Category-building lists between grammar and interaction: a constructionist view

Abstract

Lists are one of the most common devices that are used in interaction to refer to a category. Yet, there are only few studies that analyze the relationship between lists and categorization. Our paper aims at advancing our knowledge of this relationship, and of lists in general. From a theoretical point of view, we discuss the benefits of integrating the Construction Grammar approach to lists adopted in Masini et al. (2018) with some of the basic assumptions of Interactional Linguistics. From an empirical point of view, we offer a qualitative analysis of lists based on data from two corpora of spoken Italian: the LIP corpus (De Mauro et al., 1993) and the KIParla corpus (Mauri et al., 2019*a*). In particular, we discuss a case study on the use of the Italian discourse marker *insomma* within list constructions: while it serves as a reformulation marker in most of its uses, *insomma* also proves to be used (more marginally) as a category introducer within category-building lists. Our findings provide useful insight to ultimately bridge the gap between denotation lists as a reference-oriented phenomenon and other types of mechanisms that are relevant at the discourse level, including conversational repair.

1. Introduction

In the present contribution, we focus on a device for creating categories – especially contextually relevant categories or "ad hoc categories" (Barsalou, 1983; Mauri, this volume) – that lies in between grammar and discourse, namely "lists" as defined in Masini et al. (2018). Under this view, the object "list" is a highly abstract linguistic pattern that encompasses a number of more specific phenomena that are traditionally ascribed to different domains

of analysis and thus treated separately, such as coordination, repetition, reduplication, co-compounding, reformulation and disfluency. In this sense, the term is reminiscent of the notion of 'retraction' as used by Auer & Pfänder (2007).

Besides illustrating the nature of lists and their relevance for categorization (Sections 1.1 and 1.2), we discuss their formal and functional properties as "constructions" in the sense of Construction Grammar (Section 2.1) and analyze their interactional properties in two corpora of Spoken Italian, the LIP corpus (De Mauro et al. 1993) and the KIParla corpus (Mauri et al., 2019*a*) (Section 2.2). We ultimately embrace a view that aims at bridging the gap between these two perspectives, that is, between grammar and interaction or discourse (Section 2.3). This bridging perspective is best exemplified by a case-study on the Italian polyfunctional discourse particle *insomma* (Section 3.1), which, besides its most common use as a reformulating and concluding marker (see Waltereit, 2006), proves to be used also as a category introducer within category-building lists (Section 3.2). Corpus data show that the latter use is likely an extension of the former, which proves the connection between the formulation level and the denotation level, as well as the need for a new dedicated position within the list structure, which was previously disregarded in the literature on lists (Section 3.3).

1.1. What is a list?

According to Masini et al. (2018: 50), lists are characterized by the "syntagmatic concatenation of two or more units of the same type (i.e. potentially paradigmatically connected) that are on a par with each other, thus filling one and the same slot within the larger construction they are part of". This loose definition captures structurally different kinds of lists: most notably, the definition does not specify the nature of the conjuncts, which may be linguistic units of variable size and complexity that entertain a paradigmatic relation. These linguistic units therefore represent the linear, or syntagmatic, realization of two or more paradigmatic alternatives (see Blanche-Benveniste, 1990). In order to capture the variability of lists, Masini et al. (2018) propose the following abstract and flexible structure, that represents the 'skeleton' onto which the listing phenomena are mapped:

	PRO-C	projection component
	LI	list introducer
INSERTIONS	**X_1**	**conjunct 1**
	CO	coordinator / connective
	X_2	conjunct 2
	CO	coordinator / connective
	X_3	conjunct 3
	...	...
	CO	coordinator / connective
	X_{LAST}	**conjunct last**

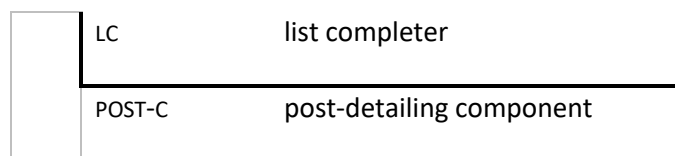|		
	LC	list completer
	POST-C	post-detailing component

Figure 1. List skeleton.

The minimal list is made of two conjuncts. The other components may or may not be expressed: of course, we may have more than two conjuncts; we may or may not have connectives that keep the conjuncts together; we may have a "list completer", like general extenders (e.g. *and the like*, *etcetera*), which indicate "additional members of a list, set, or category [and combine] with a named exemplar (or exemplars)" (Overstreet, 1999: 11); then, around the list we may have a "projection component", i.e. a "more-to-come" element that is then detailed or expanded by the list, and a "post-detailing component", which completes "the structure around the list and at the same time tying the list back to the ongoing topic or activity" (Selting, 2007: 523). Finally, insertions of different kinds (discourse markers, hesitations, etc.) may interrupt the list, especially lists in spoken discourse.[1] Let us take the English example[2] in (1): this would map onto the list structure in Figure 1 as illustrated in Figure 2.

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[1] The prosody of the list is left implicit in the skeleton in Figure 1, which focuses on the morphosyntax of list structures (which is common to lists in spoken and written language). However, prosody is obviously one of the key features of lists in spoken language, as also emphasized by Masini at al. (2018), who mention the difference between prosodically open and prosodically closed lists (Selting 2007); see also Matalon (this volume) and Section 3.1.

[2] The examples used for this article were extracted from a number of English and Italian corpora. For English we used the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English (Du Bois et al. 2000-2005; SBC henceforth) and the enTenTen15 corpus accessed through the SketchEngine interface (Kilgarriff et al. 2014). For Italian we used the LIP corpus (De Mauro et al. 1993) and the KIParla corpus (Mauri et al. 2019*a*); the latter is alternatively referred to

(1)   *it's great to fill up on seasonal bounties that may include **fresh peaches, melons, apples, pears and the like*** [enTenTen15]

			it's great to fill up on
	PRO-C	projection component	*seasonal bounties*
	LI	list introducer	*that may include*
	X_1	**conjunct 1**	***fresh peaches***
	CO	coordinator / connective	-
	X_2	conjunct 2	***melons***
	CO	coordinator / connective	-
	X_3	conjunct 3	***apples***
INSERTIONS	...	...	-
	CO	coordinator / connective	-
	X_{LAST}	**conjunct last**	***pears***
	LC	list completer	***and the like***
	POST-C	post-detailing component	-

Figure 2. Example (1) mapped onto the list skeleton in Figure 1.

As we can see, some "positions" of the skeleton are filled by linguistic material, whereas other positions are left unexpressed.

Consider that the skeleton in Figure 1 is a pre-theoretical apparatus that does not define the nature of the conjuncts, nor the constraints and/or requirements a specific (kind of) list may be subject to. Indeed, lists may have not only variable size and complexity, but also different degrees of conventionalization. Example (1) is an ephemeral creation of the speaker in a given context, namely a specific instance of a coordination which is not retained in memory. This is even more true of discourse-related patterns (also ascribable to lists as defined here) such as reformulations and repairs:

(2)   *A new cast of **thirty, oops I mean seventeen** year olds* [enTenTen13]

However, some lists are lexically fixed and stored as a stable part of our grammar: take for instance irreversible binomials, like (3) (Masini 2006), or co-compounds, like (4) (Wälchli 2005).

(3)   Italian   *coltello e forchetta*   lit. knife and fork   'cutlery'
(4)   Chuvash *sĕt-śu*   lit. milk-butter   'dairy products'

Obviously, the latter types of lists are subject to different restrictions and constraints with respect to lists that are productively created in discourse (see also Masini & Arcodia, 2018). The attempt here described to keep all these

phenomena together, despite the great variation we face, has the advantage of highlighting the similarities of form and function between these different manifestations at a more abstract level, which might unveil interesting connections and regularities in both intra- and inter-linguistic terms (see also Section 2.1).

Given the loose definition of "list" provided above, and the consequent wide range of formal variation, we also expect a variety of functions performed by lists, depending on their exact manifestation, and this is indeed the case.

Functionally speaking, Masini et al. (2018: 64) regard the list as a device that performs some kind of semantic operation over its conjuncts. Depending on the kind of semantic operation performed, one gets different kinds of lists, which can be conceptually classified into two major classes: formulation and denotation lists.

Formulation lists operate over utterances, hence their function can be regarded as metalinguistic from a discourse perspective: the conjuncts of the list correspond to different attempts of formulating one and the same concept; these attempts are structurally equivalent to each other in that context and correspond to the different types of repair that may occur in conversation. Consider (2) above: what the speaker actually does, after proposing a first formulation, is scanning a paradigm for possible better alternatives and finally choosing the most appropriate. Hesitations and disfluency phenomena, as in (5) below, also rely on a formulation listing pattern in our view (see also Auer & Pfänder, 2007).

(5)   PATTY: *and **she didn't care,.. the- to b- -- to -- she didn't care about emancipation***. [SBC023, Du Bois et al. (2005)]

Denotation lists create a complex denotation by exploiting the denotative meanings of the conjuncts. This may occur in a basically compositional way, in those cases where the intended meaning results from the sum of the single denotational meanings of the conjuncts; however, in a vast majority of cases, the felicitous interpretation of a denotation list strongly depends on inferential reasoning. Let us compare (6) with (1), two similar lists leading to different interpretations:

(6)   *I like **fresh peaches, melons, apples and pears*** [constructed example]

In (6), inference plays a minor role, if anything, while in (1) above, even if the same conjuncts are used, the addressee is called to a much greater inferential effort. The general extender *and the like* in (1) hints at other possible items that are not explicitly mentioned, but evoked; it is on their identification, and on the selection of the appropriate semantic operation, that the interpretation of the list depends. Note that this process is not straightforward: the list in (1) might easily refer to 'fruit' in general, but instead refers to a more specific category, namely 'seasonal bounties', as revealed by the projection component.

Denotation lists may have different functions that range from the typical values of syntactic coordination, namely addition (like in (1)), contrast and

alternativity (see Haspelmath, 2007 and Mauri, 2008), to less compositional functions such as generalization, intensification, approximation, and of course categorization (cf. Masini et al., 2018). The latter is the focus of the present article and is analyzed in detail in the following subsection.

1.2. Lists and categorization

Based on the previous discussion, every instance of a denotation list corresponds, in a way, to an act of categorization, as all lists pragmatically presuppose that all their listed items belong to the same set (Barotto & Mauri, 2018). However, in our model we distinguish between lists that implicitly rely on some presupposed category and lists whose primary function is to convey at the content level some specific way of categorizing reality in a specific context. For the latter type we use the term "categorizing" or "category-building" lists.

Like other types, such lists may have different size and complexity (see e.g. the list in (7), containing a high number of conjuncts), different degrees of conventionalization (compare, again, the list in (1) with those in (3)-(4)), and may be constructed monologically or dialogically (e.g. (8), where both speakers contribute to the expression of the category 'saving endangered animals'; see also Section 2.2.3).

(7)   *These are the stuff of physics.* ***Chimps and dogs and bats and cockroaches and people and worms and dandelions and bacteria and galactic aliens*** *are the stuff of biology.* [Google]

(8)   ROY: ***saving the whale,***
                        or saving uh … the .. polar bea[r,
            PETE: ***[Right… Pandas],***
            ROY: ***or making sure there's enough] grizzly bears,***
                        that's fine. [SBC: 003, Du Bois et al. (2000-2005)]

In most cases, categorizing lists are semantically non-exhaustive, which means that only some members of the category that is being constructed are explicitly verbalized. The participants are thus invited to make inferences about the identity of possible further members belonging to the same set. The list in (7), for instance, contains a number of entities studied by biologists. However, we hardly interpret this list as exhaustive: we expect racoons too (just to name one more member of the category 'forms of life'), to be *the stuff of biology*, even though they are not mentioned explicitly in the list.

Non-exhaustive lists, hence, evoke more than what is just said. Following Mauri (this volume), they express an eminently pragmatic function in that they invite inferencing concerning the property upon which the set has to be built: items occurring in this structure are presented as exemplars of a broader set, whose extension remains unspecified. Crucially, this type of list does not necessarily include elements that are inherently, i.e. semantically, related to each other. On the contrary, non-exhaustive lists are often dependent, for their felicitous interpretation, on the context in which they are used. For this reason, if we adopt Barsalou's distinction between 'common' and 'ad hoc'

categories (see Barsalou, this volume and previous works), we can argue that this type of lists, more specifically, builds categories in an ad hoc fashion, that is, relying on contextual information and on contextualization cues provided by the speaker in order to direct their interlocutor towards the intended interpretation. Take for instance (9):

(9)   *I need **flour, milk, yeast and so on**. [Mauri (2017: 302)]*

This list requires contextual information to be interpreted: 'ingredients for a cake' seems to be a quite possible option, but, depending on context and on the information shared by the speakers, other (even extravagant) options might turn out to be the intended ones (e.g. 'the stuff mum always buys on Tuesday afternoon'). Therefore, we can conclude that lists of this type represent an important resource through which speakers verbalize their ways of categorizing reality based on specific contexts, as opposed to using a pre-established set of categories stored in cognition (see Edwards, 1991 and Goria, in print). This aspect will be analyzed in detail in Section 2.

2. Lists between grammar and discourse

In this section we illustrate two different views on lists, which in our opinion are largely compatible and can benefit from each other. The first perspective comes from Construction Grammar (Section 2.1), the second from

Interactional Linguistics (Section 2.2). Their fruitful interaction is advocated for in Section 2.3.

2.1. Lists as constructions

Previous accounts have proposed to treat (at least a subset of) list structures as "constructions" in the sense of Construction Grammar (cf., among others, Fillmore et al., 1988; Goldberg, 1995, 2006; Croft, 2001; Östman & Fried, 2005; Hoffmann & Trousdale, 2013; Hilpert, 2019), that is, as conventionalized form-meaning pairings (cf. Masini & Pietrandrea, 2010; Masini et al., 2018; Bonvino et al., 2018).

A constructional analysis of lists relies on the observation that some types of lists – especially those with a non-compositional meaning – display unique and consistent correspondences between form and function, a situation which lends itself to be analysed in constructional terms.

Masini et al. (2018) propose to regard various kinds of denotation lists, including categorizing ones (see Section 1.2), as constructions licensed (via an instance inheritance link) by a maximally abstract list construction with the very schematic formal and functional properties described in (10).

(10) ABSTRACT LIST CONSTRUCTION
      Form: ([PRO-C]) ([LI]) $\{\mathbf{X_1} \mid (^\wedge\text{CO})\ (X_2) \mid (^\wedge\text{CO})\ (X_3) \mid \ldots \mid (^\wedge\text{CO})$
                  $\mathbf{X_{LAST}} \mid (\text{LC})\}$ ([POST-C])
      Function: 'function f over the set of Xs + presupposition p =
                  common categorization underlying Xs'

Let us start from the 'function' side. As we can see, the meaning of the abstract list construction corresponds to an underspecified function f over the

set of conjuncts, which are presupposed to belong to an underlying common category (the presupposition being a stable part in the functional side of the list construction). This general meaning becomes more specific in the daughter constructions licensed by the abstract list construction. For what concerns the categorizing list construction, on which we concentrate in the present chapter, its function f is to create a superordinate, higher-level, category starting from the enumeration of some exemplars of that category. Hence, categorization here is not implicit, as is the case with other types of lists, but rather it is present at the content level and represents the primary communicative goal.

As for the formal side of list constructions, what is crucial is that, besides being schematic, they are also "flexible". This allows to do justice to both the variety of forms lists may display and, at the same time, their unity in terms of core properties. For instance, categorizing lists are typically associated with some properties, such as the fact that conjuncts should be co-hyponyms.[3]

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[3] An anonymous reviewer suggests that the conjuncts of categorizing lists may also be meronyms. This is probably true, as an Italian irreversible binomial like *giacca e cravatta* (lit. jacket and tie) 'formal suit' seems to suggest. However, the data in our possession so far point to co-hyponymy as the core relation in this type of lists. Moreover, we believe a deeper investigation is needed to understand if lists of meronyms are really equal to lists of co-hyponyms. They are, in the sense that both verbalize lower-level items in order to refer to a broader concept. However, the fact that the lower-level items entertain a different relation with this broader concept in the two cases ('type of' vs. 'part of') may have consequences on interpretation. Whereas hyponyms occur as exemplars of a higher-level category, meronyms are not, being rather distinctive features of the intended concept. In this respect, lists of meronyms are reminiscent of what Masini & Arcodia (2018) call "frame-naming" lists, namely lists made of frame-related conjuncts (not necessarily lexico-semantically related) that depict a frame by just mentioning its most salient parts with (what they call) an "impressionistic" technique (e.g., *Chris era il tipico giovanottone inglese tutto pub, sport e fidanzata* 'Chris was the typical English young man devoted to pub, sport and girlfriend (lit. all pub, sport and girlfriend)').

So, this property will hold for all categorizing lists, independently of their actual formal realization. See for instance the following examples from Italian:

(11) a. *coltello e forchetta*   lit. knife and fork   'cutlery'
      b. *colazione pranzo e cena* lit. breakfast lunch and dinner 'main meals'

(12) a. *se potessi comprarmi una casa a torino me la comprerei in vanchiglia senza dubbio perche' // eh e' vicinissima al centro però i prezzi delle cose tipo **supermercati cibo eccetera** // non è esagerato* [KIP, TOD2003]
      'if I could buy a house in Torino I would surely buy it in Vanchiglia, because it is very close to the center but the prices of things like supermarkets, food etcetera, is [sic] not overpriced'.
      b. *tutto quello che riguarda l'apparato genitale_ **disfunzioni malformazioni eccetera** fanno sempre parte cosi' di un campo_ su cui c'e' molta_ eh reticenza a parlare* [LIP, MC12]
      'everything that concerns the genital apparatus, malfunctions, malformations etcetera are always part of a field on which there is much reluctance to speak'.

In (11) we find the already mentioned irreversible binomial *coltello e forchetta* (cf. (3), Section 1.1) and an irreversible trinomial, i.e. fixed expressions which are stored in our mental lexicon and can be analyzed as lexically specified constructions. Examples in (12), instead, illustrate two lists in spoken Italian, which are obviously not retained in memory, but are rather ephemeral creations that serve a specific purpose: in the first case *supermercati cibo eccetera* identifies the category 'staple necessity', whereas in the second case *disfunzioni malformazioni eccetera* identifies the category 'health problems'. These two lists are created by picking two (supposedly representative or relevant) members of these categories, which are however not mandatory nor fixed: in both cases, we might use another order of the

same conjuncts (*cibo supermercati eccetera*), or different lexical items (*alimentari roba da mangiare eccetera*, lit. groceries things to eat etcetera), or more lexical items (*disfunzioni malformazioni difetti eccetera*, lit. malfunctions malformations defects etcetera), and we would still retain the same categorizing effect. Despite these differences, namely the different constraints to which they are subject, the expressions in (11) and (12) still share some core properties which identify them as categorizing lists.

In order to account for this variation, Masini et al. (2018) propose to regard the pattern introduced in Figure 1 above (Section 2.1) as the 'form' of the abstract list construction, which in (10) is displayed as "linearized":[4] this pattern can in principle accommodate simple and complex lists (including those produced in spoken language, which might contain interruptions, etc.), "fixed" lists as well as freely created lists. The abstract list construction then develops its own constructional network, via instance inheritance links, being instantiated by more specified (but still schematic) list constructions (like the categorizing list construction), which in turn may be instantiated either by even more specified, and lexically fixed, list constructions (like (11)) or by constructs to be created in spontaneous speech (like (12)).

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[4] In this notation, braces '{ }' delimit the list; the pipe sign '|' separates the conjuncts; round brackets '( )' indicate optionality; the circumflex accent '^' marks list markers, namely coordinators/connectives and list completers; square brackets [ ] enclose the list surroundings, namely projection components (including list introducers) and post-detailing components. Remember that insertions may intervene at virtually any point of the list structure.

Some online-created lists display recurrent characteristics that might lead us to consider them as instances of separate (more specified, albeit still schematic) constructions. For example, a subtype of non-exhaustive, categorizing list in Italian involves the use of semantically weak forms, especially generic nouns, in the X_{LAST} position. Consider for example (13):

(13) *[p]erche' comunque sia la professoressa rossi che la professoressa verdi (.) sia la mia scuola della lingua dei segni qua a bologna mi possono dare una mano quindi comunque,* **materiali bibliografie co:se,** [KIP, BOA1009]
'for anyway both professor Rossi and professor Verdi, and also my sign language school here in Bologna can help me, so, anyway, **materials**, **bibliographies**, **stuff**.'

Here the speaker produces a list in order to provide examples of the help they can get for a research work. In this case, the X_{LAST} element of the list is a generic noun (*cose* 'things'), which basically figures as a dummy element devoid of a specific denotational meaning in the given context: its function is only to signal that the list is unfinished, and hence non-exhaustive. It is worth observing that in such cases non-exhaustivity is not an inherent feature of the noun *cose* (*versus* general extenders like *eccetera*[5] in (12) above), but rather emerges from the whole pattern in which this element is embedded.[6]

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[5] On Italian *eccetera* and its diachronic development, see Fiorentini & Magni (this volume).
[6] An anonymous reviewer observes that *cose* 'things' is not on a par with preceding conjuncts: it rather has an anaphoric function with respect to them, being some sort of "grammaticalized" version of more complex general extenders of the *(and) things like that* type. Although this might turn out to be the case, there are reasons to believe that *cose* is not a proper general extender (yet), as can be evinced, for example, from its distributional behavior: *cose* is morphosyntactically coherent with the preceding conjuncts, i.e. it occurs with lists of plural bare nouns and very rarely with lists involving other parts of speech, while full-fledged general extenders do not appear to have this constraint.

Therefore, we are in the presence of a subtype of list construction that is characterized by greater specification in terms of both meaning (i.e. the expression of non-exhaustivity) and form, since one of its syntactic slots (X_{LAST}) is bound to be filled by a dummy element like *cose* (or other items, according to the nature of the exemplars involved; see Mauri et al., 2019*b* for further examples and discussion).

To conclude, the flexible nature of the list pattern, with components that are obligatorily realized (as mentioned above, the "minimal list" is made of two conjuncts) and many others that are optional (and whose presence may give rise to a number of subconstructions with different properties), is one of the main advantages of this approach, which unifies under one and the same abstract mechanism expressions that are traditionally treated as belonging to different levels of analysis. In their contribution, Masini et al. (2018) propose a constructional analysis of denotation lists only, although they advocate for a similar account for some types of formulation lists: whereas disfluency lists can hardly be regarded as constructions (namely, they are list patterns, but not "list constructions" in the proper sense), reformulation lists are more likely to be analyzable in constructionist terms, as also argued by Kahane & Pietrandrea (2012) and Bonvino et al. (2018).

2.2. Lists in interaction

The construction-based account of lists outlined in the previous Section provides a powerful tool for the description of lists, especially because, as

argued before, it allows us to provide an accurate representation of what is shared by *all* lists in terms of form and function. Under this view, the representation of the list pattern is permanently stored in grammar and used for different purposes. However, under this account, it remains uncertain how to identify the boundaries between denotation lists and other related constructions occurring in spoken discourse, in particular with reformulation. While Masini et al. (2018) adopt a discrete distinction between denotation lists and formulation lists, the latter corresponding to various types of reformulation, the analysis of spontaneously occurring instances of lists seems to undermine such a radical view. In this section, we adopt a different perspective, asking what we can learn by observing the behavior of lists in unplanned spoken interaction. That is, after identifying lists as syntactic forms, we will look at how these forms surface out in interaction, or how they are adapted to local contexts and local conversational needs. For this purpose, we adopt some of the categories of Interactional Linguistics (see Selting & Couper-Kuhlen, 2001). After making an attempt to reconcile the description of lists given so far with the perspective of spoken syntax, relying on Auer's (2009) discussion of *retraction*, we concentrate on the temporal organization of lists and on the possibility for multiple speakers to participate in the production of a list.

2.2.1. Lists and spoken syntax

One of the most relevant generalizations captured by Masini et al.'s (2018) model of listing consists in its ability to include under the same descriptive label ('list') two different phenomena that are often regarded as unrelated and belonging to different levels of linguistic analysis: lists sensu stricto and reformulation. When speaking of 'lists' in a non-technical sense, one normally refers to *denotation lists*, that is, lists whose function is to perform semantic and pragmatic operations on the referential meaning of the elements included within this pattern. The other side of the coin is represented by *formulation lists*, which, on the contrary, operate on the illocutionary level: these structures are normally classified as instances of reformulation, intended in a broad sense as the replacement of an older utterance, or part of it, with an alternative. However, despite capturing the similarity between these mechanisms (both regarded as 'lists' in a broad, descriptive sense), Masini et al. (2018) do not offer a constructionist analysis of formulation lists (although they advocate for it) and therefore do not include formulation lists in the constructional network developed for denotation lists. So, they leave the question open whether speakers have at some level a unique representation for denotation lists and reformulation.

A different view on this issue is offered by the theoretical framework of Interactional Linguistics, mainly due to its consideration of language structure as rooted in conversation, and therefore, as a context-bound and temporally-bound activity (Selting & Couper-Kuhlen, 2001; Deppermann & Günthner, 2015). Particularly, Auer's (2000, 2009, 2015) notion of on-line

syntax provides in our view the proper analytic tools for a unified account of denotation lists and reformulation. By following this orientation, we assume that language is produced and processed in a temporally organized way: thanks to this inherent feature of spoken communication, speakers are able to project (i. e. anticipate) what is coming next in an emergent and still unfinished linguistic unit, as well as to relate new linguistic units to previously completed syntactic gestalts (Auer 2015). One of the basic operations of spoken syntax is *retraction* (Auer 2009), which is defined as the ability to recycle a previously activated syntactic slot and use it more than once. As argued in Auer & Pfänder (2007), retraction is the common denominator shared by denotation lists and other phenomena that are typical of spoken language and virtually absent in written productions, such as various types of repair (Schegloff, 1979; Pfeiffer, 2017), reduplication and hesitations.

We will now provide examples that show how the notion of retraction can come at hand to help reconciling denotation lists with other phenomena occurring in spoken language. Let us first consider example (14):

(14) KIP, BOC1006

```
 01  Silvio    diciamo che probabilmente non=e::h,
              let us say that probably
```

```
02          non ci puo' essere un metodo che va bene per
            tutti,
```
there cannot be a method that goes for everybody

```
03          perche' appunto:,
```
because indeed

```
04          diverse: s=diversissime possono essere le
            situazioni che si incontrano nella prassi
            dell'insegnamento,
```
different, very different can be the situations that are encountered in the praxis of teaching

```
05          =diversi sono gli attori che vi prendono
            parte,
```
different are the actors taking part in it

```
06          le esigenze, i bisogni,
```
the needs, the necessities

```
07          e::::: insomma tutta una serie insomma di
            fattori da tenere:: in conto,
```
in sum, a wide range of factors to take into account

This is an excerpt from an oral exam of an undergraduate student. At line 3, Silvio starts producing a complex unit in order to provide a justification for the statement at line 2 (*there cannot be a method that goes for everybody*). If

we look at the sequential organization of his turn, we can see that after selecting a syntactic form at line 4, the speaker constructs his turn incrementally: at line 5 he re-uses the previously activated syntactic structure to add a new element (*actors*) in the NP slot; at line 6 he chooses another strategy and simply adds two more referents in the same NP slot. The syntactic parallelism established between these three adjacent units has the effect of activating a semantic parallelism between the referents involved, which are constructed as being on a par with each other. This is made explicit at line 7 with the production of a post-detailing component in Selting's (2007) terms: by providing a general label, *factors to take into account,* Silvio invites his interlocutor to go back to the previously formulated units and retrospectively construct them as part of a broader set; see Figure 3.

<INSERT HERE FIGURE 3>

different   can be   the situations that are encountered in the praxis of teaching

different   are   the actors   that take part in it
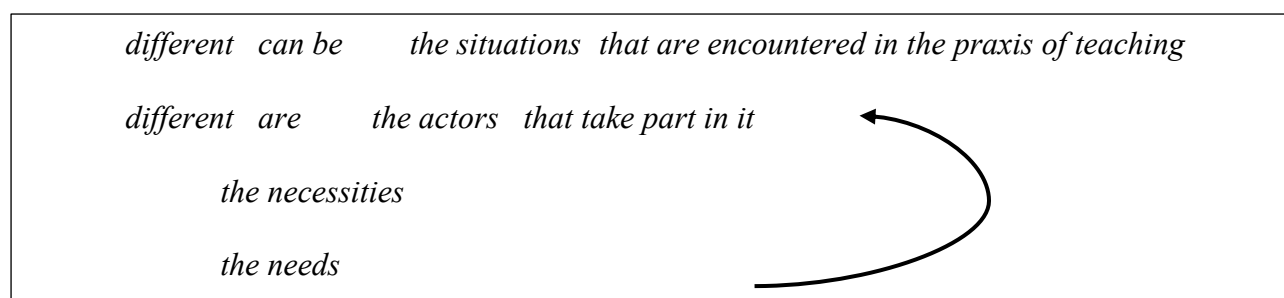
the necessities

the needs

Figure 3: Schematic representation of example (14).

In the excerpt reported in (14), what would be labelled as a list leading to a category of 'factors that a teacher must take into account' comes about as a sequence of partially unrelated increments, whose interpretation builds on the

replication of the same syntactic pattern. The analysis of such an example is particularly helpful to bridge the gap between denotation lists and conversational repair: when the temporal dimension is taken into account, both structures appear as strategies to elaborate on a previously realized linguistic unit. In some cases, retraction is used to add new elements, in other cases it allows the speaker (or another participant) to replace some previously added unit and propose a semantically or pragmatically more adequate alternative. It is particularly worth noting that post-detailing components such as the one produced in (14) are indeed instances of reformulation, in that they propose a better definition for something that was previously formulated as a list of subsequent increments. Therefore, there is no need, in principle, to distinguish between denotation and formulation lists from the perspective of interaction: the two are produced by the same operation of spoken syntax.

2.2.2. The temporal organization of lists

According to one of the main tenets of the conversation analytic framework "the units which speakers use to construct turns-at-talk house actions" (Barth Weingarten & Couper-Kuhlen, 2011: 264). A complex pattern such as the list can thus be better imagined as the combination of several separated and partly independent moves that incrementally lead, through inferential reasoning, to the construction of reference to individuals or sets. In this interpretation, lists are extremely flexible tools for the purpose of categorization because they

exploit the possibility to activate structural parallelisms across linguistic units (see also the notion of 'resonance' in Du Bois, 2014) in order to establish a relation between the referents that are used as exemplars. For a better understanding of the relation between lists and categorization, we will now look at how lists are organized along the temporal dimension in order to convey reference to a particular category by analyzing what we call, after Selting (2007), the pre- and post-detailing components.

2.2.2.1. Pre-detailing. A pre-detailing component is generally represented by a semantically vague expression where a speaker makes a first attempt to refer to a category. Such vague expressions, being semantically insufficient for the purpose of categorization, have the effect of projecting one or more exemplars, to narrow down the denotation of the category that the speaker is trying to build. Perhaps the simplest example of pre-detailing in a list is found in exhaustive lists where the speaker overtly specifies the number of exemplars that will be included in a given set. This is straightforward in example (15):

(15) KIP, TOA3006

```
 01  Romina  ma io, volevo provare::: a parte i tre big,
```
            but I wanted to try, except from the three big ones
```
 02          che sono roma, milano, [e genova,]
```
            which are Roma, Milano and Genova

```
03  Mara                            [milano. sì.] sì sì.
```
Milano, yes, yes, yes.
```
04  Romina  ci sono::: altre scuole,=che sono i teatri
            stabili alla fine.
```
there are other schools, which are the Teatro Stabile *in the end*

In (15) Romina is talking to Mara about private academies that she is planning to apply for after graduation. At line 1 she produces a pre-detailing component, *the three big ones,* that projects an upcoming list which is overtly constructed as having three members. These are made explicit in the list at line 2, *Milano*, *Roma* and *Genova*. This example also shows clearly that it is misleading to assume a direct relation between categorization and non-exhaustive lists: in spite of having a finite number of members, the list contained in this example leads nonetheless towards the ad hoc construction of a category. Even if the construction here does not invite to infer possible other members, as is the case with non-exhaustive lists (Barotto & Mauri, 2018), it leads all the same to the construction of a set that is only relevant in a very specific context and grounded in the specific activity performed by speakers. An example of pre-detailing in a non-exhaustive list is found in (16):

(16) unpublished data

```
01  Ugo  ma  ci  sono  anche  documenti  che  provengono
         direttamente da quel passato più lontano
```
but there are also documents that come directly from that

distant past

```
02       (0,39)
03       ad esempio (.) i dati dell'archeologi::a,
```
for example the data provided by the archaeology

```
04       (0,18)
05       le iscrizioni di cui:: parlere:mo,
```
the inscriptions we will talk about

```
06       (0,09)
07       la numismatica le::: mh:: le monete,
```
numismatics, coins

The example is the excerpt of a lesson in ancient history. At line 1, Ugo introduces in a pre-detailing component a general category of but *documents that come directly from that distant past.* Such a general formulation anticipates the introduction of a number of exemplars of this category.

2.2.2.2. Post-detailing. Post-detailing is a backward-oriented move that has the function of going back to an already produced piece of interaction and make explicit its interpretation as a list. This is more explicitly related to categorization in that, by using a post-detailing component, participants

overtly recognize the previous units as part of a list and provide a label for the category that is constructed. Consider example (17) below:

(17) KIP, TOA3005

```
 01  Mara  io vorrei imparare (.) a fare gli gnocchi da mia
             nonna,
             I would like to learn how to make gnocchi from my grandma
 02          =gli gnocchi, e::: le tagliatelle i ravioli da mia
             nonna,
             gnocchi and tagliatelle, ravioli from my grandma
 03          la pasta fresca che lei la fa (.) benissimo,
             fresh pasta, which she is very good at preparing
```

Here the post-detailing component (*la pasta fresca* 'fresh pasta') has an almost metalinguistic value, in that it is anaphorically related to the previous list exemplars and has the function to provide a label for the set evoked by the whole list, with similarities with the phenomenon of anaphoric encapsulation (Conte, 1996). The interpretation of the list in this case is rather straightforward in that there is little reference to context or shared knowledge, therefore the function of post-detailing could be to fill a momentaneous lexical gap. A more significant example of the backward-oriented function of post-detailing is found in (18):

(18) KIP, TOA3006

```
01 Mara     cioè gli stavo dicendo io adesso voglio
          prendermi:::
          I mean I was saying to him, right now I want to take for myself
02        almeno:::
          at least
03        non ti dico un mese che forse è troppo. però un
          paio di settimane che::
          I don't want to say a month, which is maybe too much. But at least a
          couple of weeks when
04        mi guardo tutti i film che non ho visto,
          I watch all the movies that I haven't seen
05        mi leggo tutti i libri che non ho le:tto,
          I read all the book that I haven't read
06        mi guardo tutte le serie che non ho guarda:to,
          sai,
          I watch all the TV shows that I haven't seen
07 Romina  [sì sì sì sì]
          Yes yes yes yes
08        [faccio un po' di::: no?]
          I do a little of, you know
09        (0.36)
10        un po'di ripiglio,
          A little recover
```

In this example, Mara produces a highly cohesive list by replicating three times the same syntactic pattern (lines 4-6). Reference to a shared common ground is also indicated by the use of the discourse marker *sai* (see also Fox

et al.'s 2002 discussion of *you know* in English) at the end of line 6. This is interpreted by Romina as a possible point of completion, as she acknowledges the felicitous construction of a category by repeating *sì* "yes", which is in this case used as a discourse marker operating on the illocutionary level. At lines 8-10, Mara produces a post-detailing component in order to make explicit the category she is referring to, that includes *watching movies, reading books* and *watching TV shows*. After a few hesitations she uses the noun *ripiglio*, produced as an occasional conversion from the verb *ripigliare* "recover".

2.2.3. Dialogicity in list production

While written language offers an inherently monological view on the phenomenon of categorization, an analysis of this phenomenon in spoken language must necessarily take into account the dialogic nature of spontaneous speech. It is a widely acknowledged fact within the interactional linguistic framework that every construction may be co-operatively produced by the different participants of a conversation, so that its syntactic form will be split between different turns, with several implications for our understanding of the temporal organization of language processing and production. This is the case of the so-called co-constructions (Lerner, 1991; Pekarek-Doehler, 2011). Not unlike other linguistic structures, lists may be constructed either monologically, as in all the examples discussed so far, or dialogically, allowing for contributions from different participants, as anticipated in Section 1.2. This has important implications for an account of

categorization because it reveals that creating a category in interaction is a socially meaningful activity that serves some purpose in a given context; therefore, all the participants may engage in this task. Bringing this reasoning to an extreme, co-construction in the production of lists is the reflex of co-operation between the participants in constructing reference to a specific category of entities.

Example (19) is particularly representative of how different speakers can cooperatively engage in the production of lists:

(19) KIP, BOA3004

```
01   Fernanda   e::, un matto, tipo=eh::, ha capito che noi
                p-, io e la mia amica parlavamo in italiano::,
```
Some crazy guy, like realized that my friend and I were speaking in Italian

```
02              =e m'ha detto stronzo (.) vaffanculo!
```
and he said to me "stronzo", "vaffanculo"

```
03              ed è sceso dall'au-, dalla: s-bahn.
```
and then he got down from the S-Bahn

```
04   Flavia     eh,
```
eh

```
05   Fernanda   e ci son rimasta tipo co[sì.]
                and I was like this


06   Livio                          [eh:,] la terza, la
                terza parola di sol-, in genere è berlusconi.
                the third word is normally Berlusconi


07   Fernanda   no, no.            [stron]zo, vaffan[culo.]
                no, no (he said) "stronzo, vaffanculo"


08   Flavia            no. anche ma[fia.]


09                                          [mafia]
                e[:::]
                No, there's "mafia" as well, mafia and


10   Livio
                [mafia.]sì.
                "mafia" yes


11   Flavia     sì.
                yes


12   Fernanda   mafia mandolino:, pizza.
                mafia, mandolin, pizza
```

```
13   Flavia    beh [pizza,      ] (.)                [pasta:.
               spaghetti,]
```
well, pizza, pasta, spaghetti

```
14   Fernanda      [spaghetti.]
```
spaghetti

```
15   Livio        [a me::,]  berlusconi  [un sacco. spes]so
               mi son sentito dir[e.]
```
to me, Berlusconi a lot. I often heard that being said to me

```
16   Fernanda            [pe]nsa te.
```
Can you imagine?!

The example was extracted from the spontaneous speech section of the KIParla corpus and is part of a conversation between four students chatting during lunch break. The conversation does not have a fixed topic. In this passage, Fernanda is talking about an experience she had while travelling in Austria. At line 2, she reports a sequence of Italian insults received from a local in the underground, merely due to the fact that he recognized that they were speaking in Italian. The utterance has the prosodic contour associated to exclamative sentences, which is characterized by falling intonation, and is therefore a complete unit. This sequence of insults reported by Fernanda is also an exhaustive list that in principle does not allow further completions, as her intention is to report the exact two words that she heard in that occasion.

This intention is, however, misinterpreted by Livio: in fact, he metalinguistically "re-opens" the list by asserting the existence of a third element belonging to the same set and corresponding to *Berlusconi*, the name of a well-known Italian politician. At line 7, Fernanda rejects this contribution by repeating the two exact words from her previous quotation; again, falling intonation is a cue indicating that the list is semantically complete, and thus exhaustive. Flavia, however, accepts Livio's expansion and adds in turn another member to the emerging list. What happens here from the perspective of categorization? And why? At line 6, Livio misinterprets the list produced by Fernanda and provides a new interpretation to an already completed unit. By adding *Berlusconi* as a third element, he actually performs a shift from the strictly closed set of "insults I received on that particular occasion" constructed by his interlocutor, to an open set of "Italian expressions typically known abroad". Thus, a previously completed list is recycled by another participant with a different meaning. The new emerging list is also constructed as non-exhaustive and is now open for contributions by all the participants. The creation of this new category is felicitous, as can be seen from the fact that Fernanda accepts the shift to the new category by providing herself some exemplars. The creation of this category is thus carried out cooperatively by all three participants.

2.3. Interim summary: bridging the gap between grammar and interaction

To conclude this section, we would like to make the point that the two approaches presented here – lists as constructions, namely as part of our grammatical knowledge, and lists as interactional devices – are not necessarily competing views but two sides of the same coin that should rather complement each other.

Whereas Construction Grammar has traditionally focused on grammatical description, with special reference to sentence-level syntax, more recently some of its practitioners have been paying increasing attention to discourse-related and interactional phenomena. As Fried (2010) reminds us, the idea of integrating grammatical description and the communicative dimension was already envisaged in early works on Frame Semantics by Charles Fillmore, who identified two kinds of frames: "cognitive frames" and "interactional frames". Whereas cognitive frames "can be thought of as motivating the categories speakers wish to bring into play when describing situations that might be independent of the actual speech situation", interactional frames have "to do with how we conceptualize what is going on between the speaker and the hearer", i.e. the actual communication situation (Fillmore, 1982: 117; quoted in Fried, 2010: 125). However, the thorny issue of the relationship between grammar and interaction (and spoken language in general) has long remained in the background and has entered the construction grammarians' agenda only in recent times. As Fried (2010: 126) puts it, this new orientation seeks to test the hypothesis that "certain knowledge of the socio-pragmatic patterns in which linguistic expressions are used constitutes a fundamental

part of the speakers' communicative competence and plays a role in shaping grammatical organization as well", much in line with what usage-based (constructionist) approaches speak for (Bybee, 2006, 2010, 2013; Diessel, 2015, 2017). The notions of "discourse pattern" (Östman, 1999, 2005), for instance, goes in this direction.

Hilpert (2019: Ch. 9), in discussing the role of constructions in spoken language, compares Hopper's theory of Emergent Grammar – according to which "structure, or regularity, comes out of discourse and is shaped by discourse" (Hopper, 1987: 142) – with constructionist models and claims that the two are mostly compatible, the main difference lying in the extent to which abstraction is allowed: whereas Hopper is reluctant to posit schematic structures, abstraction has a key role even in more usage-oriented constructionist models. Hilpert concludes that emergent phenomena are nonetheless linked to abstract mental representations by virtue of "sedimentation" (Linell 2005): "[r]ecurrent linguistic routines become sedimented as grammatical constructions", although "[d]istinguishing between emergent structures and sedimented constructions is not a trivial task" (Hilpert 2019: Ch. 9). In this respect, also Fischer (2010), by pointing out that Construction Grammar is fit for handling interactional features, argues that both the interactional and the cognitive dimensions are necessary, with generalizations being part of the picture.

Finally, recent proposals such as *Interactional Construction Grammar* (Imo 2015) advocate for the need to integrate Construction Grammar with the body

of knowledge on spoken language developed within approaches such as Interactional Linguistics (Section 2.2.1) and Conversation Analysis. The latter had already been recognized as compatible with Construction Grammar by Fried & Östman (2005), one of the first constructionist works tackling the issue of spoken discourse. The present study falls quite naturally into this line of research, to which we hope to contribute.

3. Between categorization and reformulation: the case of *insomma*

3.1. Discourse markers and lists

Not unlike other linguistic expressions, the felicitous production and processing of lists builds on contextualization cues, intended as a set of linguistic resources through which "speakers signal and listeners interpret what the activity is, how semantic content is to be understood and how each sentence relates to what precedes or follows" (Gumperz, 1982: 131). Prosody, for example, plays an eminent role in the production and processing of lists, as it is used to frame single elements into a broader list pattern spanning over several sub-units (see Jefferson, 1990; Selting, 2007), or to signal a locally relevant interpretation of a list pattern. In this regard, Matalon (this volume) argues that particular prosodic patterns in spoken Hebrew are used when the speaker, by producing a list, is taking counter-stance and is therefore listing arguments and constructing a category for the purpose of supporting their claims.

Discourse markers (DMs), intended here in a broad sense as those items whose primary function is to provide "instructions from the speaker to the hearer on how to integrate their host unit into a coherent mental representation of the discourse" (Hansen, 1998: 358), are another resource that may give cues on how a list should be interpreted. Several works in the last years have illustrated that DMs are in many ways related to categorization and to the linguistic resources by which it is conveyed: DMs may lead the interpretation of lexical expressions through lexical adjustment (e.g. Wilson & Carston, 2007), convey intentional vagueness (e.g. Ghezzi & Andorno, 2014; Voghera, 2013) or signal the exemplar value of a given referential expression, establishing a paradigmatic relation with other implicit or explicitly verbalized alternatives (e.g. Barotto, 2018; Lo Baido, 2018; Fiorentini, 2018*a,b*). For what concerns list constructions, a great deal of recent research has been devoted to elements – such as the English *etcetera, and things like that, and stuff, and all* – that are used in various languages to mark the conclusion of an open list and at the same time to signal the exemplar value of the previous elements, thus inviting the construction of a category based on these exemplars. They have been referred to as 'generalized list completers' (Jefferson, 1990), 'vague category identifiers' (Channell, 1994) or, much more frequently, as 'general extenders' (Overstreet, 1999).[7]

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[7] For recent discussion on general extenders in Italian, see Fiorentini (2018*a*).

However, little attention has been given so far to the contribution given to the production and interpretation of lists by other types of DMs.

If we consider the abstract representation of the list construction by Masini et al. (2018) given in Figure 1 (Section 1.1), general extenders systematically occur in the LIST COMPLETER slot. This means that general extenders have sequential properties within an emergent list of exemplars, in that they signal the conclusion of a list and at the same time they invite the construction of a category based on the previously mentioned exemplars. Other types of DMs may occur as INSERTIONS within the list (expressing hesitations, metalinguistic or modal comments, etc.). Finally, DMs may occur in the pre-detailing or post-detailing positions that surround the list, overtly signalling the relationship between their host unit and the whole emergent list construction. Consider the following example:

(20) KIP, TOD2011

```
 01  Natalia  è stato bello anche capire:: quali sono gli usi
              e costumi degli irlandesi,
```
It was nice to get an idea also of what are the customs and traditions
of the Irishmen

```
 02           ehm::: eh e: poterli vivere a pieno,
```
and being able to have a full experience of them

```
 03           e: quindi:: osservarli:: da: da vicino,
```

and so observe them closely

04   `e:::h abitando nella stessa casa con loro.`

living in the same house with them

05   `=quindi ad esempio:: la mattina:: a casa loro:`
`si: mangiava::`

so for example in the morning at their place we used to have

06   `non biscotti:, o::=mh`

not biscuits or

07   `cose diciamo piu' dolci, ma:::`

let's say sweeter things, but

08   `cose piu' salate quindi ad esempio: toast, uova:`

saltier things so for example toasts, eggs,

09   `e::h=m::h insomma la classica:: colazione::`
`piu' all'americana,`

in sum, the classic more American-style breakfast

In this passage, which is extracted from an interview given by a student to one of her fellow students acting as interviewer, Natalia is telling about a summer school she attended in the past, thanks to which she could live in the

house of an Irish family. DMs contribute at various points to the sequential organization of the narrative, mostly in association with instances of retraction (see Section 2.2.1). At line 3, a cluster formed by a conjunction and a DM (*e quindi* 'and so') signals that its host unit is the concluding element of a three-parted list starting at line 1. After its completion, this list is used as a general formulation that is further expanded by another unit that starts at line 5, where Natalia gives an example of the differences between Italian and Irish breakfasts. The unit is introduced by two DMs, *quindi* 'so' and *ad esempio* 'for example', whose joint effect is to link the upcoming unit with its previous context, presenting it as a consequence of the previous formulation and at the same time expliciting its exemplar value. More interestingly, the same cluster occurs at line 8 as the introducer of a list that is nested within a broader structure (see Figure 4): the list is preceded by a general formulation, *saltier things,* functioning as the pre-detailing component; then, the cluster *quindi ad esempio* introduces the list itself, formed by two exemplars; finally, the list is followed by a post-detailing component where Natalia provides a label for the category she is trying to convey (namely *more American-style breakfast*), which is introduced by the DM *insomma* 'in short, in conclusion, so'. The whole syntactic complex developed in this passage can be represented schematically as in Figure 4.

It was nice to   get an idea also of what are the customs and traditions of the Irishmen

| | and being able to have a full experience of them |
| | and so observe them closely, living in the same house with them |

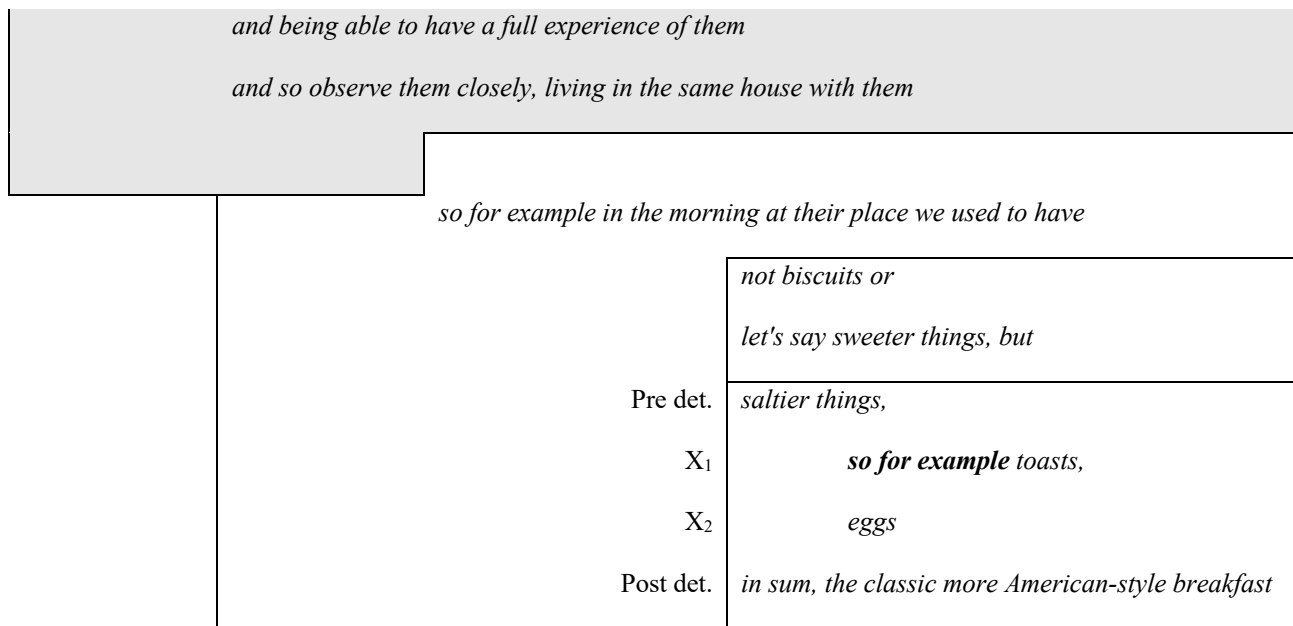|	so for example in the morning at their place we used to have
	not biscuits or
	let's say sweeter things, but
Pre det.	saltier things,
X₁	***so for example*** toasts,
X₂	eggs
Post det.	in sum, the classic more American-style breakfast

Figure 4: Schematic representation of example (20).

The representation given in Figure 4 demonstrates how the construction of a list is nested within other conversational practices that speakers use and combine in order to structure their turns. DMs have a crucial role in structuring this monological passage, as they provide cohesion between its units thanks to their ability to signal the value of their host unit in the context of the ongoing discourse, either anaphorically or cataphorically.

In the remaining part of this section we discuss a case study concerning one of the DMs contained in (20), namely *insomma*. In Section 3.2, we provide a corpus-based analysis of the cases in which *insomma* occurs within categorizing lists, and we defend the hypothesis that it has developed the function of introducing the post-detailing component. The theoretical implications of this proposal, including a refinement of the list skeleton in

Figure 1 and of the constructional network developed by the abstract list construction (Section 1.1.), are discussed in Section 3.3.

3.2. Insomma *and lists: data*

Italian *insomma* is a good case in point for illustrating how DMs may contribute to the production and interpretation of categorizing lists in interaction. In contemporary Italian, *insomma* is a polyfunctional item with a variety of uses: it may be used as a DM, especially with a reformulating, conclusive function ('in sum / in short / in conclusion / so'), or as a more general adverb meaning 'so-so', or yet as an exclamation meaning (among other things) 'for goodness sake! / come on!' (see De Mauro n.d.). Given its polyfunctionality, we may expect to find this item in different positions and functions, and this is indeed the case. See for instance (21), where *insomma*, together with the hesitation marker *eh*, serves as an insertion that is used to gain some time to elaborate the rest of the list. In (22), instead, *insomma* serves as a reformulation marker in-between the two formulations (*dello stato* and *dei servizi dello stato*), whereas in (23) it occurs after the second (and last) formulation (*perdeva forze*).

(21) *perche'_ loro avevan vissuto da_**insomma** da molto tempo sotto la democrazia e quindi avevano anche delle delle liberta' e anche* **insomma** *eh e potevano e_ avevano delle liberta'* (LIP, FC6)

'for they had been living since, INSOMMA, for a very long time under democracy and so they also had some, some liberties and also INSOMMA eh, they could eh, they had some liberties'.

(22) *quella che e' stata una politica_ dello stato **insomma** dei servizi dello stato* (LIP, RE9)

'what has been a policy of the State, INSOMMA of the State's services'

(23) *allora vuol dire che l'organizzazione eh aveva eh stava perdendo stava cedendo perdeva forze **insomma*** (LIP, NC12)

'so it means that the organization eh had eh was losing, was failing, was losing its strength INSOMMA'

In various accounts, *insomma* is described as an element used for delimiting discourse units and for signaling repair, often with paraphrastic reformulation value (e.g. Bazzanella, 1995; Fiorentini, 2018*a,b*). Waltereit (2006) also focusses on the sequential properties of *insomma* and argues that it may be either forward-oriented, in the cases where it marks the host clause "as a near paraphrase, as a formulation alternative for the preceding portion of discourse", or backward oriented, in those cases when it marks its host unit as "a closing statement for the preceding portion of discourse" (Waltereit, 2006: 65). These are exemplified respectively in examples (24) and (25):

(24) *lei mi aveva detto nel caso poi facciamo un'analisi direttamente all'orale **insomma** in classe*

'You told me, if it's the case then we perform an analysis directly at the oral (i.e. exam), INSOMMA, in class' (KIP, BOA1004)

(25) *non so se avete studiato filosofia, hegel, la dialettica della storia. **insomma** comunque c'è un'idea di progresso.*

'I don't know if you studied philosophy, Hegel, the dialectics of history. INSOMMA, there is an idea of progress.' (KIP, TOD1014)

Little attention has been given so far to the role played by *insomma* specifically within list patterns, as is the case in example (20), which is partially repeated as (26):

(26) *cose più salate, quindi ad esempio toast, uova, **insomma** la classica colazione più all'americana*

'saltier things so for example toasts, eggs, INSOMMA, the classic more American-style breakfast' (KIP, TOD2011)

In cases like this, *insomma*'s function is not just to introduce a reformulation, but rather to introduce the post-detailing component of a categorizing list, and, hence, to label the relevant higher-level category intended by the speaker. Crucially, this function can be considered at the intersection between

the repair function and the sequential backward-oriented function identified by Waltereit in non-list contexts. The post-detailing component is indeed a type of repair (see also Section 2.2.1), in that it provides a general label for a previously formulated list of elements, and it is also a closing move that signals the end of a list pattern and resolves the task of categorization by providing a label for the category.

In what follows we describe this (apparently emerging) function of *insomma* as an introducer of post-detailing component within categorizing (hence denotation) lists, emphasizing the link between these cases and its (major) role as a reformulation marker in formulation lists, which are formally very similar.

For the purpose of the present study, we performed a search on two corpora of spoken Italian, the KIParla corpus (Goria & Mauri, 2018; Mauri et al., 2019*a*) and the LIP/VoLIP corpus (De Mauro et al., 1993; Voghera et al., 2014).[8] We extracted all the occurrences of *insomma*, then focusing on those in which *insomma* occurs in a pattern of retraction (see Section 2.2.1) with a form "X *insomma* Y"[9], like in the previous examples. This allowed us to

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[8] KIParla is a recently built corpus that collects around 70 hours of various types of spoken interaction occurring in the academic context, including conversation within the students' peer group, lessons, office hours, exams and semi-structured interviews. Furthermore, it offers a wide range of metadata concerning both the participants and the situation. LIP/VoLIP is a collection of recordings from the Eighties and Nineties from a broader range of settings, belonging to 5 macro-types, namely: face-to-face conversations, telephone conversations, interviews and debates, monologues, radio and TV broadcasts.

[9] We also considered that *insomma* does not have a fixed position within its host unit and considered thus also cases where the same relation within two conjuncts, either at sentence level or at discourse level, may be instantiated by patterns like "X, Y *insomma*", as in example (23) above.

single out, among all the possible uses of the scrutinized DM, instances of *insomma* that introduce either a reformulation or a post-detailing component. The total instances of *insomma* are 978 in the LIP corpus and 577 in the KIParla corpus, and in both cases the vast majority of this amount is represented by pragmatic uses that are not relevant here. Patterns of retraction – including instances of reformulations and categorizing lists – represent in both corpora less than the 10% of the occurrences, hence a minority of cases. Given our current purposes, we carried out a strictly qualitative analysis of this subset of data, relying on the observation of the patterns of usage of *insomma* that are relevant for the study of categorization, as defined above. Corpus data show that, when *insomma* occurs within a pattern of retraction, it may signal a repair (see example 23 above), or introduce the post-detailing component in a list, as in example (20). The latter function is particularly clear in (27):

(27) *quando vivi da solo o vivi col partner da soli* **insomma** *senza altri coinq- inquilini estranei* (KIP, TOD2012)
'when you live alone, or with your partner alone, INSOMMA, without other stranger flatmates'

Here, the speaker produces a list of alternatives connected by the conjunction *o* 'or' (see Ariel & Mauri 2018 for similar cases) and then uses *insomma* to introduce a closing move where she expresses explicitly the higher-level

category she is referring to. It must also be noted that the intended denotative meaning of the list, without considering the move introduced by *insomma*, is by no means encoded compositionally by the two exemplars, which refer to two almost antithetic situations (living alone and living alone with one's partner). From a pragmatic perspective, the speaker here is not only suggesting that the two situations she mentioned are to be read as parts of a broader set of situations, but also inviting to narrow (Wilson & Carston, 2007) the reading of 'living alone' to a particular interpretation. The post-detailing component introduced by *insomma* solves thus a potential conflict between the semantics of the two referential expressions and indicates what is the intended context-bound reading of the list: '(situations where you live) without stranger flatmates'.

Even if, as argued in Section 1.1, post-detailing is not a necessary component of lists, Selting contends that in her spoken German data "participants <...> orient to the completeness of the structure" (2007: 496) and generally wait for their interlocutor to produce a post-detailing component before turn-taking. In this respect, Italian data do not show such a clear-cut tendency and in several cases post-detailing is not produced: therefore, we can assume that when speakers do produce a post-detailing component, this must reflect some more specific activity related to categorization and have some particular semantic or pragmatic value that is not present elsewhere.

Our analysis allows us to identify, in particular, two relevant contexts. The first one is represented by cases where the speakers needs to solve a potential

clash between syntactically heterogeneous elements included in the same list.

Consider example (28):

(28) KIP, TOD1014

```
01  Susanna   ma guardare una sfilata, e' la cosa piu' noiosa che ci possa
                essere, perche',
```
but watching a fashion show is the most boring thing there can ever be, because

```
02              >cioè< as- un' m::h infilata di lo:ok,
```
I mean[10], a row of looks

```
03              e:h con la stessa punto di vi:sta
```
with the same point of view

```
04              il drone sta sempre li',
```
the drone always stays still,

```
05              la camera:, cioè la slide che fa, tum tum avanti e indietro,
```
the camera, I mean, the slide goes vroom vroom back and forth

```
06              insomma noiosissimo.
```
insomma *extremely boring.*

Susanna is a professor and she is speaking, during her class, about watching the recording of a fashion show, as opposed to watching it live at the venue. At line 1, she produces a pre-detailing component, corresponding to her

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[10] Italian *cioè* is the univerbated form of *ciò è,* literally 'that is'. This was translated here with the English *I mean* due to its most common use as a marker of reformulation.

evaluation (*it is the most boring thing there can ever be*), and then continues her turn with a list of examples. In her account, the speaker produces a clear example of ad hoc category in the sense of Barsalou (1983), as she is actually referring to a set of "boring things that characterize a filmed fashion show", which is thus anchored to a specific activity (i.e. watching the recording) and to a specific context that the hearers are supposed to know; consider the use of definite articles for elements that were not previously introduced. The list is organized as a series of partially independent and syntactically heterogeneous increments: at line 2 there is a verbless predication, which is further expanded at line 3 by a prepositional phrase; at line 4 we have a finite main clause and finally, at line 5, another verbless predication containing a relative clause. We analyze these elements as syntactically parallel as they all occur in the slot corresponding to the projection of the complementizer *perché* 'because' at line 1. The post-detailing component produced at line 6 links this otherwise unorganized array of elements to the speaker's previous formulation providing a key for its interpretation in context. Therefore, in this case, *insomma* retains both its repair-like anaphoric function, as it links its host unit to the previous context in order to specify the intended reading, and its forward-oriented function, as it signals the conclusion of the list and leaves the floor open for the beginning of a new activity.

A similar case is represented by those contexts in which the list is syntactically homogeneous, but the semantic contribution given by the

exemplars is deemed unsatisfactory for the felicitous construction of a category. Consider example (29):

(29) *il gatto e' sempre stato_ eh un cioe' domestico // ma anche in un certo senso tuttora non lo e' cioe' ha un rapporto con // l'uomo che non e' tipicamente quello dell'animale domestico non e' // quello del bestiame non e' quello del cane non e' quello del cavallo // eh **insomma** il gatto non e' mai stato sfruttato dall'uomo* (LIP, XXX)

'The cat has always been, eh, domestic // and yet in a way it is not properly domestic even now, I mean, it has a relationship with // the man, which is not typically that of a domestic animal, it is not // the same as cattle, it is not the same as the dog, it is not the same as the horse // eh INSOMMA the cat has never been exploited by man'

Here the sole list of exemplars is treated as potentially ambiguous: simply putting together *dogs, horses* and *cattle* is regarded as insufficient in the present context to convey the type of denotation intended by the speaker, as the list has different potential readings. By introducing a post-detailing component, *insomma* helps thus to disambiguate possible interpretations, providing the key for this passage.

The second context has to do with the sequential properties of *insomma* in lists: as said, one of its core functions is to mark its host unit as the conclusion of a previously initiated discourse unit. Within a list, this translates in the

production of a unit that signals the end of the construction and thus leaves the floor open for contributions by other speakers. Consider example (30):

(30) KIP, BOC1009

```
 01  Serena    mentre invece la faccia negativa e' l'interesse
                che il proprio territorio non venga minacciato=
```
while instead, negative face is the interest that one's own territory is not threatened

```
 02              =e quindi che venga preservata,
```
and so that they preserve

```
 03              una liberta' di azione e di e::h,
```
some freedom of action and of ehm

```
 04              di::, cioe',
```
of, I mean

```
 05              una liberta' di:: movimento di azione:: insomma
                (.) globale °ecco°.
```
*Some freedom of movement, of action, **insomma**, global freedom, yes[11].*

```
 06  Carolina  va bene.
```
Well.

Serena is taking an oral exam and answering a question posed by Carolina, the professor. In structuring the last part of her answer, she gives a first definition at line 3 of *freedom of action*. This is treated immediately after as

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[11] We translate the Italian discourse marker *ecco*, that in Italian is used to give particular emphasis to some constituent (see Bazzanella, 1995) with the English *yes.*

unsatisfactory, and in fact the speaker performs self-repair by using a list pattern where her previous formulation is only one of the listed items. *Insomma* is used here to introduce the post-detailing component which, again, provides a general label subsuming all the listed items. At the same time, *insomma* is interpreted as relevant for turn-taking, as can be seen by the fact that Carolina takes the floor and puts an end to Serena's answer (and to the exam) only after this component is produced.

3.3. Theoretical discussion

This case study on the employ of *insomma* within lists allows for some generalizations concerning lists and categorization. The data analyzed so far show that *insomma* may have, within a list, the function of introducing a post-detailing component, the production of which may be seen in relation to different motivations. We therefore identified:

1) Reference oriented motivations: that is, cases where *insomma* solves a potential clash between elements with different semantic characterization and introduces a general label (examples (27) and (29) above);
2) Processing oriented motivations: that is, cases where there is a formal clash between syntactically heterogeneous elements produced as subsequent increments and retrospectively "forced" into the list pattern (example (28) above);
3) Interaction oriented motivations: that is, cases where *insomma* marks the end of the list and leaves the floor open to the beginning of a new activity (example (30)).

These findings have implications for our representation of the list structure as it was described in Section 1.1. As already mentioned, much attention has been given in the current research on the elements that close a list, and

particularly general extenders (see Section 3.1), while the internal structure of the post-detailing slot has never been analyzed in detail. What our data on *insomma* show is that the post-detailing component may be preceded by another structural position, which may be named 'post-detailing component introducer' (POST-C-I) and which is filled by items like *insomma*. Figure 5 illustrates the list skeleton in Figure 1 revised accordingly. Example (26) is mapped onto to it (in translation) for the sake of exemplification.

	PRO-C	projection component	*saltier things*
	LI	list introducer	*so for example*
	X₁	**conjunct 1**	***toasts***
	CO	coordinator / connective	-
	X₂	conjunct 2	-
	CO	coordinator / connective	-
	X₃	conjunct 3	-
INSERTIONS	...	...	-
	CO	coordinator / connective	-
	XLAST	**conjunct last**	***eggs***
	LC	list completer	-
	POST-C-I	post-detailing component introducer	**INSOMMA**
	POST-C	post-detailing component	*the classic more American-style breakfast*

Figure 5. List skeleton revised.

The individuation of this new structural position within the list skeleton has consequences also for the construction grammatical framework outlined by Masini et al. (2018) (Section 2.1). Obviously, we need to upgrade the formal representation of the list construction in (10) so that it adheres to the new skeleton in Figure 5:

(31) ABSTRACT LIST CONSTRUCTION REVISED
    Form: ([PRO-C]) ([LI]) {$\mathbf{X_1}$ | (^CO) (X_2) | (^CO) (X_3) | … | (^CO) $\mathbf{X_{LAST}}$ | (LC)} ([POST-C-I]) ([POST-C])
    Function: 'function f over the set of Xs + presupposition p = common categorization underlying Xs'

Moreover, the fact that lists with *insomma* in POST-C-I position (and not any other position, see Section 3.2) are associated with a categorizing function, with the category explicitly clarified through the POST-C itself, calls for the opportunity to add, in our constructional network, a daughter construction of the categorizing list construction which displays a number of specific properties with respect to other categorizing lists: in this daughter construction, *insomma* is lexically specified, the POST-C is obligatorily expressed, and the semantics and especially pragmatics of the construction is not strictly predictable from the combination of properties inherited from the mother construction plus these specifications.[12]

Indeed, we claim that there is a fundamental distinction on the pragmatic level between lists with and without a post-detailing component, that could be phrased in the following way. As we have seen, all denotation lists more or

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[12] See also example (13) in Section 2.1 and Mauri et al. (2019*b*) for similar cases.

less explicitly involve some process of categorization, whereby syntactically parallel items are constructed and processed in discourse as part of the same set. However, the act of categorizing reality in a particular way is a potentially face-threatening act: this is why we have a number of cases where speakers do not produce a post-detailing component, in an attempt to avoid direct categorization; in these cases, speakers seem to prefer the use of vague expressions such as general extenders. Fiorentini (2018*a*) in fact proposes to link this "indirect" categorization to the pragmatic function of mitigation. On the other hand, we have cases, such as the ones discussed throughout this section, where the speakers do produce the post-detailing component in order to: (i) facilitate syntactic processing of a complex unit that might not be easily accessed as a list in online production, (ii) disambiguate between different possible interpretations of a list, (iii) mark the conclusion of their turn and ease turn-taking. Therefore, the *insomma* categorizing list construction carries an overall pragmatic function of clarification or precision (quite opposite to the vague categorization and mitigation function that characterizes other kinds of lists) as well as "closure".

As mentioned above, this semi-specified construction would be an instantiation of the categorizing list construction, hence a lower node in the hierarchy with a life of its own, which inherits the core formal and functional features from the overarching list construction and at the same time overrides it by specifying its own formal and functional properties. This state of affairs

is depicted in Figure 6, which reproduces and enriches Masini et al.'s (2018)

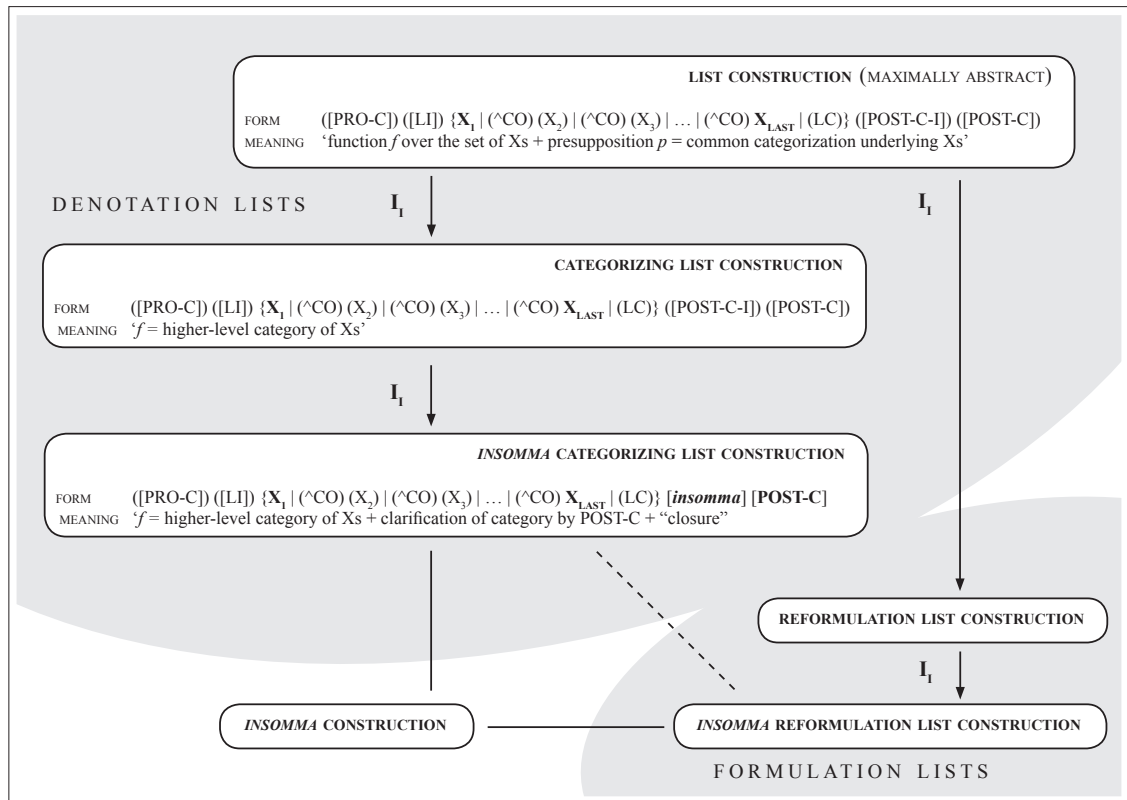representation of the constructional network for lists.

<INSERT HERE FIGURE 6>

Figure 6. The constructional network of the *insomma* categorizing list construction.

As we can see from Figure 6, the *insomma* categorizing list construction

would also be linked to some more general *insomma* construction, which

cannot be analyzed here. In fact, our proposal paves the way to a separate,

thorough investigation of *insomma*, since one of the by-products of our

analysis consists in isolating and identifying one precise use of *insomma*,

which, as we know, is a highly polyfunctional item. By encapsulating

insomma within larger constructions (much in line with the methodology

proposed by Masini & Pietrandrea, 2010 for the equally polyfunctional *magari*), it becomes possible to disambiguate different meanings of *insomma*. The general *insomma* construction would also be linked to the (plausible) reformulation list construction featuring *insomma* as a reformulating marker (schematically: X_1 *insomma* X_{LAST}): the latter is in turn an instantiation of a more general reformulation list construction, which we regard here as a daughter construction of the abstract list construction, on a par with denotation lists, in compliance with a unified approach to grammar and interaction, as advocated for in Section 2.3. Under this view, what have been called denotation lists and formulation lists (the two grey areas in Figure 6) would result from the same maximally abstract mechanism. It is therefore not surprising that specific constructions belonging to this network would share many properties, like the *insomma* categorizing list construction and the *insomma* reformulation list construction (here connected by a dotted line).

Finally, this constructional network, which aims at taking a snapshot of the synchronic situation regarding categorizing lists and the role of *insomma* within lists, might be exploited for a (desirable) diachronic analysis. In particular, given the structural resemblance of the two patterns under discussion – the *insomma* categorizing list construction and the *insomma* reformulation list construction – the role of *insomma* as an introducer of post-detailing component in categorizing lists most likely emerges from its role as a reformulating marker (the most common in use). If it turned out to be true, this situation would strengthen even more the hypothesis that sees denotation

and formulation as two domains that are deeply intertwined. We leave this line of diachronic research for future investigation.

4. Conclusions

The aim of this contribution was to discuss the list as a prominent linguistic device that is used to create categories. Two key aspects have proven crucial for our account: the formal description of the list, and the study of its interactional properties and of how they relate to linguistic structure. In the pursuit of this twofold research roadmap, we drew the foundations of our analysis from two different theoretical paradigms, namely Construction Grammar and Interactional Linguistics.

Far from being competing approaches, these two models prove to be compatible and in fact complementary. A Construction Grammar approach is necessary in order to capture generalizations across instantiations of the list pattern displaying (sometimes great) differences in their surface forms and in their functions. It is therefore a powerful tool in the description of particular types of lists as abstract constructions stored in a speaker's representation of grammar and connected to each other by inheritance links. However, this view cannot be disentangled from a reflection on *how* (the actual instantiations of) such constructions are deployed in real contexts, and *for what purposes*: these are the questions specific to Interactional Linguistics. Furthermore, taking into account evidence from oral corpora provides us, in the end, with a more accurate description of the scrutinized construction, that

is, one that is able to include also pragmatic and interpersonal values (see Finkbeiner, 2019).

What we have now achieved is a formal representation that takes in greater account formal (and in some cases also functional) similarities between denotation lists (specifically category-building lists) and formulation lists (such as reformulation). The close relationship between categorizing lists and reformulation lists was investigated through a specific case-study on the discourse marker *insomma* in spoken Italian, which allowed us to bridge the gap between the two. *Insomma* is primarily used as a reformulation marker. However, when occurring in a specific position at the end of categorizing lists, *insomma* acquires a new disambiguating function closely related to (and most likely derived from) the reformulation one: indeed, by reformulating an incrementally built list of (often unorganized or partially-organized) linguistic elements, it introduces a general category label, inducing thus a "list-reading" on the previous material.

Finally, based on our exploration of list constructions in spoken Italian, we may draw some conclusions concerning the relationship between this device and categorization. Our analysis of lists suggests that we move away from a rigid cognitive view, whereby categories are seen uniquely as the reflection of some pre-linguistic organization of knowledge in the human mind. The very existence of constructions that have the role of "building" categories points to the need for a more "fluid" and dynamic approach to categorization. Even more crucially, the fact that, in spoken language, lists are temporally

organized structures that are adapted to local contexts, often with participation of more than one speaker, suggests that categorization should be regarded as a process and as a contextually bound activity that is cooperatively carried out by using a number of linguistic resources, like the list construction. This view is also shared by other discourse-based approaches including, for example, discursive psychology: Derek Edwards (1991, 1997) was in fact one of the first to emphasize the idea of categorization as an action. Based on this discussion, categories should be seen as the product of interaction rather than one of its pre-conditions.

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