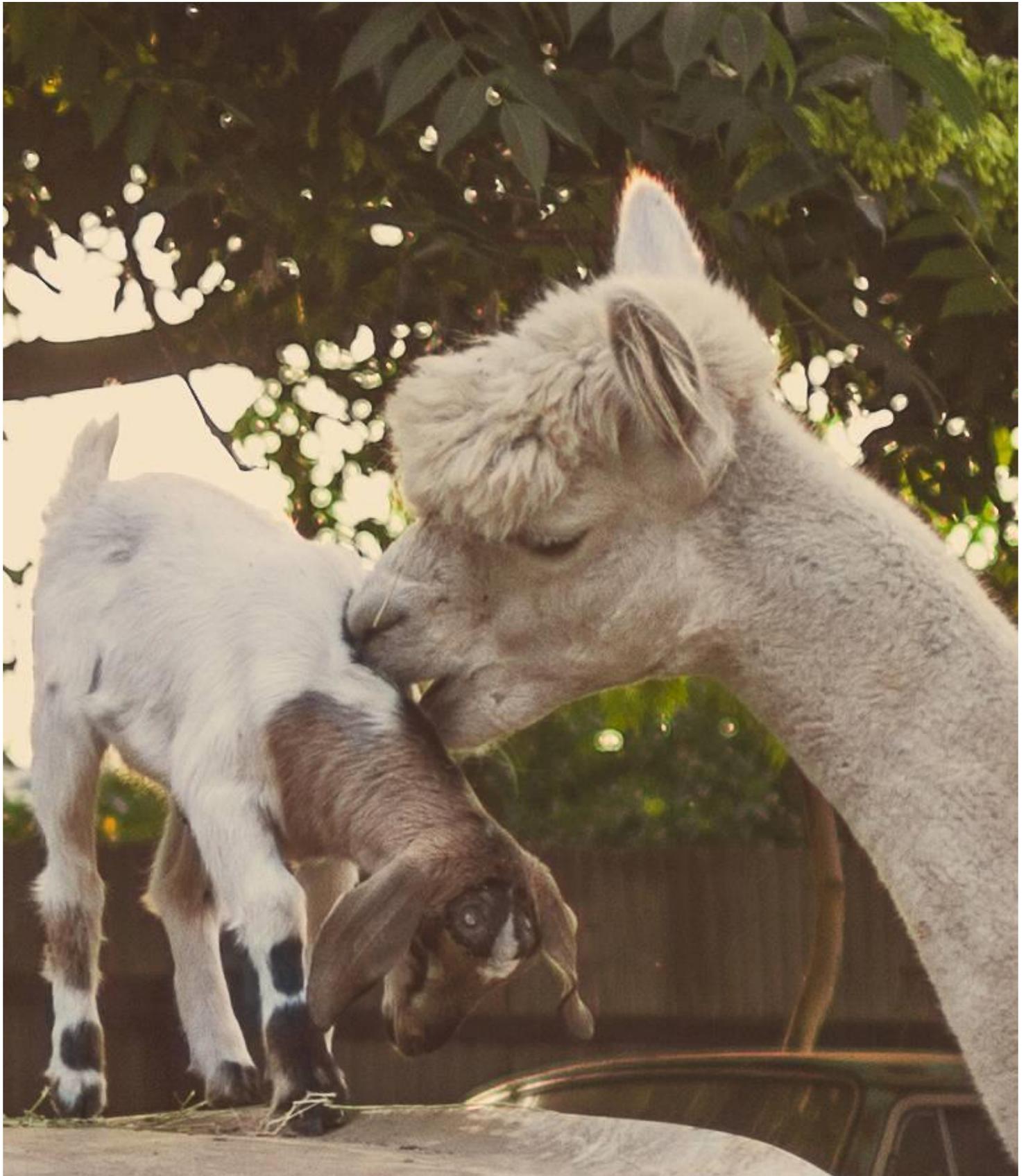


# S.O.S.

*Skrifter om Samtalegrammatik*



*Årgang 2, nr. 3*

## **Exaggerated pitch as a story-ending device**

Nicholas Hedegaard Mikkelsen & Mathias Høyer Kragelund

*Skrifter om Samtalegrammatik* 2: 3

2015

ISSN 2445-7256

*Skrifter om Samtalegrammatik* (SoS) er en serie arbejdspapirer om samtalegrammatik som udgives af forskergruppen *DanTIN* ("Danish talk-in-interaction"). DanTIN består af studerende og forskere fra og omkring Lingvistik på Aarhus Universitet. DanTIN bestyrer hjemmesiden *samtalegrammatik.dk*. Udgivelserne i *Skrifter om Samtalegrammatik* er arbejdspapirer, studenteropgaver, rapporter og andet som beskriver og analyserer samtalegrammatiske fænomener.

*Skrifter om Samtalegrammatik* er ikke fagfællebedømt, men en redaktionsgruppe under DanTIN har vurderet udgivelserne i SoS fortjener at komme til offentlighedens kendskab. I nogle tilfælde er der tale om ældre skrifter, som DanTIN har fået lov af forfatterne til at udgive. I andre tilfælde er skrifterne lavet til SoS. *Skrifter om Samtalegrammatik* kan frit deles med angivelse af forfatter, årstal samt tidsskriftets navn og nummer.

DanTIN udgiver også fagfællebedømte artikler. Du kan se mere om vores udgivelser, projekter og resultater på *samtalegrammatik.dk*, og her kan du også se hvordan du kommer i kontakt med os.

Billedet til forsiden (*Alpaca Bites Kid Goat*) er taget af [TC Morgan](#) og beskåret af Nicholas Mikkelsen. [Nogle rettigheder forbeholdes.](#)

Redaktionsgruppen for dette nummer består af: Emilie Tholstrup.

## Redaktionel kommentar

Nicholas Hedegaard Mikkelsen og Mathias Høyer Kragelund skrev denne analyse som en del af arbejdet med DanTIN i 2013. Den beskriver et samtalefænomen, som aldrig før er beskrevet, nemlig anvendelsen af overdrevent høj tonehøjde som en måde at angive afslutninger af historier i samtaler.

Den viser, hvordan samtalegrammatiske fænomener nødvendigvis må inddrage ikke bare den grammatiske og leksikalske form og den sammenhæng som formerne optræder i, men også må medtage prosodien, altså lydige faktorer som tonehøjde, stemmestyrke osv.

Nogle af resultaterne fra dette arbejde er tidligere blevet publiceret eller er ved at blive det (Mikkelsen & Kragelund u. forberedelse; Steensig et al. 2013 og som opslag på *samtalegrammatik.dk*), men her kommer den redegørelse og analyse som ligger til grund for disse andre publikationer.

### REFERENCER:

Mikkelsen, Nicholas Hedegaard & Mathias Høyer Kragelund. Indsendt. Exaggerated Pitch as a Story-Ending Device. *Olomouc Modern Language Series*.

Steensig, Jakob, Karen Kiil Brøcker, Caroline Grønkjær, Magnus Glenvad Tind Hamann, Rasmus Puggaard Hansen, Maria Jørgensen, Mathias Høyer Kragelund, Nicholas Hedegaard Mikkelsen, Tina Mølgaard, Henriette Folkmann Pedersen, Søren Sandager Sørensen & Emilie Tholstrup. 2013. [The DanTIN project – creating a platform for describing the grammar of Danish talk-in-interaction](#). I: Petersen, Jan Heegård & Peter Juel Henriksen (red.): *New Perspectives on Speech in Action. Proceedings of the 2nd SJUSK Conference on Contemporary Speech Habits*. Frederiksberg: Samfundslitteratur Press.

# Exaggerated pitch as a story-ending device

by NICHOLAS HEDEGAARD MIKKELSEN & MATHIAS HØYER KRAGELUND

## 1. Introduction

We are part of a research group called DanTIN (Danish Talk in Interaction) led by Jakob Steensig at Linguistics, Aarhus University. We work within the framework of conversation analysis (Sacks 1992a, 1992b), and, as the name of our group suggest, have an interest in how language is used in actual interaction. The long-term goal of our project is to make a grammar of Danish based on analysis of recordings (audio and video) of mundane everyday interaction - i.e. a grammar of Danish Talk in Interaction. This is unlike other available grammars on Danish that all have a strong written language bias (cf. Linell 2005). So far, we have been investigating various aspects of spoken Danish that are different from written Danish and are making our findings available through our website, [Samtalegrammatik.dk](http://Samtalegrammatik.dk), and through several publications (Steensig et al. forthcoming, Hamann et al. 2012, Brøcker et al. 2012, Mikkelsen 2010, Hamann et al. 2010).

One such phenomenon is the use of exaggerated pitch or high-pitched voice in reported speech. In this paper, we will investigate how it is used in storytellings and suggest that it can be employed as what Jefferson call a story-ending device (1978: 244) by highlighting the punchline of the story (cf. Sacks 1974: 347).

In our paper we will first account for our methodological background in section 3. As our point of departure, we will briefly introduce Conversation Analysis in section 2.1. Subsequently we will account for how storytelling is viewed in conversation analytic literature in 2.2. As the last part of our methodological background, we will describe our empirical basis and explain the procedure of using PRAAT to analyse a speaker's pitch register in 2.3. In section 3, we will analyse two excerpts of data in which we find the storytellers employ exaggerated pitch as a story-ending device. We will discuss our analysis in section 4 before finally summing up our findings in section 5.

## 2. Methodological background

### 2.1 *A brief introduction to conversation analysis*

Conversation Analysis (henceforth CA) is commonly described as a method in the cross-section between sociology and linguistics. The foundation of the method was established by Harvey Sacks in a string of lectures which has since been published (Sacks 1992a, 1992b). CA is based on a bottom-up approach and values empirically-anchored analysis over large theories and generalizations. However, CA has had a major influence on the general understanding of the organization of interaction (Schegloff and Sacks 1973; Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974). In CA, the analyst doesn't consult data to confirm or dismiss an already established hypothesis. Ideally, the analyst makes observations in data and then forms a hypothesis on the basis of those observations. The conversation analyst seeks to find patterns, rules and order in everyday interaction. A main principle of CA is what Sacks formulated as "we may [...] take it that there is order at all points" (Sacks 1984). This means that one should not dismiss any interactional actions as being without importance. Any and all utterances, gestures, and sounds could have an influence on the interaction. Behind this notion lies the fact that CA does not attempt to analyze the meaning of utterances and actions but instead focus on their *functions* in the speech situation as shown by the interactants themselves. It may sound trivial, but since the analyst do not possess the ability to look into the minds of the participants of data and see what any given utterance means to them, one should not try to explain how they understand different utterances. Instead, the analyst must look at the surrounding talk to see how the utterance is being treated and only then can we speculate as to their understanding of the interaction. The in-depth nature of the analytical approach furthermore means that any conversational analysis of this kind will be a qualitative analysis.

### 2.2 *Storytelling*

Stories and storytellings have interested the linguistic community for many years. Within CA, the terms *story* and *storytelling* refer to "the telling of actions, the telling of what occurred according to the teller, including and ending with the telling of the punchline" (Kjærbeck & Asmuß 2005: 3). Sacks has described storytellings as consisting of

three parts: the preface sequence, the tellings sequence and the response sequence (Sacks 1974). This structural organization of storytellings has been expanded by Kjærbeck and Asmuß, who further divide the response sequence into two parts: the punchline sequence and the post punchline sequence (Kjærbeck & Asmuß 2005: 2).

In the story preface, the storyteller announces that he/she is about to tell a story and thereby “asks for the rights to produce extended talk” (Sacks 1992b: 226). Storytellings are quite complicated activities made up of several multi-unit turns. From the story preface and through the story itself, storytelling is an activity that involves a lot of negotiation between the interlocutors as to their understanding of the type of project they are currently engaged in. When the interlocutor has aligned as a story recipient (cf. Sacks 1992b: 227), the teller can begin the telling sequence. This is one element which clearly separates storytellings from normal interaction, as the storyteller is here allowed to produce multiple subsequent turns. Following the telling of the main story, the narrative climax is produced in the punchline sequence. At this point, the interaction goal changes along with the turn-distribution. After the teller has provided the recipient with the narrative climax, the teller no longer has the primary right to the conversational floor. Kjærbeck & Asmuß characterize the punchline sequence as “a place where the story recipient gives a first general display of his understanding of the modality of the story; namely whether it is one to laugh about, to be astonished or sad about etc.” (Kjærbeck & Asmuß 2005: 6). In CA it’s a widespread notion that when the telling of the story is completed it’s sequentially implicative to display an understanding of the story (Jefferson 1978, Schegloff 1997). The story recipient proposes an understanding of the modality of the story, and if this correlates with the tellers understanding, the activity can transgress to the post punchline sequence. This sequence has a twofold orientation as it both closes the present storytelling activity and opens up for the next activity (Schegloff 1997.). The goal of the interaction in the post punchline sequence is to accomplish “a negotiation about the understanding and broader meaning of the story” (Kjærbeck & Asmuß 2005: 2). This negotiation is directly linked to the preliminary negotiation of the modality of the story in the punchline sequence and there is thus conditional

relevance between the two elements (Kjærbeck & Asmuß 2005: 6). When the understanding of the story has been negotiated, the interactants can move on to a new activity.

It should be noted that these are just some of the general steps involved in telling a story. As mentioned before, such activities are subject to constant negotiation of understanding between the interlocutors. It is interesting to investigate how interactants negotiate understanding through the various stages involved in storytelling. Following this, another way of framing the question we deal with in this paper could be to ask: What linguistic cues do speakers orient to in negotiating the completion of a story?

In the following section, we will thus explain how we have collected data and our method for carrying out a pitch analysis.

### *2.3 Data collection and pitch analysis*

In order to investigate this phenomenon in depth, we have consulted two data corpora - namely Samtalebanc (available through <http://talkbank.org/samtalebanc/>) and AULing (a corpus hosted at Linguistics, Aarhus University). Instances of the phenomena are somewhat rare, considering how frequent reported speech is in everyday conversation. For this paper, we have chosen three examples which we find illustrate the function of exaggerated pitch in storytelling. These are transcribed using a variant of Jefferson's transcription conventions (2004; see appendix).

Since part of our investigation is based on analysis of the speakers' pitch, we have made use of the Praat software (Boersma & Weenink 2009). Here, we will explain how we have used this piece of software in our analysis.

As we will see in section 4, we have used Praat to analyse whether an utterance is produced with a higher pitch than the speaker's register. In order for this to be possible, we first had to determine the register of the speaker. This was done in three stages.

First, we collected one minute of talk from the speaker in question. This was done by exporting single utterances from CLAN into Praat. These were all utterances that were not spoken in overlap with other speakers. We left out the utterances we wanted to investigate - i.e. the utterances with exaggerated pitch. Likewise, laughter was not included in this minute of talk. At the end of this

stage the utterances exported to Praat were all combined into one continuous audio-file.

At the second stage, we “cleaned up” the one minute of talk. This involved having Praat display a pitch contour for the entire audio-file. This allowed us to identify obvious outliers in the pitch register. This could for instance be background noise, noise caused by the way the separate audio-files were combined, or outliers attributive to the voice quality of the speaker (e.g. creaky voice resulting in very high-frequency noise). The pitch-editor in Praat represents the pitch contour by a path of “red discs” (cf. Praat Manual). By selecting one or more of these discs it is possible to unvoice them and thereby omitting them from the pitch analysis.

Having cleaned the combined audio file, we had Praat carry out the analysis of the speaker’s register for the final stage of our analysis. The maximum pitch for the audio file is the ceiling for the speaker’s register, and the minimum pitch is the bottom of the register.

In the following section we will show how the use of exaggerated pitch can be used to not only mark something as reported speech but also as having the function of a story-ending device.

### 3. Exaggerated pitch as a story-ending device

#### 3.1 Example 1

Example 1 below is taken from a conversation between two women in their twenties - Astrid and Bea. They are discussing recent events in their lives while eating tangerines. In line 1 Bea initiates a story about a birthday party she has recently attended. We are here especially interested in lines 17 and 19 and how they are treated by the interlocutors.

1. [AULing | Mandarin | 48-73]

- 1 BEA: jeg var os til fødselsdag i lørdags  
*I was at a birthday on Saturday*
- 2 BEA: °ved min° veninde i Faaborg  
*at my friend's place in Faaborg*
- 3 (1.0)
- 4 BEA: og så øh ↘  
*and then uh*
- 5 (1.3)

- 6 BEA: to af hendes veninder har børn  
*two of her friends have children*
- 7 (0.3)
- 8 AST: ja→  
*yes*
- 9 BEA: hendes kusine har en på to  
*her cousin has a two-year old*
- 10 BEA: og den anden på halvandet  
*and the other one is a year and a half*
- 11 (0.9)
- 12 BEA: og de jo os bare me:ga søde  
*and they are just super cute*
- 13 BEA: hende på to hun er hun snakker helt vildt  
*the two-year old she's she talks like crazy*
- 14 (0.3)
- 15 AST: ja  
*yes*
- 16 BEA: og hun går bare og så siger hun bare  
*and she just goes around and then she just says*
- 17 → BEA: hængepatter  
*saggy tits*
- 18 AST: (n[ej† ])   
*(no)*
- 19 → BEA: [mor] har hængepat[ter]   
*mom's got saggy tits*
- 20 AST: [e::j]::::j↘  
*PTC*
- 21 AST: e::j ↘  
*PTC*
- 22 AST: ·hh e::j ↘  
*PTC*
- 23 BEA: ·Hh hø [og moren] har ikke hængepatter  
*and the mom doesn't have saggy tits*
- 24 AST: [( )]
- 25 AST: det ved jeg ikk (.) det ikk så godt at sige  
*I don't know (.) it's not so good to say*
- 26 AST: når der er kamera men (.) vi var hjemme ved  
*when there's camera but (.) we were at*

These lines are produced with a significantly higher pitch than the speaker's normal pitch range and much higher than the preceding talk as illustrated by the figures below.

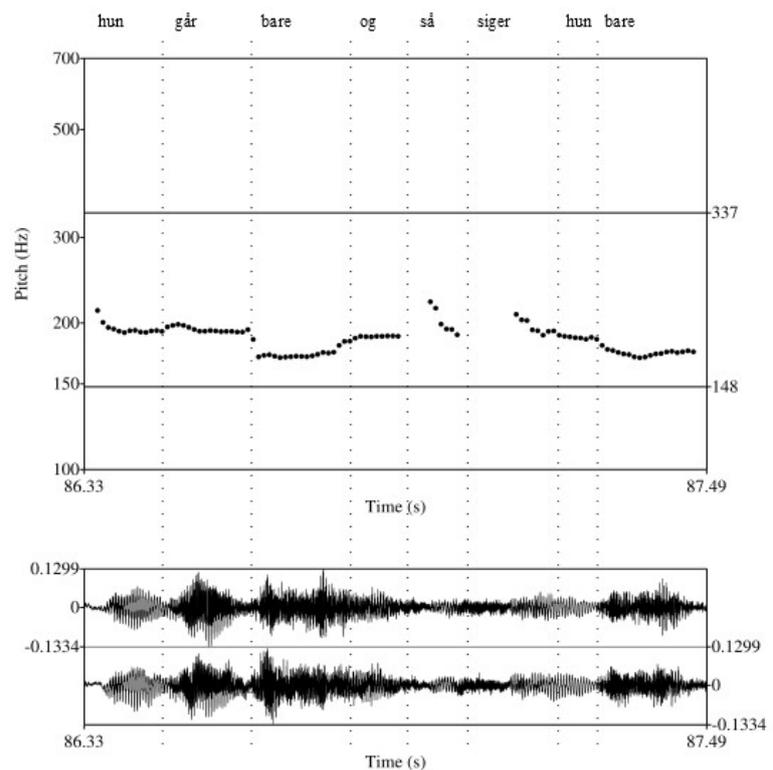


Figure 1: Illustration of line 16

Figure one above illustrates line 16. Clearly, this utterance falls within the register of the speaker (i.e. between 148 and 337 Hz). This, on the other hand, is not the case for lines 17 and 19. Figure 2 below illustrates the pitch contour of line 17:

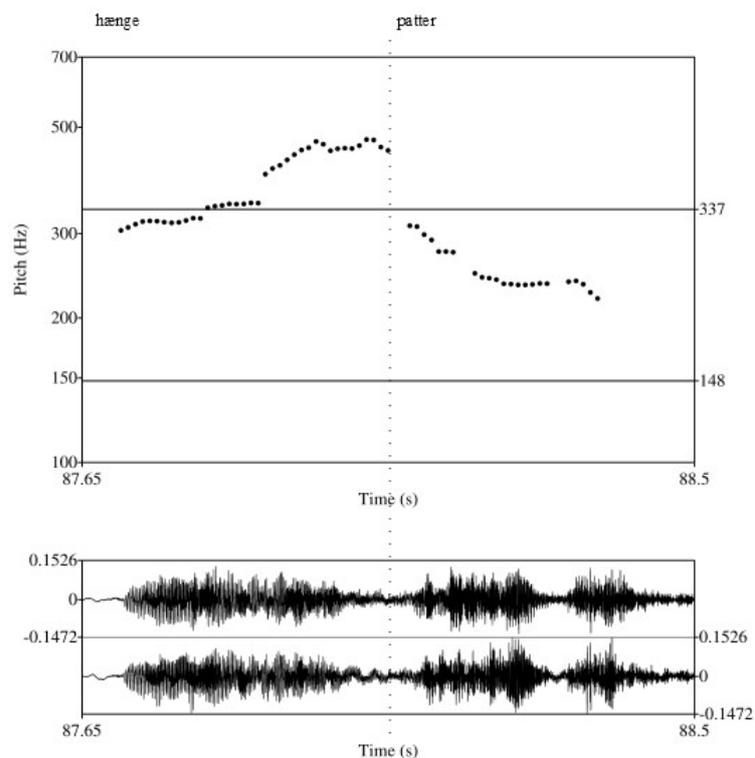


Figure 2: Illustration of line 17

Here, we see how line 17 has a rising intonation and that it falls outside the speaker's pitch range. This is illustrated even more clearly by the pitch contour for line 19 in figure 3 below:

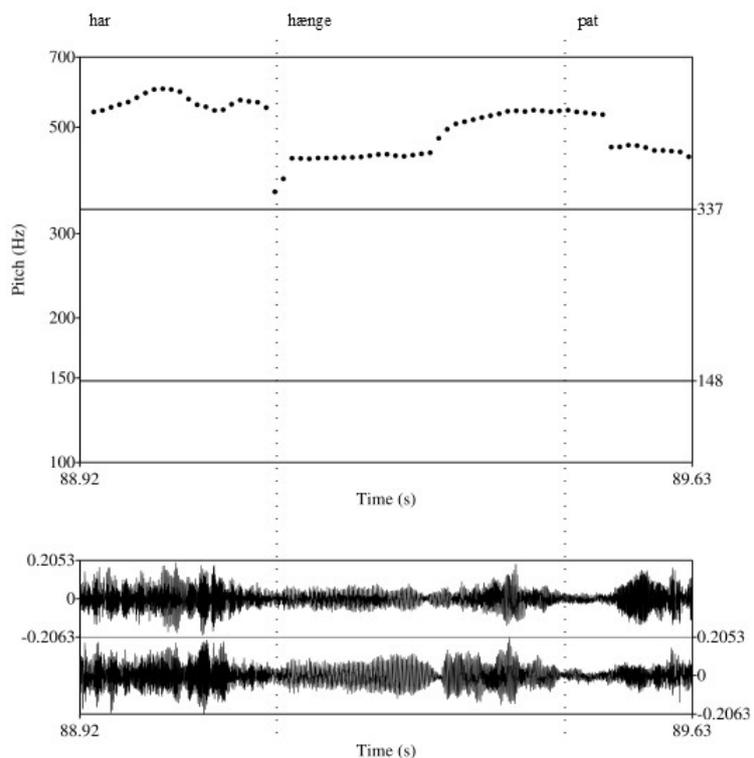


Illustration 3: Illustration of line 19

Here, we clearly see that line 19 falls entirely outside of the speaker's pitch range. Having thus established that lines 17 and 19 are uttered with a high pitch voice, we shall now turn to look at how the use of exaggerated pitch is embedded within the story.

Previous to line 1, Astrid and Bea have been talking about Bea's nephew who she finds to be very cute. In this way, line 1 can be seen as initiating a second story (Jefferson 1978). This is marked by the use of "os" (*also*), bridging the previous first story and the subsequent second story (Arminen 2004: 334). This is also evident from line 12 in which Bea states "og de jo os bare me:ga søde" (*and they are also just super cute*). Thus, like the nephew in the first story, the children in this second story are also really sweet.

It is also worth noting the use of intensifiers throughout the story, eg. the adverb "me:ga" in line 12. This use of an intensifier can be seen as a way to build up to the punchline of the story. The use of adverbial intensifiers is further evident from line 13, "hende på to hun er hun snakker helt vildt" (*the two-year old she's she talks like*

*crazy*), where “*helt vildt*” (*like crazy*) works in much the same way. The word “*bare*” (*just*) also seems to play a role in this intensifying act, as it is used several times in the utterances preceding the punchline. This is evident in both line 12 and especially in line 16 where it is used twice: “*og hun går bare og så siger hun bare*” (*and she just goes around and then she just says*). Here, “*bare*” can be seen as indicating that the following was uttered without restraint in the situation she is reporting.

These lines all build up to the punchline of the story in line 17. It is here interesting to note how Astrid - the story recipient - responds to line 17. It is difficult to discern exactly what she is saying. However, she clearly says something sounding like “*nej*” (*no*), and, more importantly, she does this before Bea continues in line 19. Astrid’s utterance is clearly an assessment or the beginning of an assessment of the story. By making an assessment at this point, she orients towards the story as having finished.

Summing up, example 1 shows Bea employing various build-up components prior to the punchline of the story. In line 17 she makes a report of a girl having said “*hængepatter*” (*saggy tits*). This is done in a very high-pitched voice. Astrid orients towards this utterance as the punchline of the story by making an assessment of the story in line 18, even though continues the report of the girl’s speech in line 19. We find the exaggerated pitch highlights line 17 as the punchline of the story and as such it works as a story-ending device.

Obviously, example 1 is an instance of an adult reporting the speech of a child. It could be argued that the use of exaggerated pitch is merely a feature of the way adults report children’s speech. However, as we shall see in the following section exaggerated pitch can also be employed in instances of adults reporting the speech of other adults.

#### 4.2 Example 2

Example 2 below is taken from a conversation between two women in their early twenties - Anne and Beate. They are discussing how they were supposed to have gone out together in the past weekend. However, due to some form of miscommunication between the two women, this never happened. Prior to example 2, Beate has produced an account for the events of the weekend to which Anne

does not agree. Anne therefore initiates a story starting in line 1 below.

2. [Talkbank | Samtalebank | Sam2 | anne\_og\_beate | 137-170]

- 1 ANN: du: tog hjem få sagde  
*you went home and said*
- 2 ANN: ↑så kom hjem til mig  
*then come over to my place*
- 3 ANN: ↓så sidder vi å drikker der↘  
*then we'll sit and drink there*
- 4 ANN: så fringer jeg til dig  
*then I call you*
- 5 ANN: Beate skal jeg komme hjem til dig.=  
*Beate should I come home to you*
- 6 ANN: =nej ↑vi: ↓er de er er allesammen gået  
*no we've they have all left*
- 7 ANN: så jeg ftager ned til mine senpaier↘  
*so I'm going to down to my senpais*
- 8 (0.3)
- 9 ANN: og så tænkte jeg okay  
*and then I thought okay*
- 10 ANN: så du skal stadig komme anne↘  
*so you should still go Anne*
- 11 ANN: okay det er fint jeg skal bare have noget at  
spi:sf  
*okay that's fine I'll just need something to eat*
- 12 ANN: å så ·hh fhva jeg så siger til dig  
*and then what I tell you*
- 13 ANN: ·hh i kan bare gå derned det er helt i orden  
*you can just go that's fine*
- 14 ANN: ·h men bare lige fring hvis i går,   
*but just call me if you leave*
- 15 ANN: fordi jeg gider ikke gå ned på lux falte:nf  
*because I don't want to go to Lux alone*
- 16 ANN: ·hh få ↑så  
*and then*
- 17 ANN: ·h så siger du ↑ne:j men< jeg er stadig bare  
↓skynd dig  
*and then you say no but I'm still just hurry*
- 18 ANN: ·hh å så (.) gør jeg mig klar,



We are here especially interested in lines 25, 36, and 37 which we will deal with in turn. As we will demonstrate, they are all uttered with a significantly higher pitch than the preceding utterances and likewise significantly above the respective speaker's normal register. As illustrated by figures 4 and 5 below.

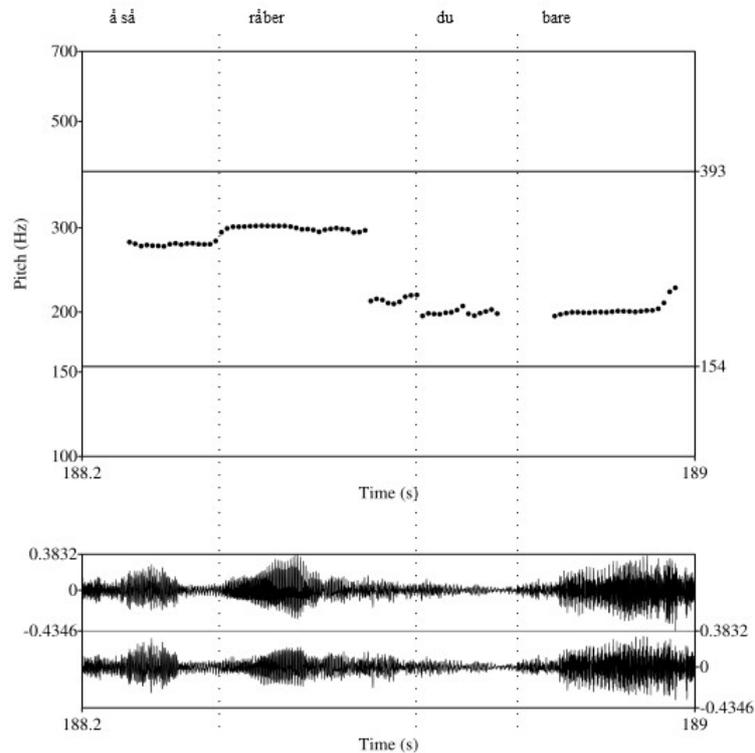


Figure 4: Illustration of line 24

In figure 4 we see an image of the utterance preceding line 25 (line 24: “å så råber du bare”; *and then you just shout*). We see that the utterance lies within the speaker's register (between 154 and 393 Hz). This is clearly not the case for line 25 as illustrated by figure 5 below.

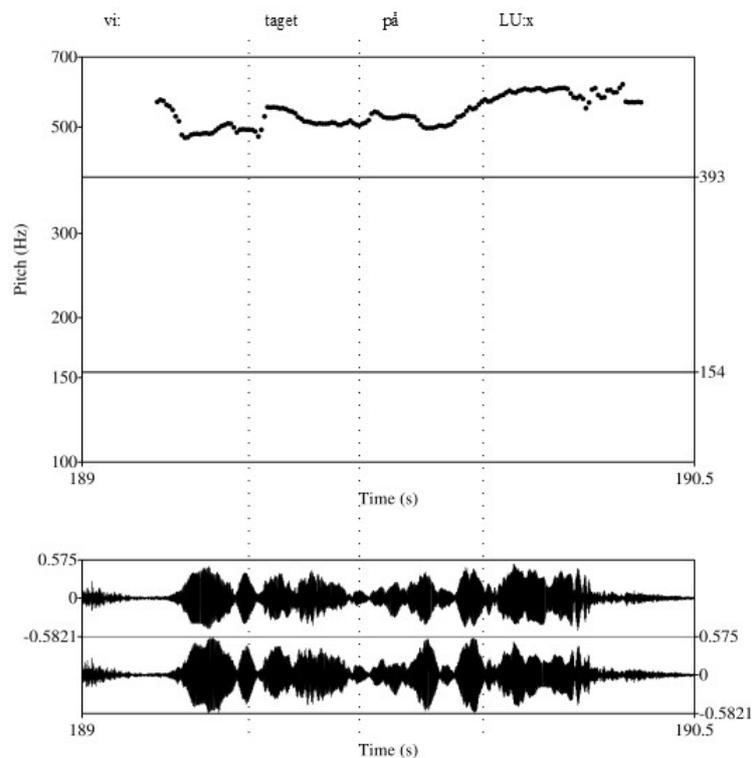


Figure 5: Illustration of line 25

Figure 5 clearly demonstrates how the utterance in line 25 (“*vi: taget på L U:x*”; *we’ve gone to Lux*) lies well above the speaker’s register. In fact, this is a full octave above the speaker’s register. We will now turn to look at the interactional function of this use of high-pitched voice.

As indicated by line 24, line 25 is presented as a report of something Beate has said. Reports of Beate’s talk also occur in lines 2, 3, 6, 7, 10, and 17. However, in none of these instances do we see a similar use of the high-pitch voice employed in line 25. Also, the reports in lines 2 and 3 and 17 are marked as reports by utterances using the verb *sige* (to say) - as in “*du: tog hjem Eå sagde*” (*you went home and said*) in line 1 and “*·h så siger du*” (*and then you say*) in line 17. In line 24 leading up to line 25, Anne uses the verb *råbe* (to shout) - “*å så råber du bare*” (*and then you just shout*). The use of “*råber*” over “*siger*”, can be seen as a build-up to the punchline of the story in line 25.

At the same time, line 25 presents an unexpected twist to the story which also adds to its punchline status. This can be seen from

lines 13 to 17 in which A presents an agreement between herself and Beate about meeting up before going to Lux. From line 25 we gather that this agreement clearly did not hold. Also, the use of exaggerated pitch portrays Beate as having acted out of control in the reported situation. In this way, Anne's utterance in line 25 insinuates that Beate is accountable for the miscommunication between the two. It should, however, also be noted that A is smiling during line 25. She hereby indicates that the story has "laughability potential" (cf. Ruusuvuori 2012: 346). The smile is reciprocated by Beate who also starts to smile during line 25. Although the two interactants are disagreeing, they demonstrate understanding of the discussion as a playful activity and not as something threatening their relationship.

Following line 25 is a pause of 0.6 seconds. This should be considered only a pause of verbal activity, as it is used by Beate to look down and bring her left hand up towards her mouth before coughing in line 27. At this point in a narrative an assessment of the story would typically be expected (Jefferson 1978: 244). Instead, however, Beate starts a second story indicating that she does not affiliate with the punchline put forward by Anne's story, but thereby also showing orientation towards the story as having finished.

Here too, we see Beate making use of exaggerated pitch in the lines 36 and 37. This is clearly shown in figure 6 below:

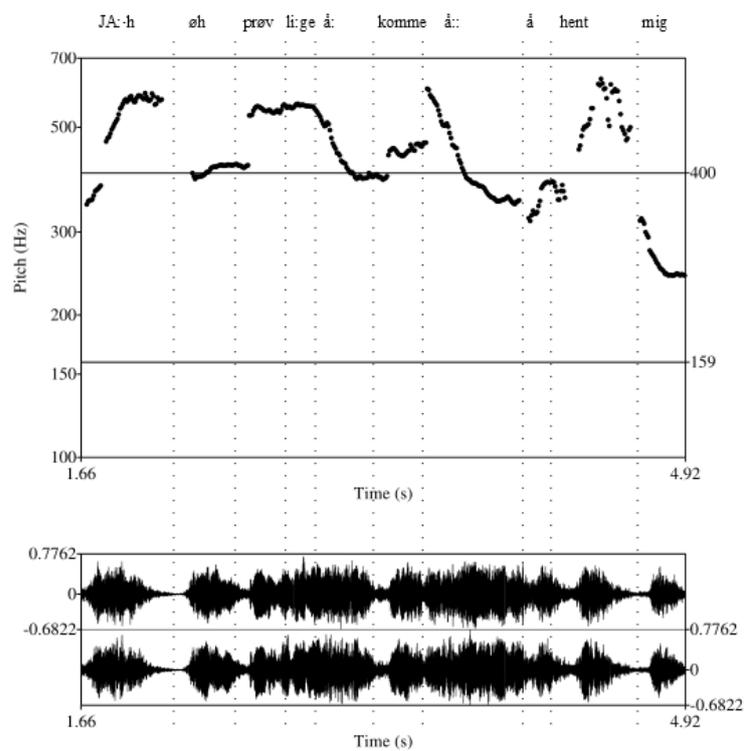


Figure 6: Illustration of lines 36 and 37

Figure 7 below illustrates the utterance in line 35 - i.e. the one preceding the report in lines 36 and 37.

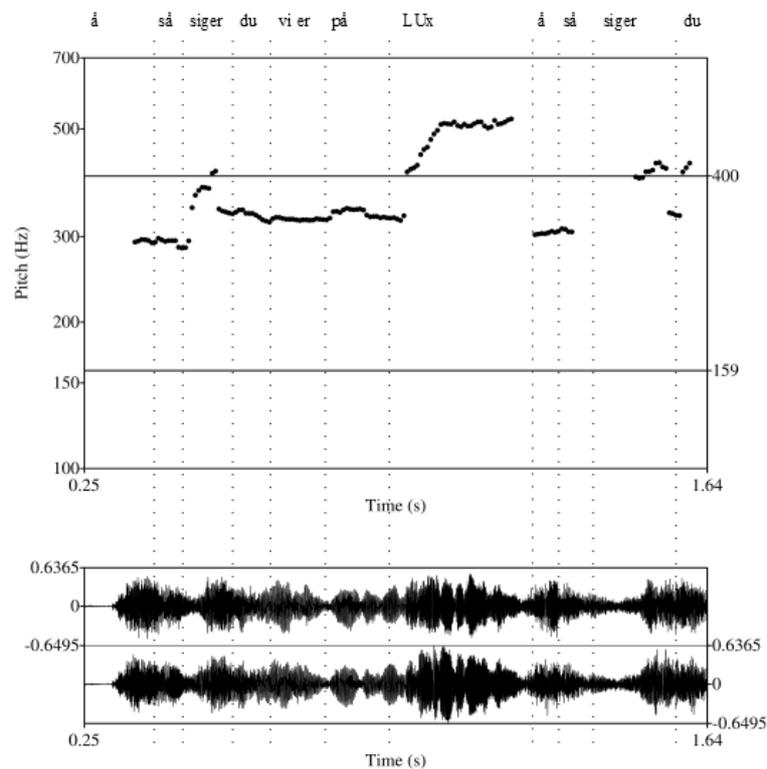


Figure 7: Illustration of line 35

To a large extent the use of exaggerated pitch in lines 36 and 37 has somewhat the same function as in line 25. It highlights the utterance as the punchline of the story. Like in line 25, both Anne and Beate start to smile by the end of line 37 indicating a mutual appreciation of the laughability potential of the story. It is also interesting to note how Anne disaligns with the point of the story in line 38. Hereby, she indicates that she understands the story as having finished even though Beate continues to elaborate on the story in overlap (cf. line 39). In this way, example 2 is similar to example 1 in that the story recipient orients towards the story having finished at a point where the storyteller continues to story. The story-recipients' orientation in these examples demonstrates how exaggerated pitch can function as a story-ending device.

#### 4. Discussion

In this section, we will discuss which conclusion can be made based on the analysis of the two examples above. One thing that needs to be taken into consideration is how the story is initiated and thus embedded in discourse.

The story in example 2 is initiated as part of a larger activity, namely a discussion about a miscommunication between the two interlocutors the previous weekend. It is also interesting to look at how the story is initiated in line 1: “d u: tog hjem få sagde”. Considering the discussion the story is a part of and how it is initiated, it is established that the communication between the two women is the theme of the story. In this way, it can be argued that line 1 projects that the story will be about Beate and her conduct on the evening in question. In this light, we can see Anne’s turn in line 25 as following the initial trajectory and thus as an expected climax to the story. As we have previously described, this is demonstrated through the use of exaggerated pitch and the build-up components preceding line 25. However, we can see that the conclusion to some extent is projected by the frame of the story. Thus, the climax of the story is not only locally constructed, but also projected at a more global level by the way in which the story is initiated and the larger units of discourse it is a part of.

We find some of the same mechanisms at work in example 1. We have previously commented how example 1 is framed as a second story to a story about cute children (cf. line 1: “jeg var os til fødselsdag i lørdags”; *I was also at a birthday party on Saturday*). This theme is made explicit in line 6: “to af hendes veninder har børn”. Thus, in the same manner as example 2, it can be argued that the conclusion to the story in example 1 is projected by the way the story is introduced. In this light, we see the use of exaggerated pitch as pointing out that the projected conclusion to the story has been reached and that the story therefore has reached its end. This is similar to findings by Larsen on how lexical re-use of story-openings can indicate that a point where the story can end has been reached (2005).

We will not argue that the use of exaggerated pitch at all times work as a story-ending device. It would seem that the context in which it is employed also has something to say. However, based on the two examples presented in this paper, we will argue that one of

the things exaggerated pitch *can* do is to highlight the punchline of a story.

We acknowledge that exaggerated pitch can do a lot more interactionally than what we have been able to cover in this paper. It could, for example, be interesting to investigate exaggerated pitch as a membership categorization device (cf. Sacks 1992a: 40). Also, it could be interesting to investigate the use of exaggerated pitch used by speakers of different age and gender than presented here. For this paper we have only showed examples of female speakers in their twenties. The people whose speech has been reported in an exaggerated pitch voice have been either female or children of both genders. In our corpus we also find examples of male speakers doing reported speech in a high pitched voice, but further research could delve more into possible gender differences between who can report in this voice and who can be reported. Given that the male register is lower than the female register, we suspect that reporting males' speech in a high pitched voice might have a different meaning than what we have portrayed here. However, the only instances we have of males being reported with exaggerated pitch are instances of them reporting their own speech. Also, we have yet to find the resource used by older people, which could indicate that age is a factor when it comes to how widely used this resource is.

## 5. Conclusion

In this paper, we have investigated exaggerated pitch or high-pitched voice used in interaction. We suggest that exaggerated pitch in reported speech can be employed as a story-ending device by highlighting the punchline of the story. We have analysed two examples of stories in which the storytellers employ exaggerated pitch when doing a report of someone's speech. In both cases we find the story recipients orient towards the high-pitched utterance as the punchline of the story by either making an assessment of the story or by initiating a second story.

When comparing the two examples, we find that in both cases the conclusion to the story can be seen as projected by how the story is introduced. We thus find that context as well is of importance when considering how exaggerated pitch is employed in interaction. While acknowledging that exaggerated pitch is not at all times a story-ending device, it is at least an action that it *can* perform when used.

For future research, it would be interesting to investigate other uses of exaggerated pitch in interaction. At the same time, we suggest that further research into this phenomenon should take the demographic background of both the speakers reporting and the people whose speech is being reported into consideration. We believe that this can help in clarifying how widespread the use of this resource is within the speech community and whether there are any constraints relating to gender and/or age.

### Works cited

Arminen, Ilkka. 2004. Second stories: the salience of interpersonal communication for mutual help in Alcoholics Anonymous. *Journal of Pragmatics* 36: 319-347.

Boersma, Paul & David Weenink. 2009. *Praat: doing phonetics by computer (Version 5.3.44)* [Computer program]. Retrieved April 10, 2013, from <http://www.praat.org/>

Brøcker, K.K., M.G.T. Hamann, M. Jørgensen, S.B. Lange, N.H. Mikkelsen and J. Steensig. 2012. Samtalesprogets grammatik. *NyS* 42:10-40.

Hamann, M.G.T., S.B. Lange, K.K. Brøcker. 2010. Tunge led i forfeltet og ekstraposition - et fænomen i dansk talesprogsgrammatik [summary]. In: *13. Møde om Udforskning af Dansk Sprog*. Aarhus: Nordisk Institut, Aarhus Universitet, 171-177.

Hamann, M.G.T., M.H. Kragelund and N.H. Mikkelsen. 2012. Konversationsanalysen som værktøj til analyse af sproglig variation. In: P. Henriksen & J. Heegård Petersen (eds.) *Speech in Action: Proceedings of the 1st SJUSK Conference on Contemporary Speech Habits*. Frederiksberg: Forlaget Samfundslitteratur.

Jefferson, Gail. 2004. Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction. In: Gene H. Lerner (ed.) *Conversation Analysis: Studies from the first generation*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 13-31.

Jefferson, Gail. 1978. Sequential aspects of storytelling in conversation. In J. Schenkein (Ed.), *Studies in the organization of conversational interaction*. New York: Academic Press: 219–248

Kjærbeck, Susanne & Asmuß, Birte. 2005. Negotiating meaning in narratives: An investigation of the interactional construction of the punchline and the post punchline sequences. *Narrative Inquiry* (15: 1): 1-24

Larsen, Tine. 2005. Leksikalsk genanvendelse : En ressource til synliggørelse af historiers afslutning. MOVIN working papers.

Linell, Per. 2005. *The written language bias. Its nature, origin and transformations*. London/NY: Routledge.

Mikkelsen, Nicholas H. 2010. Betydningsforskelle ved brugen af helsætningsordstilling efter fordi. In: *13. Møde om Udforskning af Dansk Sprog*. Aarhus: Nordisk Institut, Aarhus Universitet, Muds 213-224.

Ruusuvuori, Johanna. 2012. 16. Emotion, Affect and Conversation. In: Jack Sidnell & Tanya Stivers (eds.), *The Handbook of Conversation Analysis*, Chichester, West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell: 330–349.

Sacks, Harvey. 1974. An analysis of the Course of a Joke's Telling in Conversation. In: Richard Bauman & Joel Sherzer (eds.), *Explorations in the ethnography of speaking*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 337-353.

Sacks, Harvey. 1984. Notes on Methodology. In: Atkinson, M., J. Heritage (eds.) *Structures of Social Action*. Cambridge University Press.

Sacks, Harvey. 1992a. *Lectures on Conversation. Vol I*. Oxford: Blackwell

Sacks, Harvey. 1992b. *Lectures on Conversation. Vol II*. Oxford: Blackwell

Sacks, Harvey, Emanuel Schegloff & Gail Jefferson. 1974. A simplest systematics for the organization of turn taking for conversation, *Language* 50: 696-735

Samtalegrammatik.dk. Website launching on October 25 2013. Henceforth available through <http://www.samtalegrammatik.dk>

Schegloff, Emanuel. 1997. "Narrative analysis" thirty years later. *Journal of Narrative and Life History*, 7 (1-4), 97-106.

Schegloff, Emanuel & Harvey Sacks. 1973. Opening up closings, *Semiotica* 8: 289-327.

Steensig, J., K.K. Brøcker, C. Grønkjær, M.G.T. Hamann, R. P. Hansen, M. Jørgensen, M.H. Kragelund, N.H. Mikkelsen, T. Mølgaard, H.F. Pedersen, L.S. Sørensen, S.S. Sørensen & E. Tholstrup. 2013. The DanTIN project: creating a platform for describing the grammar of Danish talk-in-interaction. In: J. Heegård Petersen & P. Juel Henriksen (eds.) *Proceedings from SJUSK 2013: Conference on Spoken Language*.

## Corpora

*AULing*. Corpus of audio and video recordings of Danish interaction. Hosted at Linguistics, Aarhus University.

*Samtalebank*. Danish spoken language component of TalkBank. Available at <http://talkbank.org/samtalebank/>

## Appendix

Sign	Description	Meaning
:	Colon	Non-phonemic lengthening of preceding sound
h <u>u</u> n	Underscore	Stress. The more underscore, the more stress

·hhh	Flying dot	Following sound(s) said on the inbreath
f[å dem] [ja: ] →	Square brackets	Beginning and ending of overlapping talk
↘	Arrow pointing diagonally down	After utterance: Intonation goes down at the end
→	Arrow pointing straight ahead	After utterance: Intonation stays level
↗	Arrow pointing diagonally up	After utterance: Intonation goes up at the end
↑	Up-arrow	Before syllable with remarkedly high (pitched up) tone
↓	Down-arrow	Before syllable with remarkedly low (pitched down) tone
—	Flying line	Around stretches which are spoken in a high register
(.)	Dot in parentheses	Micropause: 0.2 seconds or less
(0.3)	Number in parentheses	Silences, in seconds with one decimal
lilleb-	Hyphen	Audible “cutoff”, abrupt cessation of sound
£	Pound sign	Around stretches of smiling voice
>ord<	Arrow brackets	Around stretches of fast talk
°	Degree sign	Around stretches of low volume talk
HALLO	Capital letters	Spoken with high volume
*	Asterisc	Around stretches of creaky (glottalized) voice
=	Equals sign	At the end of one line and beginning of another: spoken without any stop in phonation (“latched”)
()	Empty parentheses	Inaudible/Unidentifiable talk
Word	Word beginning with capital letter	Pitch reset