). This is overlapped by the patient with an increment underlining her accounting claim (line 7-8). The doctor then attempts to suggest the Northern part of the continent as an alternative (line 9), which is countered by another fact by the patient which pre-empts this suggestion anyway, namely the great humidity (line 10). This fact is acknowledged by the doctor by *ja; das- dAs ist das SCHLIMMste* ('yes that- that's the worst', line 11-12). This, in fact, makes another claim to independent access: the doctor claims to be able to assess the situation from first-hand experience. In overlap with this, the patient adds, rightfully, that this account is valid regardless of the exact geographic location (line 13). This is again acknowledged by the doctor, this time with (lexically and prosodically) fewer claims to epistemic rights (line 14). In line 16-17 the doctor makes another attempt at revealing some inconsistency: *aber wEnn se schon mal da geWesen sind vor sieben jahren WUSSten se doch das* ('but when you had already been there seven years ago you knew this one should think'). This is coun-

tered by repair of the temporal facts (*NEIN- vor FÜNFzehn jahn*; 'no 15 years ago', line 18-19) and an account (*und äh man verGISST das mit der zeit*; 'and one forgets this over the years', line 21), both of which are acknowledged by the doctor (line 20, 22). Thereupon the account is reformulated by the patient with a concessive structure (cf. Barth-Weingarten 2003) *wir ham geWUSST dass des HEiß ist- =aber nIcht SO krass*. ('we knew that it is hot but not that excessively', line 23-24, 26). Its first part is acknowledged by the doctor (line 25) and the second part is greeted by the JAJA under discussion here: $\tilde{j}A\overset{\downarrow}{JA}$:- (line 27).

Its pitch contour is characterized by a relatively steep convex upglide on the first syllable, which starts around the middle of the speaker's range and moves upwards (162 to 216 Hz, i.e. 5 ST), while the second syllable is lower in pitch again, and ends half-low and level (cf. Fig. 1).

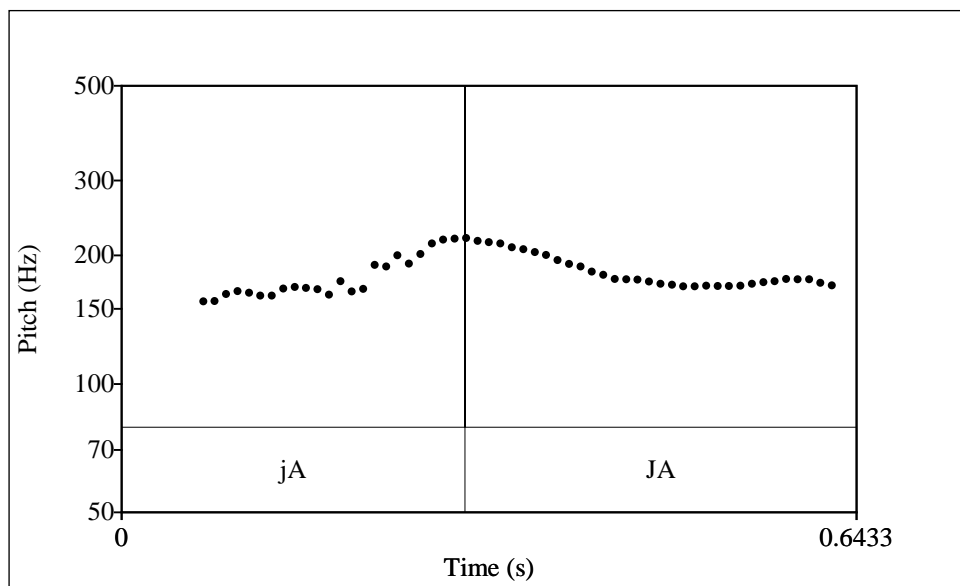


Fig. 1: Pitch trace of JAJA in excerpt 5, line 27.

Hence, prosodically this JAJA is different from the contours described in previous studies:¹⁸ the peak is audible on the first syllable as with Golato/Fagyal's type 1, but the onset of that syllable is around the middle of the speaker's range. Moreover, the second syllable stays low, there is no rise-fall, as with the previous type 2.

In addition, this JAJA is prosodically rather independent: in 81% of all relevant cases it is a stand-alone item, or it is followed by a prosodically independent turn expansion claiming access, such as *eben* ('right, that's what I'm saying', line 28; cf. Lütten 1979; Weydt/Hentschel 1983) in this case. In my data, type-1 uses of JAJA, in contrast, are either single-item contributions or prosodically integrated with the following tokens pointing towards the epistemic overkill (such as *klar* 'that's obvious') in one prosodic unit.

¹⁸ Golato/Fagyal (2006:2) describe a variant of type 2 in which the peak comes at or near the offset of the second syllable, which they explain by tonal retraction. While this may resemble what we can see in the pitch trace in Fig. 1, auditorily the peak is located on the first syllable with the JAJAs reclaiming epistemic rights.

If we examine its interactional function, we can also note a difference: while type-1 JAJA indicates that something is known and the current sequence should be stopped, this JAJA here confirms what has been said before and also indicates that the speaker has known and said so before, i.e. the JAJA speaker claims epistemic priority, but does so in an overall sequence-preserving way (cf. Barth-Weingarten 2011). This is also less disaligning than type-2 JAJAs. For this interpretation, it is relevant on the one hand that the JAJA-speaker has established herself as "in the know" already before (line 5-6, 11-12), but that her interlocutor has responded in a way which makes the epistemic priority shift to *her*: providing another account in line 10, with a claim of its general validity in line 13, a repair of facts in line 18-19 and another account in line 21 plus an insisting concession in line 23-24 and 26, many of which are interspersed with attempts to prove knowledge by the doctor (line 5-6, 9, 11-12) or counters (line 16-17). All of this establishes a context of "rivalry" for epistemic priority (Arnulf Deppermann, p.c.). Support for this can also be found in the $\hat{E}ben$; ('right, that's what I'm saying', line 28) following the $\acute{j}A\downarrow JA:-$. This is a token which explicitly verbalizes a claim to epistemic rights (cf. Lütten 1979:35ff.; Trömel-Plötz 1979:321ff.). Yet, while type-2 JAJAs explicitly deal with this, $\acute{j}A\downarrow JA:-$ does not foreground this rivalry. Rather, it seems to serve to "just make that point" that the primary epistemic rights were the JAJA-speaker's, while the sequence may continue.

This can also be seen in the sequential consequences: type-1 JAJA was sequence-closing implicative, and type-2 JAJA speakers actively continued the sequence with a topicalization of the misalignment (cf. Golato/Fagyal 2008). Our JAJA-speaker, however, in line 29 leaves space for her interlocutor to continue, which the latter then does, with a next topical aspect (line 30-32). This, in turn, is greeted by another of these double sayings of JA (line 33) followed by some kind of continuation. The latter is, however, quickly aborted when the non-JAJA speaker adds another sequential increment (line 35-37). This is responded to by some acknowledgement (line 38-49) and a pause (line 40) and only then followed by a third of these JAJAs (line 41). Thereafter the JAJA-speaker herself continues the sequence with a claim to epistemic rights *das glaub ich AUCH dass das* ('that I believe too that that', line 42), which is, however, also rather downgraded – note the choice of 'believe' of all possible verbs. After another micro-pause (line 43), the JAJA-speaker then continues with another fact (line 44), acknowledged by the patient (line 45-46) and only when the patient does not continue for some more time (line 48), the doctor moves on to a new sequence starting with the patient's physical examination (line 49-50). Hence, in its sequential consequences, the upglide-downstep JAJA is neither sequence-closing implicative nor actively sequence-continuing, but – after having made the point concerning primary epistemic rights – it allows for the sequence to be continued by the non-JAJA speaker and is thus less turn-grabbing and misalignment-topicalizing than type-2 JAJA. This difference in interactional functions, I would like to argue is also contextualized by the difference in prosodic form. It is interesting to note in this regard that the second and third, functionally similar, JAJAs are also prosodically similar to the first one: they exhibit a similar upglide (4 ST from 157 to 198 Hz in line 33 and 3 ST from 163 Hz to 191 Hz in line 41) and a lower second syllable.

In sum, all $\acute{j}A\downarrow JA$ in this excerpt occur in the context of "rivalry" for epistemic priority. Their interactional task is to confirm the other speaker's claim/telling and

to make the point that originally the epistemic priority lay with the JAJA speaker, yet they accomplish this in an affiliative, sequence-preserving fashion. In these characteristics, they differ from previously described JAJAs and thus can be argued to constitute another type of double sayings of JA.



Excerpt 6 shows some more instances in point. This excerpt is taken from a satirical radio magazine staging self-made experts discussing the relevance and history of meat balls (*Bouletten*).



Example (6): Meat balls (DGD, FR045 22:40)


- 1 M4: wIrklich äh: ein ein fü ein WEItes feld
really uh a a b a broad field
- 1[für wIssen]schaftler,
for scientists
- 2 F: 1[(xxx xxx)]
- 3 M7: 2[archäoLOgen;] [ja;] [ja↓ja-] [ja-]
archaeologists yes {type-2 JAJA} yes
- 4 M4: 2[die also die] [eine] [eine] [°hh] im grUnde eine gan
who PRT who a a basically an ent
- gggganze geschi geSCH[ICHten-=]
entire stor stories
- 5 ??: [ja;]
yes
- 6 M3: =de-ef-BE boule[tten;]
{DFB - abbrev: German Football Association} meat balls
- 7 F: [h[m,]
- 8 M4: [ge][SCHICHten.]
stories
- 9 M3: [FUNDbüro- (.)]
lost-property office
- 10 gibt's ja da-
one can find there,
- 11 M4: h[m,]
- 12 M3: [nich?]
right?
- 13 h[m,]
- 14 F: [<<p>~jA↓J][A:;>]



- 15 M4: [de]-bE ham sie übrigens RECHT;=
 {DB - abbrev: German Rail} you're right by
 the way
- 16 =an der BUNdesbahn-
 with the federal rail company
- 17 an den SPEI[sewagen- =]
 at the restaurant cars
- 18 M3: [(nicht WAHR?)]
 doesn't it
- 19 M4: =steht das Überal[l drAn.]=
 you have it everywhere
-  20 M3: ['jA↓J][A:.]
- 21 M4: [=dE-B][E,]
 {abbrev: German railroad company}
- 22 F: [hm,]
-  23 M3: [<p>(')jA↓][jA.>]
- 24 M4: [DERbyboul[etten;]
 derby meat balls
- 25 [nich?]
 right
- 26 M3: [(DERby)bouletten==ja-)
 derby meat balls yes
- 27 F: (h[m:),]
 yes
- 28 M4: [°h]und mit dem PFERdefleisch.
 and with the horse meat
- 29 ??: [hm,]
- 30 M4: [°hh] [()]
- 31 M3: [MAN]che kölnner kArnevalsgesellschaften; (.)
 some Cologne karneval societies
- 32 plAnen ja die grÜndung von (.) bouLETTkorps;
 are planning to establish meat ball corps
- ((continues on this))

- 5 mit denen sich der norMAle mensch,
with which the normal human being
- 6 ↑NICHT_äh beschäftigt_äh;
does not get engaged in
- 7 °hh und dass KÜNStler,
and that artists
- 8 in beREIche absteigen,
descend into realms
- 9 wo eben normAle menschen also uh::: eben ↑N[ICHT]
into which normal human beings PRT do not descend
- 10 JB: [ja;]
yes
- 11 HN: absteigen;=nIcht?
into right
- 12 JB: [<p>~jA[↓]JA;>]
- 13 HN: [°hhh]und in dIesen SINNe,
and in this sense
- 14 °hh übernEhmen wir kÜNstler eben: diesen ↑Abstieg.
we artists take this descend on us
- 15 <p>nicht,=äh->
right uh
- 16 °h genAuso wie wie ein ARZT für die gesellschaft
irgendetwas ä::h übernimmt;
like a physician who takes something on him for society
- 17 <p>nicht?>=
right
- 18 =wir °h wir STEIgen eben in=s Unbewusste-
we we do descend into the subconscious
- 19 wir ZEIGen also die ganzen begIERden-
we show PRT the desires
- 20 d=äh °h äh die ganze °h sUcht nach GRAUsamkeit-
th=uh uh the entire craving for brutality
- 21 die im MENschen is-
which resides in the human being
- 22 und=äh wir wOllen sie beWUSST machen;=<p>nicht,>
and=uh we want to make it conscious right



- 1694 =ich bin allerdings beRUHIGT,
I'm calmed down however
- 1695 =dass es anscheinend nur sehr WEnige WORte sind-
that it is apparently only very few words
-  1696 WM: <<p> **jA[↓]J[A:;]**>
- 1697 BW: [die das beTRiFFT-]=
that are affected
- 1698 das hab ich bisHER in diesem- (.) dieser dimensiOn
noch gar nicht geWUSST- =
*I hadn't known this at all so far in this (.) this
dimension*
- 1699 =°hh aber Er hat vorhin gefragt wie lange das denn
↑DAUert;=
*but he asked some time ago how long it will PRT
take*
- 1700 ein solcher proZESS-
such a process

Again, the JAJA-speaker has made his epistemic priority explicit before by his longer explanations on the topic (not shown here). This is endangered by the current speaker's lengthy contribution (line 1687 and before (not shown here), 1689-1695) and underlined again by a confirming, continuer upglide-downstep JAJA (line 1696), upon which the sequence is still continued (line 1697-1698) before the non-JAJA speaker moves on to a different point (line 1699 and the following). Interestingly, this JAJA is quiet and thus non-floor claiming and it occurs at a spot where continuation is clearly projected both syntactically and prosodically by the current speaker. Hence, the JAJA speaker could equally well just have remained quiet here. Yet, he does not. It is this constellation which – apart from the prosodic contour which is conspicuously similar to those of the earlier epistemic-priority claiming JAJAs – suggests that epistemic priority is at issue here, too. At the same time this instance again illustrates the non-competitive nature of upglide-downstep JAJA.

A final excerpt in this section will show that upglide-downstep JAJA can also be employed by participants to claim to (have) be(en) "in the know" about some aspect, even though that knowledge had not been made explicit before. Consider the following excerpt from another doctor-patient interaction. Here the patient, an older single woman, who does not travel a lot, intends to visit a friend in Australia.

Example (9): English (AA_BI-05_501)²¹

- 2 DO: [ˈkÖnn se denn n bisschen ↓ENG↑lisch?]
do you PRT speak some English
- 3 PA: ((lacht)) !^WE!nig.
((laughs)) little
- 4 DO: na das ˈsollten sie ja (noch) etwas ↑`AUFfrische[n.]
well you should fresh this up a bit
- 5 PA: [j]A-
yes
- 6 (ˈsEhr [ˈWEnig-)]
very little
- 7 DO: [ham se_s mal gel`LERNT in der schul[e?]
did you learn it at school
- 8 PA: [ˈNE]IN nein-
no no
ich_äh
i uh
- 9 ich hab ˈJETZT hier-
I now have
- 10 `VOLKShochschule;
adult evening classes
- 11 DO: ˘j[A:,]
yes
- 12 PA: [ä:h (xxx) xxx xxx)-=
uh (...)
- 13 =aber da is jetzt ˈNICH so sehr viel ˈhÄngenge[blieben,=
but I didn't pick up PRT that much now
- 14 DO: [ˈnEeˈnEe-]
no no
- 15 PA: =(das) muss] man [(da) wohl `SAgen;=ˈnIch,]
one has to say that you see
- 16 DO: [na`TÜRlich (nich)]
of course not
- 17 man mUss da[nn (also das)]
that has to PRT be
- 18 PA: [also ich hätt sch]on `Eher anfangen [müssen)-
()]
PRT I should have started earlier

²¹ The sound file can not be provided in its entirety for privacy reasons.

floor for a continuation of the sequence by the doctor (line 23-24) before it peters out and a new sequence starts.

Another instance of this strategic use of upglide-downstep JAJA could be seen in line 14 of excerpt (6), where F also did not make her epistemic rights to the piece of knowledge discussed before the JAJA explicit earlier. Yet, with the upglide-downstep JAJA she can be heard to claim to have been in the know before, at the same time she does not claim the floor for topicalizing this.

In sum, in all these instances the upglide-downstep JAJA occurs when epistemic priority (usually established earlier) is endangered by another participant's contribution. JAJA then confirms that other speaker's claim/telling and at the same time "just makes the point" that originally the JAJA speaker had the epistemic priority. While type-1 JAJA closes the current sequence, upglide-downstep JAJA has no such implications, neither is it regularly followed by an explicit topicalization of misalignment as type-2 JAJA. Instead, it allows for the current sequence to be continued once the point on epistemic priority has been made. Arguably, this is contextualized by the pitch contour which is notably different from type-1 and type-2 JAJAs.

4.1.2 Final-dip JAJA: Confirming and asking for continuation

The final-dip contour seems to be a second contour different from those described so far. With this, the JAJA starts around the middle of the speaker's range and only slightly rises on the first JA, then steps down for the second JA and on that latter syllable slightly fall-rises. This produces a pitch dip and, at least on the second syllable, looks like a mirror image of Golato/Fagyal's type 2 (see Fig. 2).

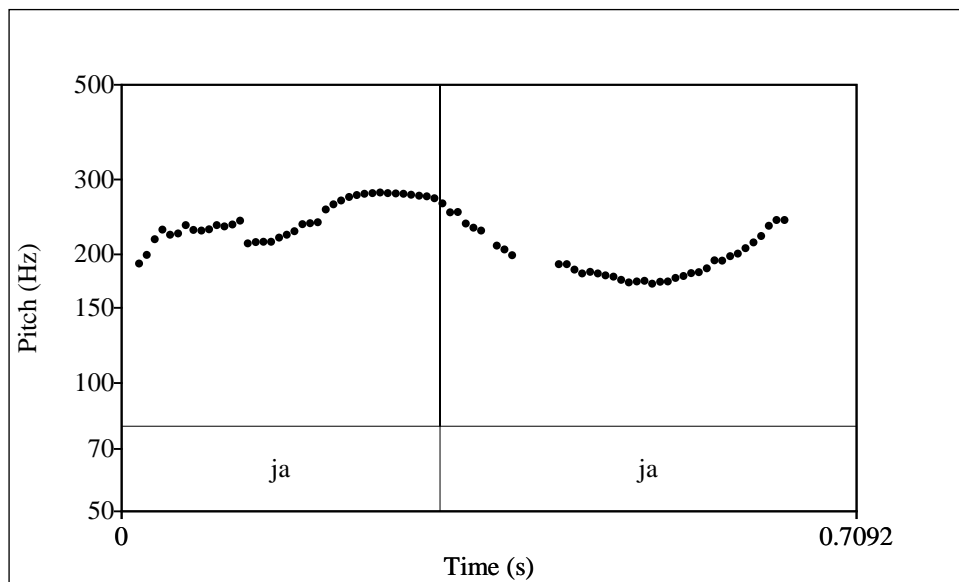


Fig. 2: Pitch trace of final dip JAJA.

JAJAs with this contour do not re-state epistemic authority – as the upglide-downstep JAJA – but acknowledge or confirm what has been said as non-problematic common ground and basis for continuation. Yet, different to type-1 JAJAs, there is no implication of having dwelt on some point for too long and therefore sug-

gesting to stop the sequence. Rather, the JAJA speaker leaves space for his/her interlocutor to continue. Indeed, these JAJAs even seem to make continuation by the non-JAJA speaker relevant. This, in turn, is also different from type-2 as well as the upglide-downstep JAJAs.

Final-dip JAJAs can function as continuers and full-turn responses alike. As an instance of a continuer consider excerpt (10) from the same doctor-patient interview as excerpt (9).

Example (10): Bombay (AA_BI_05_350)²²

- 1 DO: äh sie fliegen ja ↑Auch
uh you also fly
- 2 (.) fliegen sie über ↑HONGkong?=
will you fly via honkong?
- 3 =Ode[r <<pp>(über BOMBbay)>.]
=or via Bombay
- 4 PA: [nEin übe:]r: äh über ↑BOMBbay;
no via uh via Bombay.
- 5 DO: (0.5) Ü↑ber `B[OMBbay;;]
(0.5) via Bombay.
- 6 PA: [mit der air ↑`I]Ndia;
with Air India.
- 7 DO: (.) `JA,
(.) yes
- 8 [↑jA↓~JA:,]
- 9 ??: [()]
- 10 PA: `FRANKfurt-
↑BOMBbay-
- 12 DO: `JA,
yes
- 13 PA: ä:h `SYDney-
(.) `MELbourne.
- 15 DO: `JA,
yes
- 16 (.)
- 17 DO: (na↑`JA,)
well



²² The sound file can not be provided in its entirety for privacy reasons.

18 (.)

19 DO: ('s_is) aber ganz [`SCHÖN.]
that PRT is something

20 PA: [sind wer] ↓lAnge unter↑WEGS--[ne,]
we'll be traveling a long time, right

The doctor enquires which route the patient will take to Australia (line 1-3). Negating the first possibility mentioned, Hongkong, in overlap with the second, the patient corrects *nEin über äh über BOMBay* ('no via uh via Bombay', line 4). The doctor, after some pause, acknowledges this with a repetition of the patient's correction (line 5), partly in overlap with the patient's incrementing some further detail *mit der air INdia* ('with Air India', line 6). The latter is acknowledged by the doctor with a single fall-rise JA (line 7), which in turn is immediately followed by a double saying of JA with a final-dip contour (line 8). The latter is not treated by the participants as sequence-closing implicative. Instead, the patient starts expanding the turn by some further detail on the flying route (line 10-11, 13-14). Also, the doctor does not treat this continuation as problematic, but acknowledges it with two more continuers (line 12, 15) and even provides some brief space for her interlocutor to continue (line 16). Only then does she bring that part of the sequence to an end, but not without leaving space again (line 17-19). Hence, both participants orient towards the projecting nature of this variant of JAJA. Seeing this against the background of the different pitch contour, it can be claimed that we are witnessing another kind of JAJA.

Excerpt (11) instantiates another final-dip JAJA, this time used as a full-turn response to an explicit, affectively loaded request for confirmation. This is taken from a telephone counseling interview from the early 1970s, in which F enquires with her friend M as to what to write in a grant application form with regard to the costs of publishing her PhD thesis.



Example (11): Five thousand (DGD, FR142, 1:51)

1 F: zuErst wollte ich das FREIlassen-=
at first i wanted to leave it blank

2 =aber ich denke Irgend so_n ↑RICHTbetrag;
but i think some approximate figure

3 WEIßT du?
you know?

4 M: JA,=
yes,

5 = °hh ?äh: also ICH würde da da-
hh uh PRT i would PRT

6 OHne mit der wImper zu zucken-
without batting an eye

Example (12) Cross the divide (Bln19_1340, 0:46:05-0:46:30)
(cf. Video 3)

- 1 WH: aber Is man: (-) schon an sie herANgetreten,
but did somebody already encounter you
- 2 und wollte sie ↑RÜberholen?
wanting to make you cross the divide?
- 3 Publ: [((laughs))
- 4 AK: [((smiles, looks briefly away from and back to WH))
- 5 <<pp>nei[n] <<p>no>]
- 6 WH: [<<cresc, f>wA]s ist ihnen geBÖten worden?>
what were you offered?
- 7 Publ: [((laughs))
- 8 AK: [((laughs and looks away from WH))
|_____|
|
WH makes a half-finishing, half-presenting gesture²⁵
- 9 AK: ((laugh[s silently]))
- 10 JB: [herr ↑kittelmann: und herr landOWski-
{name} and {name}]
|_____|
AK continues laughing silently, looks at JB
- 11 JB: [zwei berlIner (0.6) ze=de=U grÖßen- =]
two Berlin (0.6) {CDU - German political party} big shots
|_____|
AK continues laughing silently, looks at JB
- 12 WH: [((nods once))]

AK continues laughing silently and looking at JB
- 13 JB: =[das mein ich ↑rIchtig PO]sitiv;
I mean this really positively
|_____|
| JB lifts both hands three times parallelly |
| open palms up, looking at WH |
- 14 [ne?=
right?

²⁵ WH produces a quick horizontal hand movement in front of his belly with vertically oriented, open hand, palm open to centre of body.



- 15 WH: [↑~jA][↓~JA: ,]
 |_____|
 | WH nods |
- 16 JB: [nIcht irgendwie] ABwertend?
not somehow derogatorily
 |_____|
 | hands parting to each side from in front of his belly |
 | open palms down |
 | back into folded rest position in front of his belly |
 | looks at WH |
- 17 JB: hh [ä:h]=[<<?>(0.5)>
- 18 WH: [de]
- 19 Pub: [((laughs))]
- 20 JB: <<p>s> sInd in der zEitung dafür verEINnahmt] worden-
have been claimed by the print media
- 21 frau kliche und einige Andere von den republikAnern (0.3)
{to have made} {name} and some others from the {Republikaner - German right-wing political party}
- 22 RÜber (.) gezogen (.) zu hAben;
cross (.) the divide (.) {have made}

Upon WH's teasing questions (line 1-2, 6) AK and the audience laugh, while JB, the show's host, starts providing some more detailed background information for the (viewing) audience to grasp the joke (line 10-22). In this, he inserts some pre-emption of possible criticism of his contribution (line 13-14, 16), for which he pursues explicit confirmation with gaze – note also the question tag in line 14. This is responded to by WH with a final-dip JAJA (line 15), which confirms JB's stance and makes continuation relevant. Evidence for the latter can be found in the fact that WH after the final-dip JAJA leaves space for JB to continue and only comes in when JB apparently has problems in doing so (line 17-18).

In all these instances, JAJA, while it occurs in different sequence-organizational contexts, exhibits a final-dip contour and is followed by space for the non-JAJA speaker to continue, not to say it makes continuation relevant.

As the prosodic contour of these JAJAs is different and their interactional function is clearly neither sequence-closing (as with type-1 JAJAs) nor sequence-continuing by problematizing (as with type-2 JAJAs), it could be argued that they constitute yet another kind of JAJA. What could be added here on a more general note is that the final-dip contour also occurs with other response tokens acting as acknowledging continuers – compare the single JAs in excerpt (8), line 7, 12 and 15. Also, Gardner (2001) mentions a fall-rise contour for continuers such as *mm* and *yeah* in English and Ehlich (1986) for *hm* in German – an observation we will come back to in section 6.

The upglide-downstep and the final dip are two contours which are audibly different from the contours described in earlier studies. In addition, JAJAs with these

contours accomplish specific interactional functions, again different from those described earlier. On this basis, it can be argued that JAJA has more than two types (see also Table 1 again). For the description of response tokens in general this suggests that not only the location of the pitch peak but also the specific kind of the token's pitch contour is relevant for interpretation.

4.2 Pitch range plus smile voice and shading into laughter: joke-affiliating vs. continuation-aligning JAJAs

Apart from pitch peak position and pitch contour there are other prosodic-phonetic parameters used by participants to contextualize specific interactional uses of JAJA. This section will illustrate the use of pitch range with JAJA as a practice of an aligning response. This function was first especially obvious in a specific activity type, namely extended joking. Yet, as will be shown in the second part of this section, the employment of a narrow pitch range is not restricted to this activity type.


For the purpose of this study, the activity of joking has been identified on the basis of typical participants' reactions, such as smile face and laughter, which follow laughables that are produced by sequential position and/or lexical choice (cf., e.g., Glenn 2003; Ford/Fox 2010; Jefferson 2010). In contexts such as these, a specific kind of JAJA, which at first sight looks like a type-1 JAJA, can be observed, namely one with an overall falling contour. However, the downward pitch movement is very small, i.e. the JAJA covers only a narrow pitch range. Auditorily, the JAJA starts and ends around the middle of the speaker's range. On the phonetic side, these JAJAs are also regularly accompanied by smile voice and shade off into, or are followed by, laughter. Interactionally, these JAJAs are not stopping the current sequence but align with it (and even affiliate with the jocular mode) in that they are neither followed by the topicalization of any misalignment nor are they sequence-closing either.²⁶

A clear instance of a joke-aligning JAJA is provided by excerpt (13). It is taken from a Big Brother daily summary. Here a well-known Austrian football player, Toni Polster, is visiting the Big Brother house. Together with the Big Brother candidates he is putting up a football goal known to everyone from a sports show regularly broadcasted on German TV, in which the guests are, among other things, asked to score into such a goal. While doing this, Jürgen, one of the Big Brother inhabitants, enquires how Toni scored when he was a guest at that programme.

²⁶ Despite the phonetic (and visual) features, the lexical content of the response token still seems to be relevant here as a simple substitution test with reveals: <<:-)>neinmein> would convey much less, if any, alignment and affiliation.

Example (13): Hole (BB94_1115)

(cf. Video 4)

- 1 Jür: wIe viel hast du im: aktuellen SPORTstudio ↑gemacht;
how much did you score in the {Aktuelles Sportstudio - German TV programme}
- 2 Ton: Einmal ZWEI hh,
once two
- 3 und Einmal EINS;
and once one
- 4 Jür: ((nods)) °hh also nIch so gut wie der FRANZ-
so not as good as Franz
- 5 und der NETzer- [ne?]
and Netzer right?
- 6 Ton: [nei:] [((laughs))]
 no: |_____|
 |
 Toni wrinkles up his nose
- 7 Jür: [die warn FÜNFF,=ne?]
they had five right
- 8 Ton: [hahaha]
 |_____|
 |
 Toni nods
- 9 Jür: [fünf (ham die gehabt)]=ne?
five did they have right?
- 10 Ton: (ja aber is) ja UNfair.
(yes but this is) PRT unfair.
- 11 =schAu mal ich bin ja LINKSfuß?
look I am PRT left-footed
- 12 °hh und dAs is ja für ein RECHTSfuß gebaut.
and this is built for a right-footed {player}
- 13 Jür: [hm,]
- 14 Ton: [ver]STEHST du;=
you understand
- 15 =mEin l[Och] müsstest [SO [sein.] ((laughs))
=my hole should be like this ((laughs))
- 16 Jür: [ja,]
yes
- 17  [ja(↓)ja] ja(↓)ja [ja(↓)ja]
 ja(↓)ja>_[(laughs)]]

- 18 Ton: [verSTEHST du; =he?]
you see
- 19 [((laughs))]
- 20 Jür: [aber n mAnn von DEInen qualitäten] muss da auch
but a man with your skills must PRT also
- 21 [((laughs))]
- 22 Ton: [(jA=a)
yes
- 23 jetzt hast du wieder RECHT]
now you're right again

Upon Toni's answer (line 2-3), Jürgen teases him with concluding that he did not do as well as two other famous (German) football players, Franz Beckenbauer and Günther Netzer (line 4-5, 7, 9). Toni acknowledges this with a confirming response particle, laughter and a mockingly disapproving facial expression (line 6 and 8), but then starts defending himself by accounting for his doing less well (line 10-12). This is acknowledged by Jürgen (line 13). Nevertheless, Toni expands his accounting (line 14-15), and eventually contextualizes it as joking by laughter (line 15). While Jürgen initially acknowledges this with a single JA (line 16), once the joking mode is obvious, he joins the laughter with three JAJAs forming a larger set (line 17), all audibly flat and around the middle of his pitch range²⁷, and eventually shading off into laughter. These serve aligning and even affiliating with, rather than stopping, the joking sequence, as can be seen from the laughter into which they shade (line 17) and the jocular mode with which the sequence continues (line 18-23).

Excerpt (14) provides a second clear instance in point. It is taken from an edition of the TV talk show *Die Woche* with audience present. The talk show is hosted by Gerd Müller-Gerbes who invited, among others, the pop-singer Howard Carpendale and the politician Heiner Geißler. Carpendale has just jokingly complimented Geißler on the way he presents himself in this show.

Example (14): Biermann²⁸ (Fasch_2305, 2315, 2320, 1:00:00-1:00:35)
(cf. Video 5)



- 2299 Gei: der BIER]mann hat des AUCH[schon mal zu mir gesagt;
=nIcht?=
Biermann said this to me too once you know

- 2301 Car: [((smiles))

_____ ^
|
cut to Geißler

²⁷ The overlap renders measuring Hz values impossible.

²⁸ Wolf Biermann is a famous German political singer and song-writer.

- 2302 Mü1: =WER hat das-
=who has
|
Geißler visible with smile
- 2303 der BIERma[nn.]
Biermann
|
Geißler visible with smile
- 2304 Gei: [BIER]mann;
|
Geißler visible with smile and nodding
-  2305 =<<creaky> **JA**^(↓) **JA**->
|
Geißler visible with smile and slight nodding
- 2306 (0.48)
|
Geißler visible with smile
- 2307 Mü1: dEr ist ungefähr so GROß wie sie-
he is about as tall as you
|
Geißler visible with smile
- 2308 =und !↑KUCKT! ↓auch so wie [sie.]
and also looks like you
|
Geißler visible with smile
- 2309 Aud: [((1]laughs))
- 2310 Gei: [ja] ich WEIß-
yes I know
- 2311 Aud: [((laugh[s))
- 2312 Gei: [<<laugh[ing< ((looks to audience))
- 2313 Mü1: [und h-h-at (.) a-h-auch seine !↑HAARE! so
nach vorne gekäm[mt-=]
and has also combed his hair to the
front in this way
- 2314 Aud: [((laughs))
-  2315 Gei: [<<:]> **JA**^(↓) **J**[A-] [((laugh[s))

- 2316 Mü: [=so wie SIE das haben-]
just like you have it
- 2317 Gei: [((nods smilingly)) °hh]
- 2318 Mü: °h[hhhhh]
|
Geißler visibly smiling
|
2319 Irgendwo ist das doch sehr GNitzig;
somehow that's PRT very {gnitzig}²⁹
- 2320 Gei: <<slightly creaky>JA(↓)JA> [(ich wage)]
(I dare)
|
Müller-Gerbes turns head to, looks and points at Carpendale
- 2321 Mü: [ich möchte] den
howard CARpendale mal fragen-
|
Müller-Gerbes turns head back to Geißl., then down, but keeps pointing at Carpend.
I would like to ask PRT Howard Carpendale

(continues on that different topic))



After a sequence-closing post-mortem by Müller-Gerbes and Carpendale (not shown here), Geißler re-opens the sequence referring to a similar situation in which Biermann has complimented him (line 2299). This is already presented, and treated, as a laughable as can be seen from the smiles produced by the current speaker Geißler (line 2302 and the following) and the joke recipient Carpendale (visible in line 2301). After a repair sequence initiated by the host (line 2302-2305), acknowledged by a JAJA closing the repair insert sequence and followed by a small pause, Müller-Gerbes takes up the jocular mode and produces an informing *der ist ungefähr so GROß wie sie und KUCKT auch so wie sie* ('he is about as tall as you and also looks like you', line 2307-2308), which in its sequential position can be taken to be a laughable. It is received accordingly: the audience laughs (line 2309, 2311), similar to the joke target Geißler, who has been smiling throughout this part of the sequence and is now laughing after a short acknowledgement (line 2310, 2312). In line 2313, Müller-Gerbes continues joking. This is greeted by Geißler with a joke-affiliating JAJA (line 2315): it follows extended joking. It has a flat falling contour (1.66 ST) closer to the middle of the speaker's range (142-129 Hz), it is accompanied by smile voice and shades off into laughter.

Evidence for its interactional function can, again, be drawn from the laughter into which it shades (line 2315), the nodding (line 2317, cf. section 5) and Geißler's continued smiling (line 2317-2319). Also, in contrast to type 1, again, it

²⁹ German dialect term from Baden, meaning 'cunning, clever'.

seems to have few, if any, sequence-closing implications. Rather, there is ample space to continue the joking activity (line 2316-2318).

With all these features including the prosodic-phonetic make-up, these JAJAs seem to illustrate yet another variant of JAJA.

The relevance of the *cluster* of features can be seen from the other two JAJAs in excerpt (14). While occurring in the context of joking, there are some prosodic-phonetic features in which they differ from the joke-affiliating JAJA in line 2315: the JAJA in line 2305 is also accompanied by a smile but so low in the speaker's range (75-70 Hz) that it sounds creaky and it does not shade off into laughter, different from the joke-affiliating JAJA. The third JAJA in line 2320 follows an assessing remark by Müller-Gerbes (line 2319), which is fit to project the end of the sequence (cf. Schegloff 2007:186). In addition, Müller-Gerbes turns to another participant. Probably for these reasons, Geißler – after responding with the third, confirming JAJA – aborts the attempted turn expansion quickly (line 2320) when Müller-Gerbes accomplishes a radical topic shift (line 2321). And, again, prosodically-phonetically, this third JAJA is lower in the speaker's range (105-97 Hz), sounds slightly creaky and the spread lips are less audible (and visible), different from the joke-affiliating one. Hence, it seems that the difference in the interactional function of these JAJAs is contextualized by their prosodic-phonetic differences, and in particular joke-affiliation is accomplished with a cluster of phonetic (and visual) features which other JAJAs do not exhibit.

However, there are two features in which all JAJAs in this excerpt resemble each other: the flat pitch range covered and the overall sequence-aligning interactional function. All three are flat (1.19 ST, 1.66 ST, 1.37 ST) and all three are sequence-continuing. The JAJA in line 2305, while a confirming, (insert) sequence-closing third, maintains the overall activity – note that it is followed by a shift (back in) to the (joking) activity; the JAJA in line 2315 is followed by laughter and a continuation of the sequence and also that in line 2320 is followed by a, though unsuccessful, attempt of its speaker to continue.

In sum, while each of these JAJAs occurs in sequence-organizational contexts which are slightly different from each other and with slightly different prosodic-phonetic details, they are still relatively similar in terms of the pitch range covered (narrow), and in terms of the apparent effect of this narrow pitch range (aligning with a continuation of the overall sequence).

Also the next instance, again taken from the same talk show nicely separates the cluster features into those relevant for joke-affiliating and those relevant for aligning with a sequence. In excerpt (15), Geißler himself in the framework of a longer explanation on some uproar on a recent party conference, initiates a joking sequence on the background of his well-known pugnaciousness (line 435-436).

Example (15): Irenic human being (Fasch_446, 12:34-13:15)

(cf. Video 6)

433 Gei: der partEitag hat viel KRACH °hhh äh produzIert,
the party conferences produced a lot of noise

434 da gab=s viel STREIT,
there was a lot of quarreling

- 445 Gei: [öh:]
uh
|
Geißler smiles
- 446 °hh[h]
|
Geißler smiles
- 447 MÜL: [ein] Un[gewöhnlich frIed]ferti[ger MENSCH-]
an unusually irenic human being
|
Geißler smiles
- 448 Gei: [abe/
but]
|
Geißler smiles
- 449 [jA[↓]JA;=]
|
Geißler smiles
- 450 =°hh
|
Geißler smiles
- 451 Mül: ja[_ha]_[ha,]
yes
- 452 Gei: [äh:][Ab]er: äh (.) ich bin auf der Anderen seite-
|
Geißler smiles
uh but uh (.) i am on the other hand
- 453 (.) äh (.) nun der fEsten überZEUgung
uh PRT of the steadfast conviction
- 454 dass ((sniff)) ((swallows)) äh es n deutsches
vorurteil ist
that uh it is a German
predjudice
- 455 äh: °hh äh hArmonie in der politIk für das: (.)
RIChtige zu halten
uh uh to consider harmony in politics the
right thing



The joke is taken up by Müller-Gerbes in an allusion-confirming way (cf. Schegloff 1996) (line 437). Note that this is redone several times (line 440, 442, 444, 447, 451). In the course of the latter, Geißler makes several attempts at returning to his earlier line of explanation (line 441, 443, 445-446, 448, 450). Also the JAJA in line 449 can be seen as one of these attempts to close the joking sequence, nevertheless it still affiliates with the jocular mode. In the item itself these two functions are arguably reflected in the smile (voice), on the one hand, and a lower (creaky, 98-83 Hz) and greater pitch range of the item (2.87 ST), on the other.

Even more evidence for the hypothesis that flat pitch is not so much typical of joking but of aligning with the continuation of sequences in general can be gathered from a final pair of excerpts. First, consider the type-1 JAJA in excerpt (16). In the edition of the talk show *Die Woche*, which was broadcasted in the framework of the partly heated debate on the results of the spelling reform in the 1990s in Germany, WM as a member of the reform commission finds himself in the position of having to defend the reform, also against critical questions from the audience, which partly deal with German in Germany in general. The question before this excerpt was whether non-native words could be substituted by their German translations in everyday use (not shown here). In answering this question, WM moves back to how these words are written according to the reform with reporting a number of details of the reform. This apparently takes up more floor than willingly allotted to him by the show's host for answering the current question.


Example (16): Germanize (RS-Reform_2078, 0:49:35-0:49:58)
(cf. Video 7)

- 2061 WM: sondern im bereich dieser der FREMDwortschreibung-
but in the area of spelling foreign words
- 2062 °h FÜHren wir-
we introduce
- 2063 ↓also um die GRUNDten[denz] anzudeuten,
I mean to indicate the basic tendency
- 2064 Mü1: [hm,]
- 2065 WM: °h mEhr Doppelschreibung ein;=
more alternative spellings
- 2066 =das HEIßT;
that means
- 2067 wenn ich bestImmte GRUPpen-
when I {write} certain groups {of words}
- 2068 entweder mit Ef oder PE schreibe-
with {letter: f} or {letter: p}
- 2069 Mü1: [ja,]
yes

- 2070 WM: [mach] ich sowieSO keinen fehler.=
I don't make a mistake anyway
- 2071 =weil nämlich bEide schreibungen da MÖGlich sind,=
because both spelling variants are possible there
- 2072 =°hhh während sie hEute ist das also sehr
riGI[der]::=
while today it is PRT much more rigid
- 2073 Mü1: [JA.]=
yes
- 2074 =°h aber die frAge grade Ebe[n w][ar ne ANdere,=]
but the question right now was a different one
- 2075 WM: [nein=]
no
- 2076 zu][Ende;] [=ich war noch nIch
I hadn't finished
yet
- 2077 Mü1: [=nich-]=
right
- 2078 WM: [jA↓JA;]
- 2079 Mü1: [=äh: w:::]As man kAnn man EINdeutschen-
uh what one can one germanize
- 2080 irgendwelche [frEmden WÖRrter,]
any foreign words
- 2081 WM: [ja-=
yes
- 2082 =ich will damit SAg]en==
I want to say with this
- 2083 =es gIbt also- <<?>(0.61)> grAde bei den
FREMDwörtern-
there is PRT especially with the
foreign words
- ((continues on this))



After continuers in line 2064 and 2069, in line 2073 the host rigidly seizes the floor, first with an acknowledgement token and then by pointing out that WM has not answered the original question (line 2074, 2077). This is conceded by WM (line 2075), before he points out that Müller-Gerbes has interrupted him (line 2076). The JAJA (line 2978) is employed in this floor-competitive context as an acknowledgement token with a clearly action-aborting function: when this is unsuccessful, WM simply usurps the floor himself by overlapping Müller-Gerbes in

- 257 Car: °hh dann mAch ich schon: NUTzen: daraus MANCHmal.
then i do make use of that sometimes
-  258 Mü: **JA**(↓)JA;
JA
- 259 Car: ganz GERne.=
I quite like that
- 260 =i[ch geh gErne (...)]
I like going
- 261 Mü: [im AUgenblick also-]
so at the moment
- 262 und im Augenblick nur dieses BUCH im vordergrund
stehend-
and at the moment only this book in the foreground
- 263 kEIne tourNEE-
no tour
- 264 dIe kommt erst nächstes JAHR wieder;=nich[t?
that will be coming up again next year, right

The comparison is responded to with laughter by both the audience and Carpendale (line 248-249). In the verbal part of his response, Carpendale explains that it is the way he does his hair that helps him remain unrecognized (line 249-254). This is acknowledged by Müller-Gerbes (line 256), upon which Carpendale connects the sequence back to the original topic of disguising and its purpose (line 257). This indicates a pragmatic completion point (cf. Barth-Weingarten 2009) and at the same time is realized as a prosodic-phonetic completion point with low falling pitch (ibid.). This then is acknowledged by Müller-Gerbes with a JAJA with narrow pitch range (84-76 Hz, 1.73 ST, line 258). I would like to argue that it is this narrow pitch range, which, according to my argument, suggests sequence continuation, and thus induces Carpendale to continue with a turn expansion after he had already finished his turn prosodically and pragmatically (line 259-260), even though that effect may not have been quite what Müller-Gerbes intended (see the overlap in line 260-261).

This section has shown two points: 1) there are joke-affiliating JAJAs, which are contextualized by a cluster of prosodic-phonetic features including smile voice, flat pitch and shading into laughter. However, 2) a flat pitch range can also beyond joking sequences contextualize alignment with continuing a current sequence. Hence, all of these features are relevant in the interpretation of the realization of JAJA in talk-in-interaction.

4.3 Phonetic ending: glottal-closure ending JAJA to acknowledge/agree with reservation

This section will deal with a specific phonetic feature relevant in the interpretation of JAJA, namely the phonetic ending of the item.

In their examination of pauses in talk-in-interaction, Local/Kelly (1986) observed two phonologically different kinds of ending a conjunction and getting

through the following silent period of talk: trail-off and glottal closure. With trail-off, the vocal tract remains open and often allows a rest of air to escape from the lungs (audible as an outbreath). With glottal closure, in contrast, the vocal tract is closed and that closure is maintained for some time afterwards. This is audible as an abrupt ending of phonation of a previously produced item.

All the instances of JAJA seen so far ended in a trail-off manner. However, there are instances in which the phonation of the final segment of JA ends in glottal closure.³⁰ As an instance in point, consider excerpt (18) taken from an edition of the TV talk show *3 nach 9*. In the excerpt discussed, Rita Waschbüsch, member of the Central Committee of the German Catholics, accuses Rolf Hochhuth, a play-wright, to have abused the notion of virgin conception (*unbefleckte Empfängnis*) as a title of his recent play on surrogate mothership. When Waschbüsch takes over, Hochhuth had had to defend himself and his play already for about a quarter of an hour against arguments from all of the other five participants (not shown here).

Example (18): Virgin conception (Abtr_1944, 1:02:08-1:03:07)
(cf. Video 9)

- 1925 Was: dass sIe im GRUNde-
that you are actually
- 1926 chrIsten beleidigen DAhingehend,
insulting Christians in so far
- 1927 °h dass sie [HINgehen-]
that you go and
- 1928 Hoc: [ich bin SEL]ber christ;
I'm a Christian myself
- 1929 Was: °h und-h ja;
and yes
- 1930 und dass sie [hIn/]
and that you g
- 1931 Aud: [(...)[...]]
- 1932 Was: [ja aber dAnn] äh mUss ich das
yes but then uh I must
- 1933 dann wÜndert=s mich um so MEHR herr hochhuth;=
*then this surprises me even more {term of
address+name}*
- 1934 =°hh wenn sie einen TITel: ,=
when you {use} a title

³⁰ For these JAs to still figure as a kind of JAJA, they need to come in close temporal proximity, i.e. with only a minimal pause at most. Support for this position can be derived from the fact that there are other undoubtedly two-part response items in German, such as *ʔmʔm*, or *ʔuʔu*, which are also "separated" by a glottal closure but still treated as one item.

- 1952 Was: wie das: °h [Ande]re durch die tAufe dann beKOMmen.=
like others obtain by their being christened
- 1953 Hoc: [<<creaky>jaʔ->]
yes
- 1954 [<<creaky>jaʔ; >]
yes
- 1955 Was: [=°h und das] transponIERen sie-
and you transpose this
- 1956 ganz beWUSST-
very consciously
- 1957 °h um etwa wenn dann ihre LEIHmuttertschaft-
to when for instance your surrogate motherhood
- 1958 ohne natÜrlichen geSCHLECHTSverkehr-
without natural intercourse
- 1959 °h zu STANde kommt-
takes place
- 1960 °h den leuten EINzureden-
make people think
- 1961 also diese CHRISTen-
well these Christians
- 1962 °h die: äh hAben-
they uh have
- 1963 m m im UMgekehrten fall dann:-
in the reverse case then
- 1964 uh beFLECKte empfängnis-
uh sinful conception
- 1965 wenn (.) norMAle-
when normal
- 1966 Hoc: ja [aber]
yes but
- 1967 Was: [<<all>mEnsch]liche liebe z[u einem KIND führt.>]
human love leads to a child
- 1968 Lor: [ich Ahne jetzt]
 SCHLIMmes- *now I suspect*
something bad
- 1969 ich [Ahne jetzt] SCHLIMmes-
now I suspect something bad

- 1970 Hoc: [<<smiling>>äh äh]
uh uh
- 1971 Was: [nein das sind]
no these are
- 1972 Lor: jetzt [wird es- ähm]
now it is getting uhm
- 1973 Was: [nein das sind]
no these are
- 1974 [nein das sind so PRI][mitive]
no these are so primitive
- 1975 Hoc: [<<all>ich will darauf nur kurz ANTworten;=>]
I want to only quickly answer to this
- 1976 [=wenn ich DARF.]
if I may
- 1977 Was: ich will ihnen @ Lor: kUrz bitte
I only want to @ quickly please
@
nur sAgen @ Hoc: ja- ja-
tell you @ yes yes

All of the other participants have already, in one way or another, criticized Hochhuth's recent play. Now Waschbüsch, displaying herself as an expert on religious matters, makes another attempt at evidencing the play's outrageousness. This includes accusing Hochhuth of insulting Christians (line 1925-1927, 1930), which Hochhuth rejects by pointing out his own Christian confession (line 1928). Waschbüsch takes this as further evidence for the criticizability of the play and reason for surprise, as Hochhuth then apparently consciously, as she claims (line 1932-1936), abused the notion of virgin conception. Her attempt at explaining that notion (line 1937, 1940) is interrupted by Hochhuth (line 1938-1939, 1941) in an attempt to gain the floor for his own explanation (note the visual behaviour). Waschbüsch counters this by an explicit request for the floor (line 1942-1943), which is granted by Hochhuth with a JAJA with a narrow, almost level pitch range,³¹ whose two parts are both ending in glottal closure (line 1944). Note that even though Hochhuth yields the floor to Waschbüsch "on the surface", so to speak (he refrains from continuing himself, leans back and folds his arms again), Waschbüsch's further explanations and accusations (line 1945-1946, 1947-1967) are interspersed with tokens displaying speakership-incipiency (cf. Jefferson 1984) and epistemic access by Hochhuth (line 1951, 1953, 1954), before he tries to launch his own turn (line 1966, 1970), still in competition with Waschbüsch (line 1971, 1973). Further evidence for Hochhuth's speakership incipiency can be gained from the host's (Lor) assessment *ich Ahne jetzt SCHLIMmes* ('now I suspect something bad', line 1968-1969), which in combination with his hand gesture can be interpreted as withholding the right to the floor. The latter is also treated as

³¹ With this narrow pitch range, this instance, too, supports the hypothesis stated in section 4.2 as this JAJA aligns with sequence continuation, this time in the context of granting a request.

such by Hochhuth who then produces an explicit request for the turn (line 1975-1976), granted with reservation by the host (line 1977), while Waschbüsch continues to fight for the floor (line 1974, 1977), which results in conversational schisma.


My claim is that all of this can be taken as evidence that granting the floor in line 1944 was not unreserved, but was rather in the sense of 'Okay, you may continue, but I'm not affiliating with you, and will say so as soon as I can' and that this reservation was already foreshadowed by the kind of phonetic ending Hochhuth chose for the JAJA.

Evidence for this can not only be taken from further JAJAs with glottal closure (see below), but – although indirectly – also from instances of *trail-off* JAJAs in similar conversational habitats. The following excerpt shows another instance of a floor request in the edition of the TV talk show *Die Woche*. This time WM comes in after a lengthy contribution by a guest from politics (Däu) on subsidies applied for by the top manager of Daimler Benz. Here, however, the atmosphere is not heated.

Example (19): Subsidies (RS-Reform_750, 0:19:17-0:19:40)

(cf. Video 10)

- 746 Däu: ICH sage,
I say
- 737 als parlamentARierin,
as a parliamentarian
- 738 =ich WILL das nicht;
I don't want this
- 739 (0.4)
- 740 Däu: °h und ich dEnke auch man äh mUss es AUShalten,
and i also think one uh has to stand this
- 741 =und man muss dann sEhr deutlich Sagen,
and one has to say very clearly
- 742 =dass es dieses spAnnungsverhältnis GIBT- =
that there is this conflict
- 743 =°h ich find=s sehr beD[AUerlich];
I find it very deplorable
- 744 Men: [((clears his throat))]
- 745 Däu: wenn die]
bundesregierung erKLÄRT,
when the federal government declares
- 746 °h dass sie diese subventionen be↑ZAHlen will;=
that it will pay these subsidies
- 747 Men: =°h ja aber sie:
yes but you

- 748 Däu: hä,
isn't it
- 749 Men: (.) DARF ich da ma[l?]
may I come in here?
- 750 Mül: [jA]↑JA?=

- 751 Däu: =aber [KLAR-]
but of course
- 752 Men: [äh]
uh
- 753 (.)
- 754 Däu: hm?
- 755 Men: sie haben das sEhr interessAnt formuLIERT;=
you formulated this very interestingly
- 756 Däu: [m-hm,]
- 757 Men [=Er als chEf] von daimler BEN[Z:;=<<all, p>und] so->
he as top manager of {firm: Daimler Benz} et cetera
- 758 Däu: [jA,]
yes
- 759 Men: °hhh ich meine (.) das Ist dann ja ein Unheimlicher
ROllenzwang;
*I think this is then PRT an incredible
role pressure*
- 760 Däu: m-hm,
- 761 Men: °h und das problem: hEute sehe ich zum tEil dArin
and the problem today I see partly in the fact
- 762 dass eben diese ROLlen die die-
that these roles ((continues))

In this excerpt, an up-stepping trail-off JAJA (line 750) by the host follows the request for the floor (line 749). It is used to grant the floor immediately and unreservedly and is treated as such by the current speaker (line 751, 754, also line 753). Thereafter, the floor-requesting participant starts an extended turn-at-talk, which is only greeted by non-floor claiming response tokens in unmarked position (line 756, 758).³² Note that this JAJA then has the *opposite* interactional effect to that in the previous instance in terms of projecting (dis)affiliation, at the same time it is realized with the opposite phonetic ending, namely as a trail-off JAJA.

³² The claim of their *unmarked* position here is based on my observation that non-floor claiming response tokens usually occur at syntactic, prosodic and pragmatic completion points of various kinds. While this has so far not yet been systematically investigated for German, this has been shown to be the case for English (cf. Barth-Weingarten 2009; also Ford/Thompson 1996).

A second minimal pair of trail-off and glottal closure endings of JAJA tokens can be observed with the following two instances of *multiple* sayings of JA.³³ These are instances of unreserved and reserved approval of the accomplishment of a memory task: all inhabitants of the Big Brother house had to memorize taxi routes and are now tested by an examiner (EX) for their knowledge. The respective examinee sits in a sound-proof cabin. The others are waiting outside with the solution in front of them, so that they know whether the candidate – John in this case – is doing okay. Those waiting outside know that the sound-proof cabin can, however much against the rules, be overcome with loud shouting and this is what they use to help John out.

Example (20): Maarweg (BB87_953, 954)

(cf. Video 11)

- 1 EX: buchstabierst du buchstabierst du den MAARweg bitte?
could you spell could you spell the {street name}
please
- 2 John: (.) °hh den MAARweg;
°hh the {street name}
- 3 (1.4) °hh (2.6)
- 4 Sabr: <<outside, shouts>komm>
come on
- 5 Jür: ha [haha] haha[ha
- 6 Andr: [haha]
- 7 Sabr: <<shouting>[komm jetzt> ((laughs))
come on now
- 8 Jür: [=((laughs silently))]
- 9 John: [EM?]
{letter}
- 10 Jür: <<shouting>JA:i>
yes
- 11 Andr: <<((nodding, f))he[y,>]
- 12 Sabr: [<<shouts>J]A:i>
yes
- 13 Jür: <<shouts>=A:i>
{letter}

³³ It is to be noted that instances of multiple JAs may still have functions different from, or in addition to, those of double sayings of JA. However, Stivers (2004) has not found evidence for that. Also Golato/Fagyal (2008) pointed out that type-1 JAJAs can occur as multiple, not just double, sayings of JA, without, however, mentioning any functional difference. While this awaits further research, there is a striking similarity also between the double JAs discussed in the previous and the multiple JAs in the following two excerpts in terms of their signaling (non)reservation.

produce the correct solution (line 24), upon which loud and *unreserved* approval of the full accomplishment of the task breaks out (line 25-28), followed by general merriment (line 29, 31) and an amused acknowledgement by the examiner (line 30). The approval includes a multiple JA with level intonation ending in a rise-fall and produced in a trail-off manner (line 26-27). EX then moves on to the next task (line 32-33).

In contrast, in the next instance from a little later in the same recording only the beginning of the task (line 2) is accomplished correctly.

Example (21): Aachen (BB87_1063)

(cf. Video 12)

- 2 EX: wir wiederholen noch mal die strecke von der
we repeat again the route from the

kItSchburger straÙe in die cÄCilienstraÙe;
{street name} to the {street name}
- 3 John: (1.2) is: (0.4) °h (AAachen)?
is {beginning of street name}
- 4 Andr: [<<((nods)), slightly rising>[jAʔ[↑jAʔ[(↑)jAʔ[(↑)JAʔ]>]
- 5 Jür: [((ja[ja [ja [(ja)]
- 6 John: [Aachener]
straÙe- {street name}
- 7 rIchard-WAGner-straÙe-
{street name}
- 8 (0.4)
- 9 John: PILgri:mstraÙe-
{street name}
- 10 (1.9)
- 11 John: ähm
uhm
- 12 (1.1)
- 13 John: HAHnenstraÙe-
{street name}
- 14 Sabr: ((shuffling of [papers])]
- 15 Jür: [N[EU-
{beginning of street name}
- 16 John: [NEUmark-]
{street name incomplete}
- 17 (.)



- 18 Jür: T, [[↑]T⁻]
 {adds letter: t}
- 19 Andr: [uah] ^TE:
 {letter: t}
- 20 John: un:d (.) cäCilienst[raße.]
 and (.) {street name}
- 21 Andr: [<<whispering> ach SCHEI]ße.>
 <<whispering> oh shit>

John produces the beginning of a longer sequence of street names (line 3). This is welcomed by the others (line 4-5). Yet, since they do not know what else John is going to produce – and indeed he continues (line 6-7, 9, 13) including naming a street wrongly (line 16, see also Jürgen and Andrea's repair in line 18-19 and Andrea's evaluation in line 21) – their approval can only be *reserved*. Note that this reserved approval is also accomplished by a multiple saying of JA with rising intonation, but this time the JAs end in glottal closure (line 4), similar to what we saw with the granting of the floor with reservation in excerpt (18).

It is the apparently systematic alternation of tokens ending with and without glottal closure in contexts of preliminary and completely successful accomplishment of actions respectively that suggests that JAJA ending in glottal closure contextualizes some kind of reservation or preliminary approval. Further support for this hypothesis can be gained from the fact that this distancing function of the glottal-closure ending is not unique to JAJA. It occurs similarly with single JA (cf., e.g., excerpt 18, lines 1944, 1953, 1954) as well as with other response tokens, though not always in final position. Compare, for instance, the trail-off and glottal-stop versions of HM: While `hm , functions as agreeing response (Ehlich 1986), ?m?m , and ?u?u respectively, implicate negation and thus some kind of distancing (cf. Selting et al. 1998:114, also 2009:367).

In sum, the phonetic ending of the response token also seems to play an important role in the contextualization of its discourse function: While a trail-off ending is the unmarked case, a token ending in glottal closure conveys some distancing from the token's basic function. Moreover, it is to be noted that this seems to be the case regardless of the overall pitch contour of the token, i.e. falling and rising(-falling) tokens alike can be produced with glottal-closure or trail-off endings with their respective implications. Also, the type of phonetic ending seems to be applicable across specific action/activity types, again. We have observed it in the context of (reserved) granting of a request and (reserved) approval upon the (partial) accomplishment of a task.

4.4. Further potentially relevant prosodic-phonetic features

Sections 4.1-4.3 have illustrated that double sayings of JA in German talk-in-interaction are realized with a range of prosodic-phonetic features. In particular, pitch contour, pitch range and phonetic ending have been shown to play a role in the contextualization of its interactional function. As an invitation to further re-

search I would like to add that even more features seem to be relevant. Just consider the *breathy phonation type* in the context of complaint-story closings with the aphorism-like, sighing <<*breathy*>*ja*↓*ja*;>_hh°. Similarly, the *longer duration of the first (and second) syllable* of JAJA qualifies as a further potentially relevant parameter – as is well known by parents of teenage children: requests, e.g. to tidy up their rooms, are often responded to by the children with a JAJA with noticeable lengthening on the first as well as the second syllables – in combination with down-stepping pitch covering a wider range and tense voice quality – and this form of realization has very specific implications concerning the relevance of the request, its potential repetition by the parent and the children's possible compliance with it. Also the *vowel quality* of the JAs involved seems to be a relevant feature. In standard German, darkening of the /a/ seems to convey a quietening attitude. For an example in my data, see excerpt (9), line 9, where the calming down may be directed towards the affect conveyed by the preceding turn.

Instances such as these certainly point out the need for even further work on the prosodic-phonetic features of response tokens, including JAJA. At the same time, they highlight what we can gain by including detailed prosodic-phonetic analyses into interactional-linguistic studies: they distinguish tokens which "look" similar and suggest similarities across action/activity and sequence types which would otherwise be kept separate.

Section 5 will show that visual features can, and need to, be added to this.

5. A visual aspect of JAJA

With the availability of video-recordings of data, increasing attention is also being paid to visual aspects of response tokens and visual responses (e.g. Maynard 1989; Aoki 2008; Stivers 2008; Tanaka 2010). These studies, as well as others on visual behaviour in talk-in-interaction in general (cf., e.g. Goodwin 2003, 2007 and others, Schmitt 2007; Streeck 2009; Mondada/Schmitt 2010), show that participants employ this modality as systematically as syntactic or prosodic-phonetic patterns. Bodily practices are a central resource for interaction and as such they should be part of analyses of face-to-face interaction, too.

While a systematic investigation of the practices of visual behaviour connected with JAJA is clearly beyond the present paper, one observation should underline the need for further research along these lines, namely the intrapersonal coordination (cf. Deppermann/Schmitt 2007) of JAJA with nodding.

For English, Dittman and Llewellyn (1968) observed the combination of brief verbal responses and head nods to co-occur more often than chance and in particular when speaker and recipient are closely engaged with each other or when a response is elicited (cf. Aoki 2008 for Japanese). Stivers (2008) claims that mid-story nodding signals the recipient's affiliation with the teller, while verbal responses simply align. She does not, however, topicalize combinations of verbal response and head nod.

In my primary corpus, the JAJA speakers are not always visible, but if they are, in the great majority of cases JAJA seems to co-occur with nodding (cf. Table 2).

As can be seen from these instances already, it is another task to disentangle different kinds of nods co-occurring with JAJA. They can range from enthusiastic nodding with several up-and-down head movements to single slight nods (cf., for instance, Birdwhistell 1970; Kendon 1973/1990; Aoki 2008), let alone to study the timing of the verbal and the visual response practices (cf. Dittman/Llewellyn 1968; Aoki 2008).

However, what also promises to yield telling results is a comparison of the cases with (some kind of) nodding with those in which the nodding is missing altogether. First of all, this suggests that nodding with JAJA in German, too, is no involuntary action. This, in turn, qualifies this head movement as bodily behaviour which can be used as a resource in the accomplishment of interactional purposes.

In the primary corpus, I have identified two kinds of situations in which the nodding is missing: on the one hand, JAJA occurs without nodding when the interlocutors are spatially separated and thus are not visually available for each other, as when John sits in the sound-proof cabin for the Taxi task and others of the inhabitants of the house are waiting outside and confirm his answer as in excerpt (20), line 26-27 (repeated as (20a)):

Example (20a) Maarweg (BB87_953)

(cf. Video 16)

- 24 John: (0.7) °hh EM, (.) A- A- [(ER)
 {spells out in letters}
 ^|_____
 |
 cut to others waiting outside, Jürgen is sipping from a bottle
- 25 Jür: nodding>mm[:;> [<<swallowing and]
- 26 Andr: [<<(clapping, shouting)> **jA[jA][^JA::;>**]
- 27 Sabr: <<(clapping, shouting)>[jA [^JA::;>]
- 28 Jür: <<(clapping, shouting)>[^JA::;>]
- 29 all: ((laughing))

Note that while Jürgen produces extensive nodding accompanying a *mm* substituting any verbalization more unrestricted by swallowing his beverage (line 25), Andrea produces a JAJAJA without nodding at all (line 26). Chances are that the lack of nodding could be induced by the spatial separation of the interlocutors resulting in visual unavailability. It would be interesting to follow up this observation with video recordings of telephone conversationalists, for instance.

Yet, nodding can also be absent when the participants (can) see each other. This is the case in excerpt 15, line 451 (repeated as (15a)):

Example (15a): Irenic human being (Fasch_446)
 (cf. Video 17)

- 435 Gei: °h nun äh ?ich bin An sich von natUr aus ein
 FRIEDfertiger mensch-
 |
 Geißler smiles
*now I am in fact by nature an irenic human
 being*
- 436 wie jEdermann WEIß=-ni[cht]
 |
 Geißler smiles
as everybody knows right
- 437 Mü: [wie][jedermann][unmittelbar]
 [bestä]tigen kann-
 |
 Geißler smiles
*as everybody can confirm
 immediately*
- 438 Gei: [äh:] [°hhh]
 |
 Geißler smiles
- 439 Aud: [((lau]ghs)]
 |
 Geißler smiles
- 440 Gei: [jA;]-ha-ha
 |
 Geißler smiles
- 441 °h
 |
 Geißler smiles
- 442 Mü: hEi[ner] GEIß[ler-]
 |
 Geißler smiles
 { name }
- 443 Gei: [öh] [aber]
 |
 Geißler smiles
uh but
- 444 Mü: [hEiner GEI]ßler-

		<hr style="width: 20%; margin: 0 auto;"/> Geißler smiles { name }
445	Gei:	[öh:] uh
		<hr style="width: 20%; margin: 0 auto;"/> Geißler smiles
446		°hh[h]
		<hr style="width: 20%; margin: 0 auto;"/> Geißler smiles
447	MÜL:	[ein] Un[gewöhnlich frIed]ferti[ger MENSCH-] an unusually irenic human being
		<hr style="width: 50%; margin: 0 auto;"/> Geißler smiles
448	Gei:	[abe/ but]
		<hr style="width: 20%; margin: 0 auto;"/> Geißler smiles
449		[jA↓JA;=] <hr style="width: 20%; margin: 0 auto;"/> Geißler smiles
450		=°hh <hr style="width: 20%; margin: 0 auto;"/> Geißler smiles
451	Mül:	ja[_ha]_[ha,] yes
452	Gei:	[äh:][Ab]er: äh (.) ich bin auf der Anderen seite- <hr style="width: 20%; margin: 0 auto;"/> Geißler smiles uh but uh (.) i am on the other hand

In the detailed analysis of this excerpt in section 4.2, it was shown that Geißler makes several attempts at bringing the joking sequence originally initiated by him (line 435-436) to a halt (line 438, 430-441, 443, 445-446, 448). Thus, the relevant JAJA, which is part of these attempts, occurs in a context of misalignment of the participants with regard to the current course of exchange: Geißler disaligns with a continuation of the joking sequence – note the sequence-closing type-1 contour of the JAJA (cf. section 2.2) as well as the fact that Müller-Gerbes then indeed moves into sequence-closing by falling into laughter (line 451).

Also in excerpt 18, line 1944 (repeated as (18a)), a JAJA occurs in a context of misalignment.

Example (18a): Virgin conception (Abtr_1944)
(cf. Video 18)

1936 völlig falsch EINsetzen;=
 use totally wrongly

1937 =Unbefleckte [emPFÄNGnis] [°h]
 virgin conception

1938 Hoc: [Is nich] [Is nich]
 is not is not

1939 Is nich bewus[st falsch EINgesetzt-]
 is not consciously used wrongly

1940 Was: [ist VÖLlig]
 is totally

1941 Hoc: °h[hhh]
 |_____|
 |
 Hochhuth moves torso forward and unfolds his arms

1942 Was: [darf ich d/]
 may I

1943 darf ich [grAd mal dann] SAg[en;]
 may I say something PRT then
 |_____^_____
 |
 Hochhuth moves torso back and folds his arms in front of his chest

1944 Hoc: [JA?^(↓)JA?] [JA?;]=

1945 Was: =°h äh sie WISsen dann SIcherlich?
 uh you know then surely

In line 1944, Hochhuth disaffiliates by accomplishing a *reserved* granting of a request for the floor (cf. section 4.3 for the detailed analysis of this excerpt). Notably, here, too, nodding is hardly visible: at best, there is a single, slight nod integrated into the general backwards movement of torso and head. The resulting lack of (visible) nodding would again fit the hypothesis that nodding is absent with JAJA in face-to-face interaction when there is some kind of misalignment of the participants about the current course of action.

These limited observations already suggest that it is not only prosodic-phonetic cues that are relevant in interpreting the "meaning" of JAJA, but that also bodily movements coordinated with it, such as nodding, can be used as resources in contextualizing the interactional function of double sayings of JA in German talk-in-interaction. In addition, it should be pointed out that the visual cues to misalignment in their function parallel the disaligning and disaffiliative prosodic-

phonetic cues of these instances (see the relevant discussions in sections 4.2 and 4.3). Thus, both kinds of cues seem to collaboratively participate in a complex field of semiotic resources (Goodwin 2000). Hence, JAJA, like other response tokens (cf. Reber/Couper-Kuhlen 2010; Tanaka 2010; for instance), appears to be a truly multimodal phenomenon, whose interpretation, and analysis, must be based on all cues available to disentangle their functioning in everyday talk-in-interaction.

6. Summary and conclusions

This paper contributes to the description of response tokens in talk-in-interaction. In particular it dealt with aspects of the prosodic-phonetic and visual realization of double sayings of JA in various kinds of German broadcasted, institutional and semi-private talk, thereby complementing earlier studies. It showed that, while the location of the pitch peak is a feature which in itself is undoubtedly already revealing in terms of the token's interactional function, it is not the only prosodic-phonetic, and indeed multimodal, feature relevant.

This paper extended earlier findings on JAJA with observations on the role of the pitch contour chosen for its realization. Specific attention was drawn to JAJA with two additional pitch contours: 1) upglide-downstep JAJAs confirming and (re)claiming epistemic priority in an aside and 2) final-dip JAJAs making continuation relevant. In addition to this, the paper in more detail topicalized the role of pitch range in continuation-aligning JAJAs as well as the role of smile voice and shading into laughter with joke-affiliating JAJAs and the phonetic ending of JAJA with glottal closure contextualizing reserved acknowledgement/ agreement. Finally, it pointed towards the multimodality of JAJA by presenting one observation on its visual aspects, namely its (lack of) coordination with nodding, which seems to contextualize (mis)alignment.

What all JAJA variants discussed so far seem to have in common is a general note of acknowledgement, or confirmation – as becomes already intuitively clear when comparing JAJA with NEINNEIN, for instance. However, what stance the JAJA speaker takes in addition by using it, very much depends on the contextualizing cues accompanying the lexical choice. Table 3 summarizes the prosodic-phonetic realization variants of JAJA described in this paper and their interactional properties.

In conclusion, JAJA in German talk-in-interaction can be realized in a wide range of prosodic-phonetic variants, which are systematic in so far as they are connected to specific interactional functions and sequential consequences. In particular in terms of the prosodic-phonetic features, this paper thus provides further evidence for the claim that the realization of a token of response is a major cue in contextualizing its interactional function. At the same time, it underlines that the prosodic-phonetic features to be studied are manifold, and their further investigation will probably reveal even more features relevant. And this is not unique to JAJA. Raymond (2010) notes a similar variability with type-confirming responses to yes/no interrogatives, for instance. These already are good reasons to make the study of the prosodic-phonetic realization of linguistic items an integral part of Interactional Linguistics, just as prosody and phonetics are inseparably connected with spoken language itself.








	`jaJA. (cf. Golato/ Fagyal 2006, 2008)	ja^JA. (cf. Golato/ Fagyal 2006, 2008)	˘ja↓JA (upglide-downstep JAJA)	˘ja↓JA; (final-dip JAJA)	<<:>ja(↓)JA->_(laugh) (flat "smiling" JAJA shading into laughter)	ja(↓)JA (narrow-pitch-range JAJA)	ja?JA? (glottal-closure-ending JAJA)
example							
SEQUENTIAL ANALYSIS							
sequential placement	N: known info J: `jaJA.	N: utterance J: ja^JA.	J: displaying epist. rights N: ~> epist. rights J: ˘ja↓JA	N: utterance J: ˘ja↓JA;	N: extended joking J: <<:>ja(↓)JA->_((laugh))	N: utterance J: ja(↓)JA	N: action (e.g. partial accompl. of task/request) J: ja?JA?
placement in TCU/turn	stand-alone or turn-initially (+ evidence for epist. overkill)	turn-initially (+ topicaliz. of misalignment)	stand-alone turn/TCU (+ evidence for epist. rights)	stand-alone	stand-alone turn		stand-alone turn
interactional function	acknowledge as known stop current action	indicating fractur.d intersubjectivity and misalignmt.of previous utterance	acknowledging, re-claiming epistemic priority as an aside	confirming continuer	acknowledge		reserved acknowledge-ment/granting of request etc.
stance	misaligning	misaligning	aligning	aligning	affiliatively aligning with joke	aligning	aligning "for the moment"
sequential consequences	sequence-closing	continuing, but changing sequent. trajectory	complementing but preserving sequent. trajectory	sequence-continuing	open to sequence-continuation	sequence-continuing	not sequence-closing, possibly sequence-changing
PROSODIC-PHONETIC ANALYSIS							
syllabic substance	2 or more JAs	only 2 JAs	2 JAs	2 JAs	2 JAs, also as several sets	2 JAs	2 or more JAs
pitch movement	falling pitch peak on 1 st syll.	rise-fall and pitch peak on 2 nd syll.	convex upglide on 1 st syll. downstep to 2 nd	mid level on 1 st downstep to + fall-rise on 2 nd	mid level slight downstep on 2 nd		slightly rising or downstepping
pitch range		wider	wider	narrower	narrow		narrow
further pros-phon features			2 nd syll can be longer	2 nd syll longer	smile voice, shading off into laughter		short, glottal-closure ending

Table 3: Realization variants of JAJA discussed in this paper in comparison to type-1 and type-2 JAJA discussed by Golato/Fagyal (2006, 2008).

On a more applied level, a question that this variety raises is, of course: how are the participants able to deal with this multiplicity of forms and functions?³⁴ While there seem to be identifiable core forms of JAJA, they, at the same time, appear to be rather numerous. Although a full answer to this question is beyond the present paper, a key may lie in some additional observations made in this paper:

1. A number of the prosodic-phonetic features described were not just employed in one specific sequence-organizational context. Rather, they occur similarly with JAJA as continuer, acknowledgement token as well as (repeated) requests for information and (surprised) requests for confirmation, for instance. This suggests that they may be less action/activity-specific than other linguistic practices.³⁵ At the same time they seem to contextualize more local tasks of sequential organization, such as the organization of turn-taking, the expression of stance and the negotiation of epistemic rights.
2. It was noted that some of the prosodic-phonetic features can not only be observed with double sayings of JA. Rather, they also occur in the same functions with single and multiple JAs – as in the case of glottal closure endings. Moreover, they also occur with similar functions with other kinds of response tokens – as in the case of the final-dip contour (cf. the parallels drawn to other response tokens at the end of section 4.2.2) and the glottal-closure endings (cf. the end of section 4.3, see also Stivers 2004 for a more general account of the falling contour of type-1 JAJAs).
3. Some prosodic-phonetic features occur across what could be taken to be "core forms" of double sayings of JA, such as narrow pitch range and glottal-closure endings.

Although further research is undoubtedly necessary here, this suggests that, at least perhaps with response tokens, certain prosodic-phonetic features may contextualize certain "meanings" across sequence-organizational contexts, response tokens and core forms of individual tokens. This then would simplify the memory task and thus their employment by the participants, although we should still be careful to assume a fixed, context-independent 1:1 form-meaning relationship. Further research needs to pursue this question for JAJA as well as for other response tokens.

³⁴ I am grateful to Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen for setting me thinking about this question.

³⁵ This could also be taken to provide interactional evidence countering the strict division of responses into sub-classes that do, or do not, interrupt the turn. Rather, responses cluster along a continuum from minimal responses via acknowledgement tokens and assessments to turn-like responses. For prosodic-phonetic evidence for this cf. Barth-Weingarten (2009).

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8. Appendix: Transcription conventions

Transcription, for the most part, follows GAT 2 (cf. Couper-Kuhlen/Barth-Weingarten 2011). JAJAs are presented with GAT 2 fine transcription conventions. In the following a survey of relevant transcription symbols is provided.

Basic transcript

Sequential structure

- [] overlap and simultaneous talk
- []
- = fast, immediate continuation by a new turn or segment (*latching*)

In- and outbreaths

- °h / h° in- / outbreaths of appr. 0.2-0.5 sec. duration
- °hh / hh° in- / outbreaths of appr. 0.5-0.8 sec. duration
- °hhh / hhh° in- / outbreaths of appr. 0.8-1.0 sec. duration

Pauses

- (.) micro pause, estimated, up to 0.2 sec. appr.
- (-) short estimated pause of appr. 0.2-0.5 sec.
- (--) intermediary estimated pause of appr. 0.5-0.8 sec.
- (---) longer estimated pause of appr. 0.8-1.0 sec.
- (0.5) / (2.0) measured pause of appr. 0.5 / 2.0 sec.
(to tenth of a second)

Other segmental conventions

and_uh cliticizations within units
 uh, uhm etc. hesitation signals, so-called "filled pauses"

 : lengthening, by about 0.2-0.5 sec.
 :: lengthening, by about 0.5-0.8 sec.
 ::: lengthening, by about 0.8-1.0 sec.

 ? cut-off by glottal closure

Laughter and crying

haha, hehe, hihi syllabic laughter
 ((laughs)), ((cries)) description of laughter, crying
 <<laughing> > laughter particles accompanying speech
 with indication of scope
 <<:)> soo> smile voice

Continuers

hm yes no yeah monosyllabic signals
 hm_hm ye_es no_o bi-syllabic signals
 ?hm?hm with glottal closure, often negating

Accentuation

acCENT focus accent
 ac!CENT! extra strong accent

Final pitch movements of intonation phrases

? high rising
 , mid rising
 - level
 ; mid falling
 . low falling

Other conventions

((coughs)) para- and extralinguistic actions and
 events
 <<coughing> > ...with indication of scope
 <<surprised> > interpretive comment with indication
 of length
 () unintelligible passage
 (xxx), (xxx xxx) one or two unintelligible syllables
 (may i) assumed wording
 (may i say/let us say) possible alternatives
 ((unintelligible,
 appr. 3 sec)) unintelligible passage with indication of
 duration

 ((...)) omission in transcript
 -> refers to a line of transcript relevant in
 the argument

GAT 2 fine transcript and additional symbols

Accentuation

acCENT	focus accent
accEnt	secondary accent
ac!CENT!	extra strong accent

Pitch jumps

↑	pitch upstep
↓	pitch downstep
↑↑	larger pitch upstep
↓↓	larger pitch downstep
↑	small pitch upstep
↓	small pitch downstep
(↑)	very small pitch upstep
(↓)	very small pitch downstep

Changes in pitch register

<<l>	>	lower pitch register
<<h>	>	higher pitch register

Intralinear notation of accent pitch movements

`SO	falling
˘SO	rising
ˉSO	level
^SO	rising-falling
˘SO	falling-rising
↑˘	small pitch upstep to the peak of the accented syllable
↓˘	small pitch downstep to the valley of the accented syllable

↑ˉSO bzw. ↓ˉSO	pitch jumps to higher or lower level accented syllables
↑↑˘SO bzw. ↓↓˘SO	larger pitch upsteps or downsteps to the peak or valley of the accented syllable

Loudness und tempo changes, with scope

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

Changes in voice quality and articulation, with scope

<<creaky>	>	glottalized
<<whispery>	>	examples of change in voice quality as stated

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