

List-Construction as a Task and Resource

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The occurrence of lists in natural conversation is examined to reveal some of the interactional relevances of such list productions.

The presence of three-part lists are first noted. Speakers and hearers orient to their three-part nature. The completed list can then constitute a turn at talk and the hearer can monitor the third component as a sign of turn completion. Lists can thereby be a conversational sequential resource.

By virtue of the three-part structure of some lists, members can orient to such matters as a "weak," "absent," or "missing" third part. Third items can be used to accomplish particular interactional work, such as topic-shifting and offense avoidance.

Further, a list can be constructed by more than one speaker. This feature may be used for a range of activities, including the achievement of interactional accord in situations of impending discord.

This report is a preliminary examination of lists occurring in natural conversation. It focuses upon the work which list-construction, as a task, allots to speakers, and some uses to which list-construction, as a resource, can be put by speakers.

1. *A first observation is that many lists occur as three-part units.*

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For example:

(1) [MC:I]

Sidney: While you've been talking tuh me, I mended, two nightshirts, a pillowcase? enna pair'v pants.

(2) [GTS:IV]

Roger: That was a vicious school there- it was about forty percent Negro, bout twenny percent Japanese, the rest were rich Jews, heh hhh

(3) [SPC]

Desk: And, ih- in general what we try to do is help people figure out what the trouble is, what kind of help they need and get it for them.

(4) [SBL]

Maybelle: I think if you exercise it an' work at it'n studied it chu do become clairvoyant.

(5) [GTS:III]

Louise: For three hundred years she's been giving him a w-mh bout ten white shirts, an' a coupla ties an' a suit.

This three-partedness shows up in its barest form in the listlike "triple singles" by which people indicate "muchness." For example:

(6) [Labov:BG]

Alice: "Well we're k-callin ar good friend Alice again en blah blah blah"

(7) [JG]

Maggie: Working working working you know how I do,

(8) [Frankel:US:I]

Carol: Did this phone ring? I dialed twice en it n- rang'n rang'n rang

(9) [NB:II]

Emma: They go on en on en on but . . .

(10) [SBL]

Chloe: God, she just kept lookin, an' lookin, an' lookin,

(11) [M:CB]

Linny: I've been eating'n eating'n eating but I'm not really hungry.

Three-partedness also shows up in elaborated forms involving three-part units as components of larger three-part units.

So, for example, in the following fragment, a three-part description is offered, of which the first part is itself a three-part list. The three description-components are set off in brackets.

(12) [Rose:Fairmount:I]

Bitsy: Gordy is there anything fer dinner,
Gordy: Yeh. [Porkchops mashed p'tatuh'n corn] 'n [everything's cooked.] [Awl y'haftuh do is heat it up.]

In the following fragment, a three-part list of "what you get" at a sale is offered. The third item of the list is itself a three-part list, consisting of two items and a "generalized list completer." (Some workings of generalized list completers will be considered shortly.) Again, the larger list-components are set off in brackets.

(13) [MFP]

Sally: There's this big meat sale, up in Paoli.
Andrea: Oh Go:d really?
Sally: A:n' whatchu get is [a side of bee:f, fer um a lower price?]
Andrea: Mmhm
Sally: Plus ā uh [fifteen pounds of chicken uh free?] Plus [fer a dollar more you get um uh five pounds of vea:l, o:r a choice of- or ten pounds of bacon? or y'know a whole range of things.]

And in the following fragment, a three-part description of an initiation test for a cavalry officer is offered. Part one is itself built of three parts. Part two is built of three parts, the first part of which is itself a three-part list. (An interesting feature of part three will be considered shortly.)

(14) [GTS:IV]

Roger: He was given [three bottles a'champagne, three horses, and three addresses of uh patronizing women] y'know.

And his object was tuh um [ride a horse t'one address, share a bottle a'champagne with'er, make love with'er,] [take the other horse t'y'know the next one] and then [the third one.]

An' if he completed it within, a certain period I think it was three hours or something, was a full fledged cavalry officer.

Three-partedness, then, is an empirically observable, recurrent phenomenon which shows up in various forms, including the "triple-single" format, and the elaborated three-part within three-part structures.

2. A next observation is that three-partedness appears to have "programmatically relevance" for the construction of lists. That is, roughly, lists not only can and do occur in three parts, but *should* so occur.

Two recurrent phenomena indicate the programmatic relevance of three-partedness for list construction. The first is: Three-part lists can be built of less than three items. The second is: Three-partedness can be found to constitute a problem for list-makers, for which at least one methodic solution is available and deployed.

First: Less-than-three-item three-part lists are recurrently constructed by occupying a third slot with a generalized list completer. For example:

(15) [JG:II(a):3]

Heather: And they had like a concession stand like at a fair where you can buy [coke and popcorn and that type of thing.]

(16) [Carey:Bar]

Ernie: I said no I know his name is something else. [Teddy'r Tom'r somethin.]

(17) [Adato]

Sy: Take up [m:Metrecal er, Carnation Slender er something like that.]

(18) [Labov:Battersea]

Rudd: Oh they come from [Jamaica en, South Africa'n, all over the place,]

(19) [GTS:III]

Dan: Y:know, the 'bility for a person to [pass for twenny one, and buy booze, an' that sort of thing,]

(20) [NB:IV:10]

Emma: Did she [do the cooking en take over'n everything,]

Second: Three-partedness as problematic for list-makers can be seen in the following sorts of materials in which people appear to directly address the programmatic relevance of three-partedness for list construction by engaging in a search for a third list item.

Sometimes a third list item is found. For example:

(21) [Lamb Interviews]

Mr. B: It's not in the same league with [adultery, and murder, and — and — thievery,] but . . .

(22) [GJ:FN]

Aaron: things like [non-complete, non-objective, non — nominalized references] . . .

(An interesting aspect of the "search and discovery" procedure for third list members will be considered shortly.)

Sometimes a projected third list item is not produced. In that case, a methodic solution to the problem of three-partedness is available and used. The search for a third item is terminated, and the list is closed with a generalized list completer. For example:

(23) [Adato]

Jay: Samuel jus'takes things [casually en naturally en, — all that,]

(24) [Electioneering]

Keith: We were building, [camps, and airfields, and, uh, everything like that.]

This is not to say that generalized list completers are always and only produced as solutions to the problem imposed by the programmatic relevance of three-partedness for lists. A list constructed in the first place as [2 items + generalized completer] may do a specifiable sort of work, distinctive from lists constructed in the first place as [3 items]. A comparison of Fragments (1)-(14) with Fragments (15)-(20) suggests that [3 item] lists are "relatively complete"; i.e., the items named exhaust the possible array of nameables for the purposes to which this particular listing is being put. [This sort of work is dramatically evident in the "triple singles," Fragments (6)-(11).] In contrast, the [2 item + generalized completer] lists may be "relevantly incomplete"; i.e., not only do the named items not exhaust the possible array of nameables, but a third item would not do such work; i.e., there are "many more" relevant nameables which will not, and need not, be specified.

However, a list may be initiated as a [3 item] list, in the course of which it is discovered, either that an array-exhaustive third item cannot be found (i.e., only two relevant nameables have, after all, come to mind), or that any third item will not adequately exhaust the array (i.e., there are, after all, "many more" relevant nameables). In such circumstances, the list may be "revised" to a [2 item + generalized completer] list. One or the other circumstances may hold in Fragments (23) and (24).

Three-partedness, then, is not only an empirically observable, recurrent phenomenon which occurs in drastically simple and enormously elaborate structures, but appears to be the product of an oriented-to-procedure by which lists are properly constructed.

3. *From time to time it can be observed that three-partedness, as an oriented-to task, implicates and is implicated by another order of phenomenon, the "poetics" of natural talk.*¹ The shape of this phenomenon, and its import for the study of talk cannot be adequately explicated here. Roughly, it includes such activities as punning and "acoustic consonance" (e.g., rhyming, alliteration, etc.). And, roughly, such types of activity might be characterized as "sensitive to" a range of matters which are not being explicitly "attended in the talk."

So, for example, in his lecture of February 19, Winter 1971, Harvey Sacks proposes that words can be selected in "historically sensitive" ways; i.e., can be selected by reference to prior or projected events. They may have sounds which are similar to surrounding sounds. So, for example, in the following fragment a speaker proposes that he is "fascinated." The acoustic consonance between that word and the prior

series of [F]-initiated words ("foo faw," "forth," "fire," "forth") can have "selected" "fascinated" from among a range of alternatives.

(25.a) [Crandall]

B.C.: I have heard all this- foo faw back an' forth about,
uh couldn't fire the three shots in seven seconds an'
so forth an' so on. I am fascinated by this . . .

Or, a word may stand in a punlike relationship to surrounding words, as in the following fragment involving the contrast-class "stand"/"fall."

(25.b) [Lamb Interviews]

Mr. M: I voted for Cranston in the Fall, mainly because I
couldn't stand Rafferty.

Three-part lists turn out to be a rich locus of such "historically sensitive" selection. For example, in fragment 22 a searched-for third list item, "nominalized," starts with the [N/ah] sounds of the prior two list items and the pre-search item; i.e., "non."

(22) [GJ:FN]

Aaron: things like [non-complete, non-objective, non -
nominalized references] . . .

Recurrently, however, it is not third list *items* which stand in an observably "historically sensitive" relationship to just-prior talk (and massively, to prior list items), but generalized list-completers. Such objects belong to a class which Sacks refers to as "freely occurring" units of talk. These are units which are not constrained by, for example, specifics of reference, and which are selected from among multiple candidates.²

The following fragment is a dramatic instance. A generalized list completer, "and crap" (selected from among such candidates as "and stuff," "and junk," "and things," etc.) is acoustically consonant with a series of prior words, including the two just-prior list items ("committee," "cannot," "cakes an' candy" → "an crap").

(26) [SBL:3:1:7]

Nora: there's only one on the ways an' means committee, an'
I cannot serve on two because- 'hh all these [cakes an'
candy an' crap] thet I have . . .

In the following fragment, the generalized list completer "or so forth" is acoustically consonant with the prior two list items ("friend or family" → "or so forth").

(27) [SPC]

Desk: Is there anyone close to you [friend or family or so forth] that you could uh kind of be in contact with

In the following, the generalized list completer "the whole bit" is acoustically consonant with the repeated [B/it] sounds of the prior two list items ("build it," "it," "be," "it" → "the whole bit").

(28) [GTS:IV]

Ken: . . . to [build it the way he wants it to be, design it, the whole bit.]

In the following, the generalized list completer "what have you" is acoustically consonant with the [haa/yuh] series of the prior two list items ("half," "year" → "what have you").

(29) [Adato]

Jay: It would be a pity, y'know fer this guy, to, spend, uh [a half a year, a year, what have you] in jail.

In an earlier fragment, a search for a third list item is terminated and a generalized list completer is produced. That object is initiated with a [vowel/L] particle which appears in both prior list items ("casually," "naturally" → "all that").

(23) [Adato]

Jay: Samuel jus' takes things casually en naturally en, — all that,]

And in the following fragment, the generalized list completer "and junk like this" is initiated with a [juh] particle which is acoustically consonant with the last sound of the second list item ("change" → "junk").

(30) [GTS:II]

Ken: I go in there and [I uh put all the bottles in back and I uh give people change, and junk like this.]

Finally, in the following fragment, the generalized list completer "or anything else" is acoustically consonant with a [th/ing/el] series in the prior two list items ("talking," "talking," "health" → "anything else").

(31) [GTS:IV]

Dan: My idea at least in terms of [talking about normalicy, or talking about health, or anything else,] is . . .

Punlike relationships also show up. For example, in the following fragment, a list occurs in the course of a discussion of a Thanksgiving turkey. The generalized list completer "and stuff" not only invokes an activity one does to the turkey, but is in fact one among several other items which were bought on this occasion; i.e., "stuffing" would constitute an apparently-but-non-actually array-exhausting third list item, while "and stuff" proposes the list to be "relevantly incomplete."

(32) [NB:IV:10]

Emma: I brought [th'pie en the whip cream en stuff,] en they were gonna deliver the turkey.

And it may not be incidental that in Fragment (13) the generalized list completer for a list of foodstuffs stands in a punlike relationship to the appliance with which food is cooked; i.e., "range."

(13) [MFP]

Sally: Plus fer a dollar more you get um uh [five pounds of vea:l, o:r a choice of- or ten pounds of bacon? or y'know a whole range of things.]

The presence of acoustic consonance and punlike relationships as between list completers and prior list items can be sensitive to the fact that three-part construction constitutes a task and problem for speakers, where the need to produce a third list member triggers off a search through the surrounding talk (and recurrently, specifically the relevantly surrounding talk; i.e., the two prior list items) for resources out of which to construct that requisite third member.

A related phenomenon suggests that three-partedness, per se, can be "poetically" implicated in and implicative of list-relevant talk. In two earlier fragments, "non-actual" numbers (a fanciful exaggeration and an estimate, respectively), occurring in the environment of three-part structures, happen to be "three."

(5) [GTS:III]

Louise: For three hundred years she's been giving him . . .

(14) [GTS:IV]

Roger: An' if he completed it within, a certain period I think it was three hours or something . . .

In the following two fragments (one a continuation of an earlier fragment), this phenomenon shows up. Again, a non-actual number in the environment of a three-part list happens to be "three."

(28) [GTS:IV]

Ken: . . . to [build it the way he wants it to be, design it, the whole bit.] And that's not- that's not any three hour job.

(33) [SBL]

Maude: . . . about three weeks ago [we was up at Mariposa, an' up in the Mother Lode country we wen' all through those ghost towns.]

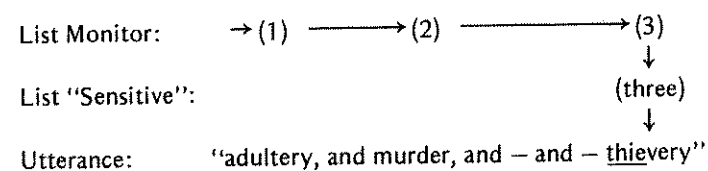
Estimates, exaggerations, etc., belong to the class which Sacks refers to as "freely occurring" units of talk. In the above instances, the fact that the estimates, etc., are freed from the constraints of specific measurement makes them available to other selectional procedures. Undoubtedly "three" is in and of itself a canonical "approximator" number. But it is at least possible that the occurrence of "three" in these instances is at least in part the product of a particular sort of selection procedure; a punlike selection which is, say, "task sensitive"; which locates the achieving of a three-part structure as a task to which these speakers are observably oriented.

In this light another earlier fragment may be reexamined as an instance of an observable orientation to three-partedness; that orientation becoming utilized in the search for and discovery of a third list item. In this case, the item seems to be the product of an intricate procedure in which acoustic consonance is operating on a punlike sensitivity to the task.

(21) [Lamb Interviews]

Mr. B.: It's not in the same league with [adultery, and murder, and — and — thievery,] but . . .

Here, we are not looking at the occurrence of "three." "Three" is not a possible list-completer for this particular list. What does occur is a possible list-completer for this particular list which can be characterized as having been selected from among a set of available alternatives (be it types of immorality/criminality or "synonyms" for this particular case; i.e., "robbery," "theft," etc.). The item which is selected turns out to stand in exquisite acoustic consonance to the "task sensitive" word "three"; i.e., "thievery." It might be not altogether unrealistic to propose as a schema of this production, something like the following.



The sought-for third list item, "thievery" might more reasonably be proposed as acoustically consonant, not to the proposed "list sensitive" "three," but to the actually present pre-list word, "league." But it is at least possible that there is an intricate "poetic" phenomenon occurring here, one which is implicated in and serves as a solution to a problem imposed by the programmatic relevance of three-part list construction.³

So far, the programmatic relevance of three-part list construction has been examined as a task and problem for conversationalists, for the solution of which they have a variety of resources. Now, one expectable feature of such a systematic procedural program is that it provide resources. And there are observable ways in which the programmatic relevance of three-part list construction serves as a resource for the conduct of conversation.

4. *The programmatic relevance of three-part list construction can be found to serve as a sequential resource.* Three-part lists constitute turn-constructural components. Specifically, list-completion can constitute utterance completion; i.e., a point at which another can or should start talking. Crucially, forthcoming completion is projectable from the point at which a list is recognizably underway; i.e., given two items so far, a recipient can see that a third will occur, and that upon its occurrence utterance completion can have occurred whereupon it will be his turn to talk. Following are some obvious instances of a recipient monitoring a list by reference to utterance completion.

(30) [GTS:II]

- Ken: I go in there and I uh [put all the bottles in back and
→ I uh give people change, and junk like this.]
Roger: → { Y'know.
Last Saturday night I downed a litre bottle of
champagne . . .

(34) [Adato]

- Matt: The good actors are all dyin out.
Tony: → They're all- they're all dyin out { yeah.
Matt: → { [Tyrone Po:wuh. Clark
Gable, Gary Cooper,]
Tony: → Now all of 'em are dyin.

(9) [NB:II]

- Emma: → They go [on en on en on] { but the:hh
Nancy: → { Yeu::h.

It can be noted for each of these fragments that when overlap occurs, for both sentences [as in Fragment (34)] and lists, it is as a result of a recipient starting up at a recognizable completion point and prior speaker latching various objects to his otherwise completed utterance [Fragment (30)'s "Y'know," Fragment (34)'s "yeah," and Fragment (9)'s "But . . ."]. In principle, then, a three-part list can be used to monitor for utterance completion and turn transition.

In the following two fragments, it appears that an intended three-part list gets into trouble. What is interesting is that the trouble can be specified: In each case, the speaker has produced a recognizable *two-part* list, upon completion of which, recipient starts to talk.

(35) [SBL:2:2:3:10]

- Claire: → I'm just gonna have either cheese cake, 'r a sundae,
Chloe: → { 'r-
That's it.
Claire: Yeah,

(36) [SBL:2:2:4:2]

- Bea: → I didn't know whether I'd be too early or too late
Vera: → { or ri-
No::.
Vera: No, well I guess . . .

In the case of Fragment (35), the list-prefatory "either" projects a two-part list. In Fragment (36), the two list items happen to belong to a contrast-class "early"/"late," and thus constitute an array which is adequately exhaustable by those two items.

And a predictable sort of trouble occurs for the "triple singles"; i.e., "the first" is heard as "an only." Such is the case in one of the earlier fragments.

(10) [SBL:2:2:3]

- Chloe: → God, she just kept lookin, { an' lookin, an' lookin,
Claire: → { Yeah, an'-
Claire: Uh huh, and she stee- starts to lead from her hand,

This fragment exhibits two features by which the recipient may be seen to be orienting to the "triple single" as a unit and as an activity. First of all, the recipient, having initially taken "the first" to be "an only," now hearing a second, understands that what is in progress is a "triple single," a three-part unit which she permits to go to its projected completion before starting to talk again.

Secondly, when the recipient does start to talk again, she produces a different token from the one with which she responded to the "first-as-only" item; i.e., she has shifted from "Yeah" to "Uh huh." Now, it is a massively recurrent phenomenon that a response which turns out to have occurred prior to completion of an ongoing utterance is "recycled" upon completion of that utterance.⁴ For example:

(37) [Schenkein:II:70]

- Ellen: Just on the straight. (·) { of the fabric.
Lori: → { Yeah.
Lori: → Yeah.

Roughly, the recycled response token proposes that the "early" response has turned out to have been adequate to the eventual utterance-in-toto; i.e., the additional materials were inadequate to revised response. In Fragment (10) the shift from "Yeah" to "Uh huh" is minimal (specifically, the tokens belong to a same "grade"), but it is sufficient to mark attention to and acknowledge the import of the additional materials (in this case, whatever it is that a "triple single" versus a "single" can accomplish).

Fragment (10), with its orientation to the three-partedness of the discovered "triple single," and its shifted response token which attends

the import of the "listing" of a single behavioral bit, stands in sharp contrast to the following fragment, in which a recipient observably attempts to override a "listing" in progress.

- (38) [NB:IV:15:2]
 Guy: But it was a:ll crappy en::uh {bulged u [p 'n::=
 Len: → {Yea:h. {Yea:h.
 Len: → =Ye:ah. 'hhhh {hh
 Guy: {end uh::- ih wz so high I couldn't put
 another tile down on top of it,

Here, the response is not positioned by reference to a "first" as a possible "only," but specifically when it is clear that a list has been initiated (and that the speaker is searching for a next item); i.e., after "en::uh." And, again in contrast with Fragment (10), the next response does not await list completion but starts up by reference to the second list item. Further, the response is a repetition of the initial token; i.e., it proposes adequacy of the initial response and inadequacy of the second list item to revised response.

Whereas in Fragment (10) the recipient is acknowledging the import of the listing procedure, per se, here the recipient is treating a "first" as, say, adequately projecting and representing the two subsequent list members. In terms of sheer "substance," such treatment is not without basis. A casual review of the materials points to such a feature as "adequate representivity" of prior list member(s) vis-a-vis subsequent(s). And in the following fragment, this feature is treated as problematic for the status it allocates to an Nth list member.

- (39) [NB:II:4:11]
 Nancy: And uh she's very creative. She sews'n knits'n plays th-
 She's a very accomplished pianist.

The de-listing of a projected third list item ("n plays th[e piano]") proposes as remediable and remedies the status which the adequate representivity of the first two items will allocate to the third. That is, it operates with and upon the fact that, as a third list member, "plays th[e piano]" will be heard as "similar" to "sews'n knits." The "free-standing" version ("She's a very accomplished pianist") specifically accounts for the preceding list-interruption as produced by reference to the "sameness" implicated by the list format. (The "informativeness" of this sort of "repair" will be considered shortly.)

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

An inspection of materials in which a three-part list is responded-to prior to completion tends both to support the proposal of programmatic relevance [i.e., Fragment (10) exhibits recipient orientation to three-partedness] and to bring to light some possible features of list production. So, for example, Fragment (10) indicates that an intended "first list item" can be heard as a single, non-list-implicative sentence component. Such an observation raises the issue of recognizable list-initiation as a problem, for which methodic solutions may exist. Or, for example, Fragments (35) and (36) indicate that on some occasion an intended three-part list can have features which recommend it as a two-part list. Such an observation raises the issue of "list-constituency" as a problem for which, again, methodic solutions may exist. And, for example, Fragment (38) indicates that a recipient can attempt to override a recognizable list-in-progress. This final observation raised the issue of the "adequate representivity" of prior for subsequent list member(s). And this feature will be focused on in the following consideration of programmatic three-partedness as an interactional resource.

5. *The programmatic relevance of three-part list construction can be found to serve as an interactional resource.* For one, a projectable three-part array can be "informatively" manipulated. Secondly, third list members can be encumbered with a range of businesses.

First: The manipulation of a projectable three-part array can be informative. So, for example, one can be recognizably "trying" to fill three slots and "having difficulty," as an accomplice to a denigration. For example:

- (40) [Adato]
 Bob: En this wine here is nothing but [alcohol, colored wa:ter,]
 — en that's it.

In this instance, a search for a third list item is terminated by an announcement of discovery that the two prior items are, after all, array-exhaustive. This fragment stands in sharp contrast to Fragment (39) in which, accomplice to a praising, a projected third list item is discovered, in the course of its production, to be inadequately represented by the prior two list items.

(39) [NB:II:4:11]

Nancy: And uh she's very creative. [She sews'n knits'n plays th-]
She's a very accomplished pianist.

In each instance, the exhibited "discovery" of adequacy or inadequacy respectively, tends to support the "case" being built. It provides that the object now under itemization is even more denegration- or praise-worthy than this speaker had intended to propose at the onset of the list; i.e., the "case" emerges from the shape of the list itself.⁵

In the following two fragments, "damning with faint praise" is achieved, in part by "having difficulty" finding items for a list of positive attributes.

(41) [Parker]

Janice: ehh hah! You make'r sound like a spiteful old witch. —
No, she's been [pretty nice en helpful'n] — I don't
know — [she's worked with me] . . .

In this case, a third list item is eventually produced, but it is observably "weak"; i.e., is more or less a recycle of the second item. In the next instance, a recipient collaborates in a coparticipant's failure to achieve a complete three-part list by turning to another matter.

(42) [SBL:1:12:25]

Marva: And she's really a lovely person. At least I like her,
I—you know what I mean, she's a [forthright,] uh, (1.0)
[hardworking,] you know,
Bea: Where's she from. Where did she train.

And in the following fragment, accomplice to a teasing, a possible two-item list is marked as possibly incomplete. The "missing" third list item is requested, and delivered a bit at a time.

(43) [GJ:ST]

John: Who all is over there.
Kitty: Oh, [Marcia and Judy] stopped by,
(pause)
John: Who else.
(pause)
Kitty: Oh, what's his name,

(pause)

Kitty: [Tom.]
John: Oh.

In the first place, an itemization of actual, such as this, is constrainable by candidates for itemization; i.e., there may in fact be no further listables. But, for one, a list-elicitor such as "Who all . . . ?" may expect a series, and there are ways to acknowledge and revise such an expectation, for example, by prefacing the "short list" with "only," "just," etc. Thus, the two-item list here may be designedly possibly incomplete; the two items possibly not exhausting the array of listables.

The possibility of a non-exhausted array not only raises the question which is asked ("Who else"), but may stand as a "clue" to why (at least) an other available candidate was not listed. One reason for non-inclusion might be that the current items are not adequately representative of (at least) that other. And possible non-represented attributes can be found; where, that they have been treated by lister as non-represented attributes can be informative (e.g., in this case, that the two current list members are female can locate that the other(s) might be male, and *that* this feature warrants such partitioning might begin to select out a or some particular male(s) from among many initial possibles).

As the interchange unfolds, it turns out, first, that the other is indeed, male, and then that male is identified. Whether or not the recipient has made an identification of that male, and whether or not that identification was correct, is not available in the fragment.⁶

In a range of ways, then, "weak," "absent," or "missing" third list members can be accomplice to a variety of interactional businesses. Third list members may also be the locus of special work; e.g., the expectable sameness provided by the adequate representivity feature exploited to design for "surprise," "punchline," etc.⁷ In the following two fragments, third list members are recruited to the service of such disparate activities as topic shifting and offense-avoidance, respectively.

(44) [NB:II:2:4(r)]

((re. the Robert Kennedy Assasination that week))

Nancy: Ya:h it's been a rough week ah everbuddy is (.) you know,
(0.2)
Emma: Mm,hm
Nancy: talkin about it'n e'rbuddy course I don't know
→ whether it's [that er jst that wir jst (0.2) completely
bogging down et work,h] 'hhhhhh=

Nancy: → =e_r whata W_I:H₁ WITH ME: WITH MY F_INALS?hhhh
 Emma: [Oh:: well ev_rybuddy's s a :d.
 Nancy: 'uh'u_h'u_h
 Emma: [OH] how'd yuh do with yer finals.

In roughest outline, a three-part list manages a three-step movement from one topic to a next; the first list item exhibiting departure from a prior, the third fully achieving arrival at the next, while at no point fully disjuncting from the prior. In slightly more detail, the first list item, "that," while it directly refers to the prior topic, tends recurrently to contrast with "it" or "this," and tends to convey "distance" in contrast to the "participatory" implicature of "it" or "this."⁸ The second list item, which includes a reference to speaker's circumstances, while it might be utterly unrelated to the prior topic, *can* be heard as related, and perhaps via the adequate representivity feature *should* be heard as related (in any event, recipient exhibits such a hearing with her "Oh:: well evrybuddy's sa:d."). The third list item arrives at an event for which speaker is focal, and while it manages to preserve a tiedness to the prior topic (again, in part via the sheer principaledness of adequate representivity), such a response as "Oh, I'm sure everyone's work suffered" would be dense to the import of "er whata W_I:H WITH ME: WITH MY FINALS?" (and again, in any event, recipient exhibits a "proper" appreciation of the third list item's import with her "OH how'd yuh do with yer finals."). The third list member, with its almost purely formal tiedness to the prior topic, has brought about a circumstance in which it is not this speaker, but the recipient who markedly disjuncts from the prior topic and recognizably initiates an altogether new business.

In the following fragment, third position in a list is used to introduce a matter which might give offense to coparticipant; a gift to someone other than coparticipant (who, as speaker's sister, is a strong candidate for a gift of this sort on this occasion).

(45) [NB:IV:10:46]

Lottie: → 'n then comin home [I bought, they had tangerines ten pounds fer a dollar, so I got [ten pounds=
 Emma: [Mm:::
 Lottie: → =en I got some casaba'n then I bought uh::, uh Edna back a box a'dates] [c'z,
 Emma: [Oh at's ni [ce.
 Lottie: [Yihknow=

Lottie: =[[she-
 Emma: [That's [nice Lottie,
 Lottie: [sh'fed the ca:t, ['n
 Emma: [That's beautiful.

Again, in roughest outline, by virtue of its position in the list, the gift to Edna is proposed as a "by the way," "afterthought" in the course of Lottie's buying bargains for herself.⁹ In slightly more detail, the feature of adequate representivity may be exploited here to convey without actually stating (and thus potentially lying) that all the items were bought on the cheap, including the gift.

That the gift is conveyed-but-not-stated to be a cheap afterthought can both pacify a potentially offended coparticipant and avoid arming her with "information" of just the sort that a disgruntled non-gift-recipient might pass on to a gift's recipient or relevant others.

Parenthetically, by reference to earlier considerations of the three-part list as monitorable for completion, and the "adequacy" proposals of recycled responses, it can be noticed that the coparticipant starts to talk at a proper place; i.e., immediately upon completion of the three-part list, thus overlapping an "account initiation," "c'z." While the initial assessment may be called for, and may specifically properly occur with such alacrity,¹⁰ the subsequent overlap-competitive recycle and escalation manage to recognizably disattend the explanation (which proposes not a gift, but a payment for services rendered) and propose that the "gift" was of sufficient status to constitute grounds for offense.

In a range of ways, then, a speaker can exploit the programmatic relevance of three-part list construction and the feature of adequate representivity, weakening/omitting or encumbering third list members accomplice to a range of interactional businesses. A final consideration turns to the ways in which list construction can be used by more than one speaker.

6. *A phenomenon which may be characterized as List Assimilation may be most simply stated as: A list can be constructed by more than one speaker.* The simplest form of List Assimilation is Additive Assimilation, in which a non-speaker of a list-in-progress becomes a party to that listing by adding member(s) to the list-in-progress.

So, for example, in the following fragment, a couple, each of whom tend to talk about their commonly-owned pets as "mine," are telling

a third party about their latest acquisition, a kitten.

(46) [Frankel:US:1:82]

Carol: → So I got th' dawg 'n, the k-parakeet,

Vic: → (en- [en the cat.]

Carol: [en the kitten.

Simply enough, a "link term" (like "and," "or") can be used to achieve partyship to a listing.¹¹ With this simple device a complex order of business can be invoked and managed, roughly having to do with "entitled current speakership" for an utterance and the matter to which it refers. The current considerations will focus on negotiated speakership. The issue of "entitlement" will be tracked, but not developed.

Following is another simple instance of additive assimilation. In this case, Martha has asked Emma for some advice on how to make tacos. As it happens, it is the advice recipient who starts listing ingredients.

(47) [NB:IV:3:1(r)]

Martha: → So- d'you need, you need uh hamburger, don'tcha.

Emma: Yeahhs [en you need [some: uh:;]

Martha: → [en- [s- s-] sh::] redded lettuce?

Emma: → Shredded lettuce, en chee::se,

Martha: Oh. Any s- particular kind?

Each next list item is prefaced by a link term (including the advice-giver's item-introductory "en you need some: uh:;"). A non-linked repeat acknowledges the correctness of one of advice-recipient's candidate items and is itself followed by a link-prefaced next list item.

Another issue in which "list assimilation" seems to be recurrently implicated is that of possible "dispute" (e.g., argument or correction). That issue will be tracked in the various fragments under consideration. Following are two dramatic instances in which sheer "assimilation" and "list assimilation" respectively, show up in environments of, first, argument, and second, correction.

(48) [M.Goodwin:9-15-70-11] ((dispute about the color of a bike))

Terry: orange,
(0.4)

Pam: Gol:d.
(0.4)

Terry: → Orange.

Pam: → It's gold.

Vincent: → It's mix'ed.

Terry: [OR::ANGE::,

Pam: Gol:d

(49) [GTS:IV:23-24(r):S]

Jim: He went right down on that fie:ld'n'e w'js sittin there
talkin like a nigger en all the guys (mean) all these

→ niggers er a:il [up there in-

Roger: → [You mean Ne'egro: don'tcha.

(.)

Jim: Weh en [ther all-ih-uh] The [r- ther A:LL up in the sta:nds

Ken: → [An' [j: g,] [hunh

In Fragment (49) a third party to a proposed correction from "nigger" to "Negro" uses a link-term-prefaced possible co-class item, "Jig," to propose that what is occurring here is, not correction, but listing. In contrast to Fragments (46) and (47) in which next items are positioned by reference to a list in progress, here, the link-term-prefaced candidate list item performs "retroactive listing." In the following fragments (50) and (51), another sort of retroactive listing, with another sort of link term, is performed. And in each of them, both "entitled current speakership" and "possible argument or correction" appear to be relevant.

In Fragment (50) Lorna is the grandmother of the little boy they're talking about. Lorna was visiting Gwen when Lorna's family showed up and were directed by a neighbor over to Gwen's house, where they spent some time. In this subsequent conversation, a key issue seems to be whether Gwen's incidental access to the child in question entitles her to assess him. At one point, the following occurs.

(50) [Rahman:B:2(14):3]

Lorna: Mindju eez good Gwenny, 'e wz mischeevius but w-'e wz good.

Gwen: → Oo 'e wz beautifful heahr [wuuzn't'ee.=

Lorna: [Yes.

Gwen: ='E wz verry well be [he:ved.

Lorna: [Yes. [E wz well behaved he:uh [too:.

Gwen: [Ye:s ther

luvly little boy:s,

Roughly: A proposal which might stand as contrastive and thereby transparent for its work vis-a-vis an entitlement dispute is, with the link term "too," proposed to be not contrastive, but additive. As it happens, the coparticipant has initiated a "no contest" response by reference to the contrastive proposal (i.e., simultaneously with the link term). Having initiated it, she does not cut off or otherwise acknowledge the work of "too"; i.e., from the standpoint of its recipient, the utterance in question remains contrastive/argumentative, and/but is not being argued with.

Similarly, in the following fragment, the link term "too" retroactively proposes "addition not contrast." In this case, one participant has found a new recipe for popcorn balls sprinkled with Jello powder, which she is telling to her recipient.

(51) [TCI(b):16:65]

- Linda: You c'd almos (·) y- I don't even think you'd haftih use
the Jello, that jis kinda gives it a [ittle bit'v] ::: =
Joan: → gives it co'lor =
- Linda: → =flavor :
Joan: { Yea: ah.
Linda: → { too, =
Linda: =jist a teeny bit { more fla } vor en =
Joan: { Ye: :: ah.
Linda: = 'hhhhhh But I thought oo tha' rilly sounded goo:d.

Focusing on the immediately relevant segment: The recipient produces a "collaborative utterance competition" thus at least becoming a party to, and perhaps claiming "current speakership" for, as well as possibly terminating, the utterance in progress.¹²

Teller, however, delays her own completion until recipient has reached completion, whereupon teller produces a completion component. The two completion items are different, and possibly contrastive. That teller's version has followed recipient's, and that it is not preceded by such a link term as "and" provides at least the possibility that teller's item is responsive to recipient's [cf. Fragment (47)]. And the observable difference between the two items may specifically implicate "dispute." On the other hand, that the item is produced as a syntactically coherent component of an utterance in progress can be exhibiting a "no hearing" of recipient's candidate, and thus, no argument with it.

Subsequently, both parties work to provide for the "no argument"

alternative. Recipient produces an acknowledgment token which, in effect, "deletes" her own prior talk and takes up teller's. Almost simultaneously, but perhaps specifically in response to recipient's display of "no argument," teller adds the link term "too," which provides that an item which heretofore constituted either a "no hearing" of or a "dispute" with recipient's item, is now properly to be heard as neither of those, but as an "addition" to recipient's item.

In both Fragments (50) and (51), then, retroactive list assimilation is used to provide for a "no argument" situation on the occurrence of items which are otherwise possibly argumentative. In the following fragment, both retroactive and additive list assimilation are used. Here again, entitled speakership may be relevant. In this case, Jessie has announced the death of a mutual friend. The news-recipient, Goldie, had not been in contact with the friend for some time prior to her death.

(52) [D.A.2:13:5]

- Jessie: I, I-I jis couldn't take the constant repetition of
uh: :: ::
Goldie: → { of- { of the same story. Oh don't I know =
Jessie: → =or how enla:rged it was or why huhr artery wz: five
times larger or this that, =
Goldie: → =en e v r y b o d y o w e s m e a l i v i n g ' n ,
Jessie: { the othuh thing, { 'hhhhh' hhhhhh k-
Jessie: Well uh- (·) uhhhh this is something that uh: : yihknow
uh evrybody owes huhr.

In terms of sheer speakership, most roughly: Something like a "single utterance" undergoes three changes of "current speakership."
1) Recipient produces a collaborative completion which terminates an utterance in progress with herself as its current speaker. 2) Teller, however, produces an item prefaced by the link term "or,"¹³ thus reopening the utterance as, now, a list in progress with herself as its current speaker. Subsequently, teller undercuts the "co-production" feature of this listing by producing a prototypical three-part list within her own utterance; a [2 item + generalized completer] format with the elaborated three-within-three structure considered earlier; i.e., the generalized list completer is itself a three part unit ("this that, the other thing"). That is, having deployed retroactive list assimilation to establish herself as a party to a list in progress, teller then moves to provide for sole speakership of an adequate complete list, which is specifi-

cally marked as “terminating” with herself as its speaker. 3) However, now it is the recipient who utilizes “listing” to reclaim speakership. She deploys the device of additive list assimilation, intersecting the list-terminal generalized completer with a link-term-prefaced next list item.

In terms of sheer speakership, each participant can be seen to be attempting to close off another’s utterance with herself as its current speaker, each attempt countered by a re-opening (and attempted close) of that utterance with prior speaker as, again, current speaker. In terms of “entitled” speakership, it can at least be noticed that the participant with recent access produces current, specific, news-relevant items, while the participant with lapsed access produces generalized, proverbial items, proposing them as equally adequate for speakership on this matter.¹⁴ It appears, then, that the speakership negotiation is, at least in part, addressed to the relevance of current, versus lapsed access.

In the following fragment, again, a candidate collaborative completion is retroactively assimilated to a list. The business here seems rather similar to that of Fragment (49) in which a third list member assimilates two “antagonistic” terms as list co-members. In that fragment it is possibly happenstance that the proposed third list member embeds the contentious term as a second, between two co-graded items [nigger, NEGRO, and jig]. But in the following fragment, a co-grade embedding is the product of visible work.

And again, “possible dispute” appears to be present and managed, and “entitlement” [of the equal-access versus categorial-privilege type seen in Fragment (50)] may be relevant. Here, initial speaker is the therapist in a group-therapy session and coparticipant is one of the patients.

(53) [GTS:1:2:34]

Dan: Well I do know last week that uh Mike was certainly very
(0.6)

Roger: → pissed [off,

Dan: → [upset, 'n pissed off, 'n angry,

The therapist intersects the patient’s candidate collaborative completion with a non-link-prefaced item which, as in Fragment (51), is alternatively a possible “delayed” completion of his own utterance; in effect a “no hearing” of patient’s candidate completion, or a possible response to that candidate; specifically, a grade-shifted alternative to it; i.e., a “correction” or “counter.” The subsequent production of a link-

term-prefaced repeat of the patient’s candidate exhibits both that a “hearing” has occurred, and that “dispute” is not occurring; i.e., again, as in Fragment (51), the activity of the moment is subsequently exhibited to be neither of the initial possible alternatives, but another order of activity; i.e., a “(co)-listing.”

In terms of achieved list organization, in this case, not only is a possible utterance completer retroactively assimilated to a list in progress, but the list is re-ordered. It is specifically initiated with an item of a different grade from the patient’s candidate, and thereafter the patient’s candidate is incorporated, as a link-term-prefaced second list item, whereupon a third list item is produced. The third list item is of the same grade as the list-initial item and thus the patient’s candidate is embedded between two co-grade items [upset, 'n PISSED OFF, 'n angry]. The obviously achieved grade-ordering here is very similar to the possibly happenstance ordering of Fragment (49) [nigger, NEGRO, and jig].

Not only can the retroactive assimilation deployed in both these fragments deprive a problematic item of whatever sequential implicativeness it might have had in its original sequential position, but the particular list-ordering can further operate upon it. The ordering can combinedly exhibit the item as mis-fitted and thus possibly inappropriate, while providing a “balanced weighting” across the list, which may propose an “impartiality” on the list-maker’s part. That is, a problematic item is in no way explicitly disputed, indeed it is observably being treated “impartially.” Its inappropriateness is simply there to be seen. Thus, in a manner similar to the “denegation” and “damning with faint praise” of Fragments (40)–(42), in Fragments (49) and (53) “inappropriateness” is exhibited by, and emerges from, the shape of the list itself.¹⁵

Finally, in the following fragment, an object which, on its occurrence, constitutes the proffering of an alternative term in response to a prior speaker’s two proposals, and thus might be, for example, a “candidate solution to a word-search” arrived at with the aid of two prior “clues,” or a “technical specification” of two prior “lay approximations,” or a “correction” of two prior “errors,” is reformulated as a “third list item equivalent to two prior list items.” Here, the initial speaker is a temporary employee, the coparticipants are permanent staff. Possibly at issue is, say, entitled access to technical terminology. The negotiation is conducted with exquisite economy; a free-standing item is consecutively assimilated to and partitioned from a list.

- (54) [Adato:5:1:s]
 Jay: I-I told Jim thet uh, I wz going to:: leave you my um,
 my box of, - thet I use?
 Sy: What box.
 Jay: → fer the slips? 'n papers?
 Jim: → Forms.
 (pause)
 Jay: → 'n forms?
 Jim: → Forms.
 (pause)
 Sy: Oh the, thē uh, thē uh, index deal
 Jay: Mm-hm,

Briefly: On its occurrence, the free-standing alternate term is not a member of the prior listlike series, its speaker not a party to it. The observable activity is the proffering of a correct term, possibly the doing of "correction." Prior speaker assimilates the proffered term to his own prior utterance by reproducing it, now prefaced with a link term, and preserving the intonation contour of that prior utterance. The "product" is: "Fer the slips? 'n papers? 'n forms?", a coherent, self-contained three-part list.

A slightly less economical and utterly transparent instance of this use of list-assimilation is found in the following fragment.

- (55) [O'Hare:B:JP:4]
 Leah: Ahn ahn ahn the mahrrjed men en the mahrrjed women ez
 bahd ez, bahd ez the chill, d-
 Maureen: → Ney wuhrss
 Leah: → and- n- wo:r:se.
 Maureen: → Yeah wuhrss, cause . . .

Here, a specifically counterposed item is list-assimilated and thus reformulated as an "additional" item. In Fragment (54) by means of list-assimilation, a free-standing possible correction of a prior utterance becomes a third item on a list. The correction-profferer becomes a contributor to a list initiated by a prior speaker; a list which, at its end, has its initiator as its current speaker; that current speaker having uttered each of its three items. In effect, the profferer of an item has become its audience. And, as list co-members, the various items now fall under the list-constructural principle of adequate representivity. They now no longer stand in such a relationship as [word-search clues

← candidate solution] or [lay approximations ← technical specification] or [errors ← correction], but as [list item 1 + list item 2 + list item 3], the first two items observably adequate to this listing and to this list's third list item.

With his subsequent free-standing repeat, the coparticipant can be seen to be orienting to and managing this treatment of his proffered alternative item. In contrast to Fragment (55), in which, although a repetition of the term in question makes its profferer once again its speaker, but an acknowledgment token at least formally accepts the status as list co-member of the prior "correction," and at least formally exhibits recipientship of the item this speaker had initially proffered, in Fragment (54) the free-standing repeat not only makes the initial profferer of the term in question once again its speaker, but partitions the item off of the list to which it has been assimilated, (re)reformulating it as, not "an adequate term of reference among others," but "the uniquely proper reference term." Via such a (re)reformulation, the prior items are, again, proposed to be inadequate. [This procedure may be seen as a next-speaker's correlate of the same-speaker "de-listing" seen in Fragment (39)].

The foregoing considerations indicate that list construction can serve as a methodic resource for the conduct of interactional negotiations.¹⁶ Specifically, a list may be partially characterized as a serial recycling of a given "turn constructional unit" (word, phrase, sentence, etc.), each unit consisting of or containing an item which is adequately representative of and adequately represented by each other unit's item. If a next speaker produces a possible "next list member," then the serial-unit-replication feature of list construction provides that what might otherwise constitute a "response to a prior completed utterance" can appropriately be seen as the "co-production of a list in progress," and the adequate-cross-item-representivity feature provides that what might otherwise constitute a "counterposed alternative to a prior utterance's item" can appropriately be seen as an "equivalent co-member with a list's prior item." Thus, a combination of list-constructural features can be exploited such that matters which might potentiate interactional discord are attendable to under the auspices of methodically exhibit-able interactional accord.

Summary

Preliminary observations of lists in conversation indicate that three-partedness is a basic structural principle, the construction of a three-

item list constituting a task for speakers, a task for the accomplishment of which methodic resources are available and used. Further, it appears that principled list construction serves as a methodic resource for the organization of conversational sequencing, establishing an analog to sentences and other "turn constructional units" and thus enabling the achievement of precise transition from a current speaker to a next. Finally, it appears that such list-constructional principles as serial unit-replication and adequate cross-item representivity can serve as methodic resources for the conduct of interactional negotiations. Specifically, that a potentially "counterposed response" can be reformulated as an "equivalent list co-member" provides a means by which matters implicative of discord can be managed under the auspices of accord.

NOTES

1. Over the course of his lectures, Harvey Sacks notices and develops the phenomenon of everyday "poetics." See, for example, Fall 1965, Lecture 7, p. 10; Spring 1967, Lecture 4, pp. 4 and 9; Winter 1969, Lecture 8, pp. 4-6; Spring 1970, Lecture 6, pp. 5-10; Winter 1971, February 19, pp. 1-5; Winter 1971, March 4, pp. 2-8 and 18-19; Winter 1971, March 11, pp. 3-12; Spring 1971, April 5, pp. 2-5; Spring 1971, April 9, pp. 11-12; Spring 1971, May 3, p. 13; Spring 1971, May 17, pp. 1-10; Fall 1971, Lecture 1, pp. 5-13; Fall 1971, Lecture 2, pp. 1-13; Fall 1971, Lecture 3, pp. 7-9 and 11; Fall 1971, Lecture 10, pp. 4-5; and Fall 1971, Lecture 14, pp. 11-12. See also, Sacks (1974).

2. See, for example, the lecture of March 4, Winter 1971, in which Sacks considers "expletives" as "freely occurring" units.

3. In a discussion of this domain of phenomenon, February 19, Winter 1971, Sacks proposes: "When you have an investigative aim such as mine, which is to try to discover sorts of detailed relationships that might turn out to exist, you must first permit yourself to notice a possible phenomenon. The question can then be asked, well, is there anything to it? Noticing it, you get the possibility of investigating it. Laughing it off in the first instance, or not even allowing yourself to notice it, of course it becomes impossible to find out whether there is anything to it."

4. For a consideration of recycled versus changed responses, see Jefferson (forthcoming).

5. Throughout his lectures Harvey Sacks notices and considers occurrences of interactionally informative "error." See, in particular, Fall 1976, Lecture 3, pp. 2-4, a discussion of a recognizably "unplanned rebuke." For the phenomenon in general, see, for example, Fall 1965, Lecture 7, pp. 8-9; Fall 1967, Lecture 9, p. 7; Winter 1969, Lecture 9, pp. 11-13; and Fall 1971, Lecture 2, pp. 11-12. See also, Jefferson (1974).

6. Specifically, while the "Oh" might indicate an "orientational shift" and thus propose that recipient had located someone else, it might also constitute an

"information receipt," opaque for his identification of that third list member. For some consideration of "Oh," see Heritage (1979).

7. For a consideration of third list members as "punchlines," see Sacks (1978).

8. For a brief consideration of this matter, see Jefferson, Sacks and Schegloff (in press).

9. For a consideration of the implicativeness of the ordering of report components for the hearable ordering of the events being reported, see Sacks (1972).

10. For some considerations of response-timings and their implications vis-a-vis interactional accord, see Pomerantz (1976), Jefferson, Sacks and Schegloff (in press), and Pomerantz (in press).

11. This sort of work is a version of the phenomenon, Collaborative Utterances, introduced by Harvey Sacks (see, for example, Fall 1965, Lecture 1, pp. 2-7; Fall 1967, Lecture 4, pp. 9-15, and Lecture 5, pp. 8-18; Fall 1968, Lecture 5, pp. 1-9; etc.) and currently being developed by Gene Lerner in his forthcoming doctoral dissertation.

12. A coparticipant starting up in the course of an utterance in progress may design his talk to achieve "current co-speakership"; i.e., to be saying the same thing at the same time, by formatting and positioning his talk in such a way as to "fit into" the utterance in progress at the point his talk starts up [see Fragments (46) and (47) for such a format- and placement-designed possibility]. Such is not the case here. Recipient's talk is not designed to "fit into" the utterance in progress at the point of overlap. Thus, it may specifically, designedly be claiming "current (independent) speakership."

13. "Or" provides a contrastive linkage [see, e.g., Fragments (35) and (36)] and might, on this occasion, constitute "correction" of or "argument" with the candidate completion item. In other materials, in which such activities are clearly relevant, "or" can be seen as obviously, or interestingly equivocally, operating as a "correction" or "argument" item. So, for example, it can be noticed that teller's proposed "next" list item ("how enlarged it was") has no local referent (data not shown) and is thus possibly deficient, and that the subsequent "why huh artery wz: five times larger" contains a candidate for the "missing" referent (i.e., "it" = "artery") and thus that "correction" is relevant as between these two components and the "or" which precedes the latter component is interestingly equivocal as to whether it is proposing "replacement" or "nextness." Thus, in this list-production, there are two problematic uses of "or." That the generalized list completer is also "or"-prefaced may be designed to exhibit that the activity of the moment is not 1) dispute and not 2) self-correction, but, across the utterance and its items, "co-production of a list," with "or" as the list-local link term. That the recipient's additive assimilation is prefaced, not with "or," but with "and" may exhibit a certain sensitivity to the problematic workings of the prior "or" series.

14. For a related discussion by reference to the phenomenon of Assessments, see Pomerantz (1976).

15. In this light it may be noticed that in Fragment (49) there is close acoustic consonance between a subsequent speaker's term and the term with which it may be seen to be achieving list-exhibited "affiliation"; i.e., [niGGer/jiG], and in Fragment (53) there is close acoustic consonance between a next speaker's term and the term with which it may be seen to be achieving list-exhibited "disaffiliation"; i.e., [PiSSed/uPSet]. That is, the "sensitivity" in these instances may

not merely be list-historical, but, specifically, interaction-historical.

16. It has been mentioned in passing that lists are recurrently implicated in negotiations vis-a-vis such an issue as "entitlement to speak on a given matter." Whether this implicature has to do with the status of a multi-party-produced list as a sub-class of "collaborative utterances," or whether there are some list-specific features which lend this organization, in particular, to such negotiations, remains to be seen. This report has not focused upon the work that list organization may be designed, in the first place, to accomplish, but rather upon the work which list-construction, as a task, allots to speakers, and some uses to which list-construction, as a resource, can be put by speakers.

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On Varieties of Closings

Graham Button

The examination of closing segments of telephone conversations provides us with a rich variety of closing types which are analyzed and classified in this paper.

Prior studies of closings by Schegloff and Sacks (1973), Davidson (1978) and Button (1980) are further extended in this work. These studies had described closings as having a four-part design—initial components offer and accept closings and terminal components produce and display termination.

Movement out of closings can also be made by the production of such sequence types as "arrangements," "solicitudes," "reason-for-call reiterations," and "appreciations." Some of these movements can be drastic and abandon the closing entirely. Some of the sequence types which achieve such results are "back-references," "in-conversation objects," and "topic initial elicitors." Such movements out of closings are examined in more detail in this paper.

The major findings of this work are that movements out of closings can produce a variety of closing types. Thus, the movements out of closings have an organization which can be described and analyzed. Within the varieties of closing types, Button shows that speakers can, in "delicate and systematic ways," negotiate for conversation termination or continuation.

This work expands our understanding of the termination phase of conversations and shows that the sequential organization of closings is both complex and orderly. Speakers are

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