Enacting 'Being with You'

Vocative uses of *du* ("you") in German everyday interaction

Pepe Droste and Susanne Günthner
University of Münster

The German second person personal pronoun *du* is commonly described as a deictic "shifter" or a T-address term, which is incorporated as an argument of a predicate. Exploring the ways in which participants use pronouns in everyday interaction, however, shows that these are not the only uses of *du*. In this paper, we examine vocative uses of *du* in German everyday interaction. Drawing on methods of Conversation Analysis and Interactional Linguistics, we will show that speakers use vocative *du* for the management of being 'with' the other in terms of alignment as well as affiliation. What *du* locally accomplishes, however, is sensitive to its positioning within the temporal unfolding of turns and sequences as well as to the sequential environments in which it is used. Our findings demonstrate the context-sensitivity of *du* and underscore the importance of linguistic resources for the interactional establishment and maintenance of social togetherness and sociability.

Keywords: address terms, pronoun, 2.PS.SG., turn design, sequencing, alignment, affiliation, social solidarity

1. Introduction

This study deals with vocative uses of the second person personal pronoun *du* in German everyday interaction. Second person personal pronouns have long been studied as "shifters" (Jespersen 1923; Jakobson 1957/1971), which are dependent on the interactive structure of communication and participant roles (Benveniste 1966). Most research on second person personal pronouns focuses on elements that occur as arguments of a predicate. For example, conversation analytic studies have shed light on second person pronouns being "recipient indicators" and serving as a resource for the management of turn-taking in multi-party interactions

(Lerner 1996, 2003). Using the second person personal pronoun in multi-party interactions clearly indexes that not all, but indeed *one* of the participants has been selected as next speaker – it does not, however, specify *which one*. Indeed, the second person pronoun needs to be combined with other cues like gaze to aid in the accomplishment of reference and addressing, disambiguating the speaker selection by binding auditive and visual modalities together.

For many years, streams of sociolinguistic and pragmatic research following Brown and Gilman (1960) and Brown and Levinson (1987) have been focusing on T/V distinctions and the implications of alternative pronominal forms of address for politeness. In accordance with these interests, much attention has been devoted to the structures of the German pronominal address system (e.g., Hickey 2003; Simon 2003), and the uses and ideologies embracing the present-day distinction of non-polite *du* and polite *Sie* (e.g., Clyne et al. 2009; Kretzenbacher 2010; Liebscher et al. 2010). Furthermore, 'non-prototypical' uses have been studied, e.g., uses of *du* as non-addressee deictic pronoun (e.g., Auer and Stukenbrock 2018).

Analyses of German everyday interaction, however, show that uses of *du* as argument of a predicate are not its only uses. For example, consider the following episode of a telephone interaction between two sisters, Tina and Marina. In the extract, the personal pronoun *du* is used three times. However, the occurrences have different syntactic status: whereas *du* is an argument in the reported speech frame in line 6, it is syntactically peripheral in lines 12 and 18:

(1) lAuDa ID 896

```
  01 Tina:    ja nee dem der muss sich wIrklich mehr RUhe antun;
              yes he surely needs more rest
  02 Marina: MUSS der auch;
              he must do
  03         der KANN [das auch/]
              he can that
  04 Tina:            [ja:::   ][::::::;                    ]
                        yes
  05 Marina:                   [ich hab ihm auch gesacht;]
                                I also told him
→ 06         ich sag du bist keine DREIßig mehr,
              I say "you aren't thirty anymore"
  07 Tina:   nee; (.)
              yes
  08         n=das- (.)
              and that
  09         marina das MERKT man SO.
              Marina you can notice that
  10         ich WEISS [das] wohl ne,
              I know that right
  11 Marina:          [ja;]
                        yes
```

```
→ 12        ja [das is nich so EINfach du;]
           yes it's not that easy du¹
  13 Tina:    [ich mErk das ja AUCH;    ]
               I realize that too
  14        (-)
  15 Tina:  ne,
           well
  16 Marina: ne,
           isn't it
  17        j[a:;]
           yes:
→ 18 Tina:  [du ] und [eh ]b;
             du and ehm
  19 Marina:         [ne,]
                      well
  20        [und-]
            and
  21 Tina:  [WIE ] war das jetz nochmAl-
            what happened exactly
  22        aNIta hatte geschrieben dass die carla VOLKner tot is,
           Anita had written that Carla Volkner is dead
  23 Marina: ja nee briGITte; (.)
           yes no Brigitte
  24 Tina:  ach briGITte hat das geschrieben.
           oh Brigitte wrote that
```

Not much research has been devoted to such 'non-prototypical' uses of *du* in German (as in lines 12 and 18) and to vocative or syntactically non-integrated personal pronouns in general (but see e.g., Biq 1991; Bladas and Nogué 2016; Droste and Günthner 2020). The instances of *du* in lines 12 and 18 are similar to nominal vocatives as in line 09 as they are grammatically optional² and appear in the same syntactic and turn-constructional patterns, being either pre-positioned (line 18), post-positioned (line 13) or standing alone. In Extract 1, vocative *du* occurs not only in different positions but also in distinct action environments: In line 12, *du* is used turn-finally, completing a statement in the course of the participants' mutual display of understanding and affiliation; whereas in line 18, it is deployed turn-initially preceding a topic shift. In this dyadic interaction on the phone, syntactically disintegrated *du* is completely redundant as a resource for the basic task of addressing as the participation framework renders the direction of talk transparent and knowable in advance. Thus, the question arises: what do participants 'do' when they use vocative *du* in interaction?

Interactional-oriented studies have contributed to a better understanding that vocatives are used "in the service of a variety of actions beyond addressing per se" (Clayman 2010, 163; for overviews see Schwitalla 1995, 2010; Günthner 2016;

---

1. Since rendering the vocative uses of *du* in the English translations is very difficult, we refrain from translating vocative uses of *du*. In the English translations they will be represented by using the German original *du*.

2. Note also the similarities with the occurrence of personal pronouns in pro-drop languages, where overt reference by using the second person personal pronoun is marked and used for specific actions (see e.g., Oh 2007).

Couper-Kuhlen and Selting 2017). Participants rely on vocatives for a plethora of purposes, e.g., displaying a profiled orientation towards the other (Günthner 2016, 2019), selecting next speakers (Sacks et al. 1974), ensuring recipiency (Lerner 2003; Wootton 1981), launching topic shifts (Clayman 2010; Rendle-Short 2011; Droste and Günthner 2020), mobilizing response (Droste and Günthner 2020), indexing sequential departure (Rendle-Short 2007, 2011; Clayman 2013; Butler et al. 2011), or accomplishing 'significance' or 'sincerity' (Clayman 2010; Günthner 2016). Since the early work of Wootton (1981), interactional-oriented studies add to the evidence that uses of vocatives in distinct syntactic and turn-organizational positions perform distinct actions (Lerner 2003; Rendle-Short 2007; Clayman 2012; Günthner 2016, 2019; Droste and Günthner 2020): While pre-positioned, turn-prefacing vocatives tend to be deployed in order to attract the attention of the addressee and to establish mutual orientation, post-positioned, turn-following vocatives tend to be deployed as stance-markers.

In the literature, vocative *du* is mentioned only sporadically, as an aside. The few references to vocative *du* point to the following two aspects: First, uses of vocative *du* may serve structural tasks of participation. As early as 1934, Bühler (1934/1965, 114) mentions the vocative use of *du* and calls it "Appellwort", i.e. a summons that precedes focused interaction, checking co-presence and availability of an addressee to attend to the projected talk for which s/he is selected as recipient. These observations are advanced by Auer (1996, 2005) who describes forms of syntactic "condensation" of the summons-answer-continuation sequence by the prefacing of turns with *du* allowing tasks beyond the establishment of co-presence and mutual availability to be accomplished:

> Since co-presence was established beforehand, the original function of the summons is also no longer valid; the pre-front field vocative can now take on a variety of contextualizing functions, such as to mark topic shifts or to introduce central or critical conversational moves. (Auer 2005, 29)

Second, uses of vocative *du* may also manage affective issues of participation, not only directing the attention of the addressee but also indexing relational closeness and social solidarity of speaker and addressee (Zifonun et al. 1997, 321, 925). Correspondingly, Kretzenbacher (1991) briefly describes *du* as an address term that verbally "nudges" the particular other and constructs a stance of other-attentiveness by metapragmatically glossing the direction of talk.[3]

Droste and Günthner (2020) is the only systematic study on syntactically disintegrated *du*. Their interactional analyses of everyday interactions add to the

---

3. Furthermore, vocative *du* may index registers of social personhood and conversational styles (e.g., Kretzenbacher 1991; Androutsopoulos 1998). In the following, we refrain from addressing this issue.

insight that participants use *du* for the management of a vast range of both structural as well as affective issues of participation. They provide evidence that *du* is "positionally sensitive" (Schegloff 1996; Lindström 2014; Auer and Lindström 2016) as it performs specific interactional tasks depending upon its position.[4] Furthermore, they show that the positioning within the temporally unfolding structure of turn-constructional units (TCUs) is intricately intertwined with prosodic formatting. Regardless of the position, the degree of prosodic separation from the turn proper correlates with the intensity of the break with what has immediately preceded and the necessity of local reorientation. Hence, turn-organizational and prosodic formatting of *du* is iconically linked with local contingencies (cf. also Couper-Kuhlen 2004, 2009). However, the study is limited to the use of *du* in specific sequential environments, i.e. new beginnings, repair in contexts of recognizable disengagement and stance-takings. The questions of how the heterogenous variety of actions performed in *du*-turns are related and what makes *du* serve as a local device of (dis)alignment, affiliation or both remain unanswered.

This paper extends Droste and Günthner's (2020) work on *du* to further sequential environments and uses methods of Interactional Linguistics and Conversation Analysis to examine in detail what participants 'do' when they use vocative *du* in social interaction. We draw on the distinction of alignment and affiliation (Stivers 2008; Stivers et al. 2011) to examine how *du* relates to the sequential environments in which it is deployed. Alignment involves the structural organization of interaction and refers to how well an action fits with the activity in progress. Aligning actions are ones "facilitating the proposed activity or sequence; accepting the presuppositions and terms of the proposed action or activity; and matching the formal design preference of the turn" (Stivers et al. 2011, 21). By affiliation we refer to the affective level of interaction, i.e., how turns relate to the affective stance displayed by the other. Affiliative actions are "maximally pro-social when they match the prior speaker's evaluative stance, display empathy and/or cooperate with the preference of the prior action" (Stivers et al. 2011, 21). The central claim of the paper is that vocative *du* proposes, solicits and displays alignment and/or affiliation as ways of being 'with' the other. This being 'with' may embrace (re)establishing joint attention, initiating disjunctive moves, indexing sequential departures as well as displaying and soliciting affiliation.

---

4. For brief notes on *du* see also Androutsopoulos (1998, 480).

2.   The collection

This study is based on large corpora of video- or audio-recorded everyday inter-
actions between speakers of German (face-to-face interactions, telephone- as well
as skype-interactions). Data are taken from the lAuDa corpus (University of Mün-
ster),[5] the KoMI corpus (Droste 2018), the publicly accessible database FOLK of
the Institute for the German Language in Mannheim, Germany,[6] and a corpus
from a reality TV-show (University of Freiburg)[7] that cover a very broad range of
settings and a large number of speakers of different ages and from many regions
within Germany. From these corpora, we collected all instances of *du* in which
du (i) is not an argument of a predicate and (ii) serves to indicate an addressee.
Thus, syntactically integrated uses of *du*, in which *du* is the subject of the predi-
cate (Extract 2), analeptic uses (Extract 3) and subjects of imperatives (Extract 4)
are excluded from the collection.

(2) lAuDa ID 896

```
01 Marina: ich sag du bist keine DREIßig mehr,
           I say "you aren't thirty anymore"
```

(3) KoMI 36_4_2017-06-21_4

```
  01 Maren: WAS für ne liga sEId ihr so? (.)
            in which league do you play
     Noah:  oberliga;
            oberliga
            (-)
→  Maren:   und DU?
            and you
            (-)
     Tim:   bezirks;
            bezirksliga
```

(4) BB96

```
01 Jörg: ja mAch du erst mal deinen KOFfer in ruhe.
         yes, do your bag in peace and comfort for now
```

Instances of *du*, which may be termed "pseudo-vocatives" (d'Avis and Meibauer
2013), were also excluded from the collection (Extract 5).

(5) BB66

```
  01 Vera: °hh oh lySANder.=
           oh Lysander
→ 02       du (.) PENner,
           you bum
```

Furthermore, cases in which the syntactic status of *du* was unclear, e.g. multiple instances of *du* at turn-beginnings (see Extract 6) were also left out.

(6) lAuDa ID 815

```
  01 Paula: ja:;
            yes
→ 02        und du du musst jetzt gleich LOS oder nich?
            and you/du you have to leave now, don't you
  03        schon?
            already
```

The interactions in which vocative *du* is used are all informal, involving family, intimates and friends engaging in a wide variety of everyday activities; working, having meals, or just chatting. Additionally, vocative *du* only occurs in interactional episodes in which the participants refer to each other with the non-polite pronoun *du* (not polite *Sie*). However, our data does not provide evidence that the distinction of so-called T-forms and V-forms invokes contextual dimensions that participants orient to when using vocative *du* in social interaction.[8]

Our collection yields more than 250 cases – both cases in which *du* is combined with other lexical elements (e.g., first names, interjections, discourse markers etc.) as well as cases in which it is not combined with other lexical elements. All cases were categorized based on turn construction. We found the following formats: (i) stand-alone *du* (occupying the whole turn and performing a social action on its own) as well as (ii) turn-prefacing *du* and (iii) turn-final/TCU-final *du* (not performing a social action on their own, but rather being a part of a TCU of a turn implementing a social action). Our data do not provide any instances of *du* within TCUs, i.e. parenthetical instances.

In the following sections, we present close analyses of uses of *du* in different syntactic positions and sequential positions and environments. First, we show that stand-alone *du* is used as a summons to (re)establish a joint focus of attention (Section 3). Second, we describe how *du* as a turn-preface, or as part of one, is used in different sequential environments to manage issues of alignment and affiliation (Section 4). Lastly, we focus on turn-final *du* as a device for indexing heightened involvement and mobilizing affiliation relevance (Section 5).

The transcription follows the GAT 2 conventions (Selting et al. 2011) and is enhanced by Mondada (2018) for nonverbal conduct.

---

8. But see Raymond's (2016) investigation of shifts between T-forms and V-forms in Peruvian Spanish, showing that participants rely on these resources to accomplish important elements of identity in the service of social action.

3.   Stand-alone *du*

In social situations in which the participants do not maintain a joint focus of visual and cognitive attention, vocative *du* may serve as a summons, with which the availability of an addressee to attend the talk for which s/he is selected as recipient is checked.[9] This is the case in the following episode which is taken from a reality TV-show. Joe, Bea and Jörg are sitting on couches arranged around a table and maintain an 'open state of talk' (Goffman 1981). While Bea is checking her mobile phone, Jörg is rolling a cigarette. The participants are asked to talk about a topic written on a card which lies on the table in front of Bea (see Figure 1A). Joe initiates the sequential reestablishment of a joint focus of attention. After his *so* gets no response (lines 02–03), he uses *du* to attract Bea's attention (line 04):

(7) BB 97 (Droste and Günthner 2020)

```
  01        ((open state of talk))
  02 Joe:   so;
            so
  03        (.)#
     fig       #Fig. 1A
→ 04        <<:-)> DU: +h° he->
                    du
     jörg              +shifts gaze to Joe->
  05        *(-)
     bea    *shifts gaze to Joe->
  06 Bea:   #ja[::?]
             yes
     fig    #Fig. 1B
  07 Joe:     [THE]+ma?
                topic
     jörg         ->+looks at his hands->
  08        (-)
  09        er*ZÄHL.
            tell me
     bea    ->*shifts gaze towards card-->>
  10        ((laughs, 0.8 seconds))
  11 Bea:   [ich +erZÄHL #nix; ]
            I won't tell anything
  12 Jörg: [(   +        )]
                ->+
     fig                  #Fig. 1C
  13 Bea:   <<reads aloud> lachen ist geSUND;
                           laughing is healthy
  14        aber wO hört der SPASS auf;>
            but where does the fun stop
```

Joe's *du* puts upgraded pressure for a response on an addressee (Stivers and Rossano 2010), providing a clear first-pair part of a summons-answer sequence, securing co-presence, and accomplishing joint orientation at turn-beginning (see

---

9. Goffman refers to focused encounters when speaking about "two or more participants in a situation joining each other openly in maintaining a single focus of cognitive and visual attention" (Goffman 1963, 89; see also Kendon 1990).
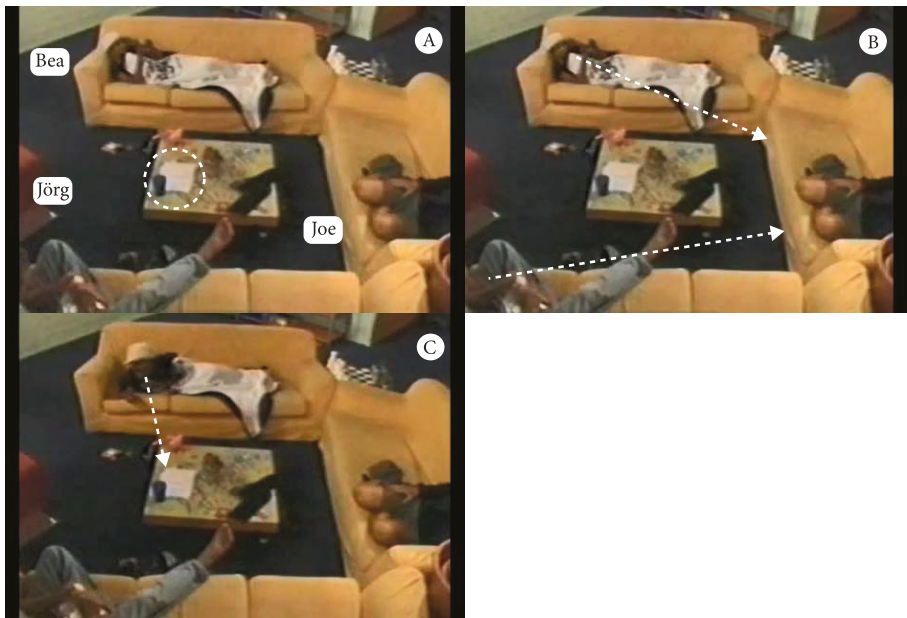
Figure 1. Joe initiates a joint focus of attention with Bea

Deppermann 2013). As a summons, *du* indexes that a *co-participant* owes recipiency, which makes it a more analytical attention-getting device than some other means like audible in-breath (Schegloff 1996; Mortensen 2009), pauses and restarts (Goodwin 1980, 1981), interjections, or body movements (Mortensen 2009; Mondada 2013a). The stand-alone *du* occasions "a visual search procedure by coparticipants to determine from the speaker's gaze just who the addressed recipient is" (Lerner 2003, 192): Joe's co-participants interrupt their activities, reorient their gaze to Joe, thus establishing a shared interactional space (Mondada 2009, 2013b; Kendon 1990), and display observable recipiency (lines 04–05). The fact that both participants display recipiency demonstrates that *du* does not specify a particular addressee – although it *does* 'indicate' (Lerner 1996, 2003) that an addressee and a particular participation framework (Goodwin and Goodwin 2004) have been proposed. This makes *du* (i) less analytical than vocative proper names (Lerner 2003) or touch and (ii) a more intimate way of summoning because it presupposes co-presence of the participants. We suggest that it is Joe's gaze which serves as the referential means with which the direction of his talk becomes clear and Bea is singled out as the addressee. (Unfortunately, the image section of the video recording does not indicate the direction of Joe's gaze at that moment.) By delivering the verbal second pair part *ja* ("yes") Bea displays availability for further engagement and ratifies the projected participant framework as well as her participant status as addressed recipient (line 06). In contrast, Jörg

withdraws his gaze, shifting it to his manual work and becoming an unaddressed recipient.

All in all, summoning with *du* initiates the sequential achievement of mutual orientation and the orientation to a shared interactional space, thereby (re-)establishing inevitable prerequisites that allow for the following accomplishment of what Goffman (1963, 98) calls a "we-rationale", i.e. a sense of doing a specific activity together (lines 07–14).

4. Du-*prefacing*

Prefacing turns with *du* establishes or reestablishes states of being 'with' the other as do summons with stand-alone *du*. However, the interactional accomplishments are critically particularized by the sequential environments and the types of turn, i.e., turn-beginnings that initiate a new action trajectory (Section 4.1), responsive turn-beginnings (Section 4.2), and turn-beginnings that expand a sequence (Section 4.3).

4.1 Prefacing turns that initiate a new action sequence

In first position, *du*-prefaced turns are recurrently used to launch new courses of action. Prefacing with *du* secures the availability of an addressee, thereby accomplishing an interactional prerequisite for producing the turn already underway. Additionally, *du* alerts the so addressed recipient that something noteworthy is to come. This can be illustrated by returning to the dyadic telephone interaction between the sisters Tina and Marina presented in the introduction as Extract (1). In the course of the participants' mutual display of understanding and affiliation, the sequence is brought to a point of possible completion (lines 14–17). At this point, it is not clear what comes next and who will take the next turn. Overlapping with Marina, Tina uses *du* followed by hesitation markers ("und eh;", line 18), initiating a topic proffering sequence:

(8) lAuDa ID 896

```
09 Tina:   marina das MERKT man SO.
           Marina you can notice that
10         ich WEISS [das] wohl ne,
           I know that right
11 Marina:           [ja;]
                      Yes
12         ja [das is nich so EINfach du;]
           yes it's not that easy du
13 Tina:      [ich mErk das ja AUCH;     ]
               I realize that too
14         (-)
15 Tina:   ne,
           well
```

```
16 Marina: ne?
            isn't it
17          j[a:;]
            yes:
→18 Tina:    [↑DU] und [eh-]
              du and ehm
19 Marina:           [ne,]
                      well
20 Tina:    ↓mh=[WIE ] war das jetz nochmAl;=
            ehm what happened exactly
21 Marina:    [und-]
                and
22 Tina     =aNIta hatte geschrieben dass die carla
            VOLKner tot is,
            Anita had written that Carla Volkner is dead
23 Marina: ja nee briGITte; (.)
            yes no Brigitte
24 Tina:    ach briGITte hat das geschrieben.
            oh Brigitte wrote that
```

With the *du*-preface, Tina self-selects as next speaker, disambiguates participant roles, and summons her recipient's attention to the turn to be produced. Subsequently, Marina indeed stops talking and joint orientation is interactively achieved. The beginning of a new course of action is supported by the disjunctive prosody of Tina's turn-preface. The preface is realized as a contour of its own. It features a nuclear accent on *du* and a high onset that is significantly higher than the prior turns and especially the turn proper, which shows a low onset (see Figure 2). The prosodic design of the preface supports indexing a sequential disjunction and projecting something new and noteworthy to come (Droste and Günthner 2020; Rendle-Short 2007; see also Couper-Kuhlen 2004, 2009).
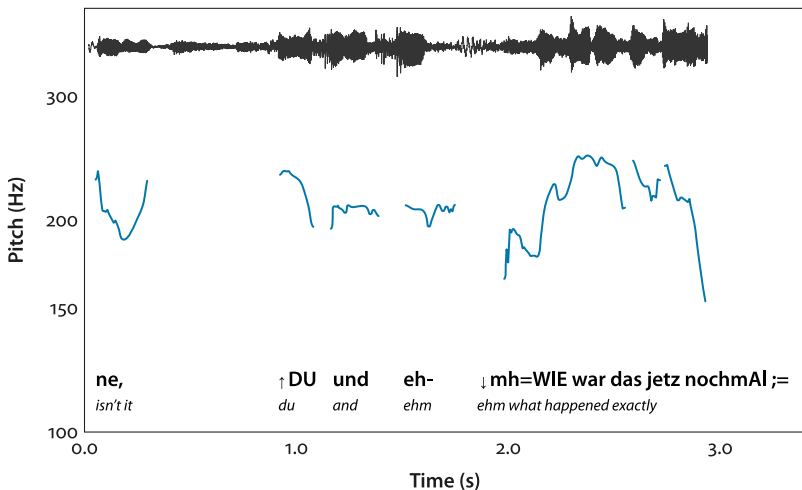

Figure 2. Pitch and oscillogram of lines 16, 18, and 20; interferences resulting from overlap were carefully removed from the pitch contour; f₀ (Hz) is plotted on a logarithmic scale

In multi-party interactions, launching new courses of action with *du*-prefaces requires referential means that make clear to whom the turn is directed. In Extract 9, taken from a dinner-table conversation between the couple Wolf and Beate and their guest Tim, Tim reports about problems buying a table via internet. During his extended recounting, Wolf is noticeably distracted by the flies which are buzzing around the pans, orients towards them, and begins to flick with his hand to make the flies go away (lines 03–05). Tim interrupts his telling when he notices that Beate – although nodding – also visually reorients to the local matter (see Figure 3A). The following pause (line 06) allows Wolf to come in and shift the topic to the intruding object (Bergmann 1990). He reorients toward Beate (Figure 3B) and launches a new course of action. His question "was WOLLT ihr noch Essen," ("what else do you want to eat"), which features the second person plural pronoun *ihr* ("you") treating Beate and Tim as a party, is prefaced with *du* + first name (lines 07–08).

(9) KoMI 65_3_2018-05-31_4

```
 01 Tim:    +Δ*schöner TISCH auch?
            nice table too
            +looks at Wolf->
    beate    Δlooks at Tim->
    wolf      *looks at Tim->
 02         (-)+
     tim     ->+
 03         aber *(.) äh- (.)
            but erm
    wolf       ->*gazes towards the pan and the flies->
 04         katas+TROphe weil   +die hatten eine sysTEMum*stellung,
            catastrophe because they had a system relaunch
                 +looks at Wolf-+looks at Beate->
    wolf                                          ->*chases after the flies->
 05         hab +Δ#zweimal    +ANgerufen beim suppOrt,
            called the help-line twice
                +looks at Wolf+looks at Beate->
    beate       Δgazes at Wolf's flicking hand and nods->
    fig          #Fig. 3A
 06         (0.6)*
    wolf        ->*
→07 Wolf:   #*↑du +beAte;=Δ
            du Beate
             *...orients towards Beate.>
    tim           ->+looks at wolf->
    beate              ->Δ
    fig     #Fig. 3B
 08         Δ=was WOLLT ihr #noch        +ΔEssen,*
            what else do you want to eat
            ...............--------------,,,,,,,,,,,>*
    tim                                  ->+looks at the pans
    beate   Δreorients her body toward Wolf-Δshifts gaze
            towards the pans and leans forward->
    fig                    #Fig. 3C
 09         *(0.6)#
    wolf    *stands up and starts clearing away the
            dishes->>
    fig           #Fig. 3D
 10 Tim:    achso willst REINmachen?Δ
            oh I see you want to clear away
    beate                         ->Δ
```

```
11 Wolf:  ja weil-
           yes since
12         hier und da sind alles die FLIEge da-
           here and over there are flies all over
13         das:: sOllten wir uns NET so [weisch,]
           we shouldn't you know
14 Beate:                             [ja     ]
           dann MACH_S nich,
           yes then don't do it
15 Wolf:  das zieht immer MEHR an?
           that is attracting more and more
16         (0.8)
17         dann machen wir es eher WEG.
           then let's put it away
18         Δ(0.6)
   beate   Δreorients towards Tim->>
19 Beate:  äh;
           erm
20         +(0.8)
   tim     +reorients towards Beate and pushes his plate away->>
21         naja KLAR, (.)
           well sure
22         aber was willsch_de mache;=gell?
           but what do you want to do you know
```


Figure 3. Wolf initiates the establishment of joint attention to the pans and initiates a new activity

The prefacing with "↑du beAte;", with its own pitch contour and featuring a high onset, projects a new course of action. It picks out Beate, the host, as intended addressed recipient and elicits her alignment (line 07). The recognizable body reorientations of Wolf's co-participants toward Wolf show that interactional conditions for recipiency are established. Beate begins to alter her body orientation from Tim towards Wolf and, in doing so, arranges an adequate shared interactional space; Tim also starts to shift his gaze to Wolf. However, Wolf only

visually attends to Beate to check whether she reorients to him (lines 07–08; see Figure 3C). Then all three shift their gaze towards the pans and establish joint attention (see Figure 3D). Subsequently, they deal with the matter of taking away the dishes (lines 10–17) before Beate reorients to the prior matter (lines 18–22).

4.2   Prefacing responsive turns to questions

In first position, *du*-prefacing is used to facilitate the smooth start of a new matter by securing the recipient's attention and, at the same time, to index the heightened significance of what is to follow. In second position, however, a first action has already established the conditional relevance of some specific next action or some range of relevant responses and, thus, both the direction of talk and recipiency have already been secured "as an intrinsic precondition of sequence organizational considerations" (Clayman 2013, 293). *Du*-prefaces in second position recurrently occur in question-answer sequences and project a significant sequential departure of the action made relevant by the question (see Rendle-Short 2007, 2011; Clayman 2010, 2013; Butler et al. 2011 on turn-initial address terms in second position). In the following extract of a skype-interaction between Paula, who lives in Germany, and Benno, who is living in Canada, Paula's yes/no interrogative "Is=es auch WARM bei EUch?" 'is it also warm with you' establishes the relevance of a type-conforming ('yes' or 'no') answer (see Raymond 2003).

(10) lAuDa ID 815

```
  01 Paula: Is=es auch WARM bei EUch?
            is it also warm with you
  02        (-)
  03 Paula: sieht so WARM aus;
            it looks so warm
→ 04 Benno: du paula JETZT grad- (.)
            du Paula just now
  05        ich dEnk das Is jetzt schon plus plus FÜNF oder so?
            I think it is plus plus five now or something
  06        [plus SECHS?]
            plus six
  07 Paula: [oh o      ]kay okay nein;=
            oh okay okay no
  08        =NICH warm he;
            not warm he
  09        (-)
  10 Benno: leider NICH;
            unfortunately yes
  11        aber ich mein für hIEr SCHON.[=also-]
            but I mean here it is so
  12 Paula:                              [ja;  ]
                                          yes
```

As Benno does not answer (line 02), Paula gives a reason for having asked the question in this way, applying more pressure on him to respond. Benno's following *du*-preface does not introduce a straightforward, type-conforming answer to

the question. Rather, it alerts Paula to an upcoming departure. Benno reports the temperature in degrees. In this way he avoids confirming the presupposed perspective on the scale embedded in the question and lets Paula infer whether or not it is warm (lines 07–08). Rejecting the polar question design enables him to sidestep the problem of relativity, i.e., that although it might not be warm for the interlocutor, it may indeed be warm for the place and time of year (see lines 10–11).

This kind of indexing of sequential departure is not limited to the projection of non-straightforward turns following yes/no interrogatives. In Extract 11, taken from the telephone interaction between two sisters (cf. Extracts 1 and 8), Tina asks Marina how old was a woman who passed away. After a rather long pause, Marina rejects epistemic priority.

(11) lAuDa ID 896 (simplified)

```
01 Tina:    °h wie Alt is die denn geWORden;
            how old did was she
03         (0.6)
→ 04 Marina: h° ((labial click)) du äh wAr die nich=ein bisschen Älter als MAma? (.)
            du erm wasn't she a bit older than mum
05 Tina:    dat kann wohl SEIN;=
            that's possible
06         =ich WEISS es nich genau;=
            I don't know for certain
07         =dann is die wohl NEUNzig wohl ge/
            then she turned ninety
08         öh wohl Über neunzig gewor[den ne?]
            oh over ninety, wasn't she
09 Marina:                          [ja Über] nEUnzig ne,
                                     yes over ninety
10 Tina:   [hm_hm,]
            uh hum
11 Marina: [mAma  ] WAR_s ja schon.
            mum already was
```

The *du* prefaces a response that is itself interrogatively formatted, extending its anchorage in the question and indexing uncertainty. Following indications of dispreference (a pause, audible breathing, and labial click), the *du* projects a departure from the ascription of epistemic priority by the person posing the question.

Co-participants commonly answer questions with *du*-prefaced responses when sequencing does not run smoothly and the subsequent turn shows some kind of departure from the expectations arising from the prior action. In such sequential environments, *du* allows for the local enactment of being 'with' the other and thereby reduces the interactive risks of the sequential departure.

4.3   Prefacing turns that expand an action sequence

A second sequential environment in which *du*-prefacing is regularly used and the availability of the addressee is not at issue are sequential expansions, when the possibility of disaffiliation is locally relevant. The *du*-prefaced turn expands the

action sequence by anticipating a possible but unarticulated divergent evaluative stance. In the following extract, the sisters Paula and Tamara redecorate Paula's room. Paula tells Tamara that the type of wallpaper she had when she was young is now available again. She amplifies this by referring to picture-wallpaper consisting of one big photo of a forest (line 02). After answering both Tamara's question concerning the kind of wallpaper she once had, and her subsequent skeptical request for confirmation (lines 05–09), the sequence arrives at a point of possible completion.

(12) FOLK_E_00217_SE_01_T_03

```
  01 Paula:   °h *Δ#des gibt_s jetz AUCH wieder;=
                   now it's available again
             >>*prepares the roller
     tamara      Δwatches Paula preparing the roller
     fig         #Fig. 4A
  02           =dass die ganze wand (.) EIn großes Δ(.) foto
               von einem WALD i[s oder so;]
               so that the whole wall is one big photo of a
               forest or something like that
     tamara                                     ->Δ
  03 Tamara:               [hh°     ]Δhm_hm,
                                      uh hm
                                    Δlooks at Paula->>
  04           (0.6)
  05           un was hattest DU,
               and what did you have
  06           *(0.8)
     paula     *looks at Tamara->
  07 Paula:   ja diesen #WALD; (.)
               yes that forest
     fig                #Fig. 4B
  08 Tamara: echt-*#
               really
     paula       ->*walks towards the wall and starts painting
     fig          #Fig. 4C
  09 Paula:   ja-
               yes
  10           (1.0)
→ 11           du ich fAnd des eigentlich auch SCHÖN-
               du I liked it actually
  12           ich KANNT es aber auch nich Anders,
               but I didn't know otherwise
  13           (-)
  14           ich mein meine Oma die würde (0.6) die KRIse kriegen;=
               I mean my grandma would freak out
  15           =we_ma ihr erzÄhlen (so) sie soll des STREIchen;
               if we were to tell her that she should paint that
```

Tamara's skeptical request for confirmation allows for the possibility that a negative evaluative stance could be taken towards the wallpaper. Paula's following *du*-prefaced turn treats Tamara's request as an invitation to elaborate by taking a positive stance towards the wallpaper, explaining why she had it, and noting that she was not the only person who liked it at the time (lines 11–15). The *du*-preface serves as an initial cue to the addressee and signals that the turn-in-progress anticipates a possible or not clearly articulated divergent stance towards the matter. By framing the turn as one dealing with concerns connected with the addressee,
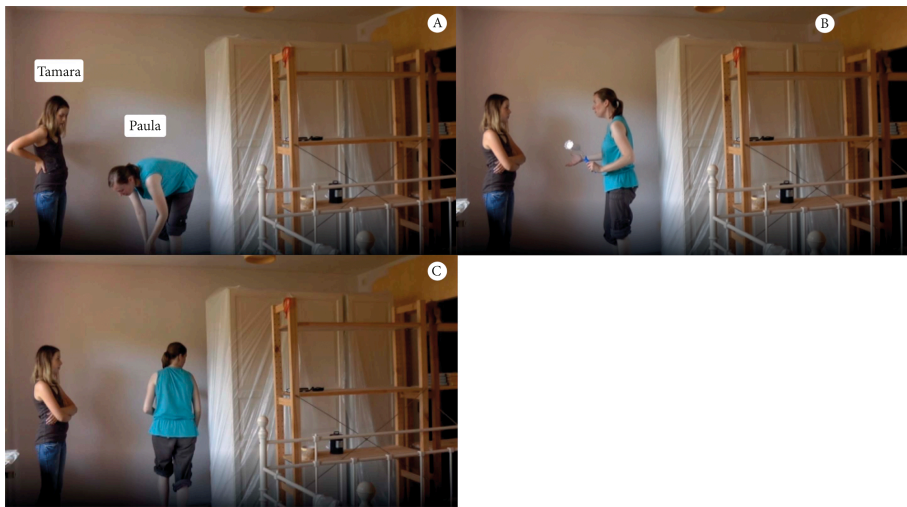
Figure 4. Paula and Tamara are redecorating Paula's room

the *du*-preface indexes a willingness to make one's own position accountable and serves to solicit affiliation.

A similar sequence emerges in Extract 13, again taken from the dinner-table interaction between Beate, Wolf and their guest Tim. Tim informs his recipients that in his new apartment the landlady will be living in the flat above him. His information is receipted only reluctantly (lines 03–04). By continuing the sequence with the disclaimer (Hewitt and Stokes 1975) that she is very discreet (lines 05–06), he treats the subsequent pauses and minimal acknowledgments as cues which indicate negative evaluative stances and elaborates on his stance towards the matter.

(13) KoMI 65_3_2018-05-31_3

```
  01 Tim:   *jetz hAm=wir aber die vermIEterin Δ+oben DRÜber;+
            but now we have the landlady upstairs
                                            +looks at Beate--+
      beate                                 Δlooks at Tim->
      wolf   *looks at his plate->>
  02         +(0.6)
            +looks at Wolf->
  03 Beate: oh +JA, (.)Δ
            oh yes
                      ->Δ
      tim      ->+
  04 Wolf:   h[m; ]
            hm
→ 05 Tim:   [aber] DU, (-)
              but du
  06         die is sehr dis+KRET; Δ(.)
            she's very discreet
                          ->+looks at Beate->
      beate                      Δlooks at Tim->
  07 Tim:   [also +die Δis die/]
             well she's she
```

```
                ->+
   beate            ->Δ
08 Beate: [ja das DENK    ][ich/]
          yes I think (so)
09 Tim:                    [du  ]+die is WIRKlich+Δ
          (-) auch- (.)Δ
                              du she's also really
                                 +looks at beate-+
   beate                                       ->Δ
          looks at Tim-Δ
10        also wIrklich keine +dumme +ΔFRAU, (.)
          well really no stupid woman
                            +looks at Beate+
   beate                    Δlooks at Tim->
11        die is [wirklich disKRET; ]
          she is really discreet
12 Beate:     Δ[nei:n.          ]Δ
                no
           ->Δshakes her head-----Δ
13        (-)
14 Tim:   und und koRREKT auch Δwie ichs erLEBT hab; (.)
          and and also respectable has been my experience
   beate                        Δlooks at Tim->>
15 Beate: ja;
          yes
```

Tim's disclaimer is prefaced by the adversative conjunction *aber* ("but") and *du*. Serving as an index of an adversative stance, this preface lends Tim's assessment of his landlady a quality of "'doing' *speaking from the heart*" (Clayman 2010; Günthner 2016; see also Couper-Kuhlen and Selting 2017). In doing so, Tim orients to a possible upcoming divergent stance towards the landlady and makes his own position accountable so as to maintain affiliation. Subsequently, Tim continues to provide increased effort in support of his positive stance towards his future landlady (lines 07, 09–11, 14),[10] which is acknowledged by multiple affiliative responses (lines 08, 12, 15).

5.   Turn-final *du*

Participants do not only rely on *du* as proper turns or turn-prefaces, but they also use *du* turn-finally and TCU-finally. Such post-positioned uses of *du* recurrently occur in environments in which stance-taking and affiliation is made interactively relevant (see also Droste and Günthner 2020). The following extract is taken from the telephone interaction between the sisters Marina and Tina presented above as

---

10. To deal with the overlap and 'survive' in the turn, Tim restarts several times and finally uses *du* in prefatory position (lines 07, 09). Much like restarting (Goodwin 1980, 1981), this form of *du*-prefacing summons his co-participants' (especially Beate's) orientation to speaker's turn (see also Rendle-Short 2007, 1513; Butler et al. 2011, 350). Subsequently, joint orientation to the turn is achieved as Beate 'drops out', namely stops talking (line 07), and establishes a state of mutual gaze (see Deppermann 2013).

Extracts (1), (8) and (11). Marina has informed Tina about her husband's illness and conveyed her personal stance that he has overstrained himself, reporting that she had reminded her husband of the fact that he is too old to do certain things (lines 05–06). After Tina responds by emphatically affiliating with Marina's position (lines 07–10, 13), Marina extends the sequence with a confirmation "ja das is nich so EINfach du;" ("yes, it's not that easy du"; line 12).

(14) lAuDa ID 896

```
 01 Tina:   ja nee dem der muss sich wIrklich mehr RUhe antun;
            yes he surely needs more rest
 02 Marina: MUSS der auch;
            he really has to
 03         der KANN [das auch/]
            he can that
 04 Tina:          [ja:::   ][::::::;                     ]
                     yes
 05 Marina:                  [ich hab ihm auch gesagt;]
                              I told him as well
 06         ich sag du bist keine DREIßig mehr,
            I said "you aren't thirty anymore"
 07 Tina:   nee; (.)
            yes
 08         n=das- (.)
            and that
 09         marina das MERKT man SO.
            Marina you can notice that
 10         ich WEISS [das] wohl ne,
            I know that right
 11 Marina:           [ja;]
                       Yes
→12         ja [das is nich so EINfach du;]
            yes it's not that easy du
 13 Tina:      [ich mErk das ja AUCH;     ]
               I realize that too
 14         (-)
 15 Tina:   ne,
            well
 16 Marina: ne,
            isn't it
 17         j[a:;]
            yes:
```

With the turn-final *du*, Marina retroactively demonstrates heightened involvement and commitment to her preceding personal statement. *Du* indexes affiliation with Tina, and contributes to the ratification of experiential sharedness, perspectival convergence and social symmetry.

However, it is difficult to determine whether turn-final *du* is a vocative indicating an addressee or a pragmatic marker.[11] Tackling this issue in dyadic interactions like Extract 14 is especially difficult. The following extract is again taken from the triadic dinner table interaction between Wolf, Beate and their guest Tim

11. For Mandarin, Biq (1991) describes similar forms of *ni* as addressing a participant role not an individual. In contrast, Bladas and Nogué (2016) argue that similar forms of Catalan *tu* are not vocatives at all but interjections.

(Extracts 9 and 13). Wolf asserts that he is "extremely full" and will refrain from eating. His turn as well as the two subsequent confirming assertions are tagged with *du* (by Beate; line 02 and himself; line 04).

(15) KoMI 65_3_2018-05-31_2

```
→ 01 Wolf: *+Δ#ich bin schon super SATT +du;
           I'm extremely full du
           *>>gaze toward his own plate->>
    beate   +>>gaze toward Wolf's plate-+shifts gaze to pan->>
    tim      Δ>>gaze toward his own plate->
    fig        #Fig. 5A
→ 02 Beate: ich Δ#kann AU=Δnich mehr #du;=
           I cannot anymore either du
    tim       ->Δshifts to Wolf's plateΔshifts to his own plate->>
    fig        #Fig. 5B            #Fig. 5C
  03        =also;
           well
→ 04 Wolf: heut=is schon (KRISse) du;
           today it's pretty wicked du
  05        (-)
  06 Tim:   ja;
           yes
```


Figure 5. The participants provide no additional cues (e.g. gaze) to clarify to whom the turns are directed

There are no indications that the instances of turn-final *du* are last-ditch efforts to retroactively secure the attention of an addressee. Furthermore, the instances of turn-final *du* do not single out an addressee as there are no additional cues (e.g. gaze) which help to clarify to whom the turns are directed (see Figures 5A, 5B, and 5C). Wolf's first turn in line 01, seems to be pointedly directed to both Beate *and* Tim. *Du* rather adds to the pressure on the recipients to respond, preferably with affiliation (see Stivers and Rossano 2010). After Wolf's

turn followed by *du* (line 01), Beate shifts her gaze to the pan and responds with an assertion that matches Wolf's position, treating his state of 'being full' as a mutual position grounded in shared experience (line 02). The echoed *du* indexes her commitment to the congruent position, adding to the co-construction of affiliation. Wolf confirms the "congruency of perspectives" (Schütz and Luckmann 1973) by expanding the sequence with an agreeing assessment followed by a further *du* (line 04). The turn-final *du* reinforces the interactively constructed affiliation and simultaneously invites further affiliation (note Tim's following confirmation of Wolf's position; line 06).

The extract shows that *du* is barely a recipient indicator. Instead of functioning as a vocative, it rather works more like a turn-final pragmatic marker, inviting and displaying agreement and convergence.

6. Discussion

This paper has analyzed non-prototypical, vocative uses of the second person personal pronoun *du* in everyday interaction. We have shown that vocative *du* is a resource for the management of being 'with' the other in terms of alignment as well as affiliation. However, the ways speakers actually employ *du*, are critically dependent on the syntactic and sequential contexts in which it is used. Our analyses of individual cases have shown contextual particularizations in a variety of syntactic and sequential environments. When recipiency is not ensured, stand-alone *du* provides a vocative device to summon the intended addressee and achieve joint orientation for focused interaction (Section 3). Within focused interaction, vocative *du* facilitates smooth interaction and perspectival congruence. *Du*-prefacing allows participants in interaction (i) to establish joint orientation to and project the significance of new courses of action and topical matters, (ii) to index departures from those expectations arising from prior actions, and (iii) to index the anticipation of divergent stances (Section 4). In environments in which the calibration of stances becomes locally relevant, post-positioned *du* is not employed as a vocative but as a pragmatic marker, which indexes a strong commitment to the preceding action and displays and/or solicits affiliation (Section 5).

The analysis presented here suggests the importance of linguistic resources such as *du* for the situated work of establishing joint orientation and maintaining affiliation in everyday interaction. Verbally displaying that you are 'with' someone, thereby eventually reducing the risks of threatening social solidarity, addresses issues at the heart of social togetherness and sociability (see Goffman 1971; Lindström and Sorjonen 2013). We have shown that this work is done

interactively, moment-by-moment, by participants, in and through turns and sequences. However, it is not *du* itself that accomplishes the variety of actions but its deployment in specific sequential and syntactic positions within the temporal unfolding of turns and sequences (see Deppermann and Günthner 2015; Deppermann and Streeck 2018). Our analysis demonstrates that the context-sensitivity of linguistic resources such as *du* reaches far beyond their use as shifters. Thus, in order to gain a better understanding of resources such as *du*, systematic analyses of their situated occurrence within turns and sequences are a *sine qua non*.

Acknowledgments

References

Androutsopoulos, Jannis. 1998. *Deutsche Jugendsprache. Untersuchungen zu ihren Strukturen und Funktionen.* [German youth language. Investigations of its structures and functions.] Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Auer, Peter. 1996. "The Pre-front Field Position in Spoken German and its Relevance as a Grammaticalization Position." *Pragmatics* 6 (3): 295–322. https://doi.org/10.1075/prag.6.3.03aue

Auer, Peter. 2005. "Projection in Interaction and Projection in Grammar." *Text* 25 (1): 7–36. https://doi.org/10.1515/text.2005.25.1.7

Auer, Peter, and Jan Lindström. 2016. "Left/right Asymmetries and the Grammar of Pre- vs. Post-positioning in German and Swedish Talk-in-interaction." *Language Sciences* 56: 68–92. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langsci.2016.03.001

Auer, Peter, and Anja Stukenbrock. 2018. "When 'you' means 'I': The German 2nd Ps.Sg. Pronoun du between Genericity and Subjectivity." *Open Linguistics* 4: 280–309. https://doi.org/10.1515/opli-2018-0015

Benveniste, Emile. 1966. *Problèmes de linguistique générale.* [Problems in general linguistics]. Paris: Éditions Gallimard.

Bergmann, Jörg. 1990. "On the Local Sensitivity of Conversation." In *The Dynamics of Dialogue*, ed. by Ivana Markovà, and Klaus Foppa, 201–226. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Biq, Yung-O. 1991. "The Multiple Uses of the Second Singular Pronoun ni in Conversational Mandarin." *Journal of Pragmatics* 44: 929–957.

Bladas, Òscar, and Neus Nogué. 2016. "'Que bé tu!': An Emerging Emphatic Use of the Second Person Singular Pronoun tu (you) in Spoken Catalan." *Pragmatics* 26 (3): 473–500. https://doi.org/10.1075/prag.26.3.06bla

Brown, Roger, and Albert Gilman. 1960. "The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity." In *Style in Language*, ed. by Thomas A. Sebeok, 253–276. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Brown, Penelope, and Stephen Levinson. 1987. *Politeness. Some Universals in Language Usage.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511813085

Bühler, Karl. 1934/1965. *Sprachtheorie. Die Darstellungsfunktion der Sprache.* [Language theory. The representational function of language.] Stuttgart: Fischer.

Butler, Carly W., Susan Danby, and Michael Emmison. 2011. "Address Terms in Turn Beginnings: Managing Disalignment and Disaffiliation in Telephone Counseling." *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 44 (4): 338–358. https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2011.619311

Clayman, Steven. 2010. "Address Terms in the Service of Other Actions: The Case of News Interview Talk." *Discourse & Communication* 4 (2): 161–183. https://doi.org/10.1177/1750481310364330

Clayman, Steven. 2012. "Address Terms in the Organization of Turns at Talk: The Case of Pivotal Turn Extensions." *Journal of Pragmatics* 44: 1853–1867. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2012.08.001

Clayman, Steven. 2013. "Agency in Response: The Role of Prefatory Address Terms." *Journal of Pragmatics* 57: 290–302. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2012.12.001

Clyne, Michael, Catrin Norrby, and Jane Warren. 2009. *Language and Human Relations. Styles of Address in Contemporary Language.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511576690

Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth. 2004. "Prosody and Sequence Organization in English Conversation. The Case of New Beginnings." In *Sound Patterns in Interaction*, ed. by Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen, and Cecilia E. Ford, 335–376. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.62.17cou

Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth. 2009. "Relatedness and Timing in Talk-in-interaction." In *Where Prosody Meets Pragmatics*, ed. by Dagmar Barth-Weingarten, Nicole Dehé, and Anne Wichmann, 257–276. Bingley: Emerald. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004253223_012

Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth, and Margret Selting. 2017. *Interactional Linguistics. Studying Language in Social Interaction.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

d'Avis, Franz, and Jörg Meibauer. 2013. "Du Idiot! Din idiot! Pseudo-vocative Constructions and Insults in German (and Swedish)." In *Vocative! Addressing between System and Performance*, ed. by Barbara Sonnenhauser, and Patrizia Noel Aziz Hanna, 189–217. Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110304176.189

Deppermann, Arnulf. 2013. "Turn-design at Turn-beginnings: Multimodal Resources to Deal with Tasks of Turn-construction in German." *Journal of Pragmatics* 46: 91–121. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2012.07.010

Deppermann, Arnulf, and Susanne Günthner. 2015. "Introduction: Temporality in Interaction." In *Temporality in Interaction*, ed. by Arnulf Deppermann, and Susanne Günthner, 1–26. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Deppermann, Arnulf, and Jürgen Streeck (eds.). 2018. *Time in Embodied Interaction. Synchronicity and Sequentiality of Multimodal Resources.* Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.293

Droste, Pepe. 2018. *Korpus ‚Multimodale Interaktion'* [Corpus 'multimodal interaction']. University of Münster.

Droste, Pepe, and Susanne Günthner. 2020. "‚das mAchst du bestimmt AUCH du;': Zum Zusammenspiel syntaktischer, prosodischer und sequenzieller Aspekte syntaktisch desintegrierter du-Formate. ['das mAchst du bestimmt AUCH du;': On the interplay of syntactic, prosodic and sequential aspects syntactically disintegrated formats of du.]" In *Prosodie und Konstruktionsgrammatik*. [Construction Grammar and Prosody], ed. by Wolfgang Imo, and Jens Philipp Lanwer, 75–110. Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter.

Goffman, Ervin. 1963. *Behavior in Public Places. Notes on the Social Organization of Gatherings*. New York: The Free Press.

Goffman, Ervin. 1971. *Relations in Public. Microstudies of the Public Order*. New York: Basic Books.

Goffman, Ervin. 1981. *Forms of Talk*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Goodwin, Charles. 1980. "Restarts, Pauses, and the Achievement of Mutual Gaze at Turn-beginning." *Sociological Inquiry* 50 (3–4): 272–302. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-682X.1980.tb00023.x

Goodwin, Charles. 1981. *Conversational Organization. Interaction between Speakers and Hearers*. New York: Academic Press.

Goodwin, Charles, and Marjorie H. Goodwin. 2004. "Participation." In *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*, ed. by Alessandro Duranti, 222–244. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Günthner, Susanne. 2016. "Praktiken erhöhter Dialogizität: onymische Anredeformen als Gesten personifizierter Zuwendung. [Practices of increased dialogism: Onymic forms of address as gestures of personified other-orientation.]" *Zeitschrift für Germanistische Linguistik* 44 (3): 406–436. https://doi.org/10.1515/zgl-2016-0022

Günthner, Susanne. 2019. "Namentliche Anreden in onkologischen Aufklärungsgesprächen: eine interaktional ausgerichtete Studie zu Formen und Funktionen onymischer Anreden. [Onymic address in oncologic briefings: An interactional-oriented study of the forms and functions of onymic address.]" *Arbeitspapiere Sprache und Interaktion (SpIn)* 82.

Hewitt, John P., and Stokes, Randall. 1975. "Disclaimers." *American Sociological Review* 40 (1): 1–11. https://doi.org/10.2307/2094442

Hickey, Raymond. 2003. "The German Address System: Binary and Scalar at once." In *Diachronic Perspectives on Address Term Systems*, ed. by Irma Taavitsainen, and Andreas H. Jucker, 401–425. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.107.16hic

Jakobson, Roman. 1957/1971. "Shifters, Verbal Categories, and the Russian Verb". In *Selected Writings*, Vol. 2, 130–147. The Hague: Mouton.

Jespersen, Otto. 1923. *Language. Its Nature, Development, and Origin*. New York: Allen & Unwin.

Kendon, Adam. 1990. *Conducting Interaction. Patterns of Behavior in Focused Encounters*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kretzenbacher, Heinz L. 1991. "Vom Sie zum Du – und retour? [From Sie to Du – and back?]" In *Vom Sie zum Du – mehr als eine neue Konvention?* [From Sie to Du – More than a new convention?], ed. by Heinz L. Kretzenbacher, and Wulf Segebrecht, 9–78. Hamburg/Zürich: Luchterhand.

Kretzenbacher, Heinz L. 2010. "‚Man ordnet ja bestimmte Leute irgendwo ein für sich…' Anrede und soziale Deixis. ['Man ordnet ja bestimmte Leute irgendwo ein für sich…' Address and social deixis.]" *Deutsche Sprache* 38: 1–18.

Lerner, Gene H. 1996. "On the Place of Linguistic Resources in the Organization of Talk-in-Interaction: 'Second Person' Reference in Multi-Party Conversation." *Pragmatics* 6 (3): 281–294. https://doi.org/10.1075/prag.6.3.02ler

Lerner, Gene H. 2003. "Selecting Next Speaker: The Context-sensitive Operation of a Context-free Organization." *Language in Society* 32 (2): 177–201. https://doi.org/10.1017/S004740450332202X

Liebscher, Grit, Jennifer Dailey-O'Cain, Mareike Müller, and Tetyana Reichert. 2010. "Negotiating Identities through Pronouns of Address in an Immigrant Community." *Pragmatics* 20 (3): 375–400. https://doi.org/10.1075/prag.20.3.04lie

Lindström, Anna, and Marja-Leena Sorjonen. 2013. Affiliation in Conversation. In *The Handbook of Conversation Analysis*, ed. by Jack Sidnell, and Tanya Stivers, 350–369. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Lindström, Jan. 2014. "On the Place of Turn and Sequence in Grammar. Verb-first Clausal Constructions in Swedish Talk-in-interaction." *Pragmatics* 24 (3): 507–532. https://doi.org/10.1075/prag.24.3.04lin

Mondada, Lorenza. 2009. "Emergent Focused Interactions in Public Places: A Systematic Analysis of the Multimodal Achievement of a Common Interactional Space." *Journal of Pragmatics* 41: 1977–1997. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2008.09.019

Mondada, Lorenza. 2013a. "Embodied and Spatial Resources for Turn-taking in Institutional Multi-party Interactions: Participatory Democracy Debates." *Journal of Pragmatics* 46, 39–68. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2012.03.010

Mondada, Lorenza. 2013b. "Interactional Space and the Study of Embodied Talk-in-interaction." In *Space in Language and Linguistics. Geographical, Interactional, and Cognitive Perspectives*, ed. by Peter Auer, Martin Hilpert, Anja Stukenbrock, and Benedikt Szmrecsanyi, 247–275. Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110312027.247

Mondada, Lorenza. 2018. "Multiple Temporalities of Language and Body in Interaction: Challenges for Transcribing Multimodality." In *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 51 (1): 85–106. https://doi.org/10.1080/08351813.2018.1413878

Mortensen, Kristian. 2009. "Establishing Recipiency in Pre-beginning Position in the Second Language Classroom." *Discourse Processes* 46 (5): 491–515. https://doi.org/10.1080/01638530902959463

Oh, Sun-Young. 2007. "Overt Reference to Speaker and Recipient in Korean." *Discourse Studies* 9 (4): 462–492. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445607079163

Raymond, Geoffrey. 2003. "Grammar and Social Organization: Yes/No Interrogatives and the Structure of Responding." *American Sociological Review* 68 (6): 939–967. https://doi.org/10.2307/1519752

Raymond, Chase. 2016. "Linguistic Reference in the Negotiation of Identity and Action: Revisiting the T/V Distinction." *Language* 92 (3): 636–670. https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.2016.0053

Rendle-Short, Johanna. 2007. "'Catherine, you're Wasting your Time': Address Terms within the Australian Political Interview." *Journal of Pragmatics* 39: 1503–1525. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2007.02.006

Rendle-Short, Johanna. 2011. "Address Terms in the Australian Political News Interview." In *Talking Politics in Broadcast Media. Cross-cultural Perspectives on Political Interviewing, Journalism and Accountability*, ed. by Mats Ekström, and Marianna Patrona, 93–111. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/dapsac.42.09ren

Sacks, Harvey, Emanuel A. Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson. 1974. "A Simplest Systematics for the Organization of Turn-Taking for Conversation." *Language* 50 (4): 696–735. https://doi.org/10.1353/lan.1974.0010

Schegloff, Emanuel A. 1996. "Turn Organization: One Intersection of Grammar and Interaction." In *Interaction and Grammar*, ed. by Elinor Ochs, Emanuel A. Schegloff, and Sandra A. Thompson, 52–133. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511620874.002

Schütz, Alfred, and Thomas Luckmann. 1973. *The Structures of the Life-World*. London: Heinemann.

Schwitalla, Johannes. 1995. "Namen in Gesprächen. [Names in conversations.]" In *Namenforschung. Ein internationales Handbuch zur Onomastik* [Onomastics. An international handbook on onomastics], ed. by Ernst Eichler, Gerold Hilty, Heinrich Löffler, Hugo Steger, and Ladislav Zgusta, 498–504. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.

Schwitalla, Johannes. 2010. "Kommunikative Funktionen von Sprecher- und Adressatennamen in Gesprächen. [Communicative functions of names of speakers and addressees in conversations.]" In *Eigennamen in der gesprochenen Sprache* [Proper names in spoken language], ed. by Nicolas Pepin, and Elwys De Stefani, 197–199. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Selting, Margret et al. 2011. "A System for Transcribing Talk-in-interaction: GAT 2. Translated and adapted for English by Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen and Dagmar Barth-Weingarten." *Gesprächsforschung – Online-Zeitschrift zur verbalen Interaktion* 12: 1–51.

Simon, Horst. 2003. "From Pragmatics to Grammar: Tracing the Development of 'Respect' in the History of the German Pronouns of Address." In *Diachronic Perspectives on Address Term Systems*, ed. by Irma Taavitsainen, and Andreas H. Jucker, 85–123. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.107.06sim

Stivers, Tanya. 2008. "Stance, Alignment, and Affiliation during Storytelling: When Nodding is a Token of Affiliation." *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 41 (1): 31–57. https://doi.org/10.1080/08351810701691123

Stivers, Tanya, Lorenza Mondada, and Jakob Steensig. 2011. "Knowledge, Morality and Affiliation in Social Interaction." In *The Morality of Knowledge in Conversation*, ed. by Tanya Stivers, Lorenza Mondada, and Jakob Steensig, 3–26. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511921674.002

Stivers, Tanya, and Federico Rossano. 2010. "Mobilizing Response." *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 43 (1): 3–31. https://doi.org/10.1080/08351810903471258

Wootton, Anthony J. 1981. "Children's Use of Address Terms." In *Adult–Child Conversations*, ed. by Peter French, and Margaret Maclure, 142–158. London: Croom Helm.

Zifonun, Gisela, Ludger Hoffmann, and Bruno Strecker. 1997. *Grammatik der deutschen Sprache*. [Grammar of German language.] Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.

Address for correspondence

Pepe Droste
University of Münster
Institute of German Studies
Department of Linguistics
Schlossplatz 34
D-48143 Münster
Germany

pepe.droste@uni-muenster.de

Biographical notes

Pepe Droste is a PhD candidate at the Institute of German Studies, University of Münster. His main research interests are Conversation Analysis, Interactional Linguistics, grammar, and multimodal interaction. His core work focuses on the use of address terms in face-to-face interaction.

Susanne Günthner is professor of German Linguistics at the University of Muenster, Germany and Honorary Professor of Xi'an International Studies University (XISU) in China. Her work focuses on Interactional Linguistics, analyses of communicative genres, comparative analyses (German-Chinese) and Anthropological Linguistics. Her recent research projects include grammar and interaction, contrastive analyses of Chinese and German interactions, doctor-patient-interactions. She is co-editor of the series Linguistik – Impulse & Tendenzen at de Gruyter.

Publication history