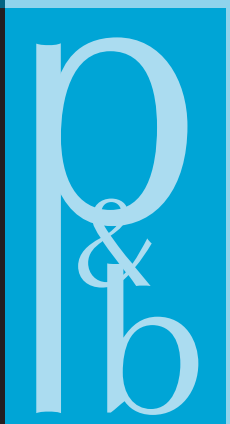
Intersubjectivity in Action

EDITED BY

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Ritva Laury
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Intersubjectivity in Action

Studies in language and social interaction

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Intersubjectivity in action

An introduction

Marja-Leena Sorjonen, Anssi Peräkylä,
Ritva Laury and Jan Lindström
University of Helsinki

Intersubjectivity is a complex concept, and some central approaches to it have been discussed in areas of, for example, philosophy (based on e.g. early work by Schuetz 1953), developmental psychology (Trevarthen & Aitken 2001), neuroscience (Iacoboni 2008) and primatology (Tomasello 2008; Tomasello, Carpenter & Hobson 2005). In the realm of the interactional approach that the chapters in this volume represent we can initially note the following. Intersubjectivity is a precondition for all human life: for social organization as well as for individual development and well-being. A primordial site for its creation and maintenance is human interaction.

By focusing on the creation and maintenance of intersubjectivity, the authors of this book approach the topic from the perspectives of turn and action design, action attribution, challenges in achieving shared understanding, embodied practices in meaning-making and synchronized participant conduct, as well as developmental aspects of intersubjectivity. The core theoretical and methodological framework is Conversation Analysis, combined with methods of interactional linguistics and multimodal interaction analysis as well as the study of gesture and psychophysiology. This research promotes an understanding that intersubjectivity involves joint understanding and sharing of experience between humans (see e.g. Linell 2017). Intersubjectivity in interaction requires referential common ground, shared understanding of the meaning of linguistic forms, shared understanding of actions and sequences of action and shared understanding of the expression of emotion in sequences of action.

In linguistics, intersubjectivity in the sense of orientation to the other's mental state was already central for early information flow theorists in the 1970s (e.g. Chafe 1976, 1992), and more recently it has emerged as a topic for inquiry in cognitive and construction grammar or in combinations of these (Verhagen 2005; Diessel 2006; Brems, Ghesquière & Van de Velde 2014). What has been neglected

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in these studies, however, are those aspects of linguistic forms and structure that serve to organize and sustain intersubjective understanding in the ongoing interaction. Interaction exists before language (Schegloff 1996; Levinson 2006; Tomasello, Carpenter & Hobson 2005), and language use cannot thus be seen solely as a means of coordinating different cognitive perspectives (see e.g. Zlatev et al. 2008; Linell 2014; Etelämäki 2016). In addition, linguistic structures are used for organizing and creating sequences of action and the relations of the participants to one other. As opposed to much earlier theorizing, which basically describes the process of "inter-thinking", the position of the research presented in this volume stresses the importance of "inter-action", and intersubjectivity as an achievement in particular interactions (see Deppermann 2015; Raymond 2019).

The organization of verbal and embodied actions in interaction is seen in conversation analytic research as built so that each "next" action is produced and understood in relation to the previous one (Schegloff 2007). Thus, each *next* action brings forward its producer's understanding of the *previous* action. The producer of this previous action has, as the *third* action, an opportunity to confirm or revise the understandings displayed by the producer of the second action. Through this mechanism, the sequential relatedness of human actions provides for the possibility of shared, intersubjective understanding. Actions in interaction, then, are produced step-by-step in time, and recipients monitor the unfolding talk, constructed through verbal and non-verbal resources, from the point of view of the action that is unfolding and its possible completion in order to know when and how to act next. This can be viewed as the publicly implemented procedure of intersubjectivity. There are also other kinds of understandings of the character of the constitutive elements of social interaction, such as the one by Levinson and Enfield (2006) who propose that the basic practices of social interaction involve a process of mutual "reading" of the mental states of the co-interactants.

The authors in this volume explore the achievement and maintenance of intersubjectivity in social interaction in a range of different situations and in a variety of languages. The studies thus set out to further our understanding of intersubjectivity in the formation of actions and sequences of action, in the on-line deployment of verbal and nonverbal resources for action projection and attribution, and in the expression and recognition of emotion as embedded in social interaction. While the core methodology of the studies is Conversation Analysis, the volume highlights the advantages of using several methods to tackle specific phenomena. Several chapters demonstrate the relevance of CA methods, methods of multimodal analyses and methods of detailing the verbal resources with concepts and methods of linguistics. Furthermore, qualitative methods of CA are combined with quantitative movement synchrony research and with methods of psychophysiology. The languages covered in the chapters include Arabic, Brazilian Portuguese, English, Finnish,

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French, German, and Swedish, some of these in multilingual discourse. Through short overviews of the parts and chapters of the volume, we will in the following highlight and bring together its main conceptual, empirical and methodological contributions.

1. How language codes and creates intersubjectivity

This first part of the present volume consists of six chapters that deal with verbal resources in the construction of intersubjectivity. While it is clear that participants enter interaction with some assumptions of shared understandings regarding the meaning and situational use of linguistic forms and how they are used to implement social actions, it is important to note that such understandings are not stable, are always disputed, contingent, and emergent in and in fact created and continuously reshaped by interaction (e.g. Hopper 1987; Pekarek Doehler, Wagner & Gonzáles-Martínez 2018). Consider, for example, requests and suggestions formatted as *om* and *jos* 'if' clauses in Finnish and Swedish (J. Lindström, Lindholm & Laury 2016; J. Lindström, Laury & Lindholm 2019). Like conditional 'if' clauses in other languages, *om* and *jos* clauses are usually considered subordinate, and thus should be followed by a main clause expressing a consequent, formatted as a 'so' clause. However, in their "insubordinate" use as requests (cf. Evans 2007), they are often followed only by a verbal or embodied compliance. If the compliance is delayed or missing, the consequent or an account will follow, or it may follow only after the compliance has been expressed, as in Excerpt (1) from a conversation between a home care helper (H) and her elderly client (C).

Excerpt 1. Red mat in front of the bathtub (adapted from A. Lindström 1999: 20)

```
01  H: vänta ska vi få handduken [(för den-)
       wait let's get the towel (cause it-)
02  C:                            [snä- å sen
                                   plea- and then
03 →   om du ville dra: den där röda mattan (0.2) [hit.
       if you would put that red mat (0.2) here.
04  H:                                           [ja:
                                                  yes
05     [(ska ja gör-)
        (will do-)
06  C: [så går (.) lättare för me:j å=
       (then) it's (.) easier for me to=
07  H: =å kliva u:r,
       =to climb out,
08  C: å stiga opp,
       to step up,
```

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In line 3, the client asks the home care helper to move a mat in front of the bathtub using an *om*-clause (a conditional protasis, as it were). The clause has a falling intonation contour, indicating a potential turn closure. The home care helper responds in the affirmative in lines 4–5, showing that she treats the conditional clause as a request, and is not waiting for a main clause to follow. In overlap, the client then initiates an account in line 6. This account is not semantically necessary, and it could also be interpreted as a main clause to the client's *om* clause in line 3. In any case, it serves as an expression and motivation for the client's need for help. This shows that the use of conditional *om* clauses as freestanding requests without any main clauses is contingent, emergent, and negotiated as interaction proceeds.

Expressions such as insubordinate 'if' clauses also show that there are frequent mismatches between particular lexico-grammatical formats and the way they are used to accomplish actions in conversation. Consider Thompson and Couper-Kuhlen (2020) which shows that the English expression *why don't you* is used in conversation to give suggestions and advice in problem or complaint contexts, and not to ask for reasons why the addressee is not doing something. This is shown in Excerpt (2) from a phone conversation between two sisters. Emma lives in Los Angeles and Lottie has a vacation rental by the beach south of there in Newport Beach. Both sisters are in Newport Beach at the time of the call.

Excerpt 2. Stay down (adapted from Thompson & Couper-Kuhlen 2020: 103)

```
5     LOT: it's beautiful: day I [ bet ] you've had a lot of smo::g=
6     EMM:                       [yah- ]
7     LOT: =up there haven't you.
8     EMM: oh::: Lo:ttie,hh (.) You don't kno::w,
9     LOT: I kno[:w.
10    EMM:      [go:::d it['s been  ]
11 →  LOT:                [why don't] you stay dow::n.
12    EMM: .hh (0.2) Oh::: ↓*I d*oh it. I: should st*ay ↓d*o:wn. hhhhhhh
13         (.)
14    LOT: Je:sus I: wu< ↓with a:ll that s:mo:g u[p there]
15    EMM:                                       [ mye:a:]:h,
16    EMM: *I ↓r*eally should ↓st*ay d*own.↓ let's see this is the end of
17          the (0.8) .t (0.4) w*e:ll maybe,h I'd say ne:xt week= <I: haven't
18          got too many clothes
```

At Lottie's prompting, in line 8, Emma starts to complain about the smog in Los Angeles. In line 11, Lottie makes a suggestion, using the *why don't you* formula, that Emma stay at the beach. In line 12 and again in 16, Emma appears to accept the suggestion. Note that she does not respond by giving reasons why she would not "stay down" at Newport Beach. Uses such as these show that utterances are not cobbled together from a pre-existing, stable grammar and lexicon, but rather consist largely of formulas conventionalized through usage in particular contexts and used to accomplish particular kinds of social actions that are recognizable to the speakers.

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The six chapters in this part consider a range of aspects of how grammatical resources are used to construct social actions relying on assumptions of what is mutually shared in the here and now. Such assumptions of intersubjectivity may be fundamentally asymmetric, as shown by Etelämäki in her chapter, or they may be only partial (Couper-Kuhlen, Etelämäki and Sorjonen). The resources used may even seem to reflect internally contradictory assumptions (Laury; Piippo), while doing indispensable work in the social and interactional positioning of the participants. The use of the resources is fundamentally sequence sensitive, especially shown in the contribution of Auer and Lindström. A further kind of complexity in building intersubjectivity arises in multilingual encounters (Harjunpää) where it is especially obvious that linguistic resources are always only partially shared. We give brief summaries of these chapters in the following.

Marja Etelämäki (*Organizing the "we" in interaction*) devotes her attention to the personal forms used in interaction, by analyzing cases where an initial action by a speaker implies some knowledge of the recipient and a particular type of "we"-relationship but the recipient rejects that. By tracking the subsequent development of the sequence, Etelämäki finds that the relationship between the participants is re-organized for example by changing the personal forms used, so that construing the "self" and the "other" is as prominent as construing the "we". Etelämäki relates this to the fundamentally asymmetric character of intersubjectivity, to the experiencing and experienced subjects. The role of language in human intersubjectivity will be discussed with respect to the possibility that the grammar of a language provides for certain types of "we"-relations. The data for the paper come from Finnish informal interaction.

Ritva Laury's (*Definitely indefinite: Negotiating intersubjective common ground in everyday interaction in Finnish*) contribution concerns Finnish expressions which seem internally contradictory because they consist of both a recognitional and a non-recognitional referential form, containing both the definite demonstrative *se* 'it, that, the' (e.g. *se ihminen* 'that/the person'), and one of the indefinite determiners (*yksi* 'one', *semmonen* 'such' and *joku* 'some'), resulting in expressions such as *se joku ihminen* 'the/that some person'. Laury shows that each of these expressions has its home environment, and that they are tools in the process of building intersubjective common ground in interaction and serve as a fine-grained resource for the management of epistemic stance and the negotiation of relative epistemic status.

Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen, **Marja Etelämäki**, and **Marja-Leena Sorjonen** (*Directive turn design and intersubjectivity*) investigate two turn designs used to implement a directive action in Finnish, the 2nd person imperative and turns formatted with the so-called "zero person" construction. They show that the choice between the two turn designs is based on different assumptions about shared understandings of the activity and the sequential context. The imperative format reflects or

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constructs a situation in which certain assumptions about the nominated action are either intersubjectively shared or explicitly expressed in the turn design. In contrast, a directive turn which employs the zero person makes fewer assumptions about what is shared. This can be seen in the ordering of the turn designs if both are used in the same context and same activity: the imperative is used first, and, if met by resistance, a zero construction is then used to restore shared understanding.

With data from German and Swedish talk-in-interaction, **Peter Auer** and **Jan Lindström** (*On agency and affiliation in second assessments: German and Swedish opinion verbs in talk-in-interaction*) focus on the use of "opinion verbs" in a subjective framing of assessments (*ich finde* and *jag tycker* 'I think'). They show that speakers can influence agency constellations with certain constructional variations of the clausal formats associated with the opinion verbs. They demonstrate that it is consequential for the sequential development of talk (its closure vs. expansion relevance) whether the speaker of the second assessment claims lower vs. higher agency, and whether the second assessment is downgraded vs. on the same level as the first assessment. The chapter offers new perspectives to the workings of intersubjective positioning in social interaction and its links to the grammatical formatting of speaker turns.

Irina Piippo (*Mirror-like address practice in Arabic-medium classroom interaction: Managing social relations and intersubjectivity*) discusses address inversion in Palestinian Arabic-medium classroom interaction. This mirror-like address practice is one where the speaker uses an address form which the addressee would normally use for the speaker, so that teachers, for example, can use the form *usta:z* 'professor, teacher' to address a student. Piippo shows how address inversion is deployed in the school context to position participants both socially and interactionally while foregrounding the social position claimed by the speaker. This practice is thus a semiotic resource that explicitly manifests intersubjectivity by taking the addressee's perspective on the social relationship between the participants.

Katariina Harjunpää (*Brokering co-participant's volition in request and offer sequences*) investigates intersubjectivity through examining ascriptions of volition in multilingual settings where both Finnish and Brazilian Portuguese are used. She focuses on situations where one participant facilitates interaction between participants with asymmetric linguistic repertories in sequences of requests and offers of an immediate action or of a co-present object. In the sequences examined, the language broker facilitating the interaction verbalizes the volition of one of the parties. The paper shows how the expression of volition in this context emerges from, and responds to, local interactional needs. The analysis of modal verbal constructions as resources for formulating the "meaning" of interactional conduct also touches on issues in interactional semantics.

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2. Moving towards shared understanding

This second part of the volume is devoted to further investigations of various situations in which reaching a detailed enough intersubjective understanding is at stake. Sensemaking in dialogical interaction demands shared attention and understanding among the participants about what is going on, what kind of action is produced and what kind of state the action is aimed to bring about. Nonetheless, we can never be totally sure that a co-participant understands us and our actions. Instead, "until further notice" (Schutz & Luckmann 1979), we have to anticipate that this is the case: "In projecting my question I anticipate that the other will understand my action (for instance my uttering an interrogative sentence) as a question and that this understanding will induce him to act in such a way that I may understand his behavior as an adequate response" (Schuetz 1953: 17). But even in such successful cases, given our individual backgrounds, personalities and situational perspectives, we cannot expect that the interlocutors' understandings in a situation are exclusively shared, but rather that their understandings are shared to a degree that is "sufficient for all practical purposes" (Schuetz 1953: 8; Garfinkel 1967), i.e. what is practical for communication and human connection in that situation.

"Rational action", in accordance with Schuetz 1953, is produced within a situational and behavioral frame that the co-participants can identify as "typical". Such typified behavior, then, is to be seen as a realization (and repetition) of a regular action pattern. Such patterns can rely on what we know about our family members and close friends, all that "common ground" that we have gathered. Intersubjectivity of this kind is, however, highly dependent on personal relations, the character of which may change over time. But intersubjectivity can also build on "standardized" and protracted action patterns that are "anonymous" in the sense that anyone acting according to such a pattern in a situational frame associated with that pattern is recognized as performing a certain kind of action, and thus capable of inducing certain relevant next actions by another person (Schuetz 1953: 26; Goffman 1974: 8–11; Gumperz 1982: 101). Structures of language, social rituals (like greeting) and institutional encounters (like a commercial transaction) can be taken as examples and records of sedimented action patterns that are likely to foster intersubjective behavior and understanding (see Section 1 above).

When we recognize an action, we are able to respond accordingly and get involved in an encounter with another. Gumperz (1982) argues that understanding presupposes conversational involvement, i.e. if no involvement, then no understanding. However, to be involved in a conversation requires linguistic and sociocultural knowledge of appropriate discourse strategies, i.e. of the construction of those regular action patterns Schütz discussed. There is language variation that is stratified in different ways within a speech community – with regard

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to region, age, education, subcultures – that can hamper successful participation in conversation. Therefore, involvement and understanding are not a given but dependent on the participants' abilities to deal with some degree of variation in communicative strategies and "alterity" between the participants (see Linell 2017). In other words, involvement and shared understanding (for all practical purposes) are always *achieved* by the participants, relative to their differential perspectives, socio-cultural knowledge, familiarity with a situational frame (or script) and the ways of constructing relevant actions (such as a request).

At the micro level of social interaction, meaning making is intimately related to the situated, sequential context of speaking. In a sense, every new utterance by a speaker involves a possible breach in the weave of intersubjectivity between the participants. There are different methods of indicating that no such breach has occurred in an ongoing interaction, the most common probably being different kinds of feedback tokens (e.g. *right*, *okay*, *uh huh*) that implicitly convey that the listener has understood the preceding talk. In the absence of such tokens the speaker may soon become worried about the connection and level of shared understanding and whether it is meaningful to continue to talk or not.

Mutual understanding is easily at risk in the flow of conversation as speakers often swiftly shift focus and glide from one topic to another. Excerpt (3), borrowed from Robinson (2013), gives us an example of this kind of trouble. The two participants, Moe and Bob, have been talking on the telephone, and just before the excerpt starts, Moe has said that he has been gathering wood to be burned in a heater (stove) in his home. At the beginning of the excerpt below, the topic however has shifted to Volkswagen buses, which both Moe and Bob own, and at line 1 Moe asks how Bob's bus is running.

Excerpt 3. Bus (adapted from Robinson 2013: 261)

```
01    Moe: How's your bus running otherwise.
02         (0.5)
03    Bob: Pretty good I need a tune up real ba:d, but (.)
04         [duh : ]
05    Moe: [Mm hm,]
06         (0.4)
07    Bob: It's runnin' real goo:d.
08         (.)
09    Moe: (>Mm=hm,</>Mm:,<)
10         (1.2)
11 → Bob: How's your heater been working these last few w:eeks.
12 → Moe: My heater?
13    Bob: Yeah=in your car.
14    Moe: Thuh bu:s?
15    Bob: Yeah=or do you use it that (m[uch.)]
16    Moe:                              [ Oh  ]: yeah I been using it,
17         well it's s:low to heat u- you know you >got a lot a<
18         (.) cubic feet a a:ir in the:re,
19    Bob: Yeah.
```

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At line 11 Bob asks a question about Moe's "heater". Moe responds with a partial questioning repeat (*My heater?*) because he obviously does not understand what heater Bob is referring to. Bob treats this as an initiation of repair, attributing Moe's repetition a problem of understanding by confirming the repetition and specifying the reference (*Yeah in your car*). Yet in line 14 Moe needs to make sure it is the bus, and not another car, that Bob referred to, and only after Bob's confirmation in line 15 mutual understanding is restored. The excerpt then shows a breach in local epistemic relations: Moe lacks access to where Bob is topically shifting, but Bob becomes aware of what Moe reasonably can and cannot understand at the crucial points of interaction at lines 12 and 14.

Asymmetries in the participants' epistemic constellations, i.e. what the interactants know about the matter at hand and one another's knowledge, constitute a common source of problems of understanding. Epistemic asymmetries may also surface as overt displays of divided understandings and negotiations about the local meaning of an item in the talk. Meaning negotiations recur in social interaction to the degree that languages have developed conventional resources for dealing with such situations. One example is the Swedish utterance-initial coordinating pattern to be found at line 3 in Excerpt (4), originally discussed by Linell and Lindström (2016). The excerpt is from a TV talk-show in which a journalist (R) interviews a veteran politician (S). The journalist has referred to S's several interests and activities; his ability to speak many languages is yet another example of these interests and is brought up in line 1 (*å så kan du tala massa språk* 'and then you can speak a host of languages').

Excerpt 4. A host of languages (adapted from Linell & Lindström 2016: 119)

```
01 →  R: å så kan du tala massa språk,
         and then you can speak a host of languages,
02       va e de? åtta?
         how many is it? eight?
03 →  S: tala å tala (.) ja kan nj- an:vända en ett så där
         speak and speak (.) I can use about
04       åtta tietal språk ja.
         eight or ten languages yeah.
05    R: vikket håller du på å lära dej nu?
         which one are you learning now?
06    S: ja håller faktist på me kinesika (…)
         actually I am busy with Chinese (…)
```

S picks up the verb *tala* 'speak' and duplicates it in the coordinating pattern *tala å tala* 'speak and speak', the meaning of which perhaps could be translated as 'It depends on what you mean by speaking'. This is a way of displaying that the repeated item can be understood in more than one sense and that the participants do not necessary share the same understanding. It seems that S with this meta-semantic practice works to cancel out certain aspects of the meaning "to speak a language", that is, completely mastering a language. He then relativizes the sequentially situated

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meaning to encompass merely the ability to use a language to some (undefined) degree, an aspect S develops in the continuation of his turn in lines 3 and 4. Clearly, S has first-hand access to what level his skills in different languages are and is thus in a position to convey the adequate facet of the meaning potential of "to speak a language" to form the basis for further interaction. Such negotiations of situated meanings show that sense-making is a reflexive process that involves co-action and calibration of different, possibly competing understandings that, nonetheless, can be made available and thus intersubjective in a conversational sequence (see Linell 2017: 117).

The five chapters in this part of the volume explore the constitution of shared understanding in a range of settings, detailing different dimensions of the character of such understanding. These perspectives include intersubjectivity as a dimension of business sales interaction (Niemi, Pullins & Kaski), negotiations between different perspectives or goals in therapeutic interactions (Weiste), of socialization (Rauniomaa, Keisanen & Siitonen), extended other-initiated repair sequences (Haakana, Kurhila, Lilja & Savijärvi), and the management of lapses in conversation (Vatanen). The chapters are summarized below.

Jarkko Niemi, **Ellen Pullins**, and **Timo Kaski** (*Decision-making in salesperson–customer interaction: Establishing a common ground for obtaining commitment*) devote their attention to the concept 'shared understanding' from the point of view of business sales interaction. The authors focus on sequences where sufficiently shared understanding is claimed by one of the participants in order to account for decision-making. Claims of shared understanding are especially done to account for the buyers' no-sale decisions. Thus, the buyer appeals to an intersubjective understanding of the overall situation with the salesperson while the two negotiating parties have contrasting goals in the interaction (i.e. selling/not buying). The data consist of 24 video recorded sales encounters in Finland.

Elina Weiste (*Building an intersubjective understanding of the patient's mental suffering*) poses the question how subjective suffering becomes understood by the clinician in psychiatric consultations. Sufferers are reported to feel isolation and fundamental loneliness that can be conceptualized as a breakdown of intersubjectivity. The analysis of audio-recorded diagnostic interviews in a Finnish psychiatric outpatient clinic demonstrates that the patients' expressions of suffering involve a particular kind of passive activity: tolerance of agonising pain and endurance of what is unbearable. It is shown that the mental health professionals attempt to verbalize and explain the patient's experience in order to build a shared world of meaning. By locating suffering in symptoms of particular illnesses, they work to structure suffering into a more specific medical problem.

Human action and interaction in nature-related activities outdoors forms the setting for the chapter by **Mirka Rauniomaa**, **Tiina Keisanen**, and **Paula Siitonen** (*Shared understandings of the human–nature relationship in encounters with small*

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wildlife). They focus on moments when insects and small wildlife become the shared focus of the participants' ongoing, anticipated or contemplated actions, involving both adults and children. The analysis considers especially how participants pursue and achieve shared understanding about appropriate ways of conducting oneself in nature and contributes thus to the discussion of intersubjectivity as a dimension of socialization. An interplay of language, bodily orientation and movement are the resources the participants use when dealing with the issues of shared understanding in these outdoors settings.

Markku Haakana, **Salla Kurhila**, **Niina Lilja**, and **Marjo Savijärvi** (*Extended sequences of other-initiated repair in Finnish conversation*) examine repair sequences in which an unsuccessful repair turn leads to a new repair initiation. Their data consist of 458 other-initiated repairs in Finnish everyday interaction, of which 42 lead to an extended sequence. They show that extended sequences are least likely to occur when the other-initiation is the most specific (candidate understanding), or the least specific (open class repair initiator). Instead, they occur when the problem is the acceptability of the co-participant's turn or a mistaken assumption of shared knowledge. The study shows that other initiations are a routine way to deal with the targeted trouble, and thus a demonstration of existing intersubjectivity rather than lack of intersubjectivity. This is reflected in the rareness of extended repair sequences.

In the last chapter of this part, **Anna Vatanen** (*Co-presence during lapses: On "comfortable silences" in Finnish everyday interaction*) examines how participants in Finnish dyadic everyday interactions between friends and family members seemingly organized for sustained talk inhabit lapses, silent moments which typically occur at the ends of sequences where participants forgo the option to speak. Through a close examination of the participants' observable behavior Vatanen shows that they share an intersubjective understanding of a momentary mutual disengagement, and hence the level of sociality of the situation is reduced. She suggests that the social order of co-presence is intersubjectively negotiated, created, maintained and transformed among the participants, and that participant behavior in social situations is best described as a continuum of orientations.

3. Bodies and intersubjectivity

The third part *Bodies and Intersubjectivity* with its three chapters moves the attention to the embodied conduct in the construction and display of intersubjectivity. Goffman (1983: 2) characterized social interaction as having a "body-to-body starting point": interaction happens where people are physically in "one another's response presence". We explore what this means in terms of intersubjectivity.

Physical touch between humans is immensely important through the life course; the pacifying effect of touch is there from the very beginning of human life (Field

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2001). In human development, intersubjectivity emerges before language. What Trevarthen (1979) famously called *primary intersubjectivity*, the human infant (from the age of about two months) interacts with its caregiver through mutual gaze, facial expressions, body movements and vocalisations. Infants and caretakers are looking at and listening to each other, attending to, and regulating each other's vocal, facial and gestural expressions, and the feelings and interests that these convey. The bodily interactions remain central in intersubjectivity also when we have language. Merleau-Ponty (1962) spoke about *intercorporeality:* processes where bodies act together, producing an experience of a we; processes where interacting bodies become organs of one entity. As Meyer, Streeck and Jordan (2017) point out, intersubjectivity is always "embedded and experienced in concrete, intercorporeal action" (p. xviii).

Touching is a primary form of intercorporeal interaction, but it is only rather recently that interaction researchers have started to explore touching. M. H. Goodwin (2017) describes touching as an affective-relational activity in family interaction. Excerpt (5) below shows touching as comforting. Six- year old Becky has just hurt herself a little; mother comforts her by holding, hugging and kissing.

Excerpt 5. Comforting by touch (from M. H. Goodwin 2017: 80)

```
 1          ((Becky and Mom collide as Becky walks backwards))
 2 Mom:     You okay?
 3 Becky:   ((displays pained look on face))
 4 Becky:   °No.
 5 Mom:     No?
 6 Becky    ((shakes head))
 7 Mom:     You want Booboo Bunny?
 8 Becky:   Err ((softly moaning, lifts hands to Mom's arms))
 9 Mom:     You want Booboo Bunny? ((lifts Becky in arms))
10 Becky:   Mm hmph! ((moaning))
11 Mom:     Hm?
12 Becky:   Emph!
13 Mom:     ((kisses face)) Yes? ((kisses face)) Lemme see.
14 Mom:     ((puts Becky on bed.))
15 Becky:   ((moaning)) Mmmmm Mph! ((holds up foot))
16 Mom:     Can you sho(hh)w me where? ((holds foot))
17 Becky:   ((points to place on foot))
18 Mom:     You want Booboo Bunny?
19          ((kisses foot))
            ……
20 Mom:     ((goes to get Booboo Bunny))
```

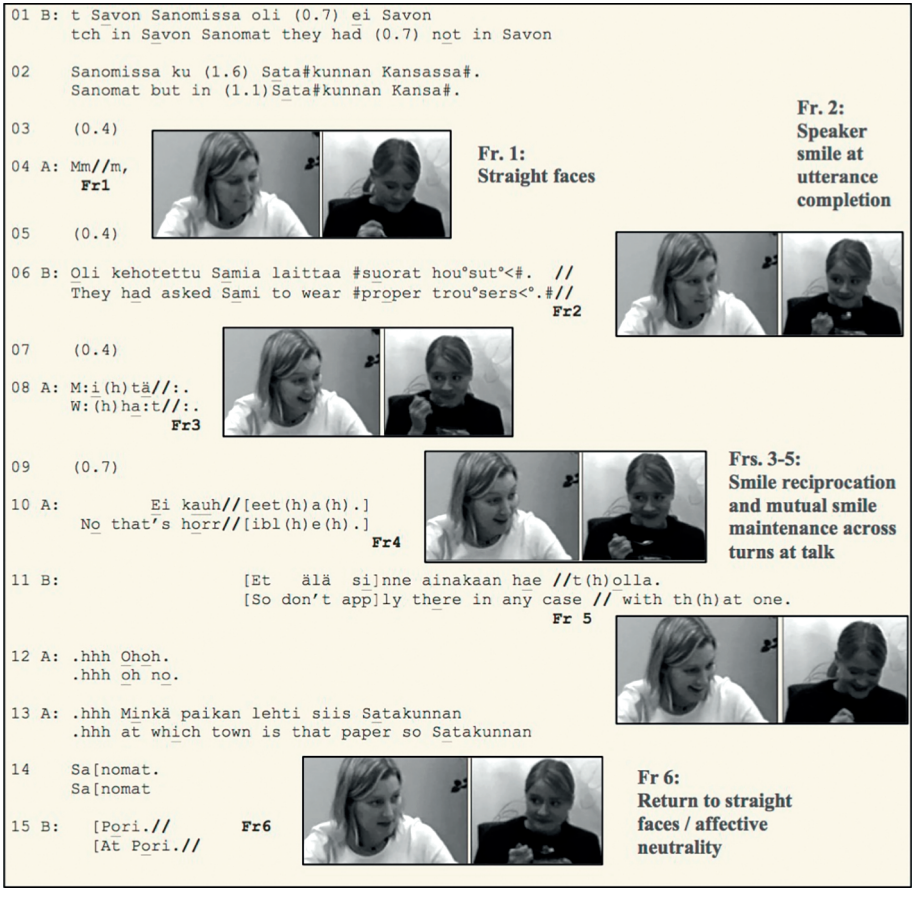


In comforting her daughter, the mother lifts her on her arms (line 9), kisses her face (line 13), and kisses her hurt foot (line 19). As Goodwin puts it, "emotional as well as physical forms of hurts are attended to through extending embraces that show care" (2017: 80). Intercorporeality – the bodies touching each other and moving together, forming one single entity – gives the ground to intersubjectivity.

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Like touch, also facial expression is a primary means in conveying and regulating emotion (Darwin 1872; Ekman 2007). Facial expressions can also invoke and sustain intersubjectively shared emotional states. In many interactions between adults, facial expressions are finely coordinated with the spoken utterances. While the spoken utterances are sequentially organised – they convey consecutive actions by different participants – the temporal organisation of facial expressions has a strong synchronic dimension in it: a facial expression invites the co-participant for concurrent, rather than consequent reciprocation. Consider Excerpt (6) (taken from Stevanovic & Peräkylä 2015; originally in Peräkylä & Ruusuvuori 2006). A and B are students having lunch at the university refectory. At the beginning of the excerpt, B comes to the end of a story about a mutual acquaintance called Sami. The point of the story is that at Sami's summer job, he had been obliged to wear proper trousers (instead of jeans).

Excerpt 6. Facial expressions (from Stevanovic & Peräkylä 2015: 3)



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During the storytelling, the teller and the recipient have "straight", affectively neutral faces (frame 1). At the very completion of the story, during mutual gaze, B (the teller) starts to smile (frame 2). After a gap (line 7), A reciprocates the smile, simultaneously producing an animated verbal response of "ritualized disbelief" (Heritage 1984: 339). The participants then maintain their smiles and mutual gaze over a number of turns that convey different actions (assessment, line 10; joking advice, line 11; Frame 4). While the spoken turns and the actions they convey are sequentially organised, the smiles are synchronous. These synchronous smiles embody a shared emotional experience – something that Selting (1994) has called heightened emotive involvement. After this moment of shared emotion, the participants break their mutual gaze (Frame 5), which is followed by their smiles becoming less intense. First A, and then B, adopt a straight face (see frame 6).

The chapters in this part of the volume explore intercorporeality from three perspectives: sensorial experiences, physiological arousal, and synchrony of body movements. **Lorenza Mondada** (*Achieving the intersubjectivity of sensorial practices: Body, language and the senses in tasting activities*) demonstrates in her chapter the intersubjective character of multisensorial experiences, considered as primarily individual, and their link to both language and the body. On the basis of a large video corpus of encounters in gourmet food shops in a dozen European cities, the chapter focuses on instances in which customers and salespersons engage in sensorial activities with cheese products, such as touching, smelling and tasting. Forms of intersubjectivity in two environments are analyzed: (i) asymmetric sensing practices (e.g. the seller touching and smelling, and the customer monitoring), and (ii) symmetric practices in which sellers and customers engage together. Intersubjectivity is shown to be being central for the organization of practices often considered as being merely individual. The chapter shows how multimodal conversation analysis can be expanded into a new field of study.

The chapter by **Anssi Peräkylä**, **Liisa Voutilainen**, **Melisa Stevanovic**, **Pentti Henttonen**, **Mikko Kahri**, **Maari Kivioja**, **Emmi Koskinen**, **Mikko Sams**, and **Niklas Ravaja** (*Emotion, psychophysiology and intersubjectivity*) discusses the interconnection between interactional conduct and physiological responses in the bodies of the participants of interaction, focusing on expressing affiliation. The physiological responses include sweating, heart rate and breathing. They present results from studies on storytelling in informal interaction, interactions with participants with Asperger's syndrome, and interaction in psychotherapy. Their studies show that across different settings and participants, interactional display of affiliation entails a process that can be called "sharing the emotional load": the person showing affiliation becomes physiologically aroused, whereas the person who is affiliated with, becomes less aroused. In the light of these results, the authors discuss the place of the coordination of non-conscious corporeal processes in creation and maintenance of intersubjectivity.

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Melisa Stevanovic and **Tommi Himberg** (*Movement synchrony as a topic of empirical social interaction research*) bring together quantitative movement synchrony research and insight arising from qualitative conversation analytical research on decision making. The chapter addresses movement synchrony through conceptual lenses arising from conversation analysis and psychological theory of perception. The authors discuss the differences between these approaches in their treatment of several issues that are all pertinent to the analysis of movement synchrony. Such issues include the accountability of action, differences in the physical and psychological capacities of individuals, and the status of the interactional outcome as a cultural production.

4. Evolving intersubjectivity

The final, fourth part of this volume consists of three chapters dealing with developmental perspectives on intersubjectivity. Until recently, conversation analytical and other interactional research has predominantly examined structures and practices of interaction as they emerge in one point in time, without considering the ways in which the patterns of interaction have possibly changed over time. In recent years, however, developmental perspectives have started to emerge. While language acquisition is a classical theme in linguistics and developmental psychology, the ontogeny of actual interactional practices has been addressed in only few landmark studies, such as Wootton's (1997) study on the development of a child's orientations to the plans and agreements in family interactions, and Stivers, Sidnell and Bergen's (2018) study on childrens' responses on question in peer interaction. While the viability of the study of historical change in language use is the topic of the field of historical pragmatics (Jucker 1995), historical change in interaction patterns has only recently been addressed in conversation analysis, e.g. by Heritage and Clayman's studies on the evolvement of questioning practices in US presidential press conferences (e.g. Heritage & Clayman 2013). A recent collection by Pekarek Doehler, Wagner and Gonzáles-Martínes (2018) lays out the methodology of study of change processes in interaction.

Psychotherapy is a social setting that has change in interaction "inscribed" in it, as the very goal of psychotherapy is to promote change. Excerpts 7 and 8 show traces of one change process in psychotherapy. The Italian patient, Leo (L), has come to cognitive psychotherapy because of compulsive symptoms (Bercelli, Rossano & Viaro 2013). During the course of the therapy, he starts to report aggressive thoughts and fantasies towards his wife and son. The therapist responds to these announcements by inquiries that eventually lead to interpretations. Bercelli, Rossano and Viaro (2013) followed the evolvement of an interpretation through

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two consecutive therapy sessions. The "content" of the interpretation remains more or less the same, but during the course of the therapy, the patient's response changes: the first responses were minimal acknowledgements that did not display cognitive or affective change in the patient, whereas in a latter session, the patient produces an extended response that demonstrates such change. Consider Excerpts 7 and 8. In Excerpt (7), the therapist suggests that the patient possibly wanted to be free from the burdens of the domestic duties (lines 6–7). The patient responds by qualified but minimal claim or agreement (line 13).

Excerpt 7. (Adapted from Bercelli, Rossano & Viaro 2013: 128–129)

```
01    T: […] ma giovedì sera, (.) effettivamente, (0.5)
         […] but Thursday evening, (.) actually, (0.5)
02       essere lì, dover far da mangiare, dover star lì=
         being there, having to prepare the meal, having to be there=
03    L: =poteva essere=
         =it might be=
04    T: =mi- mi::=
         =it- it::=
05    L: =mi pesava
         =it was a burden
06    T: mi pesava? (0.3) magari avrebbe voluto essere (1.1)
         it was a burden? (0.3) perhaps you wanted to be (1.1)
07       hm non so (.) hh libero
         hm I don't know (.) hh free
08       (.)
09    T: ((cough))
10       (1.1)
11    T: ((cough))
12       (2.5)
13 → L: può essere.
         it may be so.
14      (1.6)
15    T: tsc allora lì l'importante è
         tch so the upshot is ((continues))
```

The patient's qualified claim of agreement is a minimal response: he does not take up the interpretation or elaborate on it. The therapist remains silent for a while – thus allowing for the patient a possibility to extend his response – and then continues elaborating his interpretation (line 15).

In Excerpt (8), which is taken from the session subsequent to the session that the previous Excerpt (7) was, the therapist returns to his interpretation. Meanwhile, the participants have adopted the metaphor 'cage' to depict Leo's experience of his situation (Bercelli, Rossano & Viaro 2013). Using this shared metaphor, the interpretation (see lines 1–3, 5, 7) involves the same basic idea as the one in Excerpt (7): the patient wants to be free from the domestic ties. Here, unlike the earlier session, the patient responds with an extended agreement, documenting a change in his understanding of his situation.

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Excerpt 8. (Adapted from Bercelli, Rossano & Viaro 2013: 131)

```
01  T: è venuto fuori anche (0.5) questa- cosa qui (.)
       interessante.
       what's come up as well (0.5) is this- (.) interesting
       thing.
02     quindi allora (0.3) il fatto di essere a ta:vola,
       so then (0.3) the fact you're at ta:ble,
03     (1.0) e di essere un po' (.) ingabbiato (.) a tavola::
       (1.0) and being a bit (.) caged (.) at table::
04  L: a questo punto, ripensandoci potrebbe essere.
       at this point, thinking back it might be.
05  T: potrebbe essere che lei si senta- poi lei lo risolve
       it might be that you feel- then you resolve it
06  L: alzandomi=
       by getting up=
07  T: =alzandosi e togliendosi (.)
       =by getting up and getting out (.)
08  L: da[l
         [of the
09  T:   [dalla gabbietta.
         [of the little cage.
10     (3.0)
11  L: °sì.°
       °yes.°
12     (5.0)
13→ L: .h °a questo punto no? (0.5) penso che la nascita° del
       .h °at this point right? (0.5) I think the birth° of
14→    secondo figlio no? perché poi (.)     comun[que ( )
       my second child right? because then (.) any[way ( )
15  T:                                          [heh heh
                                                [heh heh
16→ L: mi: mi faccia:: provare questa aggressività perché::
       it: it: makes me:: feel this aggressiveness because::
17→    mi ingabbia °secondo me, ancora di più.°
       it cages me °in my opinion, even more.°
18     (1.5)
19→ L: °non so.°
       °I don't know.°
20     (1.0)
21  T: la mettiamo come un punto di domanda, <il secondo
       let's put a question mark on it, <does my second
22     figlio, (0.8) mi ingabbia?>
       child (0.8) cage me in?> ((articulating the words as
       he was writing them down))
23     (1.0)
24  T: è venuta a £lei£ eh?
       it came to £you£ eh?
```

In lines 13–14, Leo takes up the interpretation and elaborates it further. He suggests that the expected birth of his second child might intensify his aggressiveness, as the new child will "cage" him even more.

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To summarise, Excerpts 7 and 8 show a process of evolving intersubjectivity. The therapist and the patient were searching for new understandings regarding the patient's problematic experiences. The therapist suggested such understandings through his interpretations. At first (Excerpt (7)), the patient remained passive and reserved towards the therapist's suggestions, but eventually (Excerpt (8)) he showed that he shared these ideas and started to develop them further.

The contributions in this part of the volume consider the evolvement of interaction in three quite different temporal frames, having to do with (a) the development of interaction competencies in infants and children, (b) the development of professional skills in young actors, and (c) an experimental set-up during which human–dog interaction is examined. These studies show intersubjectivity "on the move" or "under construction", rather than a stabilized reality in humans.

Minna Laakso (*Learning to request in interaction: Intersubjective development of children's requesting between one and five years*) investigates longitudinally the development of the skills of requesting. The development of requesting skills was examined in home interactions of 35 Finnish speaking 1–5-year old children and their co-participants. Through a careful analysis of the development and interplay between embodied and verbal resources, as well the caregiver's feedback, it is shown that children's requests develop from embodied action to combinations of embodied and verbal action towards independent, socially adaptive linguistic formulation. In the process, the caregiver's feedback is central. In the development process, the more elaborate linguistic forms emerge through challenging peer interactions where the children's intersubjective understanding of the other's interests is developing further.

Marjo Savijärvi and **Laura Ihalainen** (*How an improvised scene emerges in theatre rehearsal: Constructing coherence by recycling*) investigate how young adults manage intersubjectivity and develop their professional skills in Devising Theatre rehearsals. The study is based on videotaped rehearsals with groups of young adults who did not know each other before the project and had no previous experience in acting. The focus is on sequences that emerge between the rehearsing exercises when the director tells the participants to move to a new constellation. The analysis shows the fine-tuned multimodal and sequential details in these joint organizing practices. The chapter brings new light on phenomena like framing (in the Goffmanian sense), embodied interaction and CA's contribution to the research on performing arts.

Mika Simonen and **Hannes Lohi** (*Interactional reciprocity in human–dog interaction*) investigate human–dog interaction and open a question of whether interactional reciprocity exists in interspecific interactions. As a variant of the "still face paradigm" used in infant research, the dog's caretaker was asked in an experimental setting not to look at her dog for two minutes. The results show the dogs becoming

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interested about the caretaker's passive condition. They do that by doing initiating actions, bearing a resemblance to first pair-parts (e.g., touch to get attention). After realizing the lack of reciprocity, the dogs typically sit near the caretaker and begin to whine. The dog's subsequent vocalizations can be interpreted as expressing sorrow or confusion. Eventually, as the two minutes of "still face" expire and the caretaker turns active, the dog and human share mutual gaze and joyful affect becomes dominant. This moment restores their ways of being together.

As the outline above suggests, it is hard to single out intersubjectivity as something concrete that can be pointed at; instead, intersubjectivity often turns out to be an elusive thing. Its significance for human interaction may become most manifest in breakdowns in communication, while successful connection and understanding is not usually explicitly claimed but displayed in a conversation's smooth progressivity turn by turn. When going about interacting, the participants may thus seem to take intersubjectivity "for granted" (Rommetveit 1974: 56). However, intersubjectivity is not something that only somehow "exists" between the participants: it needs to be achieved, monitored and maintained in the sequential course of interaction. The following seventeen chapters present studies that capture different aspects of the workings of this complex, dynamic and omni-relevant phenomenon "in action".

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PART I

How language codes and creates intersubjectivity

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Organizing the "we" in interaction

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In this paper, I analyse a piece of interaction during which the participants seem to have trouble arriving at an agreement in a series of affective evaluations. The sequence does not contain other initiations of repair, third position repairs or fourth position repairs, places in which problems of intersubjectivity become visible in the conversation analytic tradition. I show that these problems are due to the fact that the participants do not share an understanding of the nature of the conversation, their respective roles in it, or their mutual relationship. In the end, I discuss my analysis in light of the Schuetzian (1953) understanding of intersubjectivity and suggest that initiating and accomplishing repair are not the only means for restoring intersubjectivity in interaction.

Keywords: affective evaluation, assessment, reciprocity of perspectives, Schuetz

> The emotions are 'collective' if actors have common feelings and these are perceived or defined by them as such.
>
> (Lawler, Thye, & Yoon 2014: 189)

1. Introduction

In conversation analysis, intersubjectivity is commonly understood to be based on the sequentiality of interaction: every turn reveals an interpretation of the previous turn, and unless this interpretation is challenged in the following turn, it is taken as shared (e.g., Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974, Schegloff 1992, Sidnell 2014). It has been proposed that turn-organization, sequence organization, and repair organization provide an infrastructure (architecture) for intersubjectivity as interaction unfolds in an enchronic time scale (Sidnell 2014).

In this section, I analyse a sequence of interaction which has no explicit initiations of repair nor explicit displays of disagreement. Nevertheless, the participants have clear difficulties in arriving at a mutual stance towards recent happenings in

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their lives. I suggest that this is because they do not share an understanding of their mutual relationship. This leads to a momentary failure in their reciprocity of the perspectives (see Schuetz 1953). Consequently, I propose that a sufficiently shared understanding of the participants' relations to each other for all practical purposes is a crucial element for intersubjective understanding and joint social action.

The piece of interaction I analyse is an assessment sequence. Assessments are among the central means of proposing an affective-evaluative stance towards some aspect of the life-world to be shared (Pomerantz 1984, Goodwin & Goodwin 1987). As such, they are also one of the central interactional loci for the participants to organize their relationship with each other and with the world. They provide a test for their common-sense idealizations of the interchangeability of the standpoints and the congruency of the system of relevances (Schuetz 1953) in practice; in other words, for the foundations of intersubjectivity in interaction.

I first provide a detailed analysis of the extract as a whole. I then discuss how the relationship between the participants with respect to each other and the world evolves as the conversation unfolds. In the last section, I discuss the established conversation analytic understanding of intersubjectivity (Schegloff 1992, Sidnell 2014) and the broader, Schuetzian (1953) understanding of intersubjectivity in light of my analysis.

2. The analysis

The sequence I analyse comes from a telephone call between Ella and Arja. Ella is the wife of Pasi, who is the vicar of the local congregation, and Arja is a member of the congregation. Pasi has been on holiday from his church duties. During this holiday, Ella and Pasi's son was married. Earlier in the day on which this telephone call takes place, Pasi had held his first church service after his holiday.

Ella has now called Arja to ask her to help serve coffee at an upcoming musical event at the church. After Arja has agreed to come, and the two women have talked about the practical matters of the event, Ella (in line 1) produces a demonstrative adjective *semmostii* (roughly 'these kinds of things') that wraps up the call. It can be classed as a possible pre-closing of the conversation because it expresses that Ella has nothing more to add, and provides a place for Arja to introduce any previously unmentioned mentionables (Schegloff & Sacks 1973). Arja exploits this opportunity (in lines 2–4) by congratulating Ella on becoming a mother-in-law. This opens up a fairly long stretch of talk on personal matters which sees an asymmetric relation between the participants with respect to the things they talk about. More importantly, the participants themselves do not recognize this asymmetry, which turns out to be problematic:

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Excerpt 1. *onnee sulle* 'congratulations' [KTA: Sg 142_B03]

```
01  ELL:  .hh joo:h. m.ffhh ↑se:mm::os[tii.
                PRT          DEM1.ADJ-PL-PAR
           yes. all right then.
02  ARJ:                              [nii. ja o-
                                       PRT PRT l-
                                       yes. and c-
03        sulle o:nnea kuule kun sä olet
          you-ALL luck PRT   PRT 2SG be-2SG
          congratulations PRT for you are
04        anoppih.
          a mother-in-law
05  ELL:  no ↑kiitos kiitos.
          PRT thank you thank you
          PRT thank you thank you
06  ARJ:  nii[:.
          PRT
07  ELL:     [no  nii, tässä       on   semmosta
              PRT PRT DEM1-INE/PRT be-3 DEM3.ADJ-PAR
              well yes. such a fresh (thing)
08        t::uoretta tapahtunu.=
          fresh-PAR happen-PPPC
          has taken place
09  ARJ:  =hnii mä ajattelin et[tä
           PRT 1SG think-PST-1SG PRT
           yes I thought that
10  ELL:                       [↑mh,
11        (.)
12  ARJ:  on   se   ihanaa    kun  on
          be-3 DEM3 wonderful when be-3SG
          it is wonderful when there are
13        tämmösiä (.) <ilo:isia>
          DEM1.ADJ-PL-PAR happy-PL-PAR
          these kinds of happy
14        ihania            asioita et jo- (.)
          wonderful-PL-PAR thing-PL-PAR PRT so-
          wonderful things that so-
15        jotenkin niin .hhhh mä en      tiedä, (.)
          somehow so          1SG NEG-1SG know
          somehow so .hhhh I don't know
16        tänään Ø tuntu        kirkossa
          today Ø feel.PST.1SG church-INE
          Ø felt awfully good at church today
17        <kauheen> mukavalt[ah,
          awful-GEN nice
18  ELL:  [mm.
19  ARJ:  =(kato) ku  Pasi   olih.
                PRT 1nameM be-PST.3SG
          (you see) because Pasi was ((there))
20        (.)
21  ELL:  oli        juu. oikeen- (.)
          be-PST.3SG PRT very
          it was yes quite- (.)
```

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22 **oike[en (he) oli.**
very (DEM) be-PST.3
quite (it) was.

23 ARJ: **[voi h:yvä:nen aika sentään että::,**
INTERJ PRT
oh good heavens

24 **ihan niinku isä ois tullu**
quite PRT father be-CON.3 come-PPC
((it was)) like father had come

25 **kotiih::.**
home-ILL
home

26 ELL: **ai ja£(h)a[h hah hah haah£]**
PRT PRT
oh I see

27 ARJ: **[£niih hih hih .hhh£]**

28 ELL: **.hh jo(h)oku mu(h)u sano**
someone else say-PST.3
someone else said

29 **muuten samalla lailla et**
by-the-way same-ADE way-ADE PRT
by the way the same so

30 ARJ: **[↑ihan tottah.**
quite true-PAR
really

31 ELL: **[kyl kai se**
PRT probably DEM3.SG
indeed it probably

32 **.hh jooh::. .hhh et kyl kai se**
PRT PRT PRT probably DEM3.SG
yes .hhh *so indeed it probably*

33 **jotenki- tai samanhenkisesti**
someho- or same-spirited
someho- or in the same spirit

34 **et kyl kai se jotenkin on**
PRT PRT probably DEM3.SG somehow be-3
so indeed it probably is

35 **näin että: että (.) tommonen jo (.)**
DEM1.MAN PRT PRT DEM2.ADJ already
so that: that (.) *that kind of*

36 **.hhh pitkään ollu vähä hhvanhempi kaveri**
long be-PPC bit older guy
slightly older guy (who's) already been (in the congregation) for a long time

37 **niin on sitten- semmonenhh [.hh**
PRT be-3 then DEM3.ADJ
so (he) is then a kind of

38 ARJ: **[nii.**
PRT
yes

39 ELL: **omalla tavallansa >semmonen< no**
own-ADE way-ADE-POSS DEM3.ADJ PRT
in his own way a kind of well

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```
40  ELL:    seurakunnan      isähän     se      on
            congregation-GEN father-CLI DEM3.SG be-3
            the congregation's father he is
41          sitte kui>tenki.<
            then anyway
```

Arja's turn in lines 2–4 begins with congratulations followed by an announcement of the reason for the congratulations. The congratulations convey an affective stance towards the reason for them, and the affective stance is supported by the stress and the lengthening of sounds in the word *o:nnea* 'congratulations'. The particle *kuule* 'listen' (line 3) in between these two TCUs places the focus on the reason for the congratulations, namely the fact that Ella has become a mother-in-law (*ku sä olet anoppi* 'for you are a mother-in-law') (see VISK § 858). The reason for the congratulations is a "type 2 knowing" (Pomerantz 1980) for Arja. It is an event in Ella's private life that Arja has apparently not witnessed herself.[1] Yet, she takes an affective evaluative stance towards it. Moreover, she formulates the reason for the congratulations on Ella becoming a mother-in-law instead of congratulating Ella for her son's marriage, thereby also categorizing Ella as a mother-in-law.

Arja's turn is not a typical "my side telling" in that it is not produced as a situated report of an "objective event" that Arja has experienced (see Pomerantz 1980). It has, however, a topic soliciting character in that it refers to an event in Ella's life that Arja has not witnessed herself (see also the discussion in the paragraph below). In doing so, it makes further elaboration of the event as relevant next action: how the wedding was, how Ella experienced the wedding or how she experiences her new role as a mother-in-law. Ella's response turn (line 5), a reduplicated 'thank you' (*kiitos kiitos*), is not a straightforward aligning response, which is indexed already by the turn-initial particle *no* (Sorjonen & Vepsäläinen 2016). Although it acknowledges the congratulation by thanking, it does not align with the topic solicitating nature of Arja's turn, nor does it affiliate with the positive evaluation implied in the congratulation. The reduplication of 'thank you' is a conventionalized manner to express the thanking as a routinized action that does not convey much affect (see VISK § 1738), and Ella does not proceed to evaluate or offer more details about the event.

Arja's response *nii* in line 6 reasserts the affective stance of Arja's own turn in lines 2–4, and in so doing insists on the topic by implying that Ella's response was insufficient or in some way inadequate (see Sorjonen 2001: 195–199) . This is not, however, successful. Ella's next turn (lines 7–8) begins with the particle chain *no*

1. We do not know for sure that she has not attended the wedding, but her congratulating Ella at this point indicates that she was not present at the wedding. I thank the editors for pointing this out.

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niin which is used for signalling transition (Sorjonen & Vepsäläinen 2016; VISK § 859). She then continues by reformulating the reason for the congratulations as 'such a fresh (thing) has taken place' (*tässä on semmosta t::tuoretta tapahtunu*). The reformulation does not expand on the topic but refers to the wedding in a maximally vague way as *semmosta t::uoretta* 'such a fresh (thing)' where the demonstrative adjective *semmosta* marks the issue as known enough for the purposes at hand (see Etelämäki 2009). The description *tuoretta* 'fresh' refers to the timing of the wedding. Lacking any affective-evaluative stance, it merely confirms that something has taken place recently (see Pomerantz 1980: 196). In other words, Ella's turn functions as an aligning response to the congratulations, but it disaligns with the topic elicitation, and disaffiliates with the evaluative affective assessment implied in the congratulations.

In her next turn, Arja takes an explicitly evaluative affective stance towards the event in lines 9, 12–14, '…happy wonderful things…'. The assessable is, however, in the plural, which shifts the focus of the evaluation from a particular event in Ella's life to the fact that these kinds of events take place in general. In this way, Arja seems to orient towards the fact that she has no direct access to Ella's son wedding but she has access to similar events, towards which she has an affective stance. While proceeding to the part of the utterance marked as a paraphrase of the turn by the particle *et* (line 14) (see VISK § 1032), however, she self-interrupts and launches a new unit prefaced by *mä en tiedä* 'I don't know' (line 15). Keevallik (2016) has described the practice of discarding stalled topical sequences in Estonian: when a speaker self-interrupts a unit-in-progress, and contingently launches a new one that begins with *ma ei tea* 'I don't know'. This is exactly what happens in this extract: the following unit in Arja's turn is no longer evaluating Ella's becoming a mother-in-law or respective events in life but instead the church service earlier that day.

The affective evaluation is in a zero-person form (*tänään ø tuntu kirkossa <kauheen> mukavaltah* 'ø felt awfully good at church today'), which offers the subjective experience of feeling good as a shared one (Laitinen 2006). This offer is not accepted in Ella's response (line 18). The *mm* acknowledges Arja's evaluation but does not agree that the experience was mutually shared. Arja's following turn orients to the lack of an affiliative response by providing an account for the evaluation: *kato ku Pasi oli* '(you see) because Pasi was [there]'. Ella's response turn (lines 21–22) begins with a confirmation that consists of a verb and a response particle (*oli juu*). This formulation asserts agreement with the assessment but implies that there is nothing to add to what has been said and is thereby a closure of the topic (Hakulinen & Sorjonen 2009). The following utterance (*oikeen-* (.) *oikeen (he) oli* 'quite- (.) quite (it) was', line 22) is formulated as a predicate nominal clause, which nevertheless lacks the predicate nominal. It thus looks like an evaluation but has no evaluative element. As such, it basically has the same function as the preceding verb plus

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particle response: it implies that there is nothing more to add and, thereby, is a closure of the topic. Moreover, the way in which the turn is formulated shifts the perspective from a personally experienced feeling to a more distanced statement on the state of affairs ('ø felt' vs 'it was').[2]

Apparently, however, Arja is not yet ready to close the topic. Instead, she produces a new affective evaluation (*voi hyvänen aika sentään* 'oh good heavens', line 23) followed by a paraphrasing account (*ihan niinku isä olis tullu kotiin* '(it was) like father had come home', lines 24–25). The response that this turn receives is quite different from Ella's previous responses. It begins with a change-of-state token *ai ja(h)a* (line 26) (Koivisto 2017) which treats Arja's previous turn as news rather than as an assessment, followed by a telling that someone else (in the congregation) had said the same thing to Ella (lines 28–29). The turn is produced with laughter that responds to the affiliation-seeking character of Arja's previous turn. Arja's *ihan totta* 'really' marks Ella's telling as news to Arja and in this way asks her to continue the topic. The talk turns to the role of the vicar as the father of the congregation.

3. What happens in this sequence of talk?

There are no clear signs of misunderstanding such as repair-initiators or repairs in this sequence. Yet, the participants have difficulty arriving at an agreement of a mutual stance. This can be seen in Ella's lack of sufficiently agreeing responses, and in Arja's pursuit of responses. In order to understand the trouble here, I discuss the relationship between the participants in terms of assessables, and the formulation of their affective evaluations.

As noted above, Ella is the wife of the vicar, Arja is a member of the congregation, and the reason for the call is connected to church activities. Although the participants apparently know each other quite well, the conversation is semi-institutional. We join the conversation at a point at which the institutional matters have been

2. The anonymous referee suggested that Ella could be avoiding self-praise because the praise is for her husband and she therefore might inherit some of the praise. In Finnish conversations, compliments are usually accepted either in a straightforward manner or by giving the credit to someone else (e.g., 'You have a nice haircut' 'Oh thank you, I have such a brilliant hairdresser') (see Etelämäki, Haakana & Halonen 2013). Had Ella treated the turn as a possible compliment, she would have had the option of responding, e.g., by saying 'Yes, Pasi is such a good priest, isn't he?'. However, Ella does give an affective-evaluative response (line 26) after Arja's upgraded evaluation 'oh good heavens ((it was)) like father had come home' (lines 23–24), and adds 'someone else said the same thing' (lines 28–29). If Ella was avoiding self-praise in this example, it seems hardly convincing that she would confirm, and actually upgrade the praise in her next turn by saying that she has heard the same praise from someone else as well.

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dealt with. I suggest that the trouble in this sequence of talk lies in the fact that Ella is continuously orienting towards the institutional nature of the call whereas Arja is formulating her affective evaluative turns in a manner that seeks to create a more intimate relationship with Ella and the assessables.

Let us examine lines 2–8 in the segment above in more detail. When Ella proposes ending the call, Arja introduces a new topic that concerns an event in Ella's personal life:

```
02 ARJ:                              [nii. ja o-
                                      PRT PRT l-
                                     yes. and c-
03         sulle o:nnea kuule kun sä olet
           you-ALL luck PRT  PRT 2SG be-2SG
           congratulations PRT for you are
04         anoppih.
           a mother-in-law
05  ELL:   no :kiitos     kiitos.
           PRT thank you thank you
           PRT thank you thank you
06  ARJ:   nii[:.
           PRT
           yes
07  ELL:      [no nii, tässä       on   semmosta
              PRT PRT DEM1-INE/PRT be-3 DEM3.ADJ-PAR
              well yes. such a fresh (thing)
08         t::uoretta   tapahtunu.=
           fresh-PAR happen-PPPC
           has taken place
```

The topic-elicitation is formulated as congratulations followed by the reason for congratulating. The reason is formulated as a declarative *kuule ku sää olet anoppi* ('KUULE for you are a mother-in-law') which gives a sense of informing or announcing to the turn. Although it is likely that the whole congregation knew that the vicar's absence was due to his son's wedding, the declarative formulation of Arja's turn, as well as the fact that Ella, in lines 7–8, confirms that the wedding has taken place, gives reason to believe that Ella and Arja have not discussed the wedding at any earlier point in time.

The congratulations and the reason for congratulating take for granted that this event has taken place in Ella's life. In other words, Arja's turn assumes a knowing status on an issue that belongs essentially to Ella's private life, but which has not been discussed between the two earlier. Moreover, it implies an affective evaluative stance towards the issue. We can see in the example that Ella resists expanding on the topic and affiliating with the affective evaluation. By neither elaborating on her new status as a mother-in-law nor affiliating with the affective stance, she is declining to talk about her personal life with a member of the congregation.

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In other words, she resists including this aspect of her life in hers and Arja's mutual life-world, at least in this particular conversation.

Arja, on the other hand, continues to formulate her affective evaluative turns in a manner that offers the experience and the affective stance as potentially shareable by using the zero person in her turn in lines 12–14 and 16–17 (the place of the zero is marked by Ø in the segment):

```
09  ARJ:   =hnii mä ajattelin     et[tä
            PRT 1SG think-PST-1SG PRT
            yes I thought that
10  ELL:                           [↑mh,
11          (.)
12  ARJ:   on   se   ihanaa    kun  on
           be-3 DEM3 wonderful when be-3SG
           it is wonderful when there are
13          tämmösiä (.)     <ilo:isia>
           DEM1.ADJ-PL-PAR happy-PL-PAR
           these kinds of happy
14          ihania            asioita      et jo- (.)
           wonderful-PL-PAR thing-PL-PAR PRT so-
           wonderful things that so-
15          jotenkin niin   .hhhh mä en tiedä, (.)
           somehow  so    1SG NEG-1SG      know
           somehow so .hhhh I don't know
16          tänään ø  tuntu       kirkossa
            today ø feel.PST.1SG church-INE
           ø felt awfully good at church today
17          <kauheen> mukavalt[ah,
           awful-GEN nice
18  ELL:                      [mm.
19  ARJ:  =(kato) ku Pasi olih.
            PRT 1nameM be-PST.3SG
            (you see) because Pasi was ((there))
20          (.)
21  ELL:   oli        juu. oikeen- (.)
           be-PST.3SG PRT  very
           it was yes quite- (.)
22          oike[en (he) oli.
           very   (DEM) be-PST.3
           quite (it) was.
```

Moreover, referring to the vicar by using his first name only (*Pasi*) in line 19 avoids evoking the institutional role of the vicar (as well as that of Ella, as the vicar's wife), and no institution-relevant activities are related to this reference form. Rather, the formulation of the affective evaluation (lines 9, 12–17) and its account (line 19) implies a symmetric relation between Ella and Arja and Pasi and the church service. Ella is Pasi's wife so her relationship with him and his institutionally relevant activities (e.g., church service) is different to those of Arja. Her perspective, and therefore her affective evaluative stance towards the church service is presumably

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different from Arja's, which is reflected in her response (lines 21–22), merely a weak agreement that has no affective evaluative elements and, moreover, shifts the perspective. Unlike Arja (lines 16–17), Ella (line 18) is not commenting on how she felt at church but is providing a more distanced statement about the church service.

Insisting on her affective evaluative stance, Arja happens to provide a solution to Ella's problem on how to agree with an evaluative affective stance without putting herself on a par with Arja (lines 23–25):

```
23  ARJ:  [voi h:yvä:nen aika sentään että::,
          INTERJ                      PRT
          oh good heavens
24        ihan   niinku   isä   ois     tullu
          quite PRT      father be-CON.3 come-PPC
          ((it was)) like father had come
25        kotiih::.
          home-ILL
          home
26  ELL:  ai jaf(h)a[h hah hah haahf ]
          PRT PRT
          oh I see
27  ARJ:            [fniih hih hih .hhhf]
28  ELL:  .hh jo(h)oku mu(h)u sano
              someone else say-PST.3
              someone else said
29        muuten      samalla lailla  et
          by-the-way same-ADE way-ADE PRT
          by the way the same so
30  ARJ:  [↑ihan tottah.
          quite true-PAR
          [really
31  ELL:  [kyl   kai   se
          PRT probably DEM3.SG
          indeed it probably
32        .hh jooh::. .hhh et    kyl kai se
          PRT PRT PRT probably DEM3.SG
          yes .hhh so indeed it probably
33        jotenki- tai samanhenkisesti
          someho- or same-spirited
          someho- or in the same spirit
34        et   kyl  kai     se   jotenkin on
          PRT PRT probably DEM3.SG somehow be-3
          so indeed it probably is
35        näin että: että (.) tommonen jo (.)
          DEM1.MAN PRT PRT DEM2.ADJ already
          so that: that (.) that kind of
36        .hhh pitkään ollu    vähä hhvanhempi kaveri
               long    be-PPC  bit  older      guy
          a slightly older guy (who's) already been (in the
          congregation) for a long time
37        niin on sitten- semmonenhh [.hh
          PRT be-3 then DEM3.ADJ
          so (he) is then a kind of
```

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38  ARJ:                                [nii.
                                         PRT
                                        yes
39  ELL:  omalla   tavallansa   >semmonen< no
          own-ADE way-ADE-POSS DEM3.ADJ PRT
          in his own way a kind of well
40  ELL:  seurakunnan      isähän    se      on
          congregation-GEN father-CLI DEM3.SG be-3
          the congregation's father he is
41        sitte kui>tenki.<
          then anyway
```

In her response to Arja's description *ihan niinku isä ois tullu kotiih::* 'it was like father had come home', Ella states that someone else had said the same thing. The reference form she uses (*joku muu* 'someone else') is an indefinite, generalizing one although it is likely that Ella knows who this 'someone else' is. What is crucial is not the identity but the category of that other person, an attendee at the service.[3] In this way, Ella is able to distance herself from Arja's affective evaluation but simultaneously tell Arja that her experience is shared by at least one other member of the congregation. Ella thereby restores her own institutional role as the wife of the vicar as well as the institutional relationship between herself and Arja, while also confirming the validity of Arja's experience by putting her on a par with the other members of the congregation.

4. Intersubjectivity in interaction

In conversation analytic tradition, intersubjectivity is understood to be a by-product of turn-taking organization, which is one of the most profound organizations in any conversation (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974; Heritage 1984). Every next turn provides a public display of its speaker's understanding of the previous turn. Should the speaker of the previous turn find this understanding problematic in one way or another, the third (and fourth) position provides a chance to initiate a repair (Schegloff 1992). If no repairs are initiated, the claim is that the participants are in an intersubjective understanding (regardless of what they actually think). It is thus the turn-taking organization and repair organization that set the grounds for intersubjectivity (Schegloff 1992; Sidnell 2014).

It is true that neither the participants of a conversation nor we as analysts have direct access to the mental life of another person, and that we cannot make claims of problems in understanding if we cannot base our claims on what is present in the data. I do, however, suggest that we can claim problems in intersubjectivity beyond

3. I thank the anonymous editor for this observation.

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the organization of repair: that there is a problem in intersubjectivity behind at least some non-agreements and disagreements.

In his classic article, Schuetz (1953) wrote that in everyday life, we know that the objects in our shared world do not mean exactly the same to us, because:

i. I, being "here", am at another distance from and experience other aspects as being typical of the objects than he, who is "there". For the same reason, certain objects are out of my reach – but within his and vice versa.
ii. My and my fellowman's biographically determined situations, and therewith my and his purposes at hand and my and his system of relevances originating in such purposes, must needs differ, at least to a certain extent. (Schuetz 1953: 8)

In everyday life, we can, however, overcome the differences in individual perspectives because of the idealization of the interchangeability of standpoints and the idealization of the congruency of the system of relevances:

i. The idealization of the interchangeability of standpoints: I take it for granted – and assume my fellowman does the same – that if I change places with him so that his "here" becomes mine, I would be at the same distance from things and see them in the same typicality as he actually does; moreover, the same things would be in my reach which are actually his. (All this vice versa.)
ii. The idealization of the congruency of the system of relevances: Until counter-evidence I take it for granted – and assume my fellowman does the same – that the differences in perspectives originating in my and his unique biographical situations are irrelevant for the purpose at hand of either of us and that he and I, that "We" assume that both of us have selected and interpreted the actually or potentially common objects and their features in an identical manner or at least an "empirically identical" manner, namely, sufficient for all practical purposes. (Schuetz 1953: 8)

I will now put Schuetz' philosophical suggestion into practice by applying it to the piece of interaction between Ella and Arja. As I see it, the interaction becomes problematic because the two participants' idealizations do not concur sufficiently for the purposes at hand, that is, for the assessment activity. The differences between Ella and Arja's biographical situations become relevant – and problematic – for the purposes at hand when Arja points out events in life, namely the wedding and the church service, of which the participants have a very different perspective, and provides an affective interpretation of them that is formulated in a manner that does not take into account this difference. As a consequence, Ella's and Arja's perspectives of the wedding lack reciprocity. Moreover, the women do not seem to share an understanding of their mutual relationship or of the nature of the ongoing

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conversation. Whereas Arja is orienting towards the conversation as an intimate conversation between friends, Ella is orienting towards their institutional roles and working towards keeping the conversation institutional. In other words, their standpoints are not interchangeable nor do their systems of relevances concur (for all practical purposes): this becomes visible in the sequential unfolding of the conversation, in Arja insisting on her affective evaluations and Ella resisting them.

Arja's and Ella's different orientations towards the conversation and their respective roles in it (everyday vs institutional) can also be described as differences in typification (see Schuetz 1953). Arja and Ella typify the interaction and themselves in respect to each other in ways that do not match. Towards the end of the extract, the mutual understanding of the participants' relationship with each other and the assessable(s) is restored, that is, the typifications they have of each other and the situation meet sufficiently for the conversation to move on from the assessing activity to discussing the vicar's role as the "father" of the congregation.

My suggestion is thus that while construing and maintaining intersubjectivity, the participants of an interaction are also constantly working to typify and retypify the "self", the "other", and respectively, the "we" (see Schuetz 1953: 11–14). The relation between the "self" and the "other" – "we-ness" – is a dynamic process in which the participants constantly position themselves towards each other as well as towards the world, and only a sufficient joint understanding of the "we" provides the grounds for reciprocity of perspectives, for intersubjectivity for all practical purposes, and for joint social action.

Schegloff (1992) claims that the fourth position is the last structurally provided defence of intersubjectivity in conversation because it is the last structurally provided place for initiating repair. However, as my analysis shows, initiating and accomplishing repair are not the only means for restoring intersubjectivity in interaction, and repair sequences are not the only places in which intersubjectivity problems can come visible in conversation. Intersubjectivity has more dimensions than the mere turn-by-turn unfolding of mutual understanding. These dimensions can become visible in, for example, assessment sequences. Assessments reveal the participants' relation to the assessables – that is, to the world. In order to reach a mutual agreement on each other's' assessments, the participants need to have sufficiently reciprocal perspectives, and for this they need to typify themselves and each other in a sufficiently congruent way. In other words, they need to have a sufficiently mutual understanding of the "we".

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Definitely indefinite

Negotiating intersubjective common ground in everyday interaction in Finnish

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This chapter concerns expressions which seem internally contradictory because they consist of both a recognitional and a non-recognitional element. They contain both the Finnish demonstrative *se* 'that, the', a recognitional, as in *se ihminen* 'that/the person', and one of the indefinite determiners *yksi* 'one', *semmonen* 'such', and *joku* 'some', all of which are non-recognitionals, resulting in expressions such as *se joku ihminen* 'that/the some person'. The chapter shows that each of these expressions has its own home environment and expresses a distinct epistemic stance. The main findings are that these expressions constitute a fine-grained resource for the negotiation of relative epistemic status and are tools for building intersubjective common ground in interaction.

Keywords: definite, indefinite, recognitional, specific, identifiable, determiner, epistemic

1. Introduction

Among the most obvious and transparent grammatical markers of intersubjectivity and epistemic stance are noun phrase determiners which express definiteness or indefiniteness. For example, the main function of definite articles such as the English *the* is to index identifiability of the referent, while indefinite articles, such as *a*/*an*, and indefinite determiners such as *some* index the opposite (see, e.g., Du Bois 1980). By using an expression such as *the woman,* a speaker implies that her addressee can identify what woman is being referred to, that is, that the woman in question belongs in the common ground shared by the speaker and the addressee, while the expressions *a woman* and *some woman* imply that the referent is not shared, and that the addressee is not meant to know which particular woman is being referred to, if the NP is even used referentially. In other words, expressions

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such as *the woman* is a recognitional form, while *a woman* and *some woman* are non-recognitional. However, as shown by Du Bois, the marking of identifiability is facultative (1980: 219). Referents are marked as identifiable only "close enough to satisfy the curiosity of the hearer" (Du Bois 1980: 233). This means that speakers may use nonrecognitional forms for referents which are perfectly identifiable to the recipient, and the reverse – recognitionals can be used even when the referent is not strictly identifiable.

Finnish is said to have no articles, either definite or indefinite. However, it has been observed that in spoken Finnish, the demonstrative *se* functions as a marker of identifiability in a way very similar to the English definite article *the;* it is used to imply that the addressee can identify the referent (Laury 1995, 1996, 1997; Etelämäki 2005, 2006). On the other hand, the markers *yks(i)*[1] 'one', *joku* 'some', and *semmonen* 'such' are said to have functions similar to indefinite articles such as the English *a/an* (Vilkuna 1992, Erringer 1996, Juvonen 2005). In earlier research, it has been suggested that all three imply that the addressee cannot uniquely identify the referent. In addition, *yksi* 'one' is thought to be used with referents specific to the speaker, but not to the addressee (Vilkuna 1992: 80); by using *yksi*, the speaker expresses that s/he has some particular referent in mind, but that the exact identity of the referent may not be known by the recipient or even important in the context (Hakulinen et al. 2004: §1410). In that way, *yksi* is similar to the unstressed *this*, which is known to be used in English as a determiner on NPs whose referent is specific but not marked as identifiable to the addressee (e.g., Du Bois 1980: 224). On the other hand, *joku* 'some' is used for referents that are not specific to either the speaker or the addressee (Vilkuna 1992: 80, 132; but see Juvonen 2005: 207). In contrast, *semmonen* 'such' is used when the addressee is expected to be able to identify the type or class rather than the specific referent (Vilkuna 1992: 132–133; Erringer 1996; Juvonen 2005: 199, 207).

In this article, I will focus on the use of both the marker of definiteness, *se* 'it, that, the', and one of the markers of indefiniteness together, in rather fixed combinations constituting expressions such as *se yks mies* 'that one man', *se joku mies* 'that some man', and *se semmonen mies* 'that such man'.[2] My main research questions have to do with the conditions under which the use of both markers on the same NP occurs, and what happens in the interaction when such seemingly internally conflicting claims of sharedness are made.

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1. The numeral *yksi* occurs in the form *yks* in my data.

2. The translations I provide do not have the same implications as the Finnish expressions, and the last two may not even be possible in English.

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I will suggest that the Finnish markers of definiteness and indefiniteness are a fine-grained resource for the management of epistemic stance and the negotiation of relative epistemic status. I use these terms in the sense described by Heritage (2012a, b). By epistemic status Heritage means the relative access, including rights to know, based on, among other factors, knowledge and experience with a particular domain. Epistemic stance, on the other hand, refers to the positioning of speakers as relatively knowing or unknowing through the design of turns-at-talk (e.g., Heritage 2012a: 32–33; 2012b: 376). In his account of these concepts, Heritage focuses mainly on the syntactic structure of utterances and especially sequential factors, but my claim here is that the design of noun phrases is a foundational practice in the expression of epistemic stance. Rather than being used simply to reflect the speaker's assumptions about the cognitive status of particular referents in the addressee's mind, the different forms emerge as a result of and in response to what is going on in the interaction, who the recipient of the particular form is, and what its sequential position is. Participants use them to express their epistemic stance and thereby to negotiate and resolve their respective epistemic access to referents. In this way, referential forms are tools in the process of building intersubjective common ground in interaction.

The article is organized according to the formats seen in my data. I first discuss the most commonly used combination of a definite and indefinite determiner in my data, *se yksi*. Then I will discuss uses of *se semmonen* and last, *se joku*.

2. Background on referring and the use of referential forms in interaction

There is a very large literature on reference, definiteness and indefiniteness in linguistics. The first modern discussions of reference date back to turn of the century philosophers, who asked questions about the relationship between a referential form and the existence of the referent, and the distinction between sense and reference (Frege 1892; Russell 1905). Modern linguistic discussions, on the other hand, have focused on the way that the choice of referential form relates to the presumed cognitive status of the referent in the mind of the addressee (see, e.g., Chafe 1994; Ariel 1990; Prince 1981; for a concise description of these approaches, see, e.g., Laury 2009).

Another important strand of research within linguistics has concerned the way that the form of a mention is related to its context. This tradition dates back to Jespersen's (1922) notion of shifters, linguistic elements such as personal pronouns, whose meaning shifts depending on the context. The notion was further developed by Jakobson (1990[1971]), who proposed that the use of shifters involved conventional rules concerning the relationship between the signs and their referents in

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a particular situation, in other words, that they were indexes (Peirce 1955[1940]). Silverstein (1976) developed the notion of indexicality further. For our purposes here, his most important insight was that because of their conventionalized meanings, indexes have the power of bringing into being contextual features which need not be present prior to the utterance. In that sense, indexical elements of language build their own context.

Most of the linguistic research discussed so far has been on English. The work of Hanks on Mayan deixis (1990; 1992) is a notable exception, stressing the sociocentricity of indexicals. The work of Hanks has been applied to Finnish especially by Etelämäki (2005; 2006; see also Laury 1997). Etelämäki notes that among linguistic approaches to reference, Hanks' work is especially compatible with the way that reference has been understood in Conversation Analysis (2005: 35), although Hanks is not a conversation analyst, but rather an anthropological linguist.

In Conversation Analysis, and more recently in Interactional Linguistics, reference has been seen as designed for its recipient (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974; Schegloff 1996; Enfield & Stivers 2007), and as emergent from its sequential context and constructed jointly by the participants in conversation (e.g., Goodwin 1979; Ford & Fox 1996; Heritage 2007). Further, reference is seen as contributing to the forming of actions in interaction (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974; Stivers 2007; Pekarek Doehler, De Stefani & Horlacher 2015). Two principles in particular have been identified as crucial to the selection of forms of reference, especially in reference to persons but also places, namely the preference for recognitionals, forms that allow the recipient to identify the referent, and the preference for minimal forms (Sacks and Schegloff 1979; Hacohen & Schegloff 2006). However, these principles do not cover all forms used even in reference to persons; for example, Stivers (2007) shows that what she calls "alternative" forms do not easily fit these two preferences. This is also the case with the forms discussed here.

Recipient design and the preference for recognitionals might be seen as extensions of the idea of identifiability and accessibility marking, but they encompass much more. As Goodwin (1979; 1981) and Ford and Fox (1996) have shown, in multiparty conversations the speaker monitors closely which one of the participants in conversation chooses to attend to him or her and may modify an utterance in progress accordingly. In that way, the issue of recipiency becomes the responsibility of not just the speaker but also the addressee; the speaker may select a recipient, but at the same time, recipients are able to choose whether they attend to a particular utterance or not, and display their availability as recipients; recipiency is dynamic and affected by factors such as gaze and posture, and for that reason, the idea of *you* simply picking out the recipient requires further examination (Lerner 1996; Schegloff 1996).

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3. Data and methodology

The data used in this study come from *Arkisyn*, a morphosyntactically coded database of Finnish everyday conversation compiled at the University of Turku with data from the University of Helsinki Conversation Analysis Archives and the University of Turku Recording Archive. In approximately 30 hours of conversation, there were altogether 35 uses of the target constructions, 22 uses of *se yks(i),* 9 uses of *se semmonen*, and 4 uses of *se joku* as noun phrase determiners. Thus these uses of the definite determiner *se* with an indefinite determiner are not especially common in Finnish conversation, occurring on the average only slightly more than once an hour. However, they are worth studying because they form an exception to both the preference for recognitionals and the preference for minimal forms, since the use of indefinite determiners together with definite determiners does not contribute to the recognizability of the referent, but rather expresses that there is some type of problem with identifiability, and it also makes the NP longer and more complex. I will discuss these forms in their order of frequency in the data. In examining these forms in their contexts, I use the methodology of interactional linguistics (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018).

4. Definite indefinites in Finnish conversation

In what follows, I will show that the forms that are in focus here each have their own home environments in which they emerge, which they shape, and in which they do particular types of reference. The most frequently used format, *se yks(i)* 'that one' typically occurs in tellings and informings and presents referents that the speaker claims primary epistemic access to. The referent may have been mentioned in prior talk (hence *se*), but the exact identity (that is, its specificity) may be either irrelevant to the addressee or at least may require further explication (hence *yksi*) (cf., Hakulinen et al. 2004: § 1417).[3] *Se semmonen* 'that kind of' is used in contexts where the category of the referent is being negotiated, often at length; the exact category may be unknown even to the speaker (cf., Hakulinen et al. 2004: § 1417). *Se joku* 'that some' is used in mentions of referents which are in some way unimportant; they are not rementioned, and the implication is that although both the speaker and the recipient have epistemic access to the referent, neither one knows or is interested in the referent's exact identity.

3. For the concept of specificity, see Section 1 above. As noted there, specificity is distinct from identifiability and has to do with whether the form refers to a particular entity or person or not (see Vilkuna 1992: 77–105; Du Bois 1980: 208, 217–220; 224).

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4.1 *Se yks* in negotiations of epistemic access

As noted, *se yks* is the most frequently used of the three expressions. It typically occurs in tellings and informings of various sorts, and it is often used for person reference. More than half (13/22) of the uses of this expression involve mentions of people. This is the case in Excerpt (1) below. It comes from a telephone conversation between two young women, Vikke and Missu. In line 1, Vikke announces that she has had a dream about school, and Missu invites her to tell about it (line 2).

Excerpt 1. (Sg 112 1a3 Sualapala), telephone call

```
01  VIK:     mä näin unta  koulustaki?,
             I even dreamt about school,
02  MIS:     mitä sää nä[it.
             what did you dream about.
03  VIK:                 [(ku) alko,.hhh (.) no siel ol-i, (.)
                           when it started there was,
04           khm (0.3) .mt mun ↑serkkuni <Salla>
             my cousin Salla,
05  MIS:     nii.
             ok.
06  VIK:     Rantalan Anni,
             Anni Rantala,
07  MIS:     £joo-o£?,
             yeah,
               (.)
08  VIK:=>   ja   sit   se   yks  poika: Lahde-sta.(.)mikä on(0.6)
             and  then  DEM  one  boy    PN-ELA       REL  be-3SG
             and then that one boy from Lahti. who is,
09           ol-i<,v- vaihto-oppilaa-na.h (0.3)just vuaden?,
             be-PST   exchange-student-ESS      just year-ACC
             was just an exchange student for a year,
10           =se, Mäkelä-n  Kimmo-n kaveri
              DEM LN-GEN    FN-GEN  friend
             that friend of Kimmo Mäkelä's
11          (0.3)
12  MIS:     KUka, h
             who
13  VIK: →   se  mikä on     se-n, (0.3) se-n,
             DEM REL  be-3SG DEM-GEN     DEM-GEN
             the one who is that, that,
14       →   se-n    poliisi-m  [poika.
             DEM-GEN police-GEN son
             that police officer's son.
15  MIS:                    [.hh se Vehviläine,
                                 DEM LN
                                 that Vehviläinen,
16  VIK:     >nii<.
             right.
```

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```
17  MIS:    joo [:: £>mull]et tuliki se mieleen< niinku et£
            ok, it did occur to me that like
18  VIK:        [se oli,]
                 he was
19  MIS:    .hh [ai  se (ol)/(>o'ollu<) vaihto-oppilaana.h
                 PTC DEM be   be  be-PST exchange-student-ESS
                 oh he has been an exchange student.
20  VIK:        [(-)
21  MIS:    .hhhhhh nii,hh
            .hhhhhh yeah, hh
22  VIK:     se oli(h) s(h)i(h)älä(h)
             he was there
23  MIS:     ehhh he .hhhh
24  VIK:     ne kolme,
             those three.
```

Vikke starts her telling by mentioning the people she dreamed about in a list of three. The first mention (line 4) is formatted in a way that associates the referent with the speaker, a common or even the preferred way to refer to persons in a number of languages (see, e.g., Brown 2007 on Tzeltal; Hanks 2007 on Yucatec Maya). The mention of the next person in the list (line 6) involves the use of a name, another common form in references to people. In Finnish, this particular format, with the last name first in genitive form, implies familiarity of the person to the participants. Missu appears to recognize the first two without any problem by using the particles *niin* and *joo* (Sorjonen 2001), which in this context show both that the reference has been resolved and that the action undertaken by Vikke is not finished.

In line 8, Vikke mentions the last item in her list of three, *se yks poika Lahdesta* 'that one guy from Lahti'. This is not a minimal form of reference, but rather one of the alternative forms for referring to persons discussed by Stivers (2007) in that it contains a demonstrative. Stivers, based on her mostly English data, suggests that mentions of people marked with demonstrative determiners "do not associate the referent with either the speaker or the addressee" (2007: 85). However, in the Finnish three-member set of demonstratives, the demonstrative *se*, as noted, implies that the referent is identifiable to the addressee, that is, that s/he can recognize who is being referred to (Laury 1997; Etelämäki 2006), and in that sense, it associates the referent with the addressee, placing the referent in her epistemic domain (Laury 1997). However, *yksi,* as suggested by Vilkuna (1992: 80), marks the referent as speaker-specific, that is, it conveys that the exact identity of the referent is known only by the speaker. This is very clear in this excerpt. Although Missu had immediately shown that she recognized the first two referents, in contrast, after the mention in line 8 there is a short pause, after which Vikke adds a relative clause designed to give more information about the person she is referring to (lines 8–9). Vikke then associates him with what appears to be a common acquaintance, judging from the format (line 10); this last form is also marked with *se,* encoding the

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assumption that the friend of Kimmo Mäkelä is someone recognizable to Missu. These additions can both be heard as attempts to help Missu recognize the referent, as both are marked with *se*, indicating recognizability. These attempts do not succeed, however. After a pause, Missu issues a prosodically marked token of the repair initiator *kuka* 'who' (line 12). It is produced at a higher volume and pitch than the surrounding talk, as a clear appeal.

At this point, Vikke refers to the person in question with an anaphoric use of the demonstrative *se* followed by a relative clause (lines 13–14) associating the person with the occupational status of his father, also marked as identifiable (*sen poliisin* 'that police officer's'). This way of formulating the reference succeeds, and in overlap with the last word of Vikke's turn, Missu provides the last name of the person (line 15). This mention is now marked as identifiable with *se*. The identity of the person and the match of the referential form with the person Vikke has been referring to is confirmed by her in line 16. The negotiation, consisting of several steps, has succeeded and intersubjective common ground has been collaboratively established.

The initial mention in line 8, differently from the two which were immediately recognized and acknowledged by Missu, is marked with both *se* for identifiability and with *yks* to index the referent as specific for Vikke, but not for Missu. That is, the form used may be taken as an indication that Vikke is already in some sense anticipating difficulty with the recognizability of the referent, and indeed, a negotiation ensues. By using *yks*, Vikke expresses that she is referring to someone whose exact identity is accessible to her but not to Missu. In other words, she takes the stance that she has primary epistemic access to the referent. At the same time, she expects Missu to be able to identify the referent as well; this is conveyed through the use of *se*. Although this mention fails, recognition is achieved after negotiation, and intersubjectivity is restored.

In lines 19–22, the participants go back to revisiting the information given in the relative clause following the initial mention of the person whose identity is at issue here, and Missu expresses, using the particle *ai*, that the fact that he had been an exchange student is news to her (Hakulinen et al. 2004: §798; see also Koivisto 2016). This shows that referential recognizability and negotiation is consequential for participants, and that they may be accountable for not being able to recognize referents so marked in conversation.

When we take into account the fact that the mention formatted with *se yks* in Excerpt (1) comes within a narrative, like many other uses of this format in the data, it may be understandable that since a narrative tells about occurrences presumably known by the speaker and not the addressee, that is, they are A-events (Labov & Fanshel 1977), referents may be marked as being primarily in the speaker's epistemic domain, even if they may be at the same time assumed to be identifiable to the addressee as well. However, not all determiner uses of *se yksi* are in narratives.

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They may also occur in informings, and there is one use of *se yksi* in my data occurring in neither a telling nor an informing. In this case, it presents a referent that appears to be specific not just to the speaker but also for the other participants. It is given here in Excerpt (2).

Excerpt 2. (SG151), face-to-face informal interaction

```
01  SUS:  siis onks     se  nyt onks     se  Tupu nyt
           PTC  be-Q-CLI DEM now be-Q-CLI DEM FN   now
           so has she now has Tupu now
02         saa-nu   selvite-tty-y
           get-PPT  find.out-PPPC-PAR
           managed to figure out
03  =>     se-n,(0.4)yhe     ihmise-n   raskaus£tila-a(h)
           DEM-GEN   one-GEN person-GEN pregnancy-state-PAR
           that one person's pregnancy status
04         v(h)ai e(h)i£.
           or     NEG
           or not.
05         (0.6)
06  ANU:   .hh[h °e-m-mie     tiiä°, ]
                  NEG-1SG-1SG know-CONNEG
              I don't know.
07  JOS:      [°kato°, (.)  eiks se] ollu, (.) >myö_o ainaki
               you see wasn't it, we at least have
08         mitä mie viimeks< kuuli siit Satu ei ainakaa
           the last I heard about that Satu didn't at least
09         lainannu niitä,
           lend/borrow that,
10         (0.2)
11  ANU:   ↑ni[i niit vaunuja.  ]
           yeah that stroller
12  SUS:      [nii niit vaunuja,] (.) joo,=
              yeah that stroller      yeah,
13  ANU:   =mm.
14         (0.4)
```

This example comes from a conversation among three young women. In lines 1–3, Susa initiates a new sequence and a new activity amounting to an invitation to gossip about a mutual acquaintance.[4] Apparently the participants have been wondering whether this acquaintance is pregnant. The issue is somewhat delicate, and it seems likely that Susa chooses the referential form because the conversation is being recorded. The other participants seem to have no problem recognizing who the form *sen yhen ihmisen* 'that one person's' refers to. Thus, one possible way to

4. Line 1 involves a false start. Susa first refers to Tupu with the prounoun *se* 's/he' and then immediately self-repairs, starting the clause anew with *onks*.

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interpret this is that the referent is identifiable and specific to the participants, but not to outsiders who will be listening to the recording later. This is an 'in the know' type referential form discussed by Stivers (2007: 89–94), which requires more extensive common ground than most other types of referential forms. Here, we may assume that the form both reinforces the closeness of the friends, especially given the grammatical format which could potentially refer to any person. In Stivers' (2007) data the use of "in the know" references to persons were typically found in complaint sequences. Although the sequence shown here is not a complaint, it does develop into a distinctly disapproving commentary on the person referred to in line 3. There is a further person reference formatted as a first name, *Satu*, in line 8, but it is not clear whether this form refers to the same person as the form in line 3; one confusing factor is that the Finnish verb *lainata* means both 'lend' and 'borrow', so it is not clear whether Satu is the person involved in a potential lending or borrowing of the baby stroller.

We can interpret the use of *se yks* in Excerpt (2) as resulting from a shift in the participation framework (Goffman 1981), a contextual change accomplished with the use of the determiner. The form can be seen as being motivated by the fact that there is an overhearer; *se yks* would then simultaneously show that the referent is recognizable to the addressees (*se*) but not to the possible overhearer(s) who might eventually have access to the recording (*yks*). This would mean that the two parts of the expression would be directed toward two (sets of) people, the addressed participants as well as the overhearer(s).

In this section, we have seen that *se yks* is often used in narratives, in contexts where the referent is in the epistemic domain of the speaker, although it is also recognizable to the addressees. It can also be used as an "in the know" referential form, for the purpose of keeping the identity of the referent concealed from those who are not ratified participants or addressees at the moment of speaking.

4.2 *Se semmonen* in category negotiations

Several Finnish scholars have noted that the demonstrative adjective *semmonen,* roughly, 'that kind; such', is used for categorization. Erringer (1996) notes that in conversational data, *semmonen* was used for classifying entities based on shared characteristics. Similarly, according to Vilkuna, *semmonen* orients to class (1992: 104), and can be used either specifically or non-specifically (105). Helasvuo characterizes *semmonen* as an approximator or a hedge, and notes that it expresses non-prototypicality and reservations or uncertainty about membership in a category (1988: 93–95). According to Vilkuna, it often occurs in contexts where a speaker is looking for an appropriate word or expression (1992: 132; see also Erringer 1996: 60). All referents marked with *se semmonen* in my data were

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non-human; category may possibly be more relevant or more commonly at issue with regard to things rather than people.

In my data, as we might expect from earlier studies, *se semmonen* typically appears in the context of word searches and category negotiations. The next example shows such a case. The participants, a hairdresser (HAI) and her client (CLI) are discussing a recent robbery in the client's place of employment.

Excerpt 3. (SG108) face-to-face interaction

```
01  CLI:  =kylhä mäki ku tunsin hänet<
           of course I because(I)did know him
02        hh nii# niin tota noin:: #ö# eihä mun    tarvinnu,
             so um uh like of course I didn't need to
03        =emmä sillä lailla pelänny.
          I wasn't afraid like that
04        [(.) mut] sitte ku hän rupes tulemaan sielt yli
               but then when he started to come over it
05  HAI:  [mt. hh ]
06  CLI:  nii sitte .hh sen tiskin yli nii sitte
          so then .hh over the counter so then
07        (.) sit  tietysti  rupes pelkää[mään #että#,
              then of course (one) became frightened so,
08  HAI:  [.hh no eiks hän
           so wasn't he
09        ollu mitenkää naamioitunu tai,=
          in any way disguised or,
10  CLI:  =.hh ol-i   häne-llä silm-i-ssä tota noin:
                be-PST 3SG-ADE  eye-PL-INE PTC  PTC
           he did have over (his) eyes uh
11    =>  se< (.) semmonen (0.2) .mt huivi
           DEM     DEM-ADJ         um scarf
           that (.) kind of (0.2) um scarf
12        tietysti ku hän aatteli et mä annan kaasua,
          of course cuz he thought I would pepper spray (him)
           (0.3)
11  HAI:  °ai:[:°
           oh I see
12  CLI:      [niin nii kyllä hän siihen oli varautunu.
               so yeah he was prepared for that.
13  HAI:  ai hänel ↑oli huivi.
          oh he did have a scarf.
```

The client explains (lines 1–4, 6–7) that she was not afraid of the robber because she knew him, but when he started to climb over the counter, she became frightened. In lines 8–9, the hairdresser asks whether the robber was disguised in any way. The client responds that the robber was wearing something over his eyes (*silmissä* 'on his eyes') but seems to have trouble coming up with a suitable expression for the item, as shown by the slightly lengthened hesitation particle chain *tota noin*, the pause

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after *se* and after *semmonen,* and the click *.mt* before the actual lexical item *huivi* 'scarf', approximating what the robber was wearing. The determiner *se* functions here to mark the assumption that the addressee already has an idea of the kind of thing robbers wear over their eyes, and *semmonen* expresses some reservations or uncertainty as to whether the item actually belongs to the class of scarves (cf., Helasvuo 1988: 93–95). However, the addressee accepts the categorization and uses the same lexical item, *huivi*, to refer to the robber's eye covering in line 13.

In Excerpt (3), the uncertainty about categorization and the word search can be seen as an attempt to build common ground – a function of demonstrative adjectives in general, according to Erringer (1998: 80). This function of *semmonen* is especially clear when it is involved in joint constructions, as in the next example. The participants, a group of friends, are talking about cross country skiing.

Excerpt 4. (SG440), face-to-face, informal interaction

```
01  KAI:   nii, (.) voihan se olla vähä vaikee toisaalta,
           yeah, it really can be a bit difficult too,
02         (0.6)
03  MAS:   nii ku ei oo ikin hiih[täny.
           yeah when (you) have never skied.
04  KAI:                         [kyl mä huomasin
                                  I did notice
05         vaikka mäki oon kuitenkis sillee hiihtänyn
           even though I have in fact like skied
06         ni [kyl oikeesti niinku #o-#,
           so it really did like,
07  TOI:      [nii,
              right
08           (0.4)
09  KAI:   sit,
           then
10  TOI:   kyl siin kestä[ä ennen ku sel löytää silleih,]
           it does take a while before you find like,
11  KAI:                 [oot vähä sillee palikkana siel]lä,
                          you're a bit like stiff there,
12         (2.2)
13  TOI:   ja sit niinku eka kerta, (0.6) jos om
           and then like first time, (0.6) if (it)'s been
14         pitkä aika olluv vaik monta vu[otta hiihtämät
           a long time like many years without skiing
15  KAI:                                 [mm,
16  TOI:   ni eka kerta sej jälkeen ni on, (0.2)ihan niinkup
           so first time after that (you)'re actually like
17         paikat kipee[nä #sej jälkee# ku on niinku,
           sore afterwards when (you) have/are like,
18  KAI:               [nii on,
                        that's true
```

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```
19          (1.0)
20           o[n,
            (you) are
21  TOI: =>   [ei löy[däs     sitä    semmost
               NEG find-CONNEG DEM-PAR DEM.ADJ-PAR
               you can't find that kind of
22  KAI:              [on se,
                       be DEM
                      that's right
23  TOI:   so[pivaa     nii]ku?
           suitable-PAR PTC
           suitable like?
24  KAI:     [rytmii, ]
              rhythm-PAR
              rhythm,
25                  (0.8)
```

Kaisa has just finished telling about having really enjoyed skiing the last time she did. Masa has evaluated the story positively but has said he cannot ski, not having skied since he was in elementary school (not shown). Kaisa empathizes, agreeing that skiing can be difficult (line 1), and Masa reiterates the conditions under which this can be so (line 3). In lines 4–6, Kaisa starts a turn saying that even though she has been skiing, she has also noticed something, but she does not complete the turn syntactically, so that the object of noticing is not expressed. In overlap, Toini joins in, first with the affiliating particle *nii* (Sorjonen 2001: 181). After a short pause, Kaisa continues with a short *sit* 'then', but Toini comes in (line 10) with a contribution that could be a syntactic continuation of Kaisa's incomplete turn in lines 4–6. However, she does not finish her turn either, leaving unspecified the object of *löytää* 'find'. In overlap, in delayed completion (Lerner 1989, 1991; for Finnish, see Vatanen 2017), Kaisa then also completes her own turn, explaining that one is *palikkana* 'like a block, stiff'. In this way, she on the one hand expresses that she agrees with what Toini is proposing, but also that she has her own stance on this matter (Vatanen 2014: 81–91), claiming independent access to the information, insisting on her own viewpoint and on her right to complete her own turn (Vatanen 2017).

Toini then continues in lines 13–14 and 16–17, explaining that if one has not skied for a long time, one is sore afterwards, but this turn is also left syntactically incomplete: the complement of *ku on niinku* 'when you have/are like' is not expressed. In overlap, in line 18, Kaisa responds with the particle chain *niin on*, which according to Sorjonen and Hakulinen (2009: 300), expresses strong agreement with something that is fully shared. It is clear that Toini and Kaisa are collaboratively building a stance here, but also competing on epistemic rights and on the right to tell.

Toini's turn in line 21 is not syntactically well fitted to her earlier, incomplete turn. Rather she reuses the verb *löytää* 'find' which she had used already in her

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contribution in line 10, in that way reprising what she had started to say. Here she uses the *se semmonen* construction (in partitive case, *sitä semmosta*, required by the negative polarity in the clause) as a hedge or approximator for what one cannot find when one is skiing after not having skied for a while. In overlap, Kaisa first responds with *on se* 'that's right', which both agrees with Toini's turn but also expresses that she and Toini have a different experience of what they are evaluating, and that its relevance for them is different; namely, this agreeing response format, with the verb repeat, *on*, coming before the subject *se*, indicates that Kaisa has primary epistemic access (Hakulinen & Sorjonen 2009: 138–143). Recall that Kaisa has been skiing recently, whereas Toini has not expressed that she would have had such an experience in the recent past. Consistent with this, again in non-transitional overlap, beginning before Toini has brought her turn to prosodic and syntactic completion, only having had time to say the first syllable of the next word after the *se semmonen* determiner, *sopivaa* 'suitable', but after Toini's *sitä semmosta*, Kaisa produces the missing item *rytmii* 'rhythm' fitted not only temporally but also syntactically as a continuation of Toini's *sitä semmosta*, since *rytmii* is also in the partitive case. In this way, Kaisa is collaboratively completing Toini's turn, and building common ground, but in non-transitional overlap, well before Toini has completed her turn, showing that she has her own experience and stance in the matter (Vatanen 2014: 81–91). Thus we can see that *se semmonen* emerges in contexts where the participants are not just collaboratively but also competitively constructing common ground, expressing their epistemic stance and competing for epistemic rights to the categorization of shared referents.

We have seen that *se semmonen* is used in the context of category negotiations, when there is doubt about whether the item being referred to is a good fit for the category expressed by the lexical item used, as in Excerpt (3). It often occurs in word searches, and it can occasion a collaborative completion, and competition for epistemic rights, as in Excerpt (4). *Se semmonen* makes an appeal to the other participants, expressing both that the speaker expects them to be able to identify what type of referent is meant, and that the speaker is uncertain about its exact category, providing an opening for other participants to make a contribution, thus contributing to the building of intersubjective common ground.

4.3 *Se joku* in mentions of unimportant referents

As noted, the expression *se joku* 'that some' was the most rarely used of the three expressions focused on in this study. This combination was used only four times in the data, although neither *joku* nor *se* were uncommon as determiners. As also noted, previous studies have shown that *joku* is used for referents that are not specific, that is, not uniquely identifiable, to either the speaker or the addressee (Vilkuna 1992),

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although Juvonen (2005: 197–198) shows that in her elicited narrative data it was also used for specific referents. Vilkuna (1992: 132) also notes, with a reference to Lepäsmaa (1978), that *joku* is used for referents whose exact identity the speaker is indifferent about or has only second-hand knowledge about (1992: 33). In my data, speakers indeed seem to use *se joku* to refer to someone or something particular, but in contexts where the exact identity of the referent is not relevant.

In the next example there are two examples of the use of *se joku* as a determiner. This is an excerpt from a conversation between two couples. They vacationed together at Korgo some months earlier and are at present talking about what a popular vacation spot it is. Mirja has told about someone she sat next to at another party who had vacationed there and liked the place so much that he wanted to go again.

Excerpt 5. (SG 355), face-to-face, informal interaction

```
01  MIK:     n- nii ja ja Jutta sano    että
             yeah and and Jutta said that
02           hä-l    oj     joku  opettaja
             3SG-ADE be.3SG some teacher
             she knows some teacher
03           siä-llä     >on-k-s  se  ny<  Pälkäneellä tai
             DEM.LOC-ADE be-Q-CLI DEM PTC  PN-ADE      or
             over there is it in Pälkäne or
04           Luopioisissa jossakin     kuitenkin  sen
             PN-INE       some-INE-CLI anyway     DEM-GEN
             in in Luopioinen somewhere anyway in (her?)
05    =>     niinkun   siel        jollakin     alueella
             like      DEM.LOC-ADE some-ADE-CLI area-ADE
             like there in some area
06           siäl niin  joka s'no että  (.)  onko se  käyny
             over there who  said that  s/he has      gone
07           <viis vuatta> peräkkäi siä joka kesä
             five years in a row every summer there
08           siä   Korgossa e se       tykkää nii siittä,
             over there in  Korgo that s/he likes it so much,
09  MIR:=>   ↑nii ja  se  joku toimittaja oli    kato se:,
              PTC and DEM some journalist be-PST PTC  DEM
             yeah and that some journalist was you know s/he,
10           (.)
11  MIK:     nii se luki >se luki< lehdess
             yeah it said it said in the paper
```

In line 1, Mikko launches into a story he has heard from a person named Jutta. The story concerns a teacher whom Jutta knows and who has gone to Korgo several years in a row. Note that Mikko does not know the teacher himself, and the first reference to the teacher in line 2 is done with *joku* 'some' as a determiner. As suggested by Vilkuna (1992), here we are dealing with second-hand knowledge and a non-specific referent in the sense that the exact identity is not known to either the

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speaker or the addressees. That is, although it is clear that this mention refers to a particular person (Juvonen 2005), Mikko does not know the exact identity of the teacher, and he does not expect the others to either.

The mention in lines 3–4 of the area where the teacher lives, *siel jollakin alueella* 'over there in some area' is initiated with the locative adessive form of *se* and the adessive form of *joku.* Using this form, Mikko expresses with *siel* 'there' that he has given enough information, the two place names Pälkäne and Luopioinen (lines 3 and 4), to make the general area identifiable, but *jollakin* 'some' expresses that the area mentioned is neither specific, nor uniquely identifiable, to either Mikko or his addressees. As with the initial mention of the teacher, we are dealing here with hearsay.

In line 9, Mirja brings up another person, a journalist, with a mention formatted with *se joku.* By using this form, she expresses with *se* that the referent is identifiable to at least one of her addressees, perhaps to Mikko, who has taken the prior turn and who also responds in line 11 to Mirja's turn.[5] With *joku,* Mirja expresses that the journalist's exact identity is not important or perhaps even not known to Mirja and her addressee(s), and in that sense not specific. The mention remains the only one in this conversation. In line 11, after a short pause, Mikko responds with a turn starting with the particle *nii*, which would acknowledge Mirja's contribution as something that he recognizes (Sorjonen 2001), and continues by suggesting that he remembers that what Mirja was referring to was in the paper, *se luki lehdessä* 'it said so in the paper'.

We have seen that *se joku* is used as a determiner in mentions of referents that the speaker believes are recognizable by the recipients, but whose exact identity is not known by either the speaker or the recipient. The referents mentioned using this form are treated as not relevant or important to what is being discussed; they are typically not rementioned and may even be verbally dismissed.

5. Conclusion

The examination of Finnish expressions which combine a definite and indefinite determiner in the same noun phrase has shown that identifiability is not a binary distinction, but rather a multidimensional phenomenon involving the expression

5. One of the anonymous reviewers notes that Mirja's turn can be seen as not brought to possible completion, presumably because the complement of *oli* is not expressed. Another interpretation is that this form is analeptically dependent on *onko se käynyt* 'has s/he gone; she has gone' in Mikko's turn, so that what is meant is *oli käynyt (Korgossa)* 'had gone to Korgo'. The past tense in Mirja's turn could then be interpreted as indexing hearsay as well.

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of epistemic stance and also epistemic rights, the social issues having to do with what each person considers his or her own, and others', territory of knowledge. Moreover, these expressions emerge from their sequential contexts and are negotiated in interaction among the participants in conversation.

We have seen that the home environments of *se yks* 'that one' are informings and tellings, contexts where the speaker is presumed to have primary epistemic access to a specific referent; previous studies have shown that *yks* is used as a determiner when the referent is specific to the speaker, but not to the addressee. *Se yks* may emerge when the speaker first assumes that a referent is recognizable by the addressee(s), but the response of the addressee is such that the speaker reformulates, as in Excerpt (1), showing that although s/he has reason to believe the addressee can in fact recognize the referent, perhaps from prior talk, the speaker has primary epistemic access. The use of *se yks* as a determiner may be followed by a lengthy negotiation about the identity of the referent, showing that the exact identity of the referent marked with *se yks* matters to the participants, who are also accountable for its recognizability, as shown in Excerpt (1). *Se yks* can also be used as an in-group referential form in order to conceal the identity of the referent from overhearers, as in Excerpt (2).

Se semmonen 'that kind of', on the other hand, emerges in the context of category negotiations and word searches; it is used when the speaker is uncertain about the category of the referent. The use of *se semmonen* can be followed by co-constructions, as its use may indicate that the speaker can use help in coming up with an appropriate term, especially since the expression also indexes identifiability of the referent to the addressee. In this way, sequences involving *se semmonen* in word searches can also become competitive, as in Excerpt (4). *Se semmonen* occurs only with non-human referents in my data; it may be that category negotiations are less common in references to humans.

Se joku 'that some' is less common in my data than the other two expressions. It occurs when the referent is identifiable, but not specific; the exact identity of the referent or even the referent itself is neither known nor important in its context. The referent tends not to be rementioned and may be dismissed altogether by the addressee as not relevant or worthy of discussion, as in Excerpt (5). A manifestation of this is that in these data, differently from *se yksi* and *se semmonen*, the determiner use of *se joku* never occasioned further negotiation regarding the identity of the referent.

We have seen that although there are indications in earlier research of the semantics and pragmatics of Finnish determiners, a study of real-time data from everyday interactions shows that each of the formats has its own home environment, in which it is used to do particular type of work in the service of the construction of intersubjective common ground.

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Directive turn design and intersubjectivity

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In this paper, we discuss turn design as a locus of intersubjectivity. We focus on two types of directives in Finnish interactions, turns formatted with second-person imperative and turns that contain zero person. Neither of these turn designs contains a separate subject phrase explicating the person(s) referred to, nor does either indicate when the action nominated is to take place. We study the kinds of assumptions these two turn designs make and present as shared, and the interplay of the assumptions in relation to the sequential and activity context of the turn. The design of turns and actions in sequences of interaction thus allows us to see intersubjectivity at work, even when repair does not take place.

Keywords: directive, imperative, zero-person, modal verb, turn design, Finnish, repair, shared assumptions, minimal design, Schuetz

1. Introduction

In broad terms, intersubjectivity involves mutual understanding and sharing of experience between humans. In social interaction, intersubjectivity unfolds turn-by-turn (Schegloff 1992): every single turn, through its design, content, and sequential placement shows how the speaker of that turn has understood the co-participant's prior action and what kind of action sequence and larger activity the participants are engaged in. Furthermore, each turn shows its speaker's understanding of what assumptions about the activity and the relation between the participants are shared (see Schuetz's (1953) notion of "intersubjectivity for all practical purposes"). In this paper, we will discuss turn design as a locus of intersubjectivity, focusing on the design of directive turns-at-talk in data from ordinary Finnish interactions. We use *directive* in the sense of Goodwin (2006) to refer to turns that are designed to get the other to do (or not do) something, including requests, offers, advice, suggestions, and the like.

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More specifically, we will investigate two turn designs that are used to implement a directive action in Finnish, turns formatted with a second-person imperative form, either singular or plural (e.g., *syö* se loppuki,* 'eat [sg] the rest of it too', as in Excerpt (7), or *syö-kää se loppuki,* 'eat [pl] the rest of it too') and turns that contain a zero-person form together with a modal expression (e.g., *no sit 0 pitää mennä uudelleen*, 'well then 0 must go again', Excerpt (6)).[1] Neither of these turn designs contains a separate subject phrase making explicit the person(s) referred to, nor do they indicate when the action nominated is to take place nor why it should be carried out. This is not to deny, however, that there are fundamental differences between them: a turn formatted with an imperative form is conventionally understood to be addressed to the co-participant or co-participants,while a turn formatted with a zero-person+modal construction does not have a conventionally understood addressee.[2] Furthermore, a turn formatted with a grammatical imperative is inherently directive, whereas a turn formatted with a zero-person+modal construction is, grammatically speaking, a declarative and, like declaratives in general, can be used for accomplishing a variety of actions (including directives). Nevertheless, both turn designs are central means for implementing directives in Finnish.[3]

This raises the following question: Do the two turn designs make different assumptions about the extent of intersubjective understanding concerning what should be done, by whom, when, and why? In this chapter we explore this question, examining first directive turns that are implemented with imperative forms and then directive turns with zero person+modal constructions. A third section deals with directive sequences of turns in which both imperative and zero-person+modal constructions are used. In conclusion, we reflect on what these findings mean for our understanding of intersubjectivity in interaction.

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1. * stands for boundary gemination, a relic of the imperative marker *-k*; *-kaa* marks the plural imperative (Hakulinen 1961: § 61).

2. However, morphologically speaking, the imperative forms are not marked for second person (boundary gemination and *-kaa* are markers of the imperative mood in singular and plural) (VISK § 118).

3. There are of course other forms that Finnish speakers can make use of when formulating directives, e.g., simple declaratives, modal constructions and interrogatives with an explicit subject. However, because imperatives and zero-person+modal constructions are the most minimal ones in terms of what they make explicit and, moreover, can occur in the same directive sequence, we have chosen to focus on them here.

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2. Directive turns with imperatives

Designing a turn with an imperative form implements an inherently directive action. Imperative forms can of course be used as vehicles for accomplishing other actions, such as permitting someone to do something, advising/encouraging someone to do something, or inviting someone to do something (for examples of these uses see, e.g., Keevallik 2017; Heinemann & Steensig 2017; Sorjonen 2017). But the imperative is nevertheless by virtue of its form always directive, in the sense that it represents a grammaticized form for telling another to do (or not do) something.[4]

Yet turns designed with imperative forms can take a variety of different shapes, some of which are very brief and others of which are more elaborate. Let us consider, for instance, the minimally formatted imperative directive turn in the following extract:

Excerpt 1. *levitä* 'spread (sprinkles)' (adapted from Raevaara 2017: 390)
[Heli is conducting a cooking class for young girls at the local youth center. Ella has just spread icing on the cake they have baked and Sara is about to add sprinkles on top.]

```
01  HEL:   nyt voi      Sara, (.) levittää    jo
           now can.3SG [name]     spread-INF already
           now can Sara, (.) already spread
02         nonparelleja
           sprinkles-PAR
           sprinkles
03         siihe +kes>kelle<.
           there in the middle.
04               +SARA TAKES HOLD OF THE SPRINKLE JAR
05         (1.5)  SARA OPENS THE LID OF THE JAR
06  HEL:   tai siihen, (0.4) päälle.
           or there,   (0.4) on top.
07         (2.0) ELLA LOOKS AT THE KNIFE SHE HAS USED FOR
            SPREADING THE TOPPING
08  ELL:   £>mitä mä< tälle +teen;£
           what do I do with this;
09                        +SARA HOLDS THE JAR OUT OVER THE CAKE
10  HEL:   #+no  sä voit    vaikka      nuo:lla
            PRT  you can-2SG for.example lick-INF
           well you can for example lick
11         +SARA HOLDS THE JAR OVER THE CAKE WITHOUT POURING
12         s[e;
           DEM3.SG.ACC
            it
13  SAR:    [+a:i
             PRT
```

4. Auer (2017) notes that there are (rare) exceptions to this generalization, for example, in the use of imperatives for formulaic wishes and to "open up hypothetical mental spaces" in conversation (p. 422).

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```
14          +SARA GLANCES AT ELLA
15          (1.8)  SARA LOOKS AT HELI, SHAKES THE JAR
              WITHOUT POURING
16  HEL: →  #>levi+tä<?
            spread.IMP.SG
            spread [them]
17                  + SARA CONTINUES SHAKING THE JAR; BEGINS
             POURING OUT THE SPRINKLES
18           (1.4) SARA CONTINUES POURING THE SPRINKLES
19  SAR:    joka <pualelle>.
             all over.
20  HEL:    mm:;
```

When Heli instructs Sara to spread the sprinkles on the cake (lines 1–3), Sara takes the sprinkle jar and opens its lid (lines 4–5) in preparation for executing the instruction. But Ella intervenes by asking Heli what she should do with the knife she has just used to spread the icing (lines 7–8). While Heli deals with this contingency (lines 10 and 12), Sara continues to hold the jar over the cake without, however, pouring the sprinkles. She then looks at Heli and shakes the jar (line 15), whereupon Heli produces the following directive: *levitä* 'spread' (line 16). The format of this turn is remarkably brief: It consists of just one word, the second-person singular imperative form of the ditransitive verb *levittää* 'to spread'. Not only does this turn design leave unspecified what is to be spread and where, it also does not say who of those present is to execute the action, nor when they should execute it, nor why this action is necessary or desirable. Yet the turn is unproblematic in that it is immediately acted upon: Sara begins pouring out the sprinkles on the cake (line 17). Let us examine how this sequence unfolds.

As we can see, the turn in line 16 is perfectly fitted to the circumstances of its occurrence: Heli has actually already instructed Sara to spread the sprinkles on the cake with *nyt voi Sara, (.) levittää jo nonparelleja siihe kes>kelle<* 'now can Sara already spread sprinkles there in the middle' (lines 1–3), incremented a split second later with *tai siihen, (0.4) päälle* 'or there, (0.4) on top' (line 6). That is, a joint activity has already been initiated that provides for the understanding of who is to execute the action of spreading, what it is that should be spread, where, and when. Moreover, since the common goal is to produce a cake with icing and sprinkles, the participants clearly also know why the spreading is necessary or desirable. In other words, the who, what, when, and why of the action forwarded with the directive in line 16 are intersubjectively understood. What this minimally formatted turn does is simply prompt the execution of the action, which is implied to be urgent given the fast tempo of its production.[5]

5. We are indebted to Liisa Raevaara for sharing this example and the next with us. In both cases we have relied heavily on her analysis.

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Yet if circumstances are such that participants cannot be assumed to share an understanding of the who, when, and why of an action that is to be forwarded, directive speakers must design their imperatively formatted turns more elaborately. This is what we see happening with the maximally formatted imperative directive in the following extract from the same cooking class:

Excerpt 2. *pistä sää Nina tonne nurkkaa sitte se* 'you Nina put it there into the corner then' (adapted from Raevaara 2017: 395)
[Four of the girls are preparing star-shaped pastry with their teacher, Heli. The cut-out pieces of dough are now ready to be placed on the baking tray.]

```
01  NIN:     kaikkie omilla +sä teit [ton,
             with all of your own ones you did that,
02                          +NINA stands up
03  TII:                              [e:-ih vaa
                                        no but
04           +↓iha omil↓la,
               with my very own,
05           +NINA TAKES HER PASTRY
06  HEL: →   >no< nii pistä sää, (.)
             PRT PRT put.IMP.SG you
             all right you
07           +Nina    tonne      nurkkaa
             [name] DEM2.LOC-ILL corner-ILL
             Nina put it there into the corner
08           +NINA BEGINS TO MOVE TOWARDS THE TRAY
09  HEL:     sitte ↑se, (0.4) siihe;
             then   DEM3.SG   DEM3.LOC-ILL
             then, (0.4) there
10  NIN:     *mä kirjotan tähä.
             I'll write here
11           *NINA TAKES A PENCIL FROM THE TABLE
12  HEL: →   joo-o, (0.5) pistä     vähä  sinne
             PRT           put.IMP.SG a.bit DEM3.LOC-ALL
             yeah, (0.5) put it a bit
13           reunempaa       et   kato
             side-COMPA-ILL that look.PRT
             closer to the side so that y' see
14           se,  (.) mahtuu
             DEM3.SG have.room-SG3
             it, (.) there is room for
15           ↑mahollisimma paljo samaa.
              possible-SUP much  same-PAR
             as many [pastries] as possible on the same [tray]
             (0.5)
16  HEL:     pitää  aina   miettiä   nii;
             0 must always think-INF so
             0 must always think of that
```

In this extract, Nina and Tiia are having a bit of a spat with one another (lines 1 and 3–4) when Nina stands up (line 2) and takes her pastry (line 5). Heli now instructs her to place it in a corner of the baking tray (lines 6–7 and 9). Nina begins to move

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towards the tray (line 8) but, before executing the requested action, announces that she wants to write her name on the greaseproof paper next to her pastries (so as to identify them later) (lines 10–11). Heli now explains that Nina should put the pastries closer to the side so that there is room for as many others as possible on the same tray (lines 12–15). After a brief pause, she adds a piece of general advice that it is always important to think of this (line 16).

By comparison with the minimally formatted directive in Excerpt (1), Heli's directives here are much more elaborate. In lines 6–9 she uses a personal pronoun *sää* 'you' and the proper name *Nina* to specify who the intended agent of the action is, and a full noun phrase *tonne nurkkaa* 'that corner' to specify where the pastries should be placed.[6] Her directive is presented as being less urgent than in Excerpt (1) by virtue of the fact that it is prefaced by the turn-initial particles *no nii*, which marks a transition from one activity to another (Raevaara 1989), and that it contains internal pauses. When Nina does not initiate the action immediately but first begins to write her name next to the pastries, Heli issues another directive, again specifying where the pastries should be put: *sinne reunempaa* 'closer to the side' and adding an explanation for why this should happen: *et…mahtuu mahollisimma paljo samaa* 'so that … there is room for as many as possible on the same [tray]'.

In lines 6–9 of Excerpt (2) then, Heli and Nina have not formed a joint focus of attention, in contrast to the previous example, where a joint activity was already initiated. The circumstances thus mandate an explicit naming of the agent of the intended action, a pronominal reference to what is to be placed, and a full lexical specification of where it is to be placed. When a delay ensues before execution of the action, the directive is re-issued in lines 12–15, again with pronominal reference to the pastry and an exact specification of where it is to be placed. Moreover, this re-issued directive turn contains an account, an explicit reason for the desirability of the action. In short, both directives are designed according to what is shared knowledge at that moment in order to ensure an intersubjective understanding of the who, what, when, and why of the intended action.

3. Directive turns with zero-person+modal constructions

In addition to designing directive turns with imperatives, Finnish speakers can also make use of a so-called zero-person construction in which a modal expression of necessity or desirability is combined with a non-finite verb form expressing the action to be forwarded. In this construction the verb (modal or copula) is inflected for third-person singular present tense but lacks any expression of a subject: for

6. Throughout this chapter, we use the word "agent" to mean the individual(s) who is(are) to carry out the nominated action.

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example, *0 täytyy vaihtaa* '0 needs to change' or *0 on pakko syödä* '0 must eat'.[7] Unlike directives with imperatives, directives with zero-person+modal constructions can by definition never be fully minimal: This is because the modal expression always makes the necessity or desirability of the intended action explicit.

Here is an example of a directive turn making use of a zero-person+modal construction:

Excerpt 3. *maanantaina 0 täytyy hakee se pois* '0 needs to pick it up on Monday' [KTA, Sg94_A5]

[Make has lent an excavator to his friend Pete. Now he is calling Pete to announce that he needs to get it back.]

```
01  MAK:    >joo täytyy      tota (.)  jollet    sä
             PRT  need.to-3SG  PRT       if-NEG-2G 2SG
             yeah, 0 needs to          if you don't
02           maanantaina< ö kerkii (0.6)    maanantaiks
             Monday-ESS      have.the.time   Monday-TRA
             have the time on Monday        by Monday
03           [kerkii         niin täytyy      vaihtaa]
             have.the.time   then need.to-3SG change
             then 0 needs to change ((it))
04  PET:     [mhhhhh                                  ]
05  MAK:     toiseen     konee[seen  sitte.]
             another-ILL machine-ILL then
             to another machine then
06  PET:                      [.nhhh                  ]
07           k- >kyl mä (.)    (tota   noin   ni)<
                 PRT 1SG         PRT     PRT    PRT
             I do
08           m (.)    sen        mitä     tarvitaanki    ni
                      DEM3.SG-ACC what-PAR  need-PASS-4-CLI so
                      whatever is needed so
09           ehdin             tos          tekemään    et    .hhh
             have.the.time-1SG DEM2.SG-INE do-INF-ILL      PRT
             I have the time to do ((it)) so
10  MAK:     ni[i. ]
             PRT
             yes
((11 lines omitted in which Pete describes the problems he has been
having with removing the big stones in his yard))
22  MAK: → no joka  tapaukses se (.) 'te
             PRT every case-INE  DEM3.SG  then
             well in any case 0 needs to pick it up then
23       → maanantaina  täytyy
             Monday-ESS 0  need-3SG
             on Monday
```

7. With glossing:

```
0 täytyy    vaihtaa    or 0 on    pakko      syödä
need.to-3SG change-INF    cop-3SG obligation eat-INF
```

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```
24        → kuitenki hakee (se)   pois< ni  saat
             anyhow   pick DEM3.SG  away PRT   get-2SG
             anyhow so you'll get
25        → toisen      tilalle jos  tarvi(it [sit),]
             another-ACC instead if   need-2SG  then
             another one as a replacement if you need it then
26  PET:                                       [ .nhh]h
27           >tota noin ni   joo.=katotaan
              PRT   PRT   PRT   PRT look-PASS-4
                                we'll see
28            sitä   n't   öö öh .hh sä     haet     sen
              DEM3.SG PRT              you.SG pick-2SG DEM3.SG-ACC
              about it                  you will pick it up
29            pois koska<.h
              up when
              when (('when will you pick it up'))
30  MAK       [(-)              ]
31  PET:      [>voit   sä     ha]kee       sunnuntainaki
              can-2SG  you.SG pick.up-INF  Sunday-ESS-CLI
              you can pick it up on Sunday too
32            jos sä     haluut<.h=
              if  you.SG want-2SG
              if you want to
33  MAK:      =ö:e:m  minä viitti
              NEG-1SG  I    bother-INF
              I won't bother
((Talk continues about the fact that Make has sold the excavator to
someone who wants to pick it up on Monday))
```

After inquiring about how far along Pete is in using the excavator to remove the rocks from his front yard (data not shown), Make now announces that the excavator needs to be picked up on Monday.[8] He quickly adds that Pete can have a replacement for it if necessary (lines 22–25). The form used in Make's turn, *maanantaina täytyy kuitenki hakee (se) pois* 'anyhow 0 needs to pick it up on Monday' is a declarative expression of need, one that is often said to imply deonticity (Stevanovic 2011; Zinken & Ogierman 2011; Rossi 2015; Rossi & Zinken 2016). However, what characterizes this Finnish construction – and its correlates in languages such as Italian and Polish – is that the agent of the action which is said to be necessary or desirable is not specified.

In the case of Excerpt (3), the participants can assume that it is Make who will be the agent of the action named, since the excavator belongs to him and he has chosen the deictic verb *hakea* 'pick up' to refer to the process of getting it back. But his announcement has implications for Pete, who will need to make it available on Monday. It is in this sense that Make's turn functions as a directive to Pete. Pete's response acknowledges as much: he first hedges on whether he will

8. Note that Make's turn in lines 1–5 also contains a zero-person+modal construction. However, it is treated as an inquiry as to whether Pete will be done by Monday and does not lead to a directive sequence.

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need a replacement *katotaan sitä* 'we'll see about it' (lines 27–28) and then inquires when Make wants to pick the excavator up on Monday, indirectly confirming that he is prepared to return it (lines 28–29). He then goes on to offer to give it back already on Sunday (lines 31–32), and by using the second person formulation *voit sä* 'can-2SG you' he makes it explicit that Make will be the agent of picking the excavator up. In sum, the turn in lines 22–25 functions as a directive because the participants intersubjectively share assumptions about the tasks that the project involves and their respective agents.

A zero-person+modal directive such as the one in Excerpt (3) differs from an imperatively formatted directive as in Excerpt (1) because it does not inherently single out the recipient as agent. Imperatives always target the recipient as agent, although they may not express this explicitly, whereas zero-person+modal directives depend on participant inferencing to determine who is to carry out the action named. In Excerpt (3) it is the directive speaker who will function as the agent of the picking up, although the recipient is also implicated in this action. In the following case, it is the recipient of the zero-person+modal turn who, it is implied, should become the agent of the action named:

Excerpt 4. *kyl niille hyvä smirgelii olis näy:ttää* 'indeed would be good [for 0] to show them the sanding machine' [KTA: Sg 094A_7] (adapted from Couper-Kuhlen & Etelämäki 2015: 12–13)

[Johan has been making some wedges for his friend Petri. In this excerpt he announces that he has just finished them.]

```
01  JOH:    tota: mä tein      ne (.) kii:lat
             PRT   I  do-PST-1SG DEM3.PL wedge-PL
             uhm I did the wedges
02           nyt:te just   [äskön.]
             PRT     PRT     PRT
             now a  moment  ago
03  PET:                [aha?  ] aha, [.hhh     ]
                         PRT      PRT
04  JOH: →                              [ja  jah::] kyl
                                         PRT  PRT    PRT
                                         and and indeed
05       → >niille      niinku<  hyvä  smirgelii
             DEM3.PL-ALL PRT      good  sanding.machine-PAR
             would be good
06       →  olis       näy:ttää  vähä,
             be-COND.3SG show-INF   little
             [for 0] to show them a bit of the sanding machine
07           (0.5)
08  PET:     joo, mä voin:    mä  voin     tuola<
             PRT   I  can-1SG  I   can-1SG  DEM2.LOC-ADE
             yes I can I can
09           töissä     va[ikka]    vetää     [ne     joo.]
             work-PL-INE for.example pull-INF    DEM3.PL PRT
             run them through for example at work then
```

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```
10  JOH:                  [joo:.]            [et     tota]
                           PRT                PRT     PRT
                           yes.               so      uhm
11          mä  kattelin       ei   siin,
            I   look-FRE-PST-1SG NEG  PRT
            I was looking and thinking that no
12          =jos siin   alkaa   viilaa
             PRT PRT 0  begin-3 file-INF
             if 0 begins to file
13          niin siin meneep (0.4) ik- ikä  pe[rkele.
            PRT   PRT   go-3SG           age  EXPL
            then it will take a hell of a long time
14  PET:                                      [siin
                                               DEM3.SG.INE
                                               there
15           on     niin monta eri       kulmaa
             be.3SG so   many  different angle-PAR
             are so many different angles
16           kyl[lä.h ]
             PRT
             indeed
```

In lines 1–2 Johan informs his friend Petri that he has just finished making the wedges. But he goes on to declare that it would be good to sand them down with a sanding machine, using a zero-person+modal construction with an expression of desirability *olla hyvä* 'be good' (lines 4–6). This construction does not specify who should do the sanding. However, Petri treats Johan's turn as a directive to him by committing to execute the action himself at work (lines 8–9).[9] The zero-person+-modal construction functions as a directive in this case because the participants can infer that Johan cannot do the machine-sanding himself (presumably because he does not have a machine), whereas Petri can, because he has such a machine at work. This inferencing leads to Petri agreeing to do it in next turn. As Johan goes on to explain, it would take much longer if the wedges were to be filed by hand (lines 11–13), which is presumably what would have to happen if he were to do it himself.[10]

In both Excerpts 3 and 4 zero-person+modal constructions are used to implement directive turns in a sequence-initiating position. Subsequently they receive responses that indicate that the recipient is committing to the execution of the action in question. The same construction type can, however, also be used for directive actions in responsive position. Here is a case in point:

9. The turn-final *joo* shows that the formulation of Petri's turn is a response to a prior directive addressed to him.

10. Note here too the use of a zero-person construction (line 12), in this case, however, without a modal expression of necessity or desirability. The form in line 12 references the action of filing by hand without specifying the agent, but it does not function as a directive because (a) it occurs in a hypothetical conditional clause that is serving as an account and (b) it lacks an indication of necessity or desirability.

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Excerpt 5. *sitte 0 täytyy vaan tehä joku ulkomaan keikka* 'then 0 just has to make a trip abroad' [KTA: SG s01b_07] (adapted from Sorjonen 2001: 124–125)
[Sisko has been telling her friend Tuire about her plans to sell her summer cottage. Tuire has, however, pointed to the emotional consequences of doing so.]

```
01  SIS:     [kyllä se vois         olla   kauhe>eta mutta ku
              PRT   it can-CON.3SG be-INF awful-PAR but   as
              surely it could be awful but as
02            mä  oon    ollu
              I   be-1SG be-PPC
              I've been
03            niin  (.) semmonen (.) #m m# rapakuntonen      ja
              so        such             mud-condition-ADJ and
              in so (.) such a   (.) #m m# a bad shape and
04            huono   olonen    kaiken#  .hh  kaiken  ke#sän
              bad     being-ADJ all-ACC       all-ACC summer-ACC
              feeling bad all# .hh all su#mmer
05            oikeestaan (.)   keväästä   lähtien
              in.fact          spring-ELA starting
              in fact (.) ever since the spring
06            ni (.) e mulla e# si- s-  siin
              PRT    I-ADE      ?it ?it DEM3-INE
              so (.) er I er i- i- there
07            on ollu   joitaki   asioita      jotka  on
              is be-PPC some(PAR) thing-PL-PAR that.PL  is
              have been some things about it that have
08            käyny   mulle   niinku   rasitukses.
              go-PPC I-ALL    PRT      burden-TRA
              become kind of a burden to me.
09  TUI: →    .mhh no   sitte 0 täytyy vaan (.) tehä     joku
                  PRT  then  0 must   just     make-INF some
              .mhh well then 0 just have to (.) make a
10        →   ulkomaan       keikka   sen    lisäks.h[h
              out-country-GEN trip     it-GEN addition-TRA
              trip abroad in addition.hh
11  SIS: ⇒                                          [Nii:.
                                                    PRT
                                                    Nii:.
12       ⇒  .mh Mä  oon    nyt  yrittäny  rauhottaa
                I   be-1  now  try-PPC    protect-INF
              .mh I have tried now to protect
13       ⇒  .mhhh ö marraskuun #uu# kahta
                  November-GEN       two-PAR
              .mhhh er the last two weeks of
14       ⇒  viimmestä viik#koo ja# (.) sanonu  matkatoimistoon
              last-PAR  week-PAR and     say-PPC travel-office-ILL
              November and (.) told the travel agency
15       ⇒  että (.) kuhan nyt  jonkun   matkan   #kattoo
              that     if     now some-ACC trip-ACC looks
              that (.) if they just find some trip
16       ⇒  jossa ö ö pääasia     että o  yhen    henge
              where     main-thing that is one-GEN person.GEN
              in which the main thing is that there's a single
```

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```
17      ⇒  ↑huone ja ↓lämmintä#.
            room  and warm-PAR
           ↑room and ↓warm.
18  TUI:   loistava tota: [ajanko]hta.
           splendid PRT   time-GEN-point
           splendid uh: timing.
```

In lines 1–8 Sisko concedes Tuire's point about the emotional consequences of selling her cottage but goes on to say that her current state – she has felt bad ever since spring – means that the cottage has become a burden for her. As is common in such complaint and troubles-telling sequences (Jefferson & Lee 1981), the recipient, here Tuire, positions herself as troubles recipient and offers a piece of advice. This advice is delivered with a zero-person+modal construction: *0 täytyy vaan (.) tehä joku ulkomaan keikka* '0 just have to (.) make a trip abroad' (lines 9–10), which focuses on the situation as a whole. By defocusing the agent, the piece of advice appears as a generic one instead of being a piece of advice concerning a personal situation. Had she instead used a construction with a second-person subject (*sun täytyy vaan…*), the focus would have been more on how Sisko personally handles the situation rather than the situation as such. Given the sequential context, it is clear that Tuire's turn design targets Sisko as the agent of the action named, although this is not stated as such. Sisko explicates her understanding that Tuire's turn targets her by agreeing with *nii* and using the first-person pronoun in reporting that she has engaged a travel agent to find a trip for her at the end of November. That is, she acknowledges the deonticity of Sisko's turn as expressing an obligation for her to act (Stevanovic & Peräkylä 2012), but claims that she has already acted upon it.

The point we wish to make with respect to zero-person+modal constructions is twofold. First, through the combination of zero person with an expression of necessity or desirability, these constructions can be used deontically as directives. Yet in contrast to imperative directives, in which the necessity or desirability of a particular action is taken for granted, the zero person+modal constructions make it explicit. This means that they can be expected to occur in situations where an intersubjective understanding of necessity or desirability is not given. Second, zero-person+modal constructions target agency in a way that is different from imperatives. Rather than inherently assigning agency to the addressee without necessarily saying as much explicitly, zero-person+modal constructions *underspecify* agency.[11] Participants must infer who is to carry out the intended action and may even find themselves negotiating this role (Couper-Kuhlen & Etelämäki 2015; see also Rossi 2015). These turn designs can be expected to occur when directive speakers wish to focus explicitly on the desirability/necessity of the action itself instead of on who is to accomplish the action.

11. We are aware that the word *underspecify* assumes that the default situation is one where agents are specified, but we are unable to develop this point further without more empirical work.

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4. Directive sequences with both imperatives and zero-person+modal constructions

An appreciation of the different *modus operandi* of imperative and zero-person+-modal constructions in directives can be gained when we examine their co-occurrence in the same conversational sequence or course of action. This happens in particular when a directive issued with an imperative form does not meet with full and immediate compliance or commitment in subsequent talk. Directive speakers will then often turn to zero-person+modal constructions in reissuing the directive, arguably because the recipient's resistance indicates that assumptions concerning the necessity or desirability of the action are not intersubjectively shared. Here is a case where this happens:

Excerpt 6. *käy siinä työpaikkalääkärillä* 'visit that company physician' [KTA: Sg 398] [Kati has invited her friend Taru over for the evening and they are drinking wine. The topic shifts to dry skin in the winter and Taru shows Kati a bad rash on her forearm. In data not shown here, Kati urges Taru to have the rash examined by a doctor, but Taru insists that she has already done this but the doctor did not take the rash seriously.]

```
01  TAR:    mno mut se oli sitä mieltä et ei se
            well but his opinion was that it isn't
02          et [ se on vaan jot]ain.
            that it is just something
03  KAT:       [no hyvä.       ]
                well good
04          jos se on sitä että ku
             if it is so because
05          mä:[:# olen# (ihan) kauhuissani        ][12]
             I am totally terrified
06  TAR:       [mut et sil- sillon >kun mä tietyst<] kävin
            but when when I of course went to
07          siel lääkärillä ni täs ei ollu just mitään.
            that doctor there wasn't much here (=the rash was
              hardly visible)
08          .hhhhh (0.2) ja sit taas (m)ei menny ku hetken
                         and then it took only a little
09           aikaa ni tähän >nkun< ihan kun tyhjästä <taas
            time until here when like from nowhere again
10           tuli tämm[östä jotain.>                    ]
            came something like this
11  KAT: →           [.hhhh käy          sii-nä     työ]=
                          visit.IMP.SG DEM3-INE    work
                          visit that
12       →  =paikkalääkä[ri-llä.=
             place.physician-ADE
             company physician
```

12. It can be inferred from the conversation that she is referring to the possibility of the rash being melanoma.

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```
13  TAR:                [↑no
                         well
14          [siellä m]ä oon °käy[ny.°]
            there I have been
15  KAT:    [sinne   ]          [ pää]see
            there 0 gets
16          [nopeesti.    ]
            quickly
17  TAR:    [↑siellä mä kä]vin.
             that's where I went
18  KAT:    nii.
19  TAR:    sin< ↑lääkäri katto sen.
                 the doctor checked it
20          (0.2)
21  TAR:    tai olevinaan
            or doing being
22          s- si[n siinä kohtii.
            at that that  time
23  KAT: ⇒       [no  sit 0 pitää    men-nä uudelleen,
                 PRT then  must-3SG go-INF again
                 well then 0 must go again
24          ku mä aatteli:n- mä sitä tarkotan että kun
            because I thought- what I mean (is) that if
25          (ne ois katsonu nyt/nyt jos Kelsul nyt)
            (they would have looked at it closely now/you now
             go to the health center)
26          (vä[hän tarkkaan/lähet aikaa)
            (a bit more thoroughly/and (reserve) a time)
27  TAR:       [ei ei eiku mä
                no no no since I
28  KAT:    niin sinnehän saat sitte taas
            then there you know you get (an appointment)
            then again
29          =seu[raavan kerran ku se on
            the next time when it's
30  TAR:        [eiku mä käv- #ni#
                 no but I we-
31          kii[nni jo mutta,
            already closed (disappeared) but
32             [kävin työpaikkalääkärillä. =ja sit
               went to the company physician=and then
33             s[e otatti mult #u:
               he took my
34  KAT:       [nii,
35          (0.5)
36  KAT:    ni[i >mut että se näkis< sen tollasena.
             yes but        he would see it like that
37  TAR:       [ve- veri-
               bl- blood
38          (.)
39  KAT:    nytte.
            now
```

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When Taru describes how the rash came back suddenly and spread all over her arm (lines 12–15), Taru again proposes a solution with an imperative form: *käy siinä työpaikkalääkärillä* 'visit that company physician' (line 16–17), adding that appointments can be gotten there quickly (lines 20–21. The prenominal demonstrative *siinä* draws attention to the company doctor, thus adding to the pursuit of the action expressed in the imperative TCU (cf. the locative adverb *siel* in line 14 (Laury 1996)). In overlap, however, Taru responds that the company doctor is exactly where she was (lines 18–19 and 22). She adds that the doctor checked her arm (line 24) or made a semblance of checking it (line 26–27). In the face of this resistance, Kati now reissues her directive with a zero-person+modal construction: *no sit 0 pitää mennä uudelleen* 'well then 0 must go again' (line 28).[13] Here too, because Taru's resistance indicates that she does not see the point of the action, Kati designs her turn with a modal verb explicitly stating that it is necessary, going on to provide an account: *että se näkis< sen tollasena…nytte* 'so that he would see it like that… now' (lines 41 and 44). By opting for a zero-person subject, she underspecifies the agent, focussing on the action and its necessity. Both these design features serve to tailor Kati's turn so that it will fit the intersubjective requirements of the moment.

A final example follows basically the same pattern; however, in contrast to the prior example, where two different verbs were used for the nominated action (*käydä* 'visit' and *mennä* 'go'), in this case the nominated action is insisted on by using the same verb (*syödä* 'eat'):

Excerpt 7. *syö pois vaa* 'just eat away' [KTA: Sg 399f]
[Mirja and Teemu are a couple and share a flat. Teemu, who is away from the flat, has phoned Mirja, who is at home, to ask about a study assignment. As the call is about to close, Mirja asks Teemu if he has eaten. When he answers in the affirmative, she confesses that she has eaten some of his pizza.]

```
01  MIR:    [°#aha joo#° ku]
             PRT PRT PRT
             aha okay because
02           mä söin          sun
             1SG eat-PST-1SG 2SG-GEN
             I ate your
03           pitsasta [puolet,        ]
             pizza-ELA half
             pizza half-way 'I ate half of your pizza'
04  TEE:              [söit        mun]    pitsat.
                       eat-PST-2SG 1SG-GEN pizza-PL
                      (you) ate my pizza.
05           <°kaik[ki.°>]
             all.of.it
```

13. Her turn preface *no sit* shows that she is taking into account Kati's previous report, as does her reformulation of the action as *mennä uudelleen* 'go again'.

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```
06  MIR:            [siis] E:N   KAIkkee  syöny, vaa
                    PRT NEG-1SG    all      eat-PPC PRT
                    no (I) didn't eat all (of it), but only
07                  puolet,=
                    half
                    half (of it)
08  TEE: →          =£hehhä£ no  e:iku syö     pois vaa,
                           PRT PRT eat[IMP.SG] away just
                    well no just eat away
09                  eiku mä otan      täält
                    PRT 1SG take-1SG DEM1.LOC-ABL
                    I'll have here
10  MIR:              =no  ku<    MÄ   AATTELIN       ET sä (mäs-)
                       PRT PRT 1SG think-FRE-PST-1SG     PRT 2SG
                      well you see I was thinking that you are
11                  mässytät  siel       vaa
                    munch-2SG DEM3.LOC-ADE just
                    just munching there
12                  kaik[kee     hy]v#ää#
                    all-PAR     good-PAR
                    all kinds of good (things)
13  TEE:              [>joo joo.<]
                       PRT PRT
                       yeah yeah
14  MIR:            ja meitsil ei    oo mit#ää# r#uo#kaa,
                    PRT 1SG-ADE NEG    BE  any-PAR  food-PAR
                    and poor me doesn't have any food
15  TEE: →          £niih heh:£ joo eiku syö se
                    PRT PRT PRT eat[IMP.SG] DEM3.SG
                    yes yeah no eat
16                  loppuki.
                    rest-CLI
                    the rest of it too
17                  ei  se     nyt  (.)   (mitää -)=
                    NEG DEM3.SG PRT
                    it doesn't
18  MIR:            =no   e:[mmä,>sis]  ei  mul  oo  en[ää nälkä]
                    PRT NEG-I       PRT NEG     I-ADE be anymore hunger
                    well I won't I mean I'm not hungry anymore
19  TEE:                  [ (--)   ]              [syö:t   ]
                                                  eat[IND]-2SG
                                                  [you] eat
20                  syöt      ku se      [mö]
                    eat[IND]-2SG PRT DEM3.SG
                    [you] eat because it
21  MIR:                             [no ] eihän mul  oo
                                      PRT  NEG-CLI I-ADE be
                                     well I'm not hungry
22                  [nälkä (enää)   ]
                     hunger (anymore)
                    anymore am I
23  TEE: ⇒          [ menee pilalle.]   pakko  syödä,
                     0 go-3SG spoiled   must   eat-INF
                    (it will) spoil 0 must eat
```

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```
24  MIR:     ei  mullo   nälkä  yhtää.
             NEG I-ADE-be hunger at.all
              I'm not hungry at all
25           (.)
26  MIR:     [enää,]
              anymore
27  TEE: ⇒   [e:iku ]    pitää vaa   syödä.
              PRT       0 must  just  eat-INF
              no matter 0 must just eat
28           .hhh NO   JOO katellaan    sit vähä   myöhemmin
                  PRT  PRT  look-FRE-PASS PRT little later
                  well okay, we'll see then a bit later
```

When Mirja announces that she has eaten half of Teemu's pizza (lines 2–3 and 6–7), Teemu uses an imperatively formatted turn to encourage her to continue eating it (line 8): *syö pois vaa* 'just eat away'. Mirja now launches a tongue-in-cheek account for why she felt justified in doing what she did (lines 10–14), whereupon Teemu reiterates his directive: *eiku syö se loppuki* 'no eat the rest of it too'. Both of these turns are minimal, reflecting what is proposed to be an intersubjective understanding of who should do the eating, what Mirja should eat, and why this is necessary or desirable. Yet Mirja now rejects Teemu's directive, claiming that she is not hungry anymore (lines 18). Teemu insists that she should eat the rest, using an indicative declarative form of the verb *syödä* inflected for second person (lines 19–20), but Mirja reiterates that she is not hungry anymore (lines 21–22).[14] In the face of this resistance, Teemu now resorts to a zero-person+modal construction with a noun (*pakko*) expressing obligation to make his point: *pakko syödä* '0 must eat', prefaced by what is arguably a reason for doing so: *menee pilalle* '[it will] spoil' (line 23). Again Mirja claims that she is not hungry anymore, and again Teemu claims that the left-over pizza should be eaten: *eiku 0 pitää vaa syödä* 'no matter 0 must just eat', with a zero-person+modal construction denying the validity of her argument (line 27).

What we can observe happening then in this extended directive sequence is that Teemu's turns are continually adjusted to adapt to what is perceived to be intersubjective common ground. The imperative forms in lines 8 and 15 suggest that Teemu is assuming that who should eat what and why is intersubjectively shared. But the fact that Mirja resists his directives shows that she does not share Teemu's assumptions that she should eat the left-over pizza. Teemu then adjusts his turns accordingly, both to express the necessity of the action and to provide a reason for the necessity, at the same time bringing in a moral component (food spoiling). In doing so, he uses verb forms that underspecify agency, focussing on the action and its necessity.

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14. For more on what Teemu achieves in deploying this second-person declarative form, see Etelämäki & Couper-Kuhlen (2017).

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In both examples the zero-person+modal construction, with its verb form in the third-person singular leaving a slot for a singular agent, opens up a normative sphere where anybody in such a situation would be under the same obligation (see Laitinen 2006).

5. Discussion and conclusion

We have shown that by choosing one of two turn designs for implementing directive actions the speaker makes a choice between different assumptions about shared understandings in the activity and sequential context. We have argued that imperatively formatted directives reflect and/or reflexively construct situations in which assumptions about the who, when, and why of the action encoded in the verb are intersubjectively shared (minimal turn design), and that when there are aspects that are not shared, this is made explicit in the design of the turn (elaborate turn design). A directive turn design deploying a zero-person construction, by contrast, makes even fewer assumptions about what is shared. It co-occurs with modal verbs and other expressions that make explicit the necessity or desirability of the nominated action. This comes out clearly in the ordering of the two directive turn designs when they are used in the same sequence for insisting on the same or a similar activity. An imperatively formatted directive, making the most assumptions about what is shared, is used first. In the face of resistance, the zero-person+modal construction, making fewer assumptions, is deployed later to make explicit the relevance of the nominated action, thus working towards a re-establishment of intersubjectivity.

In a Schegloffian understanding (1992), intersubjectivity is displayed procedurally through the infrastructure of conversational organization in the here and now. In this view intersubjectivity is seen as something achieved in the turn-by-turn unfolding of sequences of action, and the initiation of (other) repair is a means for defending intersubjectivity. Yet in our examples, we have seen that during these ongoing interactions participants are also making decisions about how to act in the world and that they do not always agree on what should be done. This takes us to a Schuetzian understanding of intersubjectivity (1953), according to which all our interactions are based on the idealized belief of a common view of the world for all practical purposes (reciprocity of perspectives: interchangeability of standpoints, and congruent systems of relevancies), one in which assumptions are shared about, for instance, what future actions should be done, by whom, and when. In this understanding intersubjectivity is disrupted when it becomes apparent that participants do not agree on these assumptions. We can see evidence for this lack of agreement when directives are resisted. This can happen even though there is no initiation of repair.

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Yet the two understandings of intersubjectivity are not mutually exclusive. For where else would a shared view of the world be negotiated if not in the here and now, relying on the micro-organization of social interaction and our command of it? If we do not understand what the other person is doing with their turn, we have the option to initiate repair. However, even though we may understand the interaction, we can still disagree about how things should be outside the here and now, and in these situations our systems of relevancies concerning the world are not congruent. This is precisely the situation that arises in our last two examples, where a directive action is implemented first with an imperative turn design and then with a zero-person+modal construction. The use of these two turn designs in a directive sequence where resistance is encountered provides evidence for the fact that the reciprocity of perspectives can be misjudged and that intersubjectivity can be defended without repair.

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On agency and affiliation in second assessments

German and Swedish opinion verbs in talk-in-interaction

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In this chapter, we discuss design features of second assessments in German and Swedish conversation. We focus on opinion-verb constructions (*finden*, *tycka*) in full and reduced clausal formats. The study shows that reduced formats are followed by sequence closure while full formats are followed by more talk on the topic. We explain this finding by arguing that by using reduced formats, second speakers claim less agency and display low affiliation with the first assessment, whereas full formats work in the opposite way. The full and reduced opinion-verb constructions represent standardized action patterns with recognizable implications, leading to predictable interactional trajectories and coordinated intersubjective behavior.

Keywords: second assessments, agency, affiliation, disagreement, opinion verbs

1. Introduction

German and Swedish have specific "opinion verbs" that are frequently used to convey the speaker's subjective stance to the assessable, as in *ich find(e) das gut* and *jag tycker den är bra*. Both can be translated with *think* in English (i.e. 'I think it is good'), but the English verb has a wider meaning, as it can express opinion or doubt, thus generally flagging uncertain knowledge (see Mullan 2010: 51).[1] German and Swedish, as fixed word-order languages, deploy similar grammar in responding turns, but at the same time, there are some differences in the constructional

1. *I find* (a cognate to German *ich finde*) marks speaker opinion, but the expression seems to have low frequency in conversational English (see Mullan 2010: 67).

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schemes associated with the specific verbs *finden* and *tycka*. We will investigate the use of constructions containing these verbs in assessment sequences in conversation, with a special focus on their use in second assessments, building on and elaborating prior work on English assessment responses (Thompson, Fox & Couper-Kuhlen 2015). The verbs under scrutiny allow the speaker to produce an assessment that is not presented as factual, but rather as expressing his or her opinions, feelings and tastes; hence, the verbs take part in those interactional processes that lead from subjectivity to intersubjectivity.

We will analyse utterances framed with *ich finde* and *jag tycker* in terms of speakers' agency and affiliation. Both are interactionally intricate for the second assessor. In second position the possibility to say something independently of the speaker in the first position – and hence agency – is restricted (Enfield 2011), and there is a general preference for expressing agreement (Pomerantz 1984), i.e., for affiliation. We will argue that speakers of German and Swedish claim less agency in second assessments by using *reduced* formats of these verbal constructions, while *full* formats are used to claim higher agency. Thompson et al. (2015: 139–184) observe for English that agreeing second assessments can be ordered on a continuum of weak to strong agency displays, which includes minimal clausal second assessments (*it is*), expanded clausal second assessments (copula constructions that repeat the first assessment's evaluative term) and (up-)graded clausal assessments (upgraded e.g. by a preposed particle such as *oh,* or by prosody). They do not consider opinion verb constructions in their analytic model. Integrating them in this discussion leads to a different continuum of agency displays for Swedish and German. This continuum is based on the degree of syntactic dependency of the second on the first opinion-verb assessment (where dependence rests on "structural latency", or "ellipsis"; see Auer 2014).

The constructional schemata for reduced and full clausal formats with *finden* and *tycka* in German and Swedish, are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. Reduced and full clausal formats for *finden* and *tycka* in second assessments (*EVAL-T* = evaluative term, e.g. *gut* 'good')

Clausal format	**German (*finden*)**	**Swedish (*tycka*)**
Reduced	(*ja*) (*das*) *find ich auch* (*ja*) *ich find (das) auch* (*ja*) *ich auch* '(yes) I think so too'	(*ja*) (*det*) *tycker jag* (*med*/*också*) (*ja*) *jag tycker det* (*också*) (ja) *jag med*/*också* '(yes) I think so (too)'
Full	(*ja*) (*das*) *find ich* (*auch*) + *EVAL-T* (*ja*) *ich finde das* (*auch*) + *EVAL-T* 'I find that also EVAL-T'	(*ja*) (*det*) *tycker jag med*/*också e* + EVAL-T (*ja*) *jag tycker* (*också*) (*att*) *det e* + EVAL-T 'I think (that) it is EVAL-T'

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When we speak of a reduced format, we refer to a syntactic construction which is analeptic ("elliptical") in the sense of formally depending on a previous (usually the preceding) utterance, i.e. it is "parasitic" on it. The reduced format is in both languages mono-clausal and the assessing term is taken over from the previous utterance by an anaphoric pronoun (*das*, *det*), which refers back to the evaluative term used in the first assessment, e.g., *das finde ich auch*. In addition, this pronoun can be lacking in clause-initial position (resulting in so-called "topic drop"; see Mörnsjö 2002 on Swedish; Trutkowski 2016 on German). The turn is regularly prefaced by an affirming particle (*ja*). The reduced construction usually contains a focus adverb (*auch*, *med*/*också*) which is obligatory in German and marks the assessment's "secondness", but also underlines that the speaker subscribes to the term used by the first assessor. When the second assessor disagrees, a negating adverb enters into the construction, for example, (*das*) *find ich nicht*, (*det*) *tycker inte jag* 'I don't think so'.

The full format incorporates a specific evaluative term (for example, *gut*, *bra* 'good'). It may be the same as in the first assessment or differ from it. Here, the two languages differ: the construction is mono-clausal in German, with the assessing term linked to the verb as a predicative adjective ('I find it good'), but it is bi-clausal in Swedish, where the opinion verb in the matrix clause governs a complement clause containing the evaluative term ('I find that it is good'), i.e. the verb is a complement-taking predicate (Noonan 1985).[2]

In agreement with the general argumentation in Thompson et al. (2015: 167) we assume that the choice between the reduced and the full construction constitutes a claim to less or more agency. While Thompson et al. argue that different constructional formats can lead to more or less "trouble" (disaffiliation), we will argue that the choice of a syntactic format is consequential for the subsequent sequential trajectory. In the case of lower agency, sequence closure is likely, whereas in the case of higher agency, the assessing sequence is likely to continue.

Another dimension that has a bearing on the sequential development after the second assessment is evaluative (non-)affiliation. When the second assessment is moderately downgraded (i.e. without foreshadowing disagreement), sequence closure is likely, but when the second assessment is on the same evaluative level as the first one, or even upgraded, sequence expansion is likely to ensue, for instance by further (aligning) assessments or details of the assessable. When the second assessor

2. German also uses the opinion verb *finden* as a matrix verb (as in: *ich finde, wir sollten jetzt gehen* 'I think we should go now'), but this construction is rarely used in assessments and will therefore not be included in our analysis. The Swedish *finna* takes a predicative adjective (*jag finner det intressant* 'I find it interesting') as its German cognate *finden* in assessments, but it appears mostly in elevated style and is not attested in our data.

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disagrees with the first, the turn or sequence is mostly expanded by an account, irrespective of whether the second assessment uses a full or reduced opinion verb format. These systematic bearings on sequential trajectory, we argue, depend on the speakers' deploying of actions in a "typical" way that then occasions "typical" next actions (see Schuetz 1953: 17–20). That is, for the speakers of a language, a certain established response form (e.g. a formally reduced second assessment) is recognizable as a form that is likely to project a certain kind of sequential trajectory in interaction (e.g. sequence closure).

The German data come from a variety of conversational encounters – from informal meetings between students (corpus ZK, 10 recordings, appr. 120 000 words) to group and dyadic encounters in the first season of German "Big Brother" (corpus BB, 44 recordings, appr. 235 000 words), and including telephone conversations from the CALL HOME corpus (97 recordings, appr. 205 000 words – and interviews (corpus DIALEKT-INTONATION, 124 recordings, appr. 1,2 mio words). The participants cover different age ranges and were all proficient L1 speakers of German. The transcription follows GAT2 (see Selting et al. 2009). The Swedish data consists of a corpus (GSM) of pre-arranged but unscripted sociolinguistic group interviews recorded among high school students in Western Sweden (Norrby & Wirdenäs 1998). The speakers are thus in their late teens and proficient L1 speakers of Swedish, although some of them have an immigrant family background. The participants' task was to discuss, describe and assess nine different music samples representing different styles. The total number of recordings is 27, amounting to 20 hours and about 200 000 words. Each interview situation includes a moderator and three to five students. The general atmosphere of the interviews is that of a relaxed conversational interaction and the participants freely argue about their opinions and tastes. The transcription follows general CA conventions (see Jefferson 2004). By combining the German and Swedish datasets we not only manage to study the resources of two related languages but also broaden the scope of genres and interactional events that are fostered by them.

After discussing some recent contributions to the study of the organization of assessment sequences in general (Section 2), we will first show that the speech genre has an impact on the way in which (second) assessments are done in interaction. Speech genres can be understood as socially typified patterns of language use and actions that recur in certain activities and contexts in which they become meaningful, displaying regular patterns of participation, e.g. in interactions in medical consultations, courtroom interrogations, or political interviews (see Luckmann 1985; Mayes 2003; cf. also Schuetz above). The genre-specific structural-sequential characteristics can be fruitfully analyzed with reference to the notion of agency, as we will show in Section 3 on the basis of the Swedish interview data. In Section 4, we will present our main argument on the basis of the German data, i.e. that the

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structure of the assessment sequences is responsive to agency and strength of evaluative affiliation in the second sequential position, which are coded in the linguistic format of the responsive assessments. While this holds for agreeing seconds, Section 5 will deal with disagreeing second assessments, using Swedish data; these sequences are always expanded and their (frequent) occurrence is genre related. The chapter ends with a conclusion where we summarize and reflect on the results.

Our study is located within the framework of Interactional Linguistics (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018) and therefore seeks to understand how the deployment of linguistic structure is both situated in talk-in-interaction and shaped by this environment. Given the close structural-functional similarity between Swedish and German opinion-verb constructions, we are less interested here in the different interactional resources the two languages offer their speakers than in the ways in which sequential and genre-related contexts shape their use, which also makes our argument potentially applicable to other languages.

2. Agency and affiliation

Following Thompson et al. (2015: 139) we understand assessments to include an evaluative term that has positive or negative valence. Responses to assessments differ according to whether the assessable is known to both participants or only to the assessor (epistemic dimension). Here, we will only be concerned with the first case. Also, assessments after informings, stories etc., which may include an explicit or implicit assessment, are excluded. Second assessments are in addition sensitive to the question of whether the assessable is the second speaker or some person or object closely associated with this speaker (in which case a positive first assessment is heard as a compliment), and whether the assessable is the first speaker or some person or object closely associated with this speaker (in which case a positive first assessment is heard as self-praise). Second assessments after these first assessments follow a preference system for agreement: among the various possibilities of formulating a second, seconds in which the speaker affiliates with the first assessor are preferred. Affiliating second assessments contain evaluative terms on the same level as the first, slightly below, or above ("upgrading") (cf. Pomerantz 1984; for German also Auer & Uhmann 1982).

Disagreeing with the first assessment is a delicate, potentially face-threatening act which is therefore handled with circumspection. As Pomerantz (1984) has shown, the preference for agreement includes the systematic employment of resources that foreshadow disagreement without marking it overtly. This can be achieved by delayed seconds and/or by disagreement-implicative turn-initial particles such as German *naja* or Swedish *nå* and *nåja* ('well'). When introduced by

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these techniques, seconds that downgrade the first assessment may be heard as disagreement-implicative as well.

Heritage and Raymond (2005) point out that first and second assessors have ways of weakening and strengthening the epistemic grounds of their assessments. The opinion verbs we are focusing on in this chapter count among the ways speakers have at their disposal to downgrade their epistemic stance, be it in first or second position. By framing the assessment as a subjective opinion, the speaker at the same time refrains from presenting the facts that led to this assessment as objectively compelling.[3] But Heritage and Raymond also show that second assessments can be more or less independent from the preceding first assessments. By presenting the second assessment as based on an opinion they have always held (hence by strengthening its epistemic grounds), second speakers can claim that they were not only led to share the first speakers' opinion *in situ*, after having heard the first assessment. Inversely, the second assessor may choose to link the second assessment to the first assessment in a way that displays its epistemic dependency on it; in this case, the speaker does not claim to have been of this particular opinion before, or to have ever thought of the matter.

Enfield (2011: 308) reframes this difference as one of agency, starting from the observation that the speaker's epistemic position alone does not account for his or her rights to make an assessment in a given sequential slot. First speakers usually make an "independent claim of relevance"; they decided to say what they say exactly at this moment. They are both responsible for and "committed" to (Thompson et al. 2015: 147–148) what they say more than the second, responding speakers. Second assessors are in a position of weaker agency. For them, there is a danger of being heard as "saying X because Y said Z before". They may accept this lower agency, and formulate second assessments such that they can be heard as being formulated in such a position; this is linguistically expressed by analeptic formats that make use of the previous utterance as a resource (i.e. "reduced formats", see above; cf. Auer 2014). On the other hand, second speakers can also contest the lower agency implied by the second position by choosing a format that can be heard as an independent assessment, i.e. one which does not show any structural orientation to, or reliance on, the format of the previous utterance (i.e. the "full formats" mentioned above).

A synthesis of Heritage and Raymond's and Enfield's approach is offered by Thompson et al. (2015: 139–214) in their analysis of second assessments in English conversation. They investigate second assessments in varying grammatical formats, ranging from simple phrasal assessments (which are rare according to their study), to "minimal clausal assessments" consisting of a copula and a pronoun, such as

3. However, there may be cultural differences in how opinions and facts are oriented to and expressed in discourse (see e.g. Mullan 2010 for differences between French and Australian English).

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it is, "expanded clausal" assessments, in which an evaluative term from the first assessment is reused, and "graded clausal" assessments in which the evaluation of the first assessment is upgraded by lexical, prosodic or grammatical means. They argue that these formats can be ordered with respect to (increasing) agency claims by the speaker.

The opinion-verb constructions that are the focus of this study are not discussed by Thompson et al. (2015), as *to find* is only occasionally used in the same way in English, and *to think* is not only an opinion verb. However, they can be located on this continuum. The reduced opinion-verb format in Swedish and German can be compared to the "minimal clausal" variant, as both lack an evaluative term which, instead, is "imported" from the utterance on which the analeptic assessment depends.[4] The full opinion-verb format in Swedish and German is similar to the "expanded" and "graded" clausal format, as it contains an evaluative term (which may be the one that occurred in the first assessment but often is not). However, the opinion-verb format shows less commitment to a prior move as the assessment is presented as a subjective judgement (and not as factual). Clausal formats with an evaluative term but without an opinion verb, which claim even higher agency, of course also exist but are not analyzed here.

The more the format is reduced, the more it depends on the structure of the first assessment and therefore claims a lower agency on the part of the second speaker. Inversely, the choice of a full format for the second assessment counteracts and hence mitigates the lower agency of the second assessor (implied by the responsive position), by formulating the assessment in an independent way, i.e. in a format that could also be employed to formulate a first assessment.

These differences have a bearing for the sequential unfolding of interaction. We will show that in a strongly asymmetrical agency constellation, the sequence tends to be closed after the second assessment, i.e. there is "not much more to say" about the matter at hand, or, as Thompson et al. (2015: 115) argue, minimal formats can also be indicative of (some unpronounced) trouble. On the other hand, when the sequence is more symmetrical in terms of agency, expansion of the sequence is likely. In addition to agency, affiliation also has an impact on the subsequent sequential development: a (moderately) downgraded second assessment (displaying low affiliation) can close the sequence, while an upgraded second assessment

4. The constructional format equivalent to the English "minimal clausal responses" exists in German ((*das*) *ist er*), but is not attested in our data; more frequent is (*das*) *ist es*, which refers back to the assessment of a proposition by the first speaker. The Swedish equivalent *de e den* is quite rare in second assessments in our data (3 instances), A: *Texten e cool* 'The text is cool' B: *De e den* 'It is'. The form *de e de*, corresponding to the German *es*-variant above, is characteristic of confirming responses to a description, A: *Death Metal* B: *Ja, de e de* 'Yes, it is'), rather than of assessments.

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(displaying high affiliation) will often expand it. Downright disagreeing seconds, of course, are expansion-relevant (Schegloff 2007: 117).

The two dimensions of agency and affiliation are not fully independent. A reduced grammatical format (by which the speaker claims low agency) also encodes low affiliation (imbalance of commitment, see Thompson et al. 2015: 155). The opposite is not true, however. A second assessment which is done in a full syntactic format (high agency) can contain an assessment term that upgrades or downgrades the first assessment, thereby displaying higher or lower affiliation.

3. Dealing with weak agency: Assessing in group interviews

There are speech genres in which the speakers' agency in the formulation of second assessments is constrained while at the same time the genre requires the participants to express their opinions in a rich and elaborate way. Among them are round table or classroom discussions where the participants are asked one after the other to state their opinions on a theme. In such genres, it is the first assessor who has the primary edge to say something independently, whereas the subsequent speakers find themselves struggling to add something original and different from this first speaker (cf. Enfield 2011). Of course, the second (and all subsequent) assessors may accept their limited agency by simply concurring with the first assessor. Yet, this is not in line with the "rules of the game", which encourage the participants to state their opinion explicitly and individually.

A typical example of assessing practices in such a genre is presented in Excerpt (1) from the Swedish group interview data. The interviewer invites the interviewees to describe and assess different music pieces and performers. In this case, the Swedish band *Kent* is at issue. The interviewer (INT) asks at line 1 whether the participants like the band and the song they just have heard (using the phrasal verb *tycka om* 'like'). Lars responds with a positive first assessment using an opinion verb in a full bi-clausal format (*ja tycker de e: bra* 'I think it's good'). The second assessor Ted ties his assessment back to this first assessment with an affirming particle (*a:*) and through the reduced opinion-verb format *ja tycker också de* 'I think so, too' (line 3). This tying is done with an anaphoric pronoun (*de* 'that') and the additive adverb *också* 'also, too'. We mark the first assessment with '1→' and the second assessment with '2→' and by additionally shading it; subsequent assessments are arrowed and numbered accordingly.[5]

5. The notation with arrows follows Ogden (2006) and Thompson et al. (2015).

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Excerpt 1. *Good texts* (GSM:25), group interview

```
01  INT:      mm, tycker ni    om  de?
              PRT  like  you.PL PRT it
              mm, do you like it?
02  LAR:   1→ ja tycker de e: bra.
              I  think  it is good
              I think it is good.
03  TED:   2→ a:  ja tycker också de.=
              PRT I  think  also  that
              yeah I think so too.
04  JOE:      =nej.
              no.
05            (0.2)
06  MAT:   3→ ja tycker de e  ganska bra
              I  think  it is fairly good
              I think it is fairly good
07            men inte så:, inte så musikalist band.
              but not such a musical band.
08            (0.3)
09  MAT:      men de e bra texter.
              but the texts are good.
10  INT:      mm.
```

Joel's subsequent negation *nej* 'no' in line 4 seems to contradict the two previous assessments, but may also be heard as a direct but delayed response to the interviewer's initial question. At line 6, following a short pause, a third assessor Mats comes in, taking a moderately disagreeing position. He uses the full bi-clausal opinion-verb format to downgrade his assessment (*ganska bra* 'fairly good'), and adds an elaboration framed with the contrast marker *men* 'but' with which he further distances himself from the prior positive assessments. Finally, after a pause in line 8, the speaker produces a concessive move (cf. Couper-Kuhlen & Thompson 2000) that evaluates a part of the assessable in positive terms (the texts are good, rather than the music), thus mitigating the preceding disaffiliating move. The interviewer then acknowledges the assessments – that have low-agentive (line 3) and downgrading (line 6) qualities in subsequent positions – by producing the response token *mm* in line 10.

Excerpt (1) shows how first and second (and subsequent) speakers can deploy the Swedish opinion verb *tycka* in a bi-clausal or mono-clausal constructional format. The former format enables the speaker to formulate an independent assessment in a complement clause [COMP], whereas the latter format ties the turn back to the prior one by the use of an anaphoric pronoun [APRO] that substitutes for an independently formulated assessment. Such "dependent" opinions are further marked as responsive with the adverb *också* 'also, too':

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ja tycker	[*de e bra*]$_{\text{COMP}}$	bi-clausal, 1st assessment
ja tycker också	*de*$_{\text{APRO}}$	mono-clausal, 2nd assessment
ja tycker	[*de e ganska bra*]$_{\text{COMP}}$	bi-clausal, downgraded 2nd

But even when using the mono-clausal format in second position, speakers can resist the implications of low agency by certain means. In the following Excerpt (2) the interviewees are discussing a song by the Swedish singer-songwriter Lisa Ekdahl. After Erik has defined the musical genre in line 1, Anna agrees and delivers a clausal assessment (*den e bra* 'it's good', line 4), which is subsequently reframed as a subjective opinion by the turn-final stance marker *tycker ja* 'I think', working here as a post-positioned hedge (see Auer & Lindström 2016; cf. Heritage & Raymond 2005).

Excerpt 2. *Kinda unusual* (GSM:4), group interview

```
01  ERI:        vispop typ.
                singer-songwriter pop sort of.
02  ANN:        mm.
03              (0.3)
04  ANN:    1→  den e  bra  tycker ja.
                it  is good think  I
                it is good I think.
05  ERI:    2→  a: tycker ja me   faktist,
                PRT think  I  with in fact
                yeah I think so too actually,
06              fö de e ovanlit änna.
                because it is kinda unusual.
07  ANN:        mm.=
08  PET:        =m:m.
09  ERI:        plus att de nog e nånting som (.) alla (.)
                and it is probably something that (.) everybody
10              lyssnar på [också >tror ja<.
                is listening to too >I believe<.
11  PET:                   [mm.
```

Erik responds with an affirming particle (*a:*) and a concurring assessment in a mono-clausal, reduced opinion-verb format. In the clausal unit *tycker ja me* 'I think so too' the initial (fronted) anaphoric *de* 'that' is lacking ("topic drop"), which is typical of responsive utterances (see Lindström & Karlsson 2005). The responsiveness of this agreement is further marked by the additive particle *me(d)* 'with, too':

[*den e bra*]	[*tycker ja*]$_{\text{STANCE}}$
[_____]	*tycker ja me faktist*

The "low agency" format of Erik's responsive assessment is however expanded by the final adverb *faktist* 'actually, in fact'. This adverb marks the opinion expressed

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here as a move that runs counter to some sequential expectations (cf. Clift 2001 on Engl. *actually*). Erik has had a chance to make a first assessment at line 1 where he labels the genre as *vispop* 'singer-songwriter pop', which is not clearly positive or negative. *Faktist* strengthens the second assessment's independence, suggesting that Erik does not simply go along with the preceding speaker but is committed to an opinion of his own that has relevance (indeed, "facticity") independent of what prior talk and the sequential position prompt him to do (see Schegloff, 1996: 63 on Engl. *in fact*). Erik makes thus a contribution that is informative beyond a standard second position agreement. In line 6 he accounts for his claim of independence by ending the turn with a motivation of his positive assessment (*fö de e ovanlit änna* 'because it is kinda unusual') and some further talk on the topic. In other words, measures taken to claim higher agency and independence in second position are, as expected, followed by an expanded turn and sequence.

Balancing between agreement in a responsive position as the preferred option, and claiming agency for the expression of one's own opinion, is a delicate issue, in which syntactic, lexical and turn-organizational choices play a role. In Swedish, reduced (mono-clausal) opinion-verb constructions tie the second assessment to the first just by a pronominal "copy", and/or an additive particle. Such responsive formats claim low speaker agency and show low commitment to the evaluative term, even though the second speaker affiliates with the first. But second assessors can also contest the weaker agency implied by their sequential position through the use of lexical markers that present this second assessment as an independent opinion, e.g. with *faktist* 'actually'. They may also (and additionally) provide an account that enables the speakers to say more about the assessable in their own words. Bi-clausal (full) opinion verb constructions, as in line 6 in Excerpt (1), are another (syntactic) way for subsequent speakers to claim heightened agency. But saying something independently also means a less symmetrical commitment to the evaluative term that the first speaker has proposed, which in turn can create trouble in interaction (see Thompson et al. 2015: 180).

4. Agency, alignment and sequence structure in agreeing second assessments

In this section, we will show on the basis of German conversational data that a low affiliation and/or low agency in second assessments are followed by sequence closure, while symmetry or an increase results in sequence expansion. The sequence expansion may take the form of a third assessment, an elaboration giving details of the assessable, or other ways of strengthening affiliation between the speakers. We will go through the various possibilities step by step.

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4.1 Sequence closure: Low agency

After low agency formats of assessment, i.e. reduced constructions, the sequence tends to be closed. Consider the following example:[6]

Excerpt 3. *Names for chickens* (BB), TV reality show
((Kerstin's and Manuela's chickens have been given names by other people via postcards sent to them.))

```
01  KER:  1a→  ich find_s vOll SÜSS dass die die HÜHner taufen;
               I find it so cute that they give names to the
               chickens;
02        1b→  des find ich ne total LUStige [iDEE.
               that I find a totally funny idea.
03  MAN:  2→                                [JA
                                             yes
04               find ich AUCH.
                 find I   too
                 I also think so.
05               (.)
06  MAN:         äh_zwei BRAUne ham wir und vier WEIße?
                 uhm we have two brown ones and four white ones?
07               (1.0)
08  MAN:         oder UMgekehrt?
                 or the other way round?
09  KER:         vier (.) vIer brAUne, und zwEi WEISse.
                 four (.) four brown ones, and two white ones.
```

Kerstin produces two assessments in her turn in lines 1–2. Both use the opinion verb *finden,* which marks the assessment as subjective. The evaluative expressions used for the two assessments are strongly positive: *voll süss* (lit. 'fully cute') and *total lustig* ('totally funny'). The initial assessment precedes the assessable, which is their friends' giving names to the chickens. The subsequent assessment resumes reference to this proposition by the initial anaphoric pronoun *das*.

After these rather emphatic first assessments by Kerstin, Manuela's second assessment at lines 3–4 not only comes late (only towards the end of Kerstin's subsequent assessment) but also displays low agency. It is introduced by a confirmation token (*ja*) produced in terminal overlap with Kerstin's turn. Syntactically, Manuela then employs an analeptic (reduced) *finden*-construction, which is parasitically (Auer 2015) built on the previous construction:

[*des*] *find ich*	[*ne total lustige idee*]
[___] *find ich AUCH*	[_____]

6. The translations sometimes try to reflect German word order even though the English rendition is only marginally acceptable. The focus lines have word-for-word glosses when the German word-order differs greatly from English.

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It is the adverb *auch* 'too' which "imports" the positive evaluative term into the responsive turn. The anaphoric pronoun in topic position is lacking (topic drop). This low agency (and hence commitment) brings the sequence to a closure: the next component of Manuela's turn does not expand the sequence any further. Moving away from the assessments of the names given to the chicken, Manuela and Kerstin now talk about the chickens' color.

A similar trajectory can be observed in the following excerpt:

Excerpt 4. *Bangkok* (ZK), face-to-face, informal

```
01  SAN:      wir waren nur EInmal auf der khao san ESsen.
              we only went out eating once on Khao San (Street).
02            wir sin wir sin dann einmal DURCHgelaufen,=
              we just we then went down there once,
03  ANN: 1→   =aber ich find das da nicht so spektakuLÄR.
              but I find that there not so spectacular.
04  SAN: 2→   =ich AU[CH nicht.
               I   also   not
              me neither.
05  ANN:            [mit_m BAStian war ich da AUCH.
                     I was there, too, with Bastian.
06            (.) also haben wir auch woanders geWOHNT.
              well we also stayed somewhere else.
              ((End of topic and sequence.))
```

The two young women had both visited Bangkok and now exchange their views on the city. After Bangkok's Khao San Avenue has been brought up in the conversation, Sandra's way of talking about it in lines 1–2 already suggests that this was not the main attraction for her. However, it is Anne who first produces an explicit assessment, displaying her own first-hand epistemic authority. She uses the *finden*-format, which marks the assessment as subjective, and a mildly negative evaluative expression (negating the positive adjective *spektakulär*). Sandra now agrees with this negative assessment at line 4. She uses a highly reduced format to do so; not only is the evaluative adjective lacking (as in Excerpt (3)), but even the opinion verb is not formulated explicitly but "imported" from the first assessment by analepsis. The way in which the second assessment builds on the syntax of the first is therefore quite radical:

ich [*find das da*] *nicht*	[*so spektakulär*]
ich [_____] *AUCH nicht*	[_____]

Again, it is the adverb *auch* that ties the second to the first assessment. Through low agency of this second assessment, Sandra proposes to close down the sequence. Anne subsequently comments on where she and her boyfriend stayed in Bangkok, perhaps implying that the distance from this avenue also reduced the possibilities to go there often. This closes the sequence (and the topic).

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4.2 Sequence closure: High(er) agency and low affiliation

There are also cases in our corpus in which the second participant uses a full format for the second assessment, but still the sequence ends after the second assessment. In these cases, the full assessment format contains an evaluative term that (slightly) downgrades the first assessment, which alone is enough to close down the sequence.

In the following Excerpt (5), Bibi has been talking about a new-born baby (possibly her grandchild and Alma's niece). At this point, she asks her daughter Alma whether she knows the baby's name:

Excerpt 5. *Baby's name* (Calling Home), phone-call, informal

```
01  BIB:       aber du WEISST wie sie HEISST.=nich?
               but you know her name, don't you?
02  ALM:       ja, chrisTIne:,
               yes, Christine,
03  BIB:       SONka.
04  ALM:       SONka.
05             ge[NAU.
               exactly.
06  BIB:         [ja.
07               [hm?
08  ALM:  1→     [so- SCHÖN.
               so- beautiful.
09        2→   das is_n  SCHÖner   name.
               this is a beautiful name.
10  BIB:       ja.
11        3→   find ich AUCH ganz   schön.
               find I   also rather beautiful
               I find (it) rather beautiful too.
12  ALM:       is [is sie niedlich?
               is  is she cute?
13  BIB:          [w?
14  ALM:       sieht aus wie ah [(      )?
               does she look like uhm (    )?
15  BIB:                        [^ja, ((etc.))
```

Bibi questions Alma's epistemic status by having her confirm that she knows the name of the baby (the question tag *nicht* implies that Alma should). Indeed, the name is produced by Alma somewhat tentatively in the following sequential slot (cf. the lengthening and upward intonation contour on *Christine*), and it turns out not to be correct. Bibi now displays her epistemic authority by telling Alma the right name in an other-initiated other-repair: *Sonka* (line 3). This creates the appropriate sequential position for Alma to evaluate the name in first position after what now must be considered news for her. She does so with some delay (line 8), i.e. after having secured the correctness of her understanding of the name. The assessment that is finally produced is a one-word TCU consisting of a simple evaluative adjective

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(a "phrasal assessment" in Thompson et al.'s terms: *schön*, line 8). It is immediately expanded into a full clausal assessment without an opinion verb (line 9): Alma presents her assessment not as her own personal opinion but one that is shared by everybody. She also upgrades the first (phrasal) assessment prosodically by putting the sentence stress on the adjective (*das is_n SCHÖner name)*. Relative to this assessment, the mother's own assessment is clearly downgraded on the affiliative level: *ganz schön* 'rather beautiful' is less than *schön* 'beautiful'. In addition, Bibi frames her second assessment as a personal opinion by using the *finden*-format, which further reduces the symmetry of commitment between the speakers.

Despite this display of low affiliation with the first assessor, Bibi uses a full opinion verb format for her second assessment (*find ich AUCH ganz schön*). Even though the construction is not analeptic, the assessment is formatted as a response: the anaphorical pronoun *das* in the position before the verb is "dropped" (topic drop, see above), which is typical for responsive formats (Auer 1993; cf. the alternative format *das find ich AUCH ganz schön*). The adverb *auch* 'also' links the second utterance to the first as well. So the speaker both presents her assessment as responsive and claims agency. After Bibi's low affiliation, Alma (the first assessor and epistemically in the weaker position) opts for closing the assessment sequence and shifts to a new subtopic (enquiring after the looks of the baby, line 12).

The same pattern can be observed in Excerpt (6). We are approaching the closing of a telephone conversation between Antje and Beate, after Beate has promised to pay Antje a visit:

Excerpt 6. *Visit* (Calling Home), phone call, informal

```
01  ANT:    das würde ganz toll PASsen wenn du KOMmen würdest
             it would fit in just great if you could come
02           eigentlich. wir ham diesen [gAnzen herbst
             actually. we had
03  BEA:                                [((giggling))
04  ANT:    ganz <<☺>viel beSUCH gehabt>, richtig SCHÖN.
             lots of visitors this whole autunm, really nice.
05           grade halt jetzt auch wo ich keinen JOB hab;=ne?
             just now while I do not have a job, right?
06           da ist das [schön,=
             this is nice,
07  BEA:                [ja;
08  ANT:    =da (n) denk da denk ich NA?
             then I think then I think well?
09           dann hat_s doch wenigstens n was GUtes
             after all there's something good in it
10           <<laughing> wenn ich nicht [ARbeite;> (.)
             when I do not work;
11  BEA:                                [ja.
12  ANT:    °h und so [HIER sein kann;
             °h and can be here;
```

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```
13  BEA:              [ja  es is (-)
                       yes it is
14      1→   es ist FURCHbar wenn man keine ZEIT hat; ne,
             it is horrible when you don't have time, isn't it,
15           für besuch.
             for guests.
16  ANT:     ja:::;
17      2→   ja;  des  find ich AUCH nich schön;
             yes; that find I   also not  nice;
             yes, I don't like this either;
18  BEA:     mm.
19           also gut.
             right then.
20           ich melde mich auf alle FÄLle,
             I'll definitely be in touch,
21           spätestens aus aMErika;
             at the latest from America;
22           da kannst du SICher sein.
             you can be sure about that.
23  ANT:     ja.
             yes.
```

Antje is very enthusiastic about Beate's promise to pay her a visit, as she has a lot of time while she is unemployed. This, she says, gives her at least a chance to spend time with her visitors (lines 1–2). Beate agrees and produces a first explicit assessment which summarizes (and "formulates") Antje's turn in a generalizing way, as a generally accepted opinion: it is horrible (*furchtbar*) when you do not have enough time for your visitors (lines 14–15). Antje agrees, first with two confirmation tokens (one of them emphatically lengthened) and then a second assessment (*des find ich AUCH nich schön*;). On the affiliative dimension, this second assessment is downgraded (from 'horrible' to 'not nice') and therefore not symmetrical. On the agency level, however, it is relatively strong, as Beate uses a full format with an evaluative adjective. The agency expressed through this format is even higher than in Antje's second assessment in Excerpt (5), as the topic pronoun *des* is not "dropped".

4.3 Sequence expansion: High(er) agency and no evaluative downgrading

Let us now consider the opposite case of second assessments with high agency (hence no formal reduction/analepsis) and an assessment of the same or even upgraded strength (i.e. with a relatively high level of affiliation). In this case, there is a tendency to expand the sequence, rather than to close it after the second assessment. A simple case of this found in Excerpt (7):

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Excerpt 7. *Mascara* (ZK), face-to-face, informal
((*die* 'it' in line 1 = Sandra's mascara))

```
01  ANN: 1→  aber ich find die vOll   GUT.
              but  I   find it  really good.
              but I think it's really great.
02  SAN: 2→  ja  ich find die AUCH voll (.) gut;
              yes I   find it  also really   good
              yes I also think it's really (.) great;
03            und die war auch gar net so TEUer;
              and in addition it wasn't even very expensive;
04  ANN:      nee; acht EUro oder so?
              no; eight euros or so?
05  SAN:      ja
```

Anne produces a first assessment of Sandra's mascara using the *finden*-format and the strongly positive evaluative expression *voll gut*. She can do this, as she produces an indirect compliment (the mascara belongs to Sandra who is also wearing it), in which case even a disagreeing second by the complimentee would not be a face-threatening act. Sandra in turn does not downgrade her move but produces a second assessment which exactly repeats the structure and wording of the first. Although marked as a second by *auch* 'also', this assessment is produced as if it was a first otherwise, i.e. without analepsis (not even of the anaphoric pronoun). Compared to alternative formats for second assessments such as *ich auch, find ich auch*, or *das find ich auch*, the format chosen by Sandra presents her as an independent author of her words. As a consequence, the sequence is not closed immediately, but continues with details of the positive evaluation of the mascara (i.e. its low price). This, in turn, may be a way of avoiding an implication of self-praise (after all, the speakers are assessing Sandra's mascara).

The same link between the format chosen for the second assessment and the development of the sequence can be found in the following Excerpt (8), from a conversation between three students. It includes four assessments of the same assessable. All but the first could be analeptic, i.e. produced without an explicit assessment term (such as in *find ich auch*), but none is. The topic is a particular series of children's books which the participants all enjoyed reading when they were children:

Excerpt 8. *The Famous Five* (ZK), face-to-face, informal

```
01  SAN: 1→  ich hab (.) ich fand  fünf FREUNde cool;
              I   have    I   found five friends cool;
              I have (.) I thought The Famous Five were cool;
02  ANN: 2→  JA:  die  fand  ich auch gut;
              yes: them found I   also good;
              yes, I also thought they're good;
03  MAR:      hm da hab ich BÜCher gelesen;=ZIEMlich viele;
              hm, I read (their) books; quite a few;
04  SAN:      ja ich AUCH;
              yes, me too;
05            ja;
```

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```
06  MAR:      FAST alle glaub ich;
              almost all of them I think;
07        3→  =fand  ich vOll   COOL;
              found I   really cool;
              I thought they were really cool;
08  SAN:  4→  die  fand  ich SÜ:SS;
              them found I   cu:te;
              I thought they were cu::te;
09  ANN:      ja;=ich hatte aber auch kasSETten von denen;
              yes; but I also had cassettes of them;
             ((Topic continues))
```

The first assessment of the Enid Blyton book series *The Famous Five* is still formulated in a cautious fashion by means of the *finden* opinion-verb construction, and by using a simple, unmodified positive evaluative term, the adjective *cool*. Anne's second assessment copies the syntactic format without syntactic reduction; only the inversion of subject and object (now an anaphoric pronoun) and the additive adverb *auch* mark the second assessment as a second:

ich_{SUBJ} *fand*	[*fünf FREUNde*]$_{OBJ}$	*cool*
die_{OBJ}*fand* ich_{SUBJ}		*auch gut*

The assessment term *cool* is replaced by *gut* 'good'. *Gut* and *cool* are on the same level of evaluative strength (with *cool* gradually developing into the unmarked positive evaluative assessment adjective/adverb in the German of younger speakers), i.e. Anne, the second assessor, affiliates with the first in being moderately positive as well. She claims agency and at the same time displays convergence with the previous assessment, contrasting with a low-agency/low-affiliating second such as *(fand) ich auch* or *fand ich auch nicht schlecht*.

This second assessment does not end the sequence, however, although this is not immediately obvious in the next turn, which is produced by Mario. Mario so far has not taken part in the assessment sequence. He now takes the turn and states that he knows these books well (he read almost all of them, lines 3 and 6). Sandra aligns by saying that this holds for her, too (line 4). Knowing the books (and having read most of them) is of course already an indirect indication of a certain enthusiasm for them. But it is only now that Mario produces a third assessment and thereby clearly expands the sequence. He re-uses the *finden*-format and Sandra's initial evaluative adjective *cool*, this time upgraded by an intensifying adverb: *voll cool*; the resumptive pronoun in topic position is omitted.[7] To this, Sandra provides an equally strong fourth assessment, replacing *voll cool* by *süß* 'sweet' (with emphatic

7. The utterance is ambiguous in scope: it can refer to "The Famous Five" or, more narrowly, to their books. The following assessment by Sandra, on the contrary, clearly refers to "The Famous Five" as characters.

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lengthening). This fourth assessment is less analeptic than the preceding third assessment, as a resumptive pronoun is used:

```
[__] fand ich vOll COOL;
die  fand ich SÜ:ß;
```

The format of Sandra's assessment underlines its independence from the preceding assessment and hence stresses the speaker's agency. Not only is a different evaluative adjective chosen, the syntactic format is also independent of the one in the previous assessment. At this point, the topic slightly shifts from 'The Famous Five' as books to their availability on cassettes, which are evaluated in the subsequent talk (not reproduced here in full).

As a third example, consider Excerpt (9) from the same conversation. The topic is men who dye their hair. Mario, the only man in the group, is asked by Sandra at line 1 whether he would ever dye his hair.

Excerpt 9. *Grey hair* (ZK), face-to-face, informal

```
01  SAN:      du wirst EH nie deine haare fÄrben nehm ich an;
              you won't ever dye your hair anyway I suppose;
02            ((laughs))
03  MAR:      ich bin noch JUNG;=[aber- (.)
              I'm still young;=   but-
04  ANN:                         [((laughs))
05  MAR:      <<p>nee; werd ich NI[CH.>
              no;  I won't.
06  SAN:                          [nee; glaub ich ECHT nich.
                                   no; I really don't think so.
07            <f> aber,
                  but,
08            vielLEICHT machen_s (.)>
              perhaps do
09            nee=weil MÄNner wenn sie (.) im ALter graue
              no because men, when they are old and have grey
         1a→  HAAre haben sieht_s ja eigentlich AUCH gut aus;=
              hair, it actually looks good
10            =deshalb muss man sie da AUCH nicht oder-
              therefore it's not necessary or-
11  MAR:      also ich werd (.) schon auch GUT graue haare
              well I will certainly get lots of grey hair;
              <<dim>kriegen;=
12            mein vater hat Ordentlich.>
              my father has enough.
13  SAN: 1b→  aber ist doch COOL:;
              but (it) is coo:l isn't it;
14  MAR: 2→   ^ja: (.) find ich AUCH voll [ok;
              yes     I find it fully ok too;
15  SAN: 3→                               [GRAU find ich
                                           grey I find
              [cool;=
               cool;
```

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```
16  MAR: 4→  [<<p> sieht [nicht SCHLECHT aus;>
                         doesn't look bad;
17  SAN: 5→                [aber ich weiß nicht
                            but I don't know
18           ob ich WEIß cool find;
             whether I find white cool;
```

Sandra has talked about dyeing her hair before, and after some discussion of the pros and cons, she turns to Mario saying that he will probably never dye his hair (by implication: because he is a man). Mario hesitates a bit (line 3), but finally agrees (line 5). Perhaps due to this hesitation, Sandra adds that men do not have to dye their hair even when they get old, because grey hair looks good on them. Neither Mario nor Anne, the third participant, respond to this first assessment, as Sandra expands her turn immediately (latching) and does not leave space for them to do so (line 10). Mario adds that dyeing his hair will probably become an issue for him when he is older, as his father already has lots of grey hair (line 11–12). Now Sandra repeats her first assessment in an upgraded format (line 15): the hedged *eigentlich auch gut* 'actually good, too' from line 9 becomes simply *cool*, the adjective is lengthened and therefore prosodically highlighted, and the particle *doch* indicates that this opinion is stated despite an actual or possible disagreeing opinion (which is implicit in Mario's turn). This upgraded, stand-alone assessment strongly invites a second assessment. Indeed, Mario produces such a second assessment (line 14). He uses the opinion verb *finden* and a full clausal format. The assessment term *voll ok* is roughly on the same level as *cool,* i.e. the two assessments are symmetrical. Given the full assessment format and the affiliation of the speakers, the sequence is expanded by both of them. Sandra in lines 15 and 17 concedes that white hair, in contrast to grey hair, would not be appreciated by her, and, in overlap, Mario adds another (now downgraded) assessment to his own upgraded assessment in line 14 ('doesn't look bad', line 16).

5. Disagreeing second assessments

Displays of agency levels in second assessments, as expressed through syntactic formats, tend to lose their relevance for the subsequent sequential development of the interactional exchange when the second assessment expresses disagreement. This is because disagreeing as such involves heightened agency: the second assessor does not "go along" with the first and, consequently, there is no mutual commitment to the same evaluative term (see Thompson et al. 2015: 186). Our data show that when a sequence contains a disagreeing second assessment, it is this lack of affiliation that is dealt with in the first place. This is manifest in accounts that regularly follow disagreeing second assessments, irrespective of the grammatical

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formatting of the assessing turn. Most of the overt disagreeing seconds occur in the Swedish data, which is a genre-related fact: the participants of the group discussions are encouraged to express opinions and assessments, which occasionally leads to counter-positional arguing.

In the following sequence (Excerpt (10)) from the Swedish group interviews, the participants are once again assessing the (then) indie-rock group *Kent*.

Excerpt 10. *No feeling* (GSM:6), group interview

```
01  HAN:      ja skrev inte så mycke där på den.
              I didn't write so much about that one.
02  LEI: 1→   jamen ja: tycker den e  sån   (.) rätt   bra
              well  I   think  it  is kinda (.) fairly good
03            [>tycker ja<.
                 think  I
              >I think<.
04  DAN: 2a→  [(nä) tycker inte ja.
               no   think  not  I
              (no) I don't think so.
05            (.)
06  DAN:      alldeles såhär,
              completely sort of,
07  HAN:      näe de säjer inget (   )=
              no it doesn't say anything (     )=
08  DAN: 2b→  =de e ingen [känsla i de. tycker inte ja.
              =there is no feeling in it. not in my opinion.
09  HAN:                  [(ingen)
                             none
10  HAN:      °de e,°
              it is,
11  DAN:      näe.
              nope.
```

Hans initiates the sequence in line 1 with a turn that indicates indifference, i.e. he has not taken down many notes about the music sample (implying that he does not have much to say about it). The next speaker, Leif, gives a more explicit assessment in lines 2–3, using the opinion verb *tycka* in a full bi-clausal pattern. The turn-initial particle *jamen* (lit. 'yes-but') indicates that this move somehow contrasts with the previous one, and the ensuing assessment is formulated somewhat hesitantly in moderately positive terms, *rätt bra* 'fairly good'. This contribution is additionally modified, and thus doubly subjectified, by the turn-final stance marker *tycker ja* 'I think' (line 3). Dan expresses bald disagreement in line 4: he initiates his turn in overlap with Leif's final turn-part, starting with the negation *nä* 'no', and continues with a negated, mono-clausal *tycka*-construction. It is designed to link back to the previous assessment through subject-verb inversion and the absence of the clause-initial anaphoric *de* 'that'. The constructional patterns of the two opinion-verb formats in Excerpt (10) are shown below:

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jamen ja tycker	[*den e sån rätt bra*]$_{\text{COMP}}$	[*tycker ja*]$_{\text{STANCE}}$
nä	[_____] *tycker inte ja*	

The negated responsive opinion-verb construction *tycker inte ja* is compact and devoid of independently authored content apart from the negation. As shown in Sections 4.1 and 4.2, such condensed assessment formats are implicative of sequence-closure in non-disagreeing second assessments. Here, however, the speaker continues by providing an account of what is wrong with the assessed music piece (lines 6–8). Dan ends his disagreeing turn with a disaffiliating stance marker, *tycker inte ja* (recycling the turn-initial opinion-verb construction), that underscores his subjective take on the matter (the end of line 8). The negatively assessing participants Dan and Hans end the sequence with short turns confirming their negative stance.

Excerpt (11) shows another sequence in which the second assessor disaffiliates with the preceding one, this time using a full syntactic format. The participants label the genre of the music sample they just have heard as singer-songwriter pop. Mia starts to characterize the music at line 3 as 'typically Swedish', which, accompanied by a characteristic prosody, implies a negative stance. In line 6 she gives an explicit negative assessment, *trå:kit svenskt* 'boringly Swedish'. Both assessments are non-clausal, and do not use an opinion verb, i.e. they are non-hedged contributions.

Excerpt 11. *Boringly Swedish* (GSM:11), group interview

```
01  ALE:      vispop?
              singer-songwriter pop?
02  BEN:      njao.=
              well yes.
03  MIA:      =ty:p:ist svenskt.
              typically Swedish.
04  EVA:      ehaha [*ja de va (  )*
              ((laughing)) yes it was (   )
05  ALE:            [jae
                     yeah
06  MIA: 1→   trå:kit svenskt [(   )
              boringly Swedish (   )
07  EVA:                      [ja (   )=
                               yes (    )
08  BEN:      =fast den e-  den e-
              but  it  is- it  is-
09       2→   ja tycker den e: änna: (.) bra  såhär, (.)
              I  think  it  is like  (.) good sort of, (.)
10            lugn   å:  harmonisk  så.
              serene and harmonious so.
11            [>tycker ja (   )
                 think  I
                I think   (   )
```

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```
12  ALE:     [de e ganska övertänkt i å me-
             it is quite planned in that-
13           de e väldigt mycke instrument så me ens-
             there are very many instruments altogether-
14           de va ju saxofon i den eller va?
             there was a saxophone, right?
```

Ben begins to formulate a disagreeing counter-assessment in line 8: he starts with the conjunction *fast* 'but', which signifies a contrast, and continues with a pronoun-copula combination (*den e* 'it is') that projects a predicate, perhaps an evaluative adjective, but the evolving clausal unit is aborted twice. He then switches to the more subjective, bi-clausal opinion verb format that contains the positive term *bra* 'good'. This is produced with some prolonged sounds and pauses which may signal a dispreferred action; in addition, the hedges *änna* 'like' and *såhär* 'sort of' (line 9) are used. This counter-assessment is followed in line 10 by two descriptive adjectives that account for Ben's contrasting positive stand (the music is not boring but *lugn å harmonisk* 'serene and harmonious'). Finally, the turn ends with the subjective stance marker *tycker ja* (line 11) which recycles the opinion-verb frame of the turn beginning (line 9). Alex, in final overlap with Ben's turn, then takes the turn and starts to develop the topic in a different direction, moving away from the trouble-causing evaluation and focusing on details of instrumentation.

The second assessors in Excerpts 10 and 11 are clearly dealing with the delicacy of disagreeing and of committing themselves to a different evaluative term than the other. Even the bald disagreement in Excerpt (10) is followed by an account, and this is the case also with the more hedged variant in Excerpt (11). Both second assessments are framed by a subjective opinion verb construction (*jag tycker*/*tycker jag*) at the beginning and end of the assessing turns. Indeed, the group interview data show that subjective opinion-verb formats are especially frequent in second assessments that disagree with a non-hedged and non-subjectified first assessment (23 out of 32 disagreeing seconds), as in Excerpt (11). This tendency probably reflects what Fasulo and Monzoni (2009: 374) found in their work on "subject-side assessments": they are "useful for downgrading and relativizing negative assessments". The opinion-verb format contributes to this sense of downgrading because the evaluation is not presented as an indisputable fact, but restricted to the speaker's "sentiments".

As the Excerpts 10 and 11 show, both reduced and full opinion verb formats lead to sequence expansion after disagreeing second assessments. The expansion may account for the differences or redirect the topic away from the cause of the trouble. This suggests that the opposing projecting forces of the reduced vs. full assessment formats for the subsequent sequential trajectory are neutralized in such interactional environments.

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6. Conclusion

In experiencing the world, we also judge it; we try to distinguish things that are beneficial to us, that provide us with ease and comfort, from those that may threaten our immediate or future well-being, that are emotionally disturbing or simply unpleasant. Affective displays of this kind seem to be entirely personal and individual, based on one's biographical history and experience, and therefore deeply subjective. However, only a few of these sentiments are physiologically determined; many of them are culturally mediated, and are shaped by the ways in which others experience the world. One of the ways (and perhaps the most important and efficient one) through which culturally shared sentiments are learned and transmitted, is language. Verbal expressions of sentiments through assessments are a very effective way to make them intersubjective in interaction with another. It is through subjective assessments that a common evaluative understanding of the world becomes possible. In addition, assessing practices allow us to affiliate with others who share our evaluative stances and thereby lay the grounds for sociability, which is not only based on common knowledge, but also on shared values.

This study has identified a group of regular patterns for assessing sequences in German and Swedish conversation – opinion-verb constructions –, focusing on the linguistic format of the "uptake" in second assessment position, i.e. a position in which the speaker's possibilities to deliver an independent assessment are strongly constrained. By choosing the syntactic form of their assessing turn, the second speaker occasions different sequential trajectories. Opinion-verb constructions with a reduced (analeptic) and backwards linking form are prone to close the assessing sequence. The second assessor displays that they are not oriented to more talk on the assessable, it is potentially "case closed". In contrast, grammatically fuller and non-pronominalized second assessments lead to more talk on the assessable. Both conversational parties can feel safe about that what is being talked about is a topic, issue or object that they are sharing an evaluation about, and hence, which can be expanded and developed, and indeed, "celebrated" as a token of human connection (see Ford 2018).

This potential of the reduced and full formats to project different sequential trajectories relates to the speakers' agency constellations and their affiliation with one another. When both assessors use full clausal formats and lexically specified evaluative terms in the construction of their assessments, the first and second assessor are on symmetrical agency levels. By using structurally reduced second assessments, on the other hand, second speakers signal a lower level of agency. They take over the first assessor's evaluative term and therefore accept the first assessor's evaluation, but by doing so also weaken their commitment to this evaluation. As we have shown, lower commitment can also be signaled by downgraded second

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assessments, which are heard as disaffiliating and therefore as less encouraging to expand the assessment sequence.

Drawing on Schuetz, then, it can be argued that speakers of a language have intersubjective knowledge of the pragmatic implications of alternative opinion-verb constructions, i.e. what courses of action a specific linguistic turn-format projects as a possible or probable next step; in our case, sequence closure or expansion. While signaling lower or higher agency/affiliation with the turn formats we have discussed here, speakers project actions in a "typical", or systematic, way – in a manner that is recognizable to the other and which therefore has the potential of bringing about "the state of affairs aimed at" (Schuetz 1953: 20, 26), thus producing "intersubjective behavior".

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Mirror-like address practice in Arabic-medium classroom interaction

Managing social relations and intersubjectivity

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This paper examines address inversion in classroom interactions in Arabic. Address inversion, found in various languages, is an address practice where the speaker addresses the recipient with the same address term that the recipient would normally use to call the speaker. Inverted address is a denotationally incongruent, asymmetric address used by speakers who claim cultural seniority. By analyzing the position of address inversion in interaction (in turns, sequences, and activities) and utilizing the notion of *stance*, this paper examines the ways in which address inversion manages intersubjectivity by constructing the shifting relationships between the participants in classroom interaction. The data are classroom interactions video recorded in Palestinian territories.

Keywords: address inversion, transposed reference, stance, classroom interaction, family interaction, pre-positioned address term, post-positioned address term, transition, directive, admonition

1. Introduction

This paper discusses intersubjectivity by focusing on address inversion (Braun 1988) in Arabic-medium classroom interaction in Palestinian school context. Address inversion is a specific case of nominal address where the speaker addresses the recipient with a term that the recipient would normally use for the speaker. Typically, it is resource that is asymmetrically available for those that assume cultural seniority. For example, in my Palestinian classroom data, teachers can address their student or students by using the forms *ustāz* 'professor, teacher (m.)' and *miss* 'miss, teacher (f.)' normally used to address male and female teachers, respectively.

I will examine how address inversion is deployed to position participants both socially and interactionally in the school context. While address practices typically

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position the recipient from the speaker's perspective, address inversion functions more like a mirror that takes the recipient's perspective and displays the social position claimed by the speaker. As such, inverted address can be seen as manifesting intersubjectivity in the sense of the potential of seeing ourselves and our actions through the other's eyes (Mead 1934). By utilizing the notion of *stance*, my analyses focus on the way in which address inversion manages intersubjectivity by constructing the shifting relationships between the participants in classroom interaction.

2. Background

2.1 Address inversion in interaction

Address practices are one of the means for constructing social relations in interaction (Agha 2007: 278–300). With the choice of address forms, the co-participants can, among other things, regulate social distance between them, negotiate the formality of the situation, and display affective stances (e.g. Brown & Gilman 1960; Ervin-Tripp 1972; Norrby & Wide 2015; Lerner 2003). Typically, address forms are pronouns, names, titles and kin terms that can all be directly linked with the addressee. Addressing someone as *Raja*, *doktōra Raja* 'doctor (f.) Raja', *uḫti* 'my sister' or *ḥabībti* 'my darling, my loved one (f.)' denotes a person whose qualities include being an individual named Raja, being a doctor, the speaker's sister, or being dear to the speaker. Although the action of addressing is oriented towards the addressee, it is the speaker's perspective that is normally represented in the role configurations. This is to say that the speaker is typically the deictic origo (Bühler 1990[1934]: 117) or the point of reference from which the relationship is described. Addressing someone as *uḫti* formulates a sketch of a referent where, from the speaker's perspective, the person addressed is a sister, either in a literal or figurative sense.

Unlike typical uses of address forms, inverted address does not focus on the attributes of the addressee (e.g. *mom*). Instead, address inversion is a case of transposed reference (Agha 2007: 358; see also Hanks 1990: 192 ff.; Haviland 1996), where the deictic origo is transposed to the addressee, and the asymmetric relationship between the participants is construed from the addressee's viewpoint. For instance, in Arabic, a mother can address her little son or daughter as *māma* 'mom' and a father can address his relatively young children as *bāba* 'daddy.' These mirror-like address practices are most frequently encountered with various kinship terms, but basically any nominal address term that denotes cultural seniority can be inverted. In my Palestinian classroom data, inverted address is an established yet relatively marginal way for teachers to address their student or students. The

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instance below (Example (1)) is from a situation where a male teacher sees a female student enter the school premises after the first lesson has already started and addresses her with inverted address.

Example 1.

Ustāz Sayyid: *ustāz, inti miṯʾaḫḫre.* (field notes 15.4.2013)
teacher.M.SG you:F.SG late:F.SG
'Teacher, you are late.'

Address inversion is a denotationally incongruent way of addressing someone (Agha 2007: 356). In the example above, the address form denotes an adult male whose occupation is to instruct, but the co-textual semiotic cues indicate a different kind of referent. The co-textual linguistic signs in the remainder of Ustāz Sayyid's turn point to a female second person addressee (the feminine form of the 2nd person personal pronoun *inti*, and the 2nd person feminine form of 'late') and the co-textually readable facts (Agha 2007: ch. 1) of role inhabitance (e.g. who is producing the utterance, and to whom it is directed) show that in this case, a male teacher is addressing an approximately ten-year-old female student. Agha calls these kinds of denotationally incongruent but interactionally appropriate ways of referring to speech participants normalized tropes. Despite their incongruent co-textual patterns, they are readily understandable and can become commonplace resources for constructing social relations in interaction.

The tropic nature of address inversion highlights the need to study address practices and their semiotic effects in a context-sensitive way. Previous studies on Arabic report mainly two types of stereotypical construals for mirror-like address. First, inverted kinship terms are often claimed to function as signs that convey endearment and affection (Ayoub 1964; Yassin 1977, 1975). Secondly, they are also seen as indexing authority, and frequently appear in contexts where the addressee is reprimanded or urged to do something. Moreover, often in interaction these dimensions are said to be displayed simultaneously so that the affective component mitigates the display of authority.[1] Yassin (1977: 300–301) notes that in these kinds of instances the senior "urges rather than commands and cajoles rather than imposes." These semiotic dimensions of affect and authority can also be seen in my data from the school context, and in the brief example above.

Although earlier research is based on anthropological (Ayoub 1964) or sociolinguistic fieldwork (Yassin 1977, 1975; Parkinson 1985; Braun 1988), address inversion in Arabic has not been previously studied as a part of larger interactional

1. In her interlingual study on terms of address in various languages, Braun (1988: 292–293) notes that these two axes of indexicality are consistent in all the languages where address inversion was encountered (for a list and further details on these languages, see Braun 1988: 266 ff).

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sequences or multimodal semiotic behavior. Ayoub (1964) maintains that the construal of mirror-like address is highly dependent on other co-occurring signs, for instance the speaker's tone of voice, but the data in the earlier studies does not enable a more detailed examination of how, for instance, the bi-polar indexical potential of affect and authority is actualized in interaction.

In this chapter, I approach this question by examining how address inversion is deployed in practice in school interactions to position participants both socially and interactionally. More specifically, I will also examine how social positioning accomplished through inverted address is linked with and adapted to institutional, context-specific discursive practices and normative expectations in the school context. As the earlier research on family settings indicates that address inversion is often part of exchanges where affective and emotional stances are displayed and managed, I am especially interested in whether inverted address is associated with teachers' emotional expressions.

Interactionally-oriented research on address behavior has shown that in addition to managing social relationships, address practices are tightly connected with the organization of unfolding activities. The deployment of address terms marks, for instance, boundaries and transitions between turns, topics and activities (Lerner 2003; Rendle-Short 2007; Butler, Danby & Emmison 2011) and manages the moment-to-moment unfolding positioning of participants by, for instance, indexing disalignment with the addressee (Rendle-Short 2010; Butler et al. 2011). The observations in previous studies that mirror-like address in Arabic is stereotypically linked with, for instance, directives and reprimands suggest that address inversion also has these types of co-text specific functions and plays a role in managing more transient social relations.

2.2 Intersubjectivity in semiotic encounters

In social sciences, intersubjectivity is often seen as the bedrock of human social life: in order for coordinated understandings and actions to be possible or a social unit to exist, a common grasp of the situation and the surrounding world is necessary. How these types of co-orientations or co-conceptions are achieved and how exactly intersubjectivity is connected with them has been a matter of varying perspectives. Intersubjectivity has been discussed in terms of the underlying human capacity for being in a world shared with others (Mead 1934; Schutz 1982), a common cultural background or normative basis (Berger & Luckmann 1966: 85–89; Heritage 1984; Linell 2009: 81), and semiotic and interactional resources for managing intersubjectivity (Heritage 1984; Schegloff 1992; Sidnell 2014). The notion has been utilized

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both in approaches that either represent or draw on phenomenological theorizing (e.g. Schutz, often in conversation analytic research) and to a somewhat lesser extent in research within the pragmatist tradition (e.g. Mead and especially research in linguistic or semiotic anthropology).

What is common to both approaches is that with the notion of intersubjectivity the approaches take a stance on *selfhood*, and the role of *other* in the ontogenesis and ontology of *self*. It is impossible and perhaps unnecessary to draw strict boundaries between phenomenological and pragmatic perspectives as there is research on the interfaces of these philosophical traditions (e.g. Linell 2009), and a preference for a certain philosophical outlook does not always follow disciplinary lines (e.g. Duranti 2010). However, phenomenological perspectives are often relatively cognitively oriented, due to their focus on structures of experience and consciousness (see e.g. Etelämäki 2016), whereas pragmatist accounts tend to emphasize the primacy of sign-mediated processes in the construction of *self* (see e.g. Mead 1934).

In examining address inversion in the school context I will take a pragmatist, semiotically-oriented perspective to intersubjectivity and focus on semiotic encounters (Agha 2007: 10).[2] These encounters where "sign-phenomenon or communicative processes connect persons to each other" (Agha 2007: 10), would not be possible if persons were not capable of taking the perspective of the *other*. As pragmatist George Herbert Mead (1934) notes, this intersubjective capacity is at the root of social selves as well as organized social action. For Mead, the self is a reflexive process that is tightly connected with language and other forms of "symbolic interaction." Through semiotic conduct, the *ego* places herself to the *alter's* standpoint and comes to understand not only the perspectives of specific *others* but to internalize the attitudes and expectations of the *generalized other* (Mead 1934: 154, 195).[3] This reflexive capacity to care about the attitudes and expectations of the *other* and the *generalized other* can be called a dimension of selfhood (Kockelman 2006: 13–15; Visakko 2015: 53–55) and the reflexive models of expected, meaningful and appropriate conduct social norms (Piippo 2012: 27).

My research question, however, is also closely intertwined with the way intersubjectivity has been discussed within the conversation analytic tradition. Conversation analysis has been interested in the way structures of talk-in-interaction provide for intersubjectivity in the sense of intersubjective co-ordination.

---

2. The notion of semiotic encounter orients to the fact that interpersonal communication represents only one, albeit an important kind of encounter, where signs connect persons to each other.

3. *ego* (Latin, 'I') and *alter* (Latin 'other') are used interchangeably with *self* and *other*.

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Structures such as turn-taking, action sequencing and repair have been described as an "architecture of intersubjectivity" (Heritage 1984: 254–260; see also Rommetveit 1976), a universal architecture with a sequential and normative nature that functions as a template for action and interpretation. More recently, Jack Sidnell (2014) has continued the discussion by noting that *stance* in the sense of the interactional display of attitudes, positions and points of view, is "centrally implicated in the human form of intersubjectivity" (Sidnell 2014: 369). This is because being able to interpret what the other participant is doing requires recognition of the stance they adopt toward the current focus of interaction. Stance can make a difference between actions (e.g. whether something is heard as a question or accusation), but stancetaking is also an integral part of how interactants position themselves and others and calibrate their respective alignments and relationships in semiotic encounters (Du Bois 2007; Jaffe 2009). I regard address inversion as an interactional resource for stancetaking that is a part of the more culture-specific architecture of intersubjectivity.

3. Data

The excerpts analyzed in this paper come from material collected during two and a half months of fieldwork in three different schools in Palestinian Territories in 2013. On the very first day of participating in the classroom activities, I noticed this address practice, which was analogous to mirror-like address in family settings, yet one that had not been reported in institutional settings before. I started to keep a record of the occurrences, and subsequently focused my analysis on recordings that I knew to contain at least some instances of inverted address.

For the purposes of studying address inversion, I have examined more closely approximately 9 hours of video-recorded classroom interaction of a corpus of 52 hours of material from grades 2 to 12 (ages 7–17). The selection covers grades 5 to 7 (ages 10–12), and it includes both regular Arabic lessons and tryouts for an annual Arabic contest. By examining approximately 9 hours of material, I accumulated a collection of 150 recorded instances of mirror-like address. These recorded instances come from 4 different teachers out of the approximately 15 teachers that participated in the analyzed occasions.

As a routinized address practice, address inversion is interlinked with the addressee's age. In producing a mirror-like address, the speaker positions herself as senior with respect to the addressee, and in so doing, easily positions the addressee as a child. Because of this indexical potential, address inversion is usually deployed with addressees that have not yet reached teenage. There are no strict age limits in

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this sense, but in my data the age of 12–13 marked a boundary after which inverted address became rare in the classroom context (cf. Ayoub 1964: 1106). The absence of the phenomenon in the data collected in the lower grades, however, is a matter of coincidence. Mirror-like address is a resource that only some of the teachers deployed more frequently, and for those teachers that participated in the study from grades 2–4, it did not happen to be part of their everyday classroom repertoires. During my fieldwork, however, I encountered instances where the addressees were younger students.

4. Address inversion in classroom interaction

Earlier research on address inversion identifies it as a very "stance-saturated" (Jaffe 2009: 3) interactional resource. In family settings, mirror-like address is described as a means for displaying affective stances, both affection and exasperation, especially in situations where an adult admonishes the child or requests her to do something. However, although inverted address practice in the school setting is lexico-semantically analogical to that in the family context, it needs to be studied in its own right. Educational settings differ from family contexts, for instance, in terms of their configuration (e.g. typically multiparty interaction), their institutionally set goals, setting-specific activities, and the degree of intimacy of interpersonal relationships (see also Cekaite & Ekström 2019). These features also shape the ways in which address inversion is deployed in the school context.

With the examples chosen in this chapter, I will show some general trends found in the data. I will proceed from setting-specific practices to those instances where mirror-like address in the school settings resembles that in family contexts. With video-recorded material, it is possible to study in a more detailed way how the participants construct actions where address inversion is deployed. I will focus on how the placement of address inversion influences the interpretation of mirror-like address in its particular context. Inverted address is examined with respect to the position of the address terms within the turn constructional unit (TCU), the position of the turn containing the address inversion in a sequence, and its placement within a possible larger activity.

Earlier research on address terms has found that the function and semiotic contribution of address terms depends on their position within the turn. It has been found (e.g. Lerner 2003) that pre-positioned address terms attract the attention of the addressee and function to implicate the directionality of talk, while post-positioned terms are found to demonstrate a particular stance towards the addressee. In Arabic-medium classroom interaction, mirror-like addresses do

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occur both pre- and post-positioned in the turn constructional unit, and there is a difference between these uses that roughly corresponds to the above distinction. Although address inversion is a means for stancetaking irrespective of its positioning because it displays an asymmetric relationship between the participants, in cases where inverted address is post-positioned, the speaker tends to align more with the co-participant than in the cases where the mirror-like address is pre-positioned. The construal of the pre-positioned mirror-like address forms, however, further depend on the action environment.

4.1 Address inversion in initial action

Let us start by looking at some cases in which the address inversion is located at the beginning of the first TCU of a turn that occupies an initial position of a sequence. In the text from now on, teachers are marked with the title *miss* 'miss' or *ustāz* 'teacher' followed by their first name pseudonyms. This is the way teachers are often referred to in the school context. In addressing their teachers, students often use only the title *miss* 'miss' or *ustāz* 'teacher.' The titles, either with or without the first name, are also used when teachers address each other.

I will first discuss two excerpts where inverted address is deployed to address several students. In the previous literature on address inversion, the practice is always described as a feature where there is only one addressee, but in my school data, roughly a third of the instances are directed at multiple addressees. This speaks for the powerful role of both embodied actions and the position of the speaker, and co-occurring signs in the utterance containing the address, not just single address terms, in establishing recipiency in multiparty interaction. The other co-occurring linguistic signs are important in interpreting instances of mirror-like address, but also the speaker's gaze, gestures, posture and manner of using voice are often sufficient in interpreting who is addressed at any particular point in time.

The first excerpt is from the Arabic language contest data. Arabic language contests were an annual tradition, in which 5–7 graders (ages 10–12) from different schools competed with each other in Arabic grammar and oral expression. The following Excerpt (1) is from a grammar contest tryout with seventh graders. The tryout is about to end in a situation where there are too many contestants that have qualified for the semifinals. Just prior to this excerpt, Miss Mona, who coordinates the contests, and Miss Nisrin, the Arabic teacher of this class, have been discussing how to handle the situation. Miss Mona then walks from the corner of the classroom to center front (line 1), and then faces the students and addresses them with the inverted address term *miss* (line 4 and Figure 1). Miss Nisrin is seated in the right-hand corner of the classroom and faces the classroom as well (Figure 1).

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Figure 1.

Excerpt 1.

```
   01 MON:    *   °yalla.°              *
                                  come on
                                  Let's get going.
      mon     *walks and faces the class*
   02 NIS:    *° (       ) la-s-sādes? °
                           to-DEF-sixth
              (   ) to sixth ((grade))?
      mon     * turns her head and gaze to Miss Nisrin
   03 MON:    °la-s-sādes. °*
              to-DEF-sixth
              To sixth ((grade)).
      mon     -------------->*
=> 04 MON:    * #miss   fī       ʿindna  (.)  tnaʿašar (.) wāḥad.
                miss    there is  with:1PL    twelve       one
                Miss we have twelve ((students)).
      mon     *faces the class --->
      fig.      # fig.1
   05         ʿan ğadd   il-munāfase     ʿālye bēnkom.
              seriously DEF-competition  high among:2PL
              Seriously the competition among you is fierce
   06         biddna   nfakker  bi-ṭ-ṭarīʾa kīf
              want:1PL we think in-DEF-way  how
              We need to think of a way how
   07         minṣaffikom     la-tamānye, laʾinno iḥna
              we filter:2PL   to-eight    because we
              we sort you.PL out to eight, because
   08         biddna    tamānye. šukran    ʾilkom,
              want:1PL  eight    thank you  to:2PL
              we want eight. Thank you,
   09         ʿan ğadd  mumayyazīn    bi-l-qawāʿed.
              seriously special:PL   in-DEF-grammar
              believe me, you are special in grammar.
   10         u-minlāʾi    ṭarīʾa  kīf  minwaṣṣelkom
              and-we find  way     how  we bring:2PL
              And we will find a way to bring you
```

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```
11      la-tamānye ana u-miss    Nisrīn,
        to-eight   I   and-miss  Nisrin
        to eight, I and Miss Nisrin,
12      u-miss     Nisrīn    biṯḥabberkom.
        and-miss   Nisrin    she informs you:PL
        and Miss Nisrin will inform you.PL.
13      šukran     ʾilkom.
        thank you  to:2PL
        Thank you.
```

From line 4 forward, Miss Mona addresses the whole class. This is evident from the embodied means she utilizes: she faces the students and addresses the class with an audible voice typical for teaching situations (e.g. loud voice, clear articulation, unhurried pace). The linguistic signs in her turn point in a similar direction. Miss Mona depicts an inclusive 'we' that includes her and Miss Nisrin (e.g *ʿindna* 'we have', line 4) and a plural 'you' that comprises the students (e.g. *bēnkom* 'among you pl.', line 5). The students are referred to with second person plural deictic elements throughout the turn, except for the singular, inverted *miss.*

I suggest that in these cases, the mirror-like address *miss* provides a distributive resource for addressing, a resource that addresses each of the multiple recipients individually and provides the teacher with an opportunity to take an individualizing stance towards the addressees.

This example also illustrates the stance-saturatedness of address inversion. In family settings, mirror-like address has been linked to displaying mostly positive and negative affective stances, but my analyses suggest that inverted address is a more multifaceted device for positioning oneself and the other. First of all, the distributive address cannot be placed on the continuum of affect although it is a way of positioning the addressee. Secondly, on some occasions, inverted address simultaneously plays a role in positioning the participants in more than one way.

The use of TCU-initial address terms has been described as "shift-implicative" (Rendle-Short 2007), helping to manage turn and topic transitions (Lerner 2003; Rendle-Short 2007), and enabling turns to stand out from their background (Clayman 2010). This is also what inverted *miss* does in this particular example. In the classroom data, a pre-positioned mirror-like address often occurs when the speaker moves from one activity to another, from one participation framework to another, and when wanting to mark the stretch of talk as particularly relevant. In the example above, the inverted *miss* is located at a point where there are two simultaneous transitions, as Miss Mona moves from a dyadic, rather private conversation with Miss Nisrin (up to line 3) to address the whole class with a turn that ends the classroom situation (lines 4–13). In this case, these transitions are also displayed with embodied means.

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In the data on the tryouts for the annual Arabic contest these types of slightly longer openings and closings prefaced by a mirror-like address do occur several times. However, the shift-implicative use of address inversion is not limited to occasions where the teacher addresses the whole group.

In the excerpt above, the inverted *miss* also can also be seen as a resource with which the speaker orients to the potentially sensitive ensuing action. Miss Mona is about to inform the students of the problematic outcome of the tryout: four more students need to be eliminated before the semifinals. In Arabic-medium family interaction, address inversion has been reported to mitigate parental disciplinary moves and asserting one's authority over the child (Yassin 1977: 300–301). In my classroom data, the spectrum of delicate environments where inverted address can be deployed is, however, broader (see next section for more cases of these environments). In this excerpt, inverted *miss* is one of the devices with which Miss Mona exhibits a stance toward what is being said as something delicate. Her TCU on line 4, *miss fī ʿindna (.) tnaʿašar (.) wāḥad* 'miss we have twelve ((students))' is a rather indirect way of saying that the group of qualified students is still too large for the semifinals. In addition to this, Miss Mona slightly delays the production of each of the words in *tnaʿašar wāḥad* 'twelve ((students))'. Both indirectness and various delaying practices have been identified as means to mark a stretch of speech as delicate (Lerner 2013).

The next excerpt further illustrates how address inversion contributes to stancetaking. The excerpt is from the very beginning of the semifinals, where the school representatives are chosen. All the fifth to seventh graders are present at the assembly hall with their teachers and are waiting for the coordinators of the contest to arrive. Some of the students are preparing for the contest and others are chatting with their classmates, and the noise in the hall is considerable. There are also five teachers present who help their students and occasionally maintain order locally.

One of the teachers, Miss Lulu, who is standing on the left side of the hall, takes the floor and addresses the group (line 1) with inverted *miss*. The other teacher participating in the situation is Ustāz Mustafa. He is standing in front of the first row of tables (Figure 2). In the following figure, Miss Lulu is standing outside the picture on the left. The participants in the picture are looking at her.

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Figure 2.

Excerpt 2.

```
=> 01 LUL:   a::, miss, maʿalēš    aḥki  šaġl[e#
                   miss  never mind I say thing
             Miss why don't I say something
        fig                                      # fig. 2
   02 STU:                                      [ā,  tfaḍḍali  miss
                                                 yeah please:F miss
                                                 Yeah please miss.
   03 MUS:   ṭ-ṭullāb, HELOU, HEEI, ṢŌTAK.
             DEF-students          voice your:M.SG
             Students, hello, hey, your voice!
   04        WALA     KILMA HALḤĪN, WALA      KILMA,
             not even word  now     not even  word
             Not even a word now, not even a word!
   05        (              ) BARRA
                               outside
             (               ) outside!
=> 06 LUL:   miss, iḥna lāzem inqaddem daʿem    kāmel
             miss  we   must  offer    support  full
             Miss we must offer our full support
   07        la  ṭullābna      illi  bimaṭṭlu  ṣfūfna
             to students:our   that  represent classes:our
             to our students that represent our classes
   08        lamma yiṭlaʿu      hināk.
             when  they go out  there
             when they go out there.
   09        b-inno m- ʾiḥna ma   minšaddhom,
             sinc(e)-    we  NEG  we support them
             Sinc- we do not support them
```

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```
10          kīf ma   minšaddhom (    )?
            how NEG  we support them
            How we do not support them (   )?'
11 STU:     mniḥki
            we speak
            By speaking.
```

Miss Lulu tries to establish the attention of the students with a summons that consists of an inverted *miss* followed by *ma ʿalēš aḥki šaġle* 'why don't I say something' (line 1). While some of the students in the two front rows turn their bodies and gaze at Miss Lulu and start to listen (Figure 2), the summons gets treated by some of the nearby students as a request for permission to speak that needs a verbal answer. Their response, *ā tfaḍḍali miss* 'yeah please Miss' (line 2) creates even more unrest. At this point, Ustāz Mustafa, one of the other teachers, steps in to calm the situation down using somewhat more forceful means. He produces a series of summonses (address form *ṭullāb* 'students', *helou, heei*) each of which is produced with increased volume. These are followed by a series of directives (*ṣōtak* 'your SG voice' and a repeated *wala kilma* 'not a word') that are upgraded (Craven & Potter 2010) into a threat that includes a sanction of being put out of the assembly hall (lines 3–5). Ustāz Mustafa's gaze sweeps around the assembly hall indicating that he is addressing all the students. When the audience has quietened down, Miss Lulu resumes by producing a sequence where she reminds the students of proper behavior during the contest. Again, this sequence is prefaced by an inverted *miss* (line 6).

In this excerpt, Miss Lulu's summons turn *miss ma ʿalēš aḥki šaġle* 'miss why don't I say something' (line 1) initiates a presequence. This is also how the students treat the turn: as the first pair part of a summons-answer sequence that seeks the attention of the recipients. Presequences are deployed to introduce a conversational action and summonses project further talk from the part of the initiator. In this case, the further talk is a directive, socializing move by Miss Lulu.[4] The inverted address in Miss Lulu's summons turn is an example of a shift implicative inverted address: there is a transition from various ongoing activities to a common focus. Also, the latter inverted *miss* on line 6 functions in this way. In the school data, inverted address is often deployed when the teacher returns to a common task after some type of interruption in common focus.

It needs to be noted as well that in the excerpt above, mirror-like address is not the only address practice that co-textually contributes to stancetaking. In

4. The summons *miss ma ʿalēš aḥki šaġle* 'miss why don't I say something' appears in my data a few times and every time it is followed by a corrective, directive turn by the teacher. It is possible that in the school context this particular summons projects a more specific kind of following action.

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addition to the distributive mirror-like *miss*, Miss Lulu deploys a pseudo-inclusive *we* (Haverkate 1992; Wilson 2019) to address the students (lines 6–10). This kind of *we* that does not actually include the speaker is often encountered in asymmetric situations, where the speaker holds an upper hand with respect to the addressee. Typical contexts include child-oriented speech especially in directive forms of interaction (Haverkate 1992) but can also be encountered in leadership talk (Wilson 2019). Haverkate identifies pseudo-inclusive *we* as a mitigating device that softens directives and assertions while having also the potential to simultaneously index authority – just like mirror-like address. Wilson (2019: 52) notes that by using the pseudo inclusive *we* the speaker positions herself with the addressee, thus enabling the presentation of direct criticism. In the example above, Miss Lulu regiments the student's behavior while simultaneously effacing her own role in doing so.

4.2 Address inversion in responsive actions

Next, I will discuss address inversion in responsive actions. In classroom interaction, mirror-like address is often deployed in directives, admonitions and disagreements with which the speaker responds to some previous action of the co-participant(s). This line of discussion closely ties in with research on discourse practices in family contexts. Research on parental politeness and parents' directives (e.g. Pauletto, Aronson & Galeano 2017) has shown that address terms, especially ones that stereotypically index positive affect, are often part of parents' disciplinary moves. In these contexts, address terms are said to function as *mitigating* devices (Fraser 1980; Blum-Kulka 1990), resources that soften potentially sensitive actions, such as asserting one's authority over someone. I will examine mirror-like address as a means of stancetaking with which the speaker can either align or disalign with the co-participants' previous action.

In responsive actions, the semiotic contribution of mirror-like address depends on its sequential position in the TCU. When the inversed address term is post-positioned in the TCU, the empathetic stance is more pronounced, whereas pre-positioned address inversions often go together with disaligning actions and with more assertive directives, admonitions and also disagreements. This differs from the functions of a pre-positioned inversed address term in initial actions. We saw in the previous section that a pre-positioned inversed address term address often indicates some type of shift or transition, and these instances are usually not marked. This is probably because in initiating a new action an element that attracts the attention of the recipient can be expected. In responsive actions, however, the contact between the participants is already there, and a similarly positioned address inversion may more easily display some type of trouble in interaction. In so doing it may cause a shift in the line of interaction.

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I will first illustrate the tendencies in responsive actions with three excerpts from a grammar competition tryout with seventh graders. The grammar contests were organized around oral multiple-choice questions that the students needed to answer orally in front of the other contestants.

Seventh graders have already participated in these competitions twice before and in this particular tryout, Miss Mona repeatedly holds the students accountable for not following the local norms for these events, to patiently listen until the question has been read twice before attempting an answer. In each of the examples, the student produces his or her answer prematurely. In the following two extracts, the address inversion is post-positioned. In Excerpt (3) Miss Mona interacts with Faisal and in Excerpt (4) with Maysa.

Excerpt 3.

```
   01 FAI:   ḥāl
             A circumstantial adverb.
=> 02 MON:   mā   kammalt-eš      miss
             NEG  I finished-NEG  miss
             I did not finish miss
   03        laʾ, miš  ḥāl.
             no   NEG  circumstantial adverb
             no, it's not a circumstantial adverb.
```

Excerpt 4.

```
   01 MAY:   lafīf mafrūq (   )
             A verb where the 1st and 3rd radicals are weak ( ).
=> 02 MON:   hū ṣaḥḥ    bass stanni   miss.
             he correct but  wait:IMP miss
             It is correct but wait miss.
   03 MAY:   fakkart   inno  ḫallaṣti.
             I thought that  you finished:F.SG
             I thought that you had finished.
   04 MON:   laʾ baʿīdo       marrtēn.   aḥsan.
             no  I repeat:it  two times  better
             No, I repeat it twice, (it's) better.
```

Both of these excerpts are instances of admonition. In Excerpt (4), this can also be seen in the recipient's response when on line 3 Maysa produces an account of her behavior. However, the semiotic effect of the post-positioned inverted address in the two excerpts is different. This is because the semiotic contribution of these admonitions is not only dependent on the position of the address term in the TCU, but also on the position of the admonition in the multi-unit and multi-action turn.

In Excerpt (3) after Faisal's answer, the expected action for Miss Mona to take would be to evaluate the answer, but instead, she orients to Faisal's breach and admonishes him for not waiting until she had finished reading the question. Although the admonition itself is relatively mild, producing it as the first response, before evaluating the question, gives it more prominence. However, when in Example 4

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Miss Mona first evaluates Maysa's answer and only then reproaches her, the reproach does not interfere with the completion of the initiation-response-evaluation (IRE) instructional sequence (Mehan 1979). The positioning of the admonition also provides Maysa with a natural sequential position to produce an account of her behavior.[5]

In comparison, initially positioned address inversion often renders directives and admonitions more assertive and indicates a more intense need for calibrating perspectives. The next example is from the same tryout a few minutes after the previous ones when Miss Mona interacts with Ibrahim. Miss Nisrin also joins the discussion. She is seated in the front of the classroom and is not visible in the following figure.

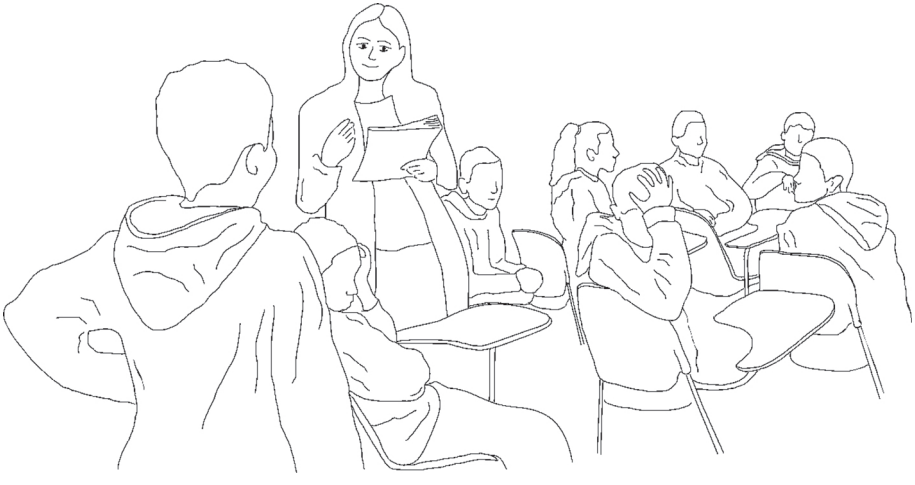


Figure 3.

Excerpt 5.

```
   01 IBR:   mabnī ʿala l-fatḥ
             built  on  DEF-fatḥ
             Built on the fatḥ.
=> 02 MON:  *£miss mā  kammalt-eš£*#
             miss  NEG I finished-NEG
             Miss I did not  finish.
      mon    *.....................*---fingertips together and
      fig                          #fig. 3
   03 NIS:   MĀ  KAMMALT-EŠ    [mā   kammalat     is-s-]
             NEG I finished-NEG NEG  she finished DEF-
             I did not finish. She did not finish the q-
```

5. Although here the right answer is evaluated before the addressee is admonished, this is not a consistent pattern in the data.

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```
   04 MON:                        [ma   kammalt    is-suʾāl](.)
                                   NEG  I finished DEF-question
                                   I did not finish the question.
      mon    ---moves hand back and forth iteratively ------->
=> 05        miss,    *
             Miss.
      mon    ---------*
   06 IBR:   ṣaḥḥ    kānat
             correct it was
             It was correct.
   07 MON:   *huwa ṣaḥḥ    yaʿni
              he   correct I suppose
              He is right I suppose.
      mon    * looks at Miss Nisrin --->
   08 NIS:    huwa lāzem ikūn ʿindo       ṣaber
              he   must  is    with him   patience
              He must have patience.
      mon    -------- gaze to Miss Nisrin ----------->
   09 MON:   IL-KULL [laʾinno b-il-muṣābaqa  mniḥsar]*
             DEF-all  because in-DEF-contest  we lose
             All ((should)). Because in the contest we lose.
      mon    --------- gaze to Miss Nisrin ----------*
   10 IBR:              [(          )                ]
   11 MON:   *ṭayyeb, tfaḍḍal.
              fine    please
              Fine, please (sit down).
      mon    * quick glance to ibr followed by a wave of hand
```

This instance is the culmination point of Miss Mona's growing frustration with the students' noncompliance for not listening until she has finished reading the question. Miss Mona has already reprimanded students on six previous occasions during this lesson. Again, she produces her admonition right after Ibrahim's answer and thereby delays the evaluation. This time the admonition is upgraded with a pre-positioned *miss* (line 2) that is produced with a smile and a culturally recognizable gesture asking for patience. Miss Nisrin joins in by producing an almost identical reprimand *mā kammalt-eš* 'I did not finish' in the 1st person singular in a relatively loud voice (line 3). She immediately starts a self-repair that corrects the subject to the 3rd person feminine singular (*she* did not finish), while Miss Mona reclaims her right to speak by repeating her admonition, now without the inverted *miss* (line 4). Inverted miss, however, is produced once more as a separate admonition accompanied by a more intense hand gesture that lasts beyond the verbal utterance (line 5). Ibrahim tries to account for his action by noting that the answer was correct (line 6). The reprimanding, however, continues with verbal complaints of impatience. Miss Nisrin first complains about Ibrahim's lack of patience using a 3rd person singular personal deictics (line 8), but Miss Mona reframes impatience as the qualifying feature of the whole class (line 9). It takes another protest from Ibrahim (line 10) before Miss Mona accepts his answer and grants him permission

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to sit down (line 11). After this incident, the rest of the competition unfolds without similar transgressions.

The semiotic effect of the admonishment is a result of all the deployed resources, not just the mirror-like address term or the linguistic content. The semiotic act is a composite of the linguistic act and the accompanying facial expressions, voice quality, prosody, gestures, embodied action and physical place of the participants. All these affect the interpretation of a particular action. A directive or an admonishment could be heard as more aggravated if, for instance, the speaker moves towards the recipient during the directive, gazes at the recipient intently or utters the possible address form particularly energetically.

In this particular case, the admonitions are produced with a slightly louder voice but, in the case of Miss Mona's first reproach on line 2, also with a smile (indicated with the £ signs at the beginning and end of the turn). In addition to this, Miss Mona produces a culturally widespread and easily recognizable Middle Eastern hand gesture where all her fingertips touch together while she holds her hand out. This gesture, which is deployed to demand patience from the co-participant, reaches its apex at the end of the first verbal admonishment (line 2) and continues with Miss Mona moving her hand repeatedly back and forth slightly beyond the last inverted *miss* (line 5).[6]

This example illustrates how various modulation devices ranging from mitigation to aggravation are deployed for complex semiotic effects (see also Galeano and Fasulo 2009 on modulating directives in family conversations). Miss Mona's smiley voice (line 2) can be interpreted as a means that mitigates the overall effect of the admonishment, while the pre-positioned address inversion intensifies it. The hand gesture also has a similar aggravating effect. Even as a relatively quick gesture that includes only one forwards movement with one's hand, the gesture easily indicates frustration. In this example, Miss Mona prolongs releasing the gesture and punctuates her admonitions on lines 4 and 5 by rhythmically moving her closed fingers back and forth. The gesture is released only after the post-positioned inverted *miss* on line 5, making it a very explicit and intensive complaint about the lack of patience by the student.

The last example of directives is from the first round of Arabic grammar contest tryouts with fifth graders in one of the schools. Miss Mona interacts here with a boy named Butrus and again, the interactants are focusing on orally presented multiple-choice questions. The sequence illustrates a case where directives together

6. The gesture deployed by Miss Mona is in a form very similar to what Kendon (1995) describes as *Mano a borsa* ('purse hand') encountered in southern Italian interaction. Despite their formal similarities, there is a functional difference: *Mano a borsa* indicates a question while in the Middle East the gesture demands patience from the co-participant.

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with post-positioned inverted address terms (lines 4, 8, 13) are deployed to align affectively with the student. Miss Mona is standing in the front of the class and Miss Nisrin sits in the front on the left. She is not visible in the illustration.



Figure 4.

Excerpt 6.

```
   01 MON:   il-fiʿel hāǧara.
             DEF-verb he emigrated
             The verb  is he emigrated.
   02 BUT:   hāǧara?
             he emigrated
             He emigrated?
   03 MON:   hāǧara.
             he emigrated
             He emigrated,
=> 04        ḥuṭṭo        bi-ǧumle    miss. hal huwwa
             put:M.SG:it  in-sentence miss  INT he
             put it in a sentence miss. Is it a
   05        fiʿel mutaʿaddin, fiʿel lāzem,
             transitive verb, intransitive verb,
   06        fiʿel muḍāriʿ.
             present tense verb.
   07 BUT:   hāǧara       huwwa-
             he emigrate  he
             To emigrate it is-
=> 08 MON:   ḥuṭṭo  bi-ǧumle   miss, kamān marra.
             put-it in-sentence  miss  more  time
             Put it in a sentence, miss one more time.
   09        hāǧara,      hal huwwa
             he emigrated INT he
             To emigrate, is it
   10        fiʿel lāzem, fiʿel mutaʿddin,
             intransitive, transitive verb,
```

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```
   11          fiʿel māḍin.
               past tense verb.
   12 BUT:     fiʿel lāzem.
               Intransitive verb.
=> 13 MON:     laʾ miss.
               No  miss.
```

Miss Mona introduces the question by first giving the focus word *hāğara* 'he emigrated' and asking Butrus to give its grammatical analysis (line 1). Butrus then initiates a repair by repeating the verb with a slightly shaky voice and rising intonation (line 2). On line 3, Miss Mona confirms Butrus' understanding by repeating the focus verb and orients to his possible trouble in answering the question by producing the instruction *ḥuṭṭo bi- ğumle miss* 'put it in a sentence miss' before reading the rest of the question (line 4). Once Miss Mona has read the question for the first time, Butrus starts to search for an answer (line 7). Miss Mona treats that as premature and as a misconduct by repeating her earlier instruction to analyze the verb with the help of an invented sentence and with *kamān marra* 'one more time', directs Butrus' attention to the chance of hearing the question again (line 8).

In this example, the directive *ḥuṭṭo bi-ğumle miss* 'put it in a sentence miss' functions as a piece of advice or an instruction. In these types of cases, the post-positioned mirror-like address indicates the speaker's alignment with the addressee. The instructions, presented as a part of the directive-response sequence, produce a slight change of footing where, instead of the official agenda and the whole class, the teacher orients to the single student and his potential trouble in answering the question. Butrus' repair initiation and vocal behavior can be interpreted as displaying nervousness, and with her directives, Miss Mona not only provides practical advice on how to proceed with the question but also attends to the addressee on a more empathetic level. Miss Mona's exchange with Butrus also provides an example of a negative evaluation with a TCU final inverted address (line 13). In these *laʾ miss* responses, that are fairly common in the Arabic grammar tryouts, the inverted address functions in a similar manner as in the previous instructions on lines 4 and 8 as a sign of empathetic alignment.

Inverted address also occurs in situations when the teacher disaligns with the students' understandings. The following excerpt is an example of a pronounced disagreement. The example is from Miss Dalia's Arabic lesson with sixth graders. In the last ten minutes of the lesson, she leads the students into a free-flowing discussion on shooting stars. The students are offering various longish explanations for their origin, as one of the boys, Ahmad, addresses Miss Dalia and complains that the explanation just offered by Adib is incorrect.

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Excerpt 7.

```
   01 AHM:   miss (    ) illi ʾāl       adīb ġalaṭ
             miss        that  he said  Adib incorrect
             Miss (    ) that Adib said is incorrect
=> 02 DAL:   miss ḍarūri     tiʿrafu?      laʾ
             miss right away you:PL know   no
             Miss do you know it right away? No.
=> 03        miss biddak       itfatteš        il-maʿlūmāt
             miss want:2.M.SG  you search for  DEF-information
             Miss you need to search for the information
   04        u-tǧiblī          iyyāha.
             and-you bring me  it
             and bring it to me.
```

Miss Dalia replies to Ahmad's complaint by issuing him a question with a pre-positioned *miss*, *miss ḍarūri tiʿrafu?* 'miss is it possible to know right away?', and immediately proceeds to answer her own question with a firm *laʾ* 'no' (line 2). She then continues with a directive directed personally at Ahmad and assigns him to find information on shooting stars as homework (later given as homework for the whole class). In his research on disaligning actions, Clayman (2010, 2013) demonstrates that address terms that are prefatory to responsive actions recurrently launch responses that are more agentive or "initiating" than is normally the case. In other words, pre-positioned address terms are capable of redesigning the ensuing turn so that it appears as if it was an independent or first action. In the case of Miss Dalia's response, this is literally the case as she responds to Ahmad's complaint with a question.

5. Conclusion and discussion

In this article, I have outlined a brief situated account of how inverted address is deployed in an Arabic-medium school context. In classroom interaction, mirror-like address is a flexible resource for stancetaking. It is a tropic resource that makes evident the asymmetric relationship between the participants and for this reason positions the participants in the social matrix of the classroom more markedly than regular address forms. At the same time, it retains its potential to display positive affect towards the addressee. Which side of this bi-polar meaning potential is activated more prominently at any given time depends crucially on the context.

Both the position of the inverted address term within the turn and its position within the sequence affects the interpretation. In the school context, prefatory inverted address is deployed in sequence-initiating actions. In these cases, the turns containing mirror-like address are often not that affectively charged. Rather, the mirror-like address signals moving to another activity or another participation

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framework. The examples analyzed in this article were located in closing the learning situation and transitioning into a longer socializing move by the teacher, but similar uses also occur in smaller transitions.

In responsive action environments, however, the mirror-like address was part of more affectively charged actions. Whether address inversion indexes a disaligning or empathetic stance depends on its position with respect to the TCU. Those mirror-like addresses that were deployed TCU initially often display a stance whereby the speaker disaligns with the addressee, whereas those address inversions appearing TCU finally aligned more with the other participants. These responsive actions included directives, admonitions and instructions but also cases where the teacher positions herself with respect to a previous stance expressed by the student. In these cases, the prefaced mirror-like address was often part of constructing assertive directives, admonitions and disagreements, whereas post-positioned address inversion indexed different degrees of empathy towards the co-participant. The analyses also illustrated that, for instance, in admonitions, the semiotic effect of address inversion further depends on its position within a multi-unit and multi-action turn. However, although the sequentially organized architecture of intersubjectivity provides the matrix against which the semiotic contribution of address inversion is interpreted, the accompanying co-textual semiotic signs also play a crucial role. The analyses illustrated that address inversion can be one of the many devices with which, for instance, the semiotic effect of admonitions is modulated.

In the analyses, I also identified ways of deploying mirror-like address not reported in previous research on the subject. In the school setting, address inversion can be utilized to address multiple addressees. I argued that this enables the teacher to take a distributive stance towards the addressee and address the students as individuals. Especially this usage of mirror-like address is something that the other available address terms cannot accomplish.

The above-mentioned observations of how address inversion is deployed in the school settings are in many ways comparable to functions that the previous conversation analytic research has identified for address terms. This raises the question whether address inversion is in any way special compared to other forms of address. Even the bi-polar meaning potential does not seem to be unique to mirror-like address. For instance, research on parents' directive moves has reported that normal endearment terms have a similar Janus-faced nature (Pauletto et al. 2017) that enables them to be used for displaying both authority and alignment. My argument is that in address inversion these two sides are more prominently indexed because stereotypically, it is an asymmetric address resource available only for the more senior interactional party. By deploying inverted address, the speaker constructs an asymmetry between the participants which is not automatically the case with terms of endearment. In my school data, terms of endearment are rarely used. In the 9

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hours of data, there are only 5 tokens of different forms of *ḥabībi* 'my dear' against the 150 tokens of inverted *miss* or *ustāz*. The asymmetric *miss* or *ustāz* seems to better fit the normative expectancies of how affect is displayed in the institutional context of comprehensive school.

Other than that, there might be need to reconceptualize the indexical meaning potential of address practices – to what extent it is actually a result of more general affordances provided by the architecture of intersubjectivity (e.g. the capability of pre-positioned address turns to redesign the ensuing turns so that it appears as more independent) and to what extent their indexicality is community specific. In linguistic anthropological and conversation analytic research on address practices these two lines of research have been mostly separate.

To conclude, by functioning as a resource for stancetaking, address inversion also manages intersubjectivity. In classroom interaction, its typical contexts of deployment cluster around actions that are actively oriented towards the coordination of individual subjectivities. Mirror-like address enables the speakers to take stances to position themselves and their co-participants with respect to activities and participant frameworks. Address inversion is also a stancetaking means for the speaker to align or disalign with their co-participants. Even when it is deployed to address multiple addressees, address inversion allows the teacher to address the students as individuals. Mirror-like address is a resource that as a part of the larger architecture of intersubjectivity, such as turn taking, organizes the moment by moment unfolding of interaction and fine-tunes its construal.

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Brokering co-participants' volition in request and offer sequences

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This chapter examines multilingual interactions where bilingual participants engage in advancing mutual understanding between other participants by *language brokering* (e.g. Bolden 2012) requests and offers from Finnish to Brazilian Portuguese. Brokering turns involve either (i) declarative statements regarding the prior speaker's volition towards the requested/offered matter or (ii) questions concerning the recipient's volition. The use of these formats displays the broker's intersubjective interpretation of locally relevant features of the action, such as the distribution of benefits and agency, and contingencies in its realization. The investigation of language brokering in this context also contributes to research on requests, offers and related social actions (e.g. Couper-Kuhlen 2014), action ascription (Levinson 2013; Deppermann & Haugh forthcoming), and on verbs expressing volition (Sacks 1992: 181; Schulze-Wenck 2005).

Keywords: language brokering, multilingual, volition, request, offer, beneficiary, agent, action ascription, question, third person, recipiency

1. Introduction

One of the main questions regarding intersubjectivity in interaction is how and to what extent people can have or claim to have access to each other's experiences. One approach to this question is to examine how speakers display such access by explicitly referring to each other's mental states and intentions in interaction. These descriptions are one means for participants to negotiate the sharedness, intelligibility and accountability of their actions and to coordinate them locally (Edwards & Potter 2005; Deppermann 2012; Deppermann & Kaiser forthcoming). The current paper explores similar phenomena in asymmetric, multilingual interactions that are mediated by a third party.

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This study examines how bilingual participants, acting as mediators, make declarative statements and ask about their co-participants' willingness, or *volition*, towards a matter that is being requested or offered. When bilingual speakers produce these turns, they engage in *language brokering* (Antonini 2010; Bolden 2012). In other words, they facilitate interaction between the other participants by remedying a problem in understanding that arises from the asymmetry of their linguistic resources. Brokering can involve oral translation as well as other forms of facilitating interaction between speakers of different languages, such as providing repair solution on behalf of another speaker (Bolden 2012), explaining concepts (Raymond 2014) or switching the overall language of the conversation (Skårup 2004).

In the cases examined, when one participant makes a request or an offer concerning an object or service, the broker steps in to advance the unfolding of the sequence by translating (and sometimes substantially reformulating) the action to its recipient. The broker's turn involves a verbalization of a co-participant's volition towards the course of action. The broker can either verbalize what the prior speaker wants by making a declarative statement about them in the third person (3P) (Section 3.1), or verbalize the willingness of the addressed (or targeted) recipient, delivering a question to them in the second person (2P) (Section 3.2).



Broker:	
***ela/e** quer X* - - -	***(vo)cê** quer X*
'**s/he** wants (to) X'	'do **you** want (to) X?'

Table 1. Two formats in brokering co-participants' volition

Language brokering as such involves an orientation to promoting intersubjectivity at the level of mutual understanding, but achieving this by verbalizing volition takes the activity to another level of "mind-reading." The broker refers to a volitional state as motivating the co-participant's initiative or responsive action. This means that the broker is claiming recognition of and some access to the co-participant's subjective experience and displays it as relevant for the here-and-now collaborative organization of the local action. The experience is thereby brought into an intersubjective dimension.

The present study aims to demonstrate that by means of addressing co-participants' volition, language brokers incorporate particular features of the initiative action and its emergent unfolding into their brokered versions, and simultaneously reshape those features in the ongoing sequence of action. In particular, verbalizing

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volition serves to convey the distribution of benefits and agency regarding the requested or offered course of action. In this use, volition does not appear as a precondition for action but as an interactionally engendered, social construct that explains and accounts for local conduct.

This study expands upon my previous research on the interactional organization of bilingual mediating (Harjunpää 2017a, b), which illustrated how language brokers not only mediate mutual understanding but orchestrate local courses of action and their participation structure. Depending on the local relevancies of action and participation, brokering can considerably alter the way an action is implemented as compared to its original version. Similarly, the present analysis of requests and offers demonstrates the ways in which language brokering is sensitive to situated contingencies of social actions and how the linguistic content of the translatory utterances is contextually and reflexively organized (for discussion, see Harjunpää 2017a: 21–45). The next section provides a brief overview of requesting and offering as social actions, in particular, the use of expressions of volition in this context.

2. Wanting something: Volition in the transfer of objects and services

Offers and requests serve as means of transferring objects and services in collaboration. They make it relevant for the recipient to accept or contribute to the transfer immediately or in the more remote future, while carrying social implications of need, entitlement, obligation, reciprocity, imposition, benefaction, and constraint (e.g. Curl & Drew 2008; Drew & Couper-Kuhlen 2014). Conversation analytic studies have investigated the linguistic formats of requests and offers as well as, increasingly, their embodied realizations. In order to move beyond some of the logocentrism in the conceptualization of actions, the term *recruitment* has been proposed to cover the various forms in which assistance to self and others is sought and provided during interaction (Kendrick & Drew 2016).[1] In addition to the existence of solely embodied practices, it has been established that the embodied and material context and embeddedness in ongoing trajectories of action are crucial for the linguistic design of requests and offers (Lindström 2005; Kärkkäinen & Keisanen 2012; Mondada 2014; Rossi 2015; Sorjonen & Raevaara 2014; Zinken 2016).

1. The intervention of the broker is itself a form of "linguistic" assistance; facilitating the interaction in an asymmetrically multilingual situation. Here, however, I focus on how language brokers facilitate sequences of action concerning the transfer of immediate actions or objects, leaving aside the matter of how third parties are recruited for linguistic assistance.

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Through the design of their utterances, speakers can distinguish between who will carry out the future action (costs), and who will gain from the other's active contribution (benefits) (Couper-Kuhlen 2014). Requests are characterized by a division of labor where the speaker has the role of the beneficiary, whereas in offers, the beneficiary is the recipient. Nevertheless, benefits and agentive costs are not necessarily clearly divided between the initiator of an action and the recipient. Both parties may benefit and contribute to the future action to varying degrees (Clayman & Heritage 2014; Couper-Kuhlen & Etelämäki 2014; Rossi & Zinken 2017). Another issue is how to define costs and benefits in the analysis in a way that takes into account not only concrete material gains but also further characteristics of the social relationships and setting. The design of the actions provides the participants with cues on the configuration of who benefits, in what way, and what type of contribution is expected of each party (e.g. Couper-Kuhlen 2014). As the current study will demonstrate, language brokers can display such orientations by making statements versus asking about volition. This context renders observable how the local understanding of costs and benefits emerges relative to co-participants' agency in an unfolding course of action.

Conversation analytic studies have examined talk about "wanting" mainly in the second and first person. Studies on phone calls in English report *do you want* as a frequent format in making certain types of offers. A study by Curl (2006) discovered that speakers use the syntactic format *do you want me to X* when they offer a remedy for problems educed from previous talk that are "latent" or have "'merely potential existence' in the prior talk." By contrast, *do you want* never occurs in offers of help to overtly expressed problems. Likewise, in recruitment sequences during face-to-face interactions, speakers say *do you want* when offering a solution to troubles that have not been specified and that do not mandate them to provide assistance (Drew & Couper-Kuhlen 2014: 19–29; Kendrick & Drew 2016: 7). Couper-Kuhlen (2014: 639) also points out that the format *do you want* in offers is one that questions the felicity conditions of the action.

In a different context, when formulating interpretations of prior action, speakers talk in terms of wanting for various rhetorical purposes. In ascribing volition to the prior speaker (e.g. 'you want', Deppermann & Kaiser forthcoming), the current speaker may treat the prior turn as inadequate or seek to clarify or expose its "real" meaning, which can serve the coordination of ongoing or future interactional projects. These turns make relevant (dis)confirmation by the interlocutor (cf. Heritage & Watson 1980). Furthermore, speakers can assert or negate their own volition in the first person ('I [don't] want') as a means to contest the recipient's interpretation of their prior conduct (Childs 2012a; Deppermann 2014). In directives, *I want* can oblige the recipient to carry out the future action without any reference to the

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recipient's contribution (Childs 2012b; for other types of declarative statements about the speaker as requests, see Stevanovic 2011).

I am not aware of any previous CA research on ascriptions of volition to a co-present third party, apart from the recent study by Broth, Cromdal, and Levin (2019). They analyze ascriptions of intention with "want" to another vehicle during driver training in a moving car. The instructor uses ascriptions such as 'the lorry wants to overtake you' to account for instructions that react to some obstacle to a smooth coordination of the traffic, which are caused by the trainees' actions.

By addressing volition in interaction, participants can thus negotiate the situated interpretation of each other's actions and their accountability. The above findings lead to the conclusion that speakers make reference to volition against some opposing state of affairs, such as when displaying that there are no grounds to expect that an action will occur or that there is an obstacle or considerable effort that impedes its realization. This can concern both an ongoing sequence of action and the description of past events. It is a matter of empirical investigation how the gap between the desired state of affairs and its achievement – making the issue of wanting them locally relevant – emerges and is displayed in actual interactions.

In semantic terms, expressions of volition have been associated with *irrealis* modality, conveying that the wanted action or situation has not occurred at the time of speaking (Givón 2001: 301–302; see Bybee 1998 and Lev 2014 for debate about the validity of the *realis/irrealis* distinction). Moreover, expressions of volition have been regarded as non-implicative, meaning that their speaker does not take a stance on whether the desired event eventually occurred or will occur (Karttunen 1971). Yet in certain contexts, talk about past-time wanting has been demonstrated to indicate the non-occurrence of the desired event. Sacks (1992: 181–182) discusses this with regard to what he refers to as "first verbs". Sacks argues that when verbs such as *want*, *think* or *try* occur near the beginning of an utterance in the past tense, they project a continuation that expresses the failure of the event *(lady* [---] *wanted to go in the main entrance* [---] *and they wouldn't let her go in*, Sacks 1992: 180). This "counterfactual implicative" (Karttunen 1971) of the verbs arises from their initial position in the telling and the past tense. Since the counterfactual implicative of the verbs is a consequence of their use in a particular context, Schultze-Wenk (2005) maintains that it is not a semantic but a pragmatic property. However, from an interactional perspective on linguistic meaning (Deppermann 2011), semantic properties can be considered as situated and observable through participants' orientations and how they design and place their turns at talk. As discussed above, the first verb use is not the only context in which the verbs of volition relate to orientations to the (potential) non-occurrence of the desired events, and the verbs can also have this meaning when occurring in the present tense (e.g. in offers).

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The use of expressions of volition in language brokering requests and offers differs in many ways from the previous studies. Most importantly, the verb 'want' (*querer*) usually occurs only in the brokered version of the action, after an offer or request has already been made and the broker steps in to facilitate its unfolding. Nonetheless, the brokers' use of expressions of volition in this context appears to indicate similarly the possibility of "non-occurrence" of the future action. By addressing volition, the language brokers anticipate or orient to emerging contingencies on the way of realizing an action or issues in its accountability and thereby allude to the possibility of the transfer of objects or services not occurring. The local sources of these orientations in the multilingual interactions will be discussed in the analyses of the excerpts.

The data consist of multilingual everyday interactions in Finnish and Brazilian Portuguese. The utterances in focus contain the Portuguese modal verb *querer* 'want' in the present tense, complemented by a noun ('want x') or, as a catenative verb, by an infinitive ('want to x'). The data have been transcribed according to conversation analytic conventions and, for multimodal features, the conventions developed by Mondada (see 2018). In the transcripts, Finnish talk is indicated in regular font and Portuguese talk in italics.

3. Three types of brokering

3.1 Brokering prior action as a request

A broker's declarative statement that the prior speaker wants something makes it relevant for the recipient to comply with the prior speaker's wishes. These utterances treat the prior speaker as the beneficiary of the brokered action while indicating some orientation to its accountability. Let us consider the first extract, recorded in a restaurant. Antti, a Finnish customer, attempts to order beer from a Brazilian server, Cíntia, who does not speak Finnish, and who is a close friend of the locals Antti has joined for lunch. One of the locals, Gaia, brokers Antti's request for beer at line 28.

Excerpt 1. *Cerveja* 'beer' (Ravintola_A 38:05)

```
01  ANT:     haluutko olutta (vielä).
             would you like to have another beer
02           (0.3)
03  SAU:     ↑ky:llä [se maistuu.
             yes I'd fancy one
04  ANT:             [joo otetaa.
                     yes let's take
05           (2.0)
```

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```
06  GAI:     minä haluan cafezinho.
             I want a cafezinho
((13 lines omitted: Antti and Gaia talk about the meaning of
cafezinho))
20  ANT:     tilaa:t vaan +siitä*   sit*[te.
             so you go ahead and order then
21  TON:                              [eh[hehheh
22  SAU:                                 [mheh
    gai                    +gz Cíntia, who is approaching->
    ant                          *gz Ton*gz Cín->
23  GAI:      •cê tem café? •=não n°é°,
              do you have coffee=no do you
    ant       •.............•holds glass in front of Cíntia->
24            (0.5)
25  CÍN:      menina não tenho mas +e↑u +faço.=%•cê que[r;
              girl I don't have but I make=do you want
26  ANT:                                                [Olut;#
                                                         beer
    gai                          ->+,,,+gz down->
    cín                                    %gz Ant->
    ant                                   ->•,,,,,,,,,,,->
    fig
                                                              #fig.1
```



Figure 1. Antti holds the glass in front of Cíntia

```
27                (0.3)+(0.1)%(0.1)
    gai             ->+gz Cíntia->
    cín                    ->%gz Gai
28  GAI:  →   o‡*•lut‡*ta.=£ele qu[er ‡cerø•ve[ja£.+‡•
              beer          =he   wants   beer
29  ANT:                            [olut.
                                     beer
30  TON:                            [mais  um  i[taipava.
                                     another Itaipava ((=beer brand))
31  CÍN:                                       [>cerveja<.
                                                 beer
    gai          ‡.....‡thumb p. at Ant-‡,,,,,,,,,,,,,‡
                                                  ->+gz down
    ant         ->*glass*gz Cíntia->
                 ->•raises glass------------•,,,,,,,,,,•
    cín                                    øwalks to kitchen>>
```

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```
32  SAU:     mh[eh
33  CÍN:        [mhhehe
34              (1.4)
35  TON:     virou uma a[ula de finlandês.
             ((it)) became a Finnish class
```

Antti's request for another drink (line 26, Figure 1) is multimodally composed of holding out his empty glass towards Cíntia and uttering 'beer' in Finnish. Antti coordinates his request with Gaia's parallel trajectory of action – her upcoming request for coffee – which Antti can anticipate based on the just prior discussion (lines 6–20). When Gaia first glances at Cíntia (lines 20–22), who is approaching the table with a bottle of water, Antti follows the direction of Gaia's gaze and almost immediately (line 23) raises his glass towards Cíntia, holding it out in front of her until she reciprocates his gaze (line 26). At that moment, Antti begins to lower his glass and says *olut* 'beer'. The multimodal context might have made Antti's action intelligible to Cíntia despite the language, but as it transpires, his action fails. Instead of responding, Cíntia glances towards Gaia, and once they exchange glances (line 27), Gaia engages in brokering. While pointing with her thumb at Antti, she recycles the Finnish word *olut* (line 28) and then makes a statement about Antti's wish for beer in Portuguese. The Finnish and Portuguese parts of the turn are tied together by latching (i.e. produced with no gap between the intonation units).

Supported by the embodied context of action, Gaia could simply provide a translation of the word for beer in Portuguese. Instead, she provides an additional formulation of Antti's wish. How does Gaia's ascription of Antti's volition portray his action and his entitlement to make the request? When viewed in the larger context, Gaia's report of Antti's volition may be interpreted as providing hints of blame. It is the middle of the day, and Gaia has recently rejected a proposal to have more alcoholic drinks by saying that she has to return to work (not shown in transcript), whereas her spouse, Sauli, has accepted Antti's proposal (line 1). Thumb pointing, which Gaia does towards Antti during the brokering turn, has also been associated with indicating contrast or opposition to the pointed-at participant (Kendon & Versante 2003: 125). The turn containing an ascription of volition thus implies a moral obstacle to the mediated action. At line 35, Toni orients to another sensitive aspect in Antti's action by commenting jokingly that the interaction has turned into a Finnish class. This serves as an account for Antti's use of a language that the recipient could not understand.

Although this is a commercial encounter in which Cíntia profits in terms of having paying customers in her restaurant, she is the one who needs to perform the action by going to get the bottle, and Antti is the immediate beneficiary of her action. Gaia brokers the situation selectively: In fact, Antti has initially proposed having a drink with Sauli (lines 1–4), but in the end, only Antti's interest is designated

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and he becomes displayed as the only beneficiary. Excerpt (1) thus illustrates the selectivity and strategic potential of ascriptions of volition in language brokering. The broker expresses the request in a manner that may be understood as involving a subtle display of sanctioning (even if non-seriously) the future action or the way the request was made.

During the second case of brokering prior action as a request, the broker similarly recycles an item from the prior talk at the beginning of the utterance. At a party in Iloana's home, she is about to begin taking photos of other guests when Yasmin introduces the idea of changing the music to something more suitable for dancing. Yasmin is the only participant who does not speak Portuguese. Although she and all other participants speak Finnish as a second language, Fábia brokers Yasmin's Finnish turn to Iloana in Portuguese (lines 4–5).

Excerpt 2. *Música* 'music' (Uusi vuosi_MPG81 47:46)

```
01  ILO:     [(--) (soube)      ]
             (--) knew
             >>gazes at camera->
02  YAS:     [vaihta- mene ǂvaih]deǂtaan
             change  go.IMP change.4
             change  go   let's change
                          ǂ........ǂpoints at computer->
03           että *voi*mǂme  *ta[ns*sia.ǂ
             COMP   can.1PL    dance.INF
             so that we can   dance
    ilo         ->*...*gz Yas*,,,,,*gz Fáb->
    yas               ->ǂ,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,ǂ
04  FÁB: →                       [vaihdetaa.=*ela quer    que<
                                  change.4   3SG.F want.3SG COMPL
                                  let's change=she wants
    ilo                                    ->*gz twd computer->
05           quer que  mude       a  música<  ela   quer    dançar.
             want COMPL change.SBJV ART music    3SG.F want.3SG dance.INF
             wants the music to be changed  she wants to dance
06           (0.4)•(0.2)              •
    ilo           •points twd computer•,,->
07  ILO:     (tá) *lá  no• (computador)
             it's there at the (computer)
    ilo                ->•
                   ->*gaze sweeps by Fáb twd picture-taking-->>
08  FÁB:     %(--)
             %walks to computer-->>
09  ILO:     Dani[ele (--)
10    ?:         [bota um sambão aí.
                  put some samba
11           (20.0) ((photo taking))
12  YAS:     vaihda jot- tanssimusiikki.
             change som- dance music
```

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Yasmin's turn at lines 1–2 is addressed to Iloana, the host (Yasmin's gaze is not accessible, but the pointing gesture appears to be directed at Iloana). The turn is hearable as a proposal for joint action. Iloana is nonetheless preoccupied with taking photos of other guests. Yasmin orients to Iloana not being immediately available to perform the action by producing the directive *mene* 'go', which indicates that Iloana will need to move from her current position to reach the computer, and by providing an account ('so that we can dance').

Fábia brokers the action (lines 4–5) by recycling the Finnish verb *vaihdetaa(n)* (change.4(PASS), 'let's change') and then formulating in Portuguese Yasmin's wish for changing the music – latched on to the Finnish part, as in Excerpt (1). Fábia uses a subordinate clause with the verb in the subjunctive mood, *(quer que) mude* 'wants to have changed'. This makes it a request for future action, whereas using, for example, an infinitive complement (*quer) mudar* 'wants to change' could be heard as a request for permission. In the brokering turn, Fábia preserves Yasmin's account for the request (the music is needed for dancing), but attributes the wish to dance to Yasmin alone. That is, Fábia does not treat Iloana or herself as involved in the plan to dance. At lines 6–7, Iloana displays her unavailability by pointing at the computer and apparently by telling Fábia what she has to do to change the music (her turn is barely hearable). Fábia moves towards the computer, and Iloana returns to taking pictures.

Summarizing this excerpt, Yasmin requests something for a common goal, which Fábia then brokers to Iloana as an individual interest, and Iloana delegates the task as well as the related costs to the broker.

In Excerpts 1 and 2, the language broker represents what is originally requested as a joint interest to be the requester's individual desire, thus displaying the requester as the sole beneficiary. Regarding the linguistic encoding of the division of labor, the broker mentions only the participant who will be the beneficiary (*ele* 'he' in Excerpt (1), *ela* 'she' in Excerpt (2)) – that is, the requester. By contrast, the intended performer of the future action (Cíntia in Excerpt (1), Iloana in Excerpt (2)) is identified only on the basis of her being the recipient of the original action and/or of the turn stating that the prior speaker wants something.

In both excerpts, the original speaker of the request works to tailor the action to the current line of activity and embodied context (Rossi 2015; Zinken 2016). In Excerpt (1), Antti tried to embed his request in an already ongoing line of activity; in Excerpt (2), Yasmin orients to the requestee not being readily available for the action. Neither speaker succeeds in implementing the action, and they are left "wanting." While engaging in language brokering may portray the lack of success in the action as a language problem, designing it as an ascription of the requester's volition reflects further orientations to accountability and entitlement of the request. In Excerpt (1), Gaia's turn implied slight disapproval of having more drinks. Toni's later turn made explicit another sensitive aspect, namely, that Antti had made the

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request in a manner that bluntly exposes the language asymmetry. In Excerpt (2), Fábia orients to Iloana being occupied with a competing activity.

3.2 Brokering prior action as an offer

A broker does not simply repeat prior utterances but coordinates the benefits and costs that are connected to the social relationship of the parties, including their rights and obligations towards each other. The excerpts in this section demonstrate that the brokers verbalize the recipients' volition in the second person when the benefits of the brokered action are on the side of this party, thus typically occurring with offers. What counts as a benefit can be locally determined, and its coordination may require changes from the original version to one that is brokered. In the first excerpt of this section, a request for permission is brokered as an offer.

André is visiting his friend Márcio (both are Brazilian) and his spouse, Sanna, in Finland. They have been having lunch at Sanna's parents, and now Sanna's mother, Raili, arrives at the table to ask whether she can begin to clear the dishes. Sanna brokers her turn to Márcio and André in Portuguese. (Márcio regularly interacts in Finnish; André also speaks and understands some words.)

Excerpt 3. *Korjata* 'clear' (Kesä_C 09:57)

```
01 RAI:   *voiks mä *•korjata jo nää.
          can I clear these already
          *.........*gesture above table->
          >>gaze A/M •gz Sanna->
02 MÁR:   ((talks in Portuguese during 1.4 s))
03 SAN:   •ó cês     •querem* comer• ↑mais,*
           hey do you want to eat     more
   rai                  -->*,,,,,,,,,,,,,,*
          ->•gaze A/M•gz Sanna-----•gz A/M
((omitted: 20 seconds of talk and laughter in Portuguese))
04 RAI:   •*kuu$le< (.)  •voiks # mä$ *korjata
            listen.IMP   can.Q.CLI 1SG collect
            listen       can I clear/collect
          •gz sweeps by S•gz André->
           *raises arms---------------*gesture above table->
   san    $gaze Raili---------------$gz Andre->
   fig                           #fig.2
05        [jo +nää.
           already DEM.PL
           these already
06 SAN: → [>cês< que*rem  #+comer ↑mais* +[(algo)*+
            do you want to  eat   more (something)
   and        +............+spreads  hands+,,,,,,,,+shakes head->
   rai          --->*arms still--------*,,,,,,,,,,*
   fig                  #fig.3
07 MÁR:                                  [e:i.
                                          no
```

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Figure 2. Raili begins circular gesture above the table



Figure 3. André's rejecting gesture

```
08 MÁR:   mh kiitos.+
              thank you
   and           -->+
09         (0.4)
10 AND:   kiitos *•°kiitos°.+
          thank you thank you
   rai            *nods, stands up->>
                 -->•
   and                        +nods
11         (1.8)
12 RAI:   jo[o      mä otan (-)
          yes       I'll take (-)
13 MÁR:     [ajuda a sua mãe,
             help your mother
```

At line 1, Raili asks for permission to clear the table. She addresses her daughter, Sanna, as the spokesperson for Márcio as well as their guest, André, shifting her gaze between the three. Sanna's first brokering turn receives no response, and Raili repeats her question (line 4). Although Raili begins with 'listen', verbally addressed to Sanna, she gazes at André. André produces an embodied response to Raili as she comes to the end of her turn (line 5, Figure 3), at a moment when Sanna is just beginning her second attempt at brokering. André's rejecting response (lines 6–10) involves a multimodal gestalt (Mondada 2018) composed of talk, headshakes and a gesture above the table. The early timing of the response supports the analysis that

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he is producing the disconfirmation as a preferred response.[2] André and Márcio treat the actions by Raili and Sanna as initiating the closing of the meal: The denial of a desire to eat more provides approval to clear the table. Sanna has therefore brokered Raili's request, not by repeating it as a similar action, but by means of checking the preconditions of performing it.

Which local motives explain the change of action in the brokering? By asking for permission to clear the table, Raili indicates that the matter is contingent on the others' interests. This aspect is maintained in Sanna's brokering turn. If Sanna were to mediate Raili's action in the third person, as in "she wants to clear the table", she could be heard as requesting the others to actively contribute to the project. In the previous section, this was shown to be a characteristic use of third-person ascriptions of volition. By contrast, the way Sanna designs her turn portrays the recipients as guests who are not necessarily expected to participate in the task but to be catered to by the hosts. This means that the broker once again verbalizes the volition of the ones who benefit from the future action (giving the guests a choice between having more food or having the table cleared), instead of Raili, the one who will perform it. A participant who engages in clearing the table, even if requesting permission or asking others to pass on their plates, is at the same time offering to take on a task that the other participants could also have performed, thus benefiting them (Zinken 2016: 33). A further orientation to the division of responsibilities in the task is evident in Márcio's turn to Sanna at line 13, 'help your mother'. The case demonstrates that a major modification between an original action and the manner in which it is brokered, even a shift from one action to another, can actually function to maintain congruence between the local activity and the social relationships among the parties (Clayman & Heritage 2014).

In the following excerpt, brokering concerns a straightforward offer. We join the excerpt when Raili has just walked to the table with a coffee pot in her hand. Márcio is talking with André in Portuguese, and soon he engages in brokering Raili's offer of more coffee to André in the form of a 'do you want x' question. The overlapping, unrelated talk by Sanna that continues during the whole extract is not transcribed.

---

2. In the current Excerpt (3) (see also Excerpt (5)), the original question (line 4) can be heard either as addressed to the broker herself or as targeting a recipient through the broker. This type of ambiguity sometimes results in a sequence where the broker does not actually mediate the interaction between two parties but consults the potential targeted party in their preferred language, and then uses this information to respond to the questioner (Harjunpää 2017b, a: 204–210). However, when the broker's redoing of the question is immediately followed by direct interaction between the original questioner and the potential targeted recipient (André's gesturing to Raili at lines 5–6), this evidences that the participants orient to the broker as a mediator instead of a main recipient.

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Excerpt 4. *Kahvia* 'coffee' (Kesä_G 9:20)

```
01 MÁR:    pega essa frutinha preta aqui
           take this black berry    here
02         [(o que eu sei é que é fruta preta).
            (what I know is that it is a black berry)
03 RAI:    [(hei uus k-)
            (hey new) (-)
            >>holding coffee pot-->>
04         +(0.6)  +(0.2)+(0.3)
   and     +gz down+.....+gz Rai->
05 RAI:    ↑otatko +    kah+via.
            take.2SG.Q  coffee.PAR
            do ((you)) take coffee
   and           ->+gz down+gz Rai->
06         (0.5)
07 MÁR: →  cê +quer ma[is ca↑fé,
           2SG want more  coffee
           do you want more coffee
08 AND:               [(ah:) (.) joo. (.) joo.
                       ah       yes      yes
   and     ->+gz down
09         (0.4)
10 AND:    °kiito[s:°.
            thank you
11 RAI:          [se voi olla vähä vahvaa mut ä-  laittaa maitoa
                  it can be a bit  strong but uh- putting milk
11         niin [sä voit sanoo et (0.4) laittaa maitoo [(-)
           so    you can say   to       put milk (-)
12 MÁR:         [o:kei.                                [joo hyvä.
                                                        yes good
```

André does not immediately respond to Raili's multimodal offer of coffee at line 3, and she makes a second attempt at line 5. As she does not receive a reply, Márcio engages in brokering the offer to André in Portuguese by asking *cê quer mais ca↑fé,* 'do you want more coffee'. In the original polar question, Raili used the verb *otatko* '(do you) take', whereas Márcio uses an expression of volition (instead of the more literally corresponding expression *toma* 'take/drink'). He also adds the quantifier *mais* 'more', revealing that this is not the first round of coffee. This makes acceptance more contingent on situated appetite than would be the case on a first offer of coffee to a known coffee drinker. Beyond a simple redoing of an offer, the brokering turn therefore appears to anticipate the possibility of rejection, that is, a non-occurrence of the projected course of action. The offer would have been rather easily inferable from Raili's bodily conduct (holding the coffee pot), which might give reason for Márcio to treat the absence of André's response as indicating some other type of hesitance regarding the offer instead of a mere problem of understanding the language.

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In the last excerpt of this section (Excerpt (5)), the original action itself (line 10) involves the initiator's overt display of uncertainty concerning the recipient's interest in accepting the offer. Sanna and her father, Pentti, need to check something on the map. Pentti is holding a map of Finland, which they decide to abandon, as the World Atlas will serve their purposes better. Pentti suggests that their Brazilian guest, André, might be interested in the map he is holding, and Sanna brokers this as an offer to André.

Excerpt 5. *O mapa da Finlândia* 'map of Finland' (Kesä_E 15:02)

```
01 PEN:   joo.• .hh luulet* sä et* André haluu tätä kattoo.+
          yes   do you think that André wants to look at this
          >>gaze at map--*gz And*gz San
            ->•raises map->
   san                                          >>gaze at map+g>+at And->
02        (0.4)
03 SAN: → cê [+quer  ver:+ #a#• o mapa [da Fin↑+lândia.+
          do you want to see    the map of Finland
04 PEN:     [tä-                      [täss_on< koko<
             thi-                      this has the whole
   san       +.........+points at map--------+,,,,,,,+
                        ->•hands map twd And--->
05         •(3.3)
   pen     ->•stands up, walks to And, hands the map to him->
06 PEN:   joo ole hyvä• istu siellä• sähän näät• pa↓remmi.•
          yes please/go ahead sit there you see better
                   ->•points chair•...........•palms up--•,,->
07        (0.2)•(0.3)
   pen       ->•points at chair/window->>
08 AND:   [(ah aqui)
           (ah here)
09 PEN:   [(tos valossa)
           (there in the light)
```

Pentti asks Sanna whether she thinks that André would like to look at the map (line 1). This is the only time in the data set that the utterance to be brokered includes an expression of volition. With this tentative turn design, Pentti treats Sanna as a potential mediator through whom he targets André as a recipient and at the same time enables Sanna to engage in gate keeping by assessing André's interests and likelihood of accepting the offer (on indirect addressing, see Harjunpää 2017a: 210–221). This strategy is strikingly different from the one seen in Excerpt (1), when Antti managed to address Cíntia directly by coordinating his single-word turn with Gaia's simultaneous request to the same recipient. Later on, Pentti uses another resource, gestural illustration, to make his actions intelligible to André. When Pentti suggests André to move and sit in another chair in order to have better light for reading (lines 6–9), he iconically depicts the activity by placing his palms upwards so that they are parallel in front of his eyes at a diagonal angle, as if he were holding a book to read.

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After this type of indirect approach to the recipient (see also Excerpt (3)), the broker has the option to either respond on behalf of the targeted party or to engage in brokering, which lead to rather different outcomes. Instead of responding to the question 'do you think that André wants…', Sanna redirects the embedded question about willingness to him: *cê quer…* 'do you want…'. For Pentti, however, Sanna's engagement in brokering serves as a sign to proceed with the action. He already begins handing the map to André during the brokering turn, before any verbal response (the video recording does not show André at this moment so we cannot consider his possible embodied response).

In this brokered offer sequence, the original speaker (Pentti) and the targeted recipient (André) become portrayed as the guest and host in an activity where the guest is the beneficiary. The benefit in this case consists of gaining access to some local knowledge. In the brokering turn, Sanna again mentions the beneficiary (*cê* 'you' to André as the recipient of the offer, line 3), whereas the identity of the agent remains inferable from being the prior speaker and from holding the offered object.

The three excerpts illustrate how brokers display the transfer of an object or service as being contingent on the recipient's interest (even implying the possibility of rejection) and how these orientations may intertwine with the challenges of establishing recipiency without a (fully) shared language.

3.3 Somewhere between requests and offers

The following excerpt demonstrates the practical problem that recipients face in recognizing whether they are being invited to benefit rather passively from an action or to actively contribute to it. In the excerpt, an action is brokered as something the initiating party wants even though it constitutes an offer to transfer something to the recipient: 'he wants to *give you* X'. This case differs from the general pattern established thus far, namely, that request are brokered in 3P and offers in 2P formats addressing co-participants' volition. The analysis suggests that this format is used to characterize the action of offering as one that involves agentive costs for the recipient, shifting the benefits towards the initiator of the action.

Pentti is handing over a pot of potatoes to pass around the table. His spouse, Raili, volunteers to take the potatoes first (line 1), which Pentti teasingly rejects. Instead, he says he will pass the pot to the other side of the table, where their Brazilian guest, André, is seated. André does not seem to notice this but continues to move some drinking glasses away from the table. At line 8, Márcio brokers Pentti's action to André.

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Excerpt 6. *Perunoita* 'potatoes' (Kesä_B 25:30)

```
01 RAI:   °mä voin ottaa siitä.°=
          I can take from there ((potatoes from a pot))
   and    >>moves 1st glass->
02 PEN:   =mä panen  täältä päin: kiertään jos sopii.
          I put from here to circulate if it's okay
03 RAI:   e[i: ei se sovi.
          no it's not okay
04 PEN:    [ettet sä ota ensimmä[isenä.
          so that you don't take first
05 RAI:                         [ei se so•vi.•
                                 it's not okay
   pen                                   •...•hands pot->
06        (1.0)
07 RAI:   °se v- ǂse ei sovi°.
          it's j- not okay
   and         ->ǂreaches for 2nd glass->
08 MÁR: → ø>ele quer  ødar præø voc-ǂ cê [pegá<.øǂ
          3SG.M want.3SG give PREP 2SG   2SG take.INF
          he wants   to give to yo- for you to take
09 SAN:                                   [#tää on tosi
                                           this is really
10 AND:                                   [°oquei.°
   már    ø...........øpoints-ø,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,ø
   and                              ->ǂ,,,,,,,,,,,ǂdish twd M/A->
11 SAN:   hyvää toi- [tutkimusmateriaalia;#
          good rea- research material
12 PEN:              [tässä vois olla ølusikka
                     there could be a spoon here
   már                                ø...->
13        mut [ei oo lusikkaa] täytyy ǂottaa  +haarukalla.
          but there's not one has to take with a fork
14 MÁR:       [(-)(aqui øisso)]
               (-) (here that)
                      ->øtakes sauce dish, holds still->
   and                               ->ǂ,,,,,,,,,->
15        ǂ(5.7)
   and    ->ǂtakes two potatoes->
16 AND:   kiitos::.ǂ
          thank you
                 ->ǂ
17        (0.4)ø(0.6)
   már       ->øhands sauce dish twd Pen-->
18 PEN:   jaa•ha .mh # voit sä •antaa eteenpäin sit sinne.ǂ
          all righty   can you  pass it on      then there
           ->•moves pot twd And•holds->
   and                                                    ǂ...->
   fig               #fig.4
```

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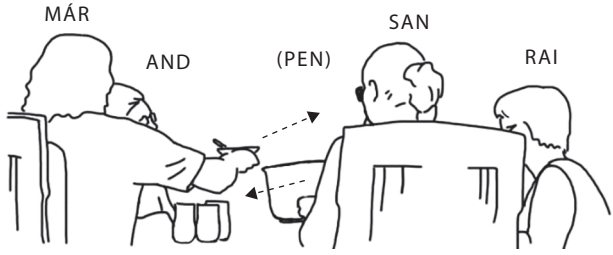


Figure 4. Márcio is handing the sauce dish to Pentti while Pentti is requesting André to pass the potato pot to Márcio

```
19          (0.2)
20 MÁR:     jo[o.
            yes
21 PEN:       [+Manulle.•
                 to Manu
   and       ->+takes pot and hands it to Már-->>
   pen            ->•...->
22          (0.2)
23 MÁR:     joo. (.) °ota(tko).°•ø
            yes      (would you) take it
   pen                        ->•takes sauce dish-->>
   már                         ->ø...->
24 RAI:     around.
25 PEN:     kiitos:,ø
            thank you
   már            ->øtakes pot from André
```

The extract unfolds through several phases of embodied action, which are only briefly described here. Pentti's initial announcement to circulate the potatoes from André's side of the table gets lost in the bantering with Raili (lines 2–7). André is not visibly attentive to this stretch of interaction but is occupied with moving some glasses on the table. He does not even react when Pentti hands the pot towards him (line 5). Passing around the pot has thus encountered an obstacle in André's ignorance of his expected contribution, which can have resulted both from his lack of understanding the Finnish conversation and from being occupied in another activity.

At line 8, Márcio engages in brokering for André, and at line 10, he finally begins to respond by abandoning his trajectory of grasping another glass. After some delay caused by moving a sauce dish (lines 10–14), André engages in taking potatoes from the pot while Pentti holds it for him. Márcio then prepares to take the potatoes next. In order to free his hands, he holds out the sauce dish for Pentti to take it (lines 17–23, Figure 4). However, in order to exchange the potatoes and sauce dish, they need André's assistance. He needs to take the pot from Pentti's hands and then pass it to Márcio. At lines 18 and 21, Pentti explicitly asks André to

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do that. The events reveal that André has not understood exactly how he is expected to contribute to the situation, which may relate to ambiguities in the brokering.

Márcio's brokering turn *ele quer dar pra voc- cê pegá<*. 'he wants to give to yo- for you to take' contains characteristics of conveying both a request and an offer. On the one hand, the format '[3P] wants X' is associated with pursuing unfulfilled compliance from the recipient as an agent, as discussed earlier. On the other hand, the complement *dar* 'to give' suggests that the recipient will receive some benefits. The turn-final *pra voc- cê pegá<*. 'to yo- for you to take' again indicates that some action is expected of André. What he should "take" is not made explicit, which leaves it up to inference as to whether he should only take out some potatoes or take hold of the whole pot. André orients to the former option, an offer to serve himself with food. Pentti's later request for André to pass on the pot (line 18) explicates the relevance of a more active contribution. This model of self-serving potatoes is subsequently confirmed by Márcio, who takes hold of the whole pot (line 25).

In this instance of brokering, volition is ascribed to a party (Pentti) who is not the immediate beneficiary of the action but who initiated the larger project that becomes advanced by the brokering. The weight of costs and benefits between the involved parties becomes more evenly distributed than in the previous cases, because in addition to taking potatoes and putting them on their plates, each participant needs to contribute by passing on the pot. The combination of costs and benefits involved in the larger project is knit into Márcio's brokering turn, where *giving* becomes portrayed as a two-way act. That is, by conveying what the prior speaker wants instead of merely checking the recipient's acceptance (which occurred when offering coffee and showing the map in Excerpts 4 and 5) the broker portrays the trajectory of action as one that also involves agentive costs for the receiver of the transferred object.

The last excerpt to be examined demonstrates that the costs in receiving something can also be treated as undesirable. The original action conveys an offer, which is then brokered as the prior speaker wanting to give something to the targeted recipient. Using this format again makes visible the costs for the receiving party. At the beginning of the excerpt (lines 1–2), Raili recalls her idea to donate a book series on art to her Brazilian son-in-law, Márcio. Sanna (Raili's daughter), engages in brokering this action to her spouse in Portuguese. At the same time, Sanna expresses her reluctance towards the idea.

Excerpt 7. *Livros* 'books' (Kesä_E 15:33)

```
01 RAI:   ai ↑niin se on se yks kirjasarja mitä
          oh there's the one book series that
02        mä oon ajatellu Manulle .hh mut et;
          I have thought for Márcio   but so
03 MÁR:   #mm#
```

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```
04 SAN:   niin se ma↓ailmantaide,
          ((you mean)) the world art
05 RAI:   nii.
          yes
06 SAN: → cê  tem que ver:: a< porque te[m um <monte> de livros
          you have to see     because there's a pile of books
07 RAI:                                  [haluatsä kattoo.
                                          do you want to look
08 SAN:   sobre a arte que ela quer te #dar#.
          about art   that she wants to give to you
09 MÁR:   mm.
10 SAN:   e eu tô falando (pra ela que)(-) não (-) cê tem que
          and I'm saying (to her that)(-) not (-) you have to
11        ver se você quer (.) e: espaço a gente ↑não tem.
          see if you want      and space we      don't have
12 MÁR:   não mas deve ter alguma coisa interessante eu quero
          no but there must be something interesting  I want
13        alguma [coisa sobre a arte finlandesa.
          something     on    Finnish art
14 RAI:          [mut ku teil täytys ollak kunnon kirjahylly
                  but you     should have  a proper bookshelf
15        [ennen ku,
          before
16 MÁR:   [nii mä- mutta mä< mä haluaisin niinku jotain
          yes I-  but I< I would like to have like something
17        suomalainen [taide.
          Finnish art
18 RAI:               [joo. (0.4) kato mä näytän sul[le sitä,
                       yes        look I'll show it to you
19 MÁR:                                            [joo.
                                                    yes
```

Sanna begins her brokering turn (line 6) by saying *cê tem que ver::* 'you have to see', which already indicates that the decision to accept Raili's offer will require consideration. The mediation of the actual offer is therefore embedded in her own "recommendation." Sanna's formulation of the quantity, *um monte* 'a pile' (lit. 'a mountain') of books, alludes to her reasons for rejecting the offer (line 11): They do not have space for the books at home. Sanna brokers Raili's offer as her desire, while expressing that it would require active effort from Márcio's part to accept the goods being offered. Sanna also ostensibly objects to accepting them. Although Raili will be giving Márcio something, the distribution of costs shifts towards him. Donating articles from their house to the younger generation might be more of a relief to the parents than a loss. Verbalizing the desire of the offering party again emphasizes the costly, agentive consequences for the recipient.

In the last two extracts, both the initiator of the action and its recipient are verbally designated for the action of "giving." The actions brokered in this manner involve concrete agentive costs and benefits for both parties. The cases demonstrate that receiving can be agentive and costly, and that language brokers are sensitive to these features in designing the brokered version of a prior action. When brokering

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a prior action, the speaker treats it as a particular type of action, thus engaging in (explicit) action ascription. The ascription concerns not only the type of the prior action (e.g. offer, request) but who (in which agentive role), has done what to whom, under what conditions, and in which way (Deppermann & Haugh forthcoming).

The analysis aligns with the insights reported in earlier research (Couper-Kuhlen 2014) concerning how participants can make subtle differences in the division of labor in directive-commissive actions. The use of certain linguistic formats can deliver cues towards what action is being implemented as well as allow the participants to maneuver these actions. Language brokers can formulate volition in the third person to maneuver certain types of offers: While *ela/ele quer* 'she/he wants' is more clearly associated with brokering requests, where the speaker benefits from the recipient's action, using the format (in combination with the expression *dar* 'to give') to mediate an offer can convey that the one receiving benefits will also encounter some costs and that the one who offers may also derive some benefit. The use of this format can therefore display the broker's subtle distinctions in the interpretation of the prior action, as well as a stance towards its viability.

4. Concluding remarks

In language brokering requests and offers, third person formulations and second person questions regarding co-participants' volition demonstrate the brokers' online analysis of the distribution of benefits and costs in performing the future action. The present analysis suggests that there is a tendency for brokers to *address the volition of the party who will be the beneficiary of the future action*. In this way, the brokers display the future action of transferring objects or services as being contingent on that party's interest. By making reference to volition, the brokers appear to orient to a delay in accomplishing the action, a complication in its realization, or display their stance towards it – all in some way alluding to its possible non-occurrence.

In the examined cases of language brokering, the distribution of benefits and agency follows the general tendencies of requests and offers as they have been reported in prior research (see Section 2). The format *ela/ele quer X* 'she/he wants (to) X' in brokering prior action is associated with treating the initiator of that action as the beneficiary, thus expectedly observed in brokering requests. The formulation of the prior speaker's desire towards an action or object compels the recipient to contribute to accomplishing it. By contrast, the format *(vo)cê quer X* 'do you want (to) X' in brokering prior action is associated with treating the recipient as the beneficiary of the future action, and is therefore found in brokering offers. By means of the question, the recipient is displayed as having the deontic right to decide on the course of action. A confirming response enables the initiating party to pursue the

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action, while its performance is displayed as depending on the recipient's consent and interest. However, the cases examined for both categories also demonstrate how language brokers recalibrate these roles according to local circumstances, for instance, how they transform proposals for joint action into individual requests, maintain guest and host relationships or indicate agentive costs in receiving an offer.

Even in cases that fall somewhere between requests and offers, the brokers tend to verbalize the beneficiary's volition. In the two analyzed excerpts, the format 'she/he wants (to) X' (*ela/ele quer X*) includes the verb 'to give' (*dar*). These turns emphasize the active contribution by the recipient, which benefits the initiator of the action. The analysis thereby demonstrates how language brokers recalibrate the ongoing action and social roles by the way they mediate the prior action. The categories of "request" and "offer" are at times insufficient to capture what is actually mediated, making it necessary to delve into the more subtle distinctions that participants make with their available resources, including the linguistic design of their utterances (Couper-Kuhlen 2014; Deppermann & Haugh forthcoming; Levinson 2013).

The present analysis demonstrates that the brokering of requests and offers involves a recalibration of the social roles of the involved parties as agents and beneficiaries of the future action. The analysis also illustrates how the participants in these sequences manage parallel embodied involvements and the recipient's (in)attention or (un)availability to interact, which may result (or not) from the asymmetric language constellation. In all extracts, the relationship of hosts and visitors, and our socio-culturally based expectations of what these roles entail, are relevant in understanding the organization of brokering.

The claim is not that all offers and requests would be brokered as they are observed here. Rather, the verbalization of wanting appears to be associated with particular types of circumstances. In all the examined cases, it is possible to view the obstacle to the unfolding of the sequence as a language-related issue, but in addition, the participants display orientations to other situated contingencies in the progression of the sequence. In verbalizing volition, the brokers are not conveying that the action they broker will not take place (as in the counter-factual implicative of the first verbs, Section 2) but they are alluding to the alternative of non-compliance or rejection. In doing so, the language brokers are dealing with something beyond language asymmetry. In some instances, this orientation is anticipatory, such as when the requester accounts for the action or the broker provides reasons not to accept the offer. In other instances, the brokering sequence is driven by a non-occurrence retrospectively. This was the case when Márcio engaged in brokering after André had failed to notice that a pot was handed to him and the whole activity of serving food was therefore suspended. Orientations to non-occurrence

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can thus already be involved in the prior speaker's action or only in the broker's turn, potentially carrying their stances towards it.

The broker's orientation to the co-participants' volition regarding a future action is responsive to how the trajectory of this action unfolds. The broker's utterance involving an expression of volition conveys their interpretation of the action and of the mutual positioning of the two other parties with regard to the emerging course of events, demonstrating the interactional and intersubjective facet of an individual's volition.

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Appendix 1. Multimodal transcription conventions

Transcription conventions based on the system of Mondada (e.g. 2018).

The symbols used for individual participants:
gaze +, other embodied conduct ‡
gaze *, other embodied conduct •
gaze %, other embodied conduct ø

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PART II

Moving towards shared understanding

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Decision-making in salesperson–customer interaction

Establishing a common ground for obtaining commitment

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Decisions are often made in a two-part sequence, consisting of a proposal by one party and an aligning response from others. While this sequence is well established, less is known about the preparatory work that may precede it. This chapter studies decision-making in the context of complex service selling. It demonstrates that and how salespeople and a prospective customer collaboratively and incrementally establish a decision over a multi-sequence course of action, in which a sequence implements a stage and the next sequence implements a next step or outcome of the prior stage. Thus, the chapter sheds light on how the groundwork for a proposal is laid. The conversation analytic study is based on 17 video-recorded business-to-business sales meetings in Finland.

Keywords: decision-making, business meetings, customer interaction, sales encounters, business-to-business marketing, conversation analysis, institutional interaction, Finnish

1. Introduction

In business-to-business sales interactions, when a salesperson meets with a prospective customer for the first time, his/her goal is obtaining the customer's commitment to taking steps that will move the process closer to a business collaboration decision. With complex industrial service sales, the process will never be closed in one meeting. Advancement can be realised in a customer's promise to meet the salesperson again on a set date or try the service. While the ultimate goal is a sale, there are interim goals requiring the customer's incremental commitment. Yet little is known about these incremental steps and how they prepare the buyer for the final sale.

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In this chapter, we study the circumstances in which the step forward is likely to occur. Drawing on video-recorded initial sales negotiations, we show that the customer's incremental commitment is best achieved when a salesperson and customer find a common ground and inter-subjective understanding on the customer's current situation, moving toward the decision in a stepwise manner. For example, typical to our data, a salesperson first proposes an advance, the customer turns it down, the salesperson starts to work for an adjusted second proposal, and finally, next steps in business collaboration are agreed on. We infer that obtaining customer commitment is less about the salesperson's persuasive skills, as emphasised in the traditional transactional selling paradigm, and has more to do with collaborative negotiation regarding shared interest.

2. Decision-making in business-to-business selling

Early research in the business literature delineated a process approach to selling with a final step called "closing" (Dubinsky 1981), that is, how the salesperson secures the customer's agreement to a deal. Despite huge popularity in the business literature and sales training courses, there is an almost total lack of academic research on this topic. The literature has touched on aspects of closing; for example, Hawes, Strong and Winick (1996) explore how customers perceive specific sales techniques for closing and show a detriment on the establishment of trust. Pettijohn et al. (2000) show that being more adaptive to customers increases the likelihood of closing the sale. Even literature on customer decision making falls short, focussing predominantly either on consumer goods without a salesperson or ethical decision making. Recent theory and literature on selling and obtaining customer commitment has proposed the co-creative nature of selling and how commitment may develop (e.g. Dixon & Adamson 2011; Dixon & Tanner 2012), but such concepts have not been empirically tested in terms of obtaining the customer's commitment to advancing the sale in a stepwise fashion. With minimal research on closing, there is no empirical work at all on how closing can be achieved from the buyer or the salesperson perspective. No closing studies have considered data from a dyadic perspective.

Whilst the sales literature has not provided much insight on obtaining the customer's commitment, conversation analysis (CA) has increasingly been applied to examine the details of business-to-business (henceforth B2B) sales interaction. Such research analysis has included the use of humour and laughter (Mulkay, Clark & Pinch 1993), rapport building (Clark, Drew & Pinch 2003; Kaski, Niemi & Pullins 2018) and customer-initiated price negotiation (Niemi & Hirvonen 2019) in salesperson–customer interaction. Most central to our interest, Huma, Stokoe

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and Sikveland (2018) study "cold" calls in which the salesperson's goal is booking an appointment with a prospective customer. In these time-limited calls, salespeople do not immediately ask to make an appointment; they use pre-expansions to entice customers to support the unfolding project and promote alignment with the ensuing proposal for a meeting. Furthermore, salespeople often design their appointment solicitations to address the customers' likely contingencies (e.g. time and availability), thereby pre-empting potential reasons for customers rejecting the appointment.

Beyond the research on B2B interaction, CA studies from different workplace contexts offer insights into negotiation and decision making, centring on the sequential analysis of decision making and formulations as a tool in decision making. Maynard (1984) studies pretrial negotiations between the defence and prosecution in misdemeanour criminal justice. For each case, the defence and prosecutors decide on an outcome. The participants generally employ a bargaining sequence consisting of two turns. In the first, a party makes a position visible by reporting on a preference or offering a proposal; in the second turn, the other party exhibits alignment or non-alignment with that position (Maynard 1984: 171). A decision is achieved when the parties align with the same position.

Continuing the sequential analysis on decision making, Huisman (2001) illustrates that we cannot attribute decisions to a specific utterance in meeting talk, but we can locate the emergence of decisions in the sequential organisation of turn-by-turn interaction. In brief, a decision-making process involves the relevant participants formulating and assessing a state of affairs. Thus, a decision is a positively assessed formulation of a future situation, event or action (see Wasson 2000; Stevanovic 2012).

Another line of CA research on decision making focuses on the use of formulations (Heritage & Watson 1979) as a tool for establishing decisions. Barnes (2007) analyses how chairpersons' formulations that gloss the preceding talk provide an entry into a decision and topic transition. The chair's pre-closing formulations help establish and preserve a shared understanding in meetings talk. In Clifton's (2009) study, the subordinates in organizational management meetings orient to the chair's formulations as a decision. Furthermore, the subordinates can influence the decision-making process by seeking the chair's alignment with their own proposed solution.

In summary, CA research has established the basic decision-making sequence and demonstrated how formulations can be used as a tool in establishing decisions. However, less attention has been paid to how the groundwork for a proposal is laid (cf. Huma, Stokoe & Sikveland 2018). Maynard (1984) notes that bargaining sequences are locally occasioned in turn-by-turn talk. That is, an initial bargaining sequence must be preceded by "relevant discussion", or a solicitation (e.g. *Is there*

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an offer in that case?) or announcement (*I'll propose a deal to you*) must allow such discussion to happen (Maynard 1984: 85–88). Besides that, we are not aware of research on building the ground for a proposal. In B2B sales interactions, the local occasioning and preparation of a business proposal is an important task for the salesperson. As we demonstrate, customers reject business proposals which occur too early, before the appropriate series of incremental commitments have been achieved. A salesperson needs to achieve the customer's alignment with actions that prepare for an eventual business proposal.

3. Data

The data for this study are drawn from a corpus of 17 video-recorded, face-to-face business meetings occurring between representatives of different organisations in Finland. These organisations represent multiple industries and services, with sizes varying from small to global companies. All the meetings include new potential customers. Thus, the organisations do not have business collaboration and are not currently collaborating in the business area they are now discussing.

To illustrate our results, we draw on a single meeting from our corpus. This enables us to better demonstrate how obtaining the customer's commitment is a stepwise process via a qualitative analysis. Our data show that, to achieve an intersubjective understanding, the salesperson and customer should first build a mutual understanding of the customer's needs, then establish a detailed understanding of the fit between the salesperson's service and customer needs. Next, they need to determine a clear, but not too risky, way of advancing the collaboration. This helps ensure that, when the salesperson eventually makes a business proposal, the customer has little room for turning it down; the proposal is a result of collaborative discussion and aligned with customer need.

4. The stepwise construction of customer's commitment

In this section, we focus on a business meeting between a company that offers human resources and staffing services (STAFF) and a company that is a major player in the Finnish trade business (TRADE). In the meeting, there are two representatives of STAFF and one representative of TRADE (Picture 1).

Over the years, STAFF and TRADE have often discussed different types of collaboration. In fact, the two companies already collaborate in the TRADE storage and logistics services, and now they are discussing potential collaboration in TRADE outlets. However, TRADE has a staffing contract for its outlets with a

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Picture 1. Salespeople (SP1 and SP2) on the left, and customer on the other side of the table

competitor of STAFF. The STAFF representatives have explained that there are differences between the competitor and STAFF, in that the competitor is more experienced in restaurant staff services, whereas STAFF is an expert in, for example, logistics and construction. This is important, since the customer is mainly looking for help with temporary staff involved in physical work with goods.

In the meeting we concentrate on, we find the following seven steps in the establishment of customer commitment: (1) the customer need is determined, (2) the salesperson's service is discussed as a potential solution, (3) the salesperson proposes a business collaboration, (4) the customer expresses a personal interest but brings forward the company restrictions, (5) a plan for the customer organisation's internal discussions is collaboratively laid out, (6) an advance in business collaboration is explicated, and (7) a date for a new meeting is set. Next, we discuss these steps in more detail by analysing excerpts (Excerpts 1–6) from the meeting between STAFF and TRADE.

4.1 Determining the customer need and a potential solution

At the beginning of an initial meeting, a salesperson (or two) represents the organisation to the customer, and customer need is determined. Next, the salespeople work to establish the customer's interest in the service. In our data, one resource that salespeople recurrently use in this task is invoking shared knowledge. Prior to the excerpt below (Excerpt (1)), representatives of STAFF (SP1 and SP2 in the transcript) have informed the customer (CUS in the transcript) about the details of collaboration between STAFF and a subsidiary company of TRADE (storing and logistics), and the customer then introduced his current concerns. The customer

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explained that, despite their contract with another human resources company, they are constantly in need of physical staff that can work effectively with goods. Currently, the same people who do customer service in the outlets also work with goods, and they have complained of this burden. Furthermore, the customer has stated that the inevitable seasonal changes in the amount of goods coming in do not affect the number of staff in the outlets. Excerpt (1) begins when the customer summarises an extended stretch of need description by stating that the lack of flexibility in staff is ineffective. In the excerpt, target lines are highlighted in grey colour.

Excerpt 1. STAFF_TRADE (44:26–44:46 of total 1:28:07).

```
01  CUS:   et kyl meil[lä niinku, .hhh
           so we surely have
02  SP2:               [kyllä,
                        yes
03  CUS:   niinku tehokkuuspotenttiaalii (.) on paljon.
           a lot of potential for ((improvement in))
           effectivity
04  SP2:   mm,
05  CUS:   paljo siinä et et ku löydetää vaa semmoset keinot.
           a lot there so if we only find means for it
06         (1.2)
07  SP2:  .mt tää on se missä niinku me (.) voitas i[ha
              this is where we              could absolutely
08  CUS:                                              [mh.
09  SP2:   ehdotto[masti auttaa meinaan nythän tällä hetkel ku
           help you             I mean as we are at the moment
10  CUS:          [mh.
11  SP2:   me=ollaa siellä varastopuolella.
           there in storing
12  SP2:   siis ne varaston sesongit[han menee
           I mean the seasons for storage go
13  CUS:                             [mh.
14  SP2:   ai[van yks yh[teen [niinku [teiän[seson[kien
           one-to-one with your seasons
15  CUS:     [mm.       [joo. [joo.   [joo. [joo. [joo.
                         yes   yes     yes   yes   yes
16  SP2:   kanssa. .hh[h ni me] niinku, (.) autetaa jo siinä
           so we already help you in the
17  SP1:               [°mm::°.]
18  SP2:   jous[tossa.
           flexibility
20  CUS:       [mm.
```

When summarising the ineffective current practice (lines 1 and 3), CUS implies the potential need for the kind of service that STAFF offers. He then describes a contingency – the need to find suitable means (line 5). After a gap of 1.2 seconds, during which CUS gazes at SP2, SP2 responds by stating that STAFF (*me*, 'we', at line 7) could help. As an account for her claim, SP2 refers to shared knowledge (see the enclitic particle *-hAn* in *nythän* 'now' and *sesongithan* 'seasons', lines 9 and 12;

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VISK § 830), the collaboration that STAFF and TRADE already have. That is, SP2 invokes shared knowledge for establishing mutual understanding of how STAFF could help TRADE. The customer's repeated acknowledgements (line 15) display his understanding and familiarity with the topic.

Although SP2 does not design her claim of STAFF's ability to help TRADE as a business proposal – it does not explicitly express a desire to initiate collaboration (e.g. *we could start by* in one of the business proposals in our data) – it can be understood as such. Indeed, a little later, CUS responds as if it were a business proposal and explains that the existing contract with another human resources company makes it harder to start collaborating (data not shown). Then, CUS repeats that he sees the potential for collaboration but explains that they should build a better understanding about the need in TRADE. Furthermore, CUS acknowledges that TRADE must establish more staff flexibility to address the staff changes due to seasonality.

SP1 interprets the display of customer interest/need as a chance to propose a business collaboration. He first displays an understanding of the need to adjust the staff number seasonally, then moves to his proposal. However, as Excerpt (2) demonstrates, SP2 comes in right after SP1's proposal and asks about a different matter. By doing this, SP2 makes an answer, instead of an alignment or non-alignment with SP1's proposal, a conditionally relevant next action from the customer. This can be seen as evidence that SP2 regards this as too early to propose collaboration.

Excerpt 2. STAFF_TRADE (48:22–48:53 of total 1:28:07).

```
01  SP1:   et jos vaan, (0.2) jos vaan jostain
           so if only         if only we
02         löy[detää        ]  [ja,
           find                  and
03  CUS:      [(°maistuus°).]
           do you want ((offers water to SP2))
04  SP2:                      [°>ei kiitos<°.
           no thank you
05         (0.6)
06  SP1:   ja ja, (0.4) ehkä niinku,
           and and      maybe um
07         (2.8)
08  SP1:   jostain, (.) jostain [↑pilotista ↑lähtee,
           start        with a pilot
09  CUS:                        [krhm
10         (0.6)
11  CUS:   mm.=
12  SP1:   =lähtee, (.) rakentaa sitä ja, (0.2) kattoo se et
             start       to build it and          see
13         mite se lähtee, (0.8) sitte, (0.6)
           how it goes           then
14         hyvi onnistuessa ni levittää sitä, (.) muuallekki.
           if it is successful   spread it      also elsewhere
```

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```
15  SP2:   .hh ooks sä muuten käyny tuola: >tota ni<, (.)
             have you by the way visited the    um
16         Sipoon lokistiikkakeskuksessa ni. (.) ni,
           Sipoo logistics centre
17  CUS:   £o:[:n£.
           I have
18  SP2:      [£tutustumas[sa näihin niinku eri toimin]toihi£
           getting to know the different functions
19         £ja£,
           and
20  CUS:                  [£oon montah monta<£, KRHmh ]
           I have many
21         (0.2)
22  CUS:   oon montaki kertaa [että et ni-.
           I have many times so that
23  SP2:                      [nähny meiän porukoita siel[lä
                               you have seen our staff there
24  CUS:                                                  [joo.
                                                           yes
25  SP2:   ja.=
           and
```

SP1 proposes a pilot (lines 6 and 8), but CUS does not respond immediately. There follows a gap of 0.6 seconds (line 10), after which, CUS acknowledges SP1's proposal with a minimal response *mm* (line 11) but does not evaluate it, implying that there are problems related to the proposal (cf. *nii* as a response to a directive; Sorjonen 2001). Furthermore, while SP1 is producing his proposal, CUS acts as a temporary host and offers to fill up the water glasses. We argue that this embodied action serves as an index of CUS's understanding that this meeting is not in its concluding phase, but rather, around midway through. Therefore, SP1's proposal of a concrete advancement in the business collaboration is too early.

After CUS's acknowledgement, SP1 elaborates on his proposal (lines 12–14), thereby offering another slot for CUS's evaluative response. However, aligning with the customer, SP2 suggests that the time is not right for decision making, as she now comes in with a rather intrusive question, accompanied with a misplacement marker *muuten*, 'by the way' (line 15; Schegloff & Sacks 1973).

This question blocks SP1's ill-timed business proposal and changes the customer's response relevancy. That is, SP2's question at least momentarily overtakes the response relevancy from SP1's business proposal, and the customer indeed responds to SP2's question instead of SP1's proposal (see lines 17, 20 and 22).[1] While it is possible that the business proposal would not be returned to by CUS,

1. CUS produces his response with a smiling voice (lines 17 and 20). While it may be that CUS finds SP2's question "funny", we argue that it is more likely that this voice quality indicates CUS's understanding that SP2 interfered with SP1's question and aimed to block an ill-timed business proposal.

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he nevertheless does return to it, as Excerpt (3) demonstrates. In it, the customer brings forward contingencies related to accepting SP1's proposal.

Excerpt 3. STAFF_TRADE ((49:24–49:54 of total 1:28:07)).

```
01  CUS:   °kyllä°, .hhh kyl siellä kun, (0.4) paljo on tullu
            yes          I have             been there
02         pyörittyä mutta, .h[hhh mut tota ihan siis nään,
            a lot but               but um I mean I see
03  SP2:                      [joo,
                               yes
04  CUS:   (.) nään itse kans niinkun ihan, mhhhh ihan, (1.0)
            I personally see as well like
05         todella<todella semmone yhteistyö niinku, (0.8)
            really really that kind of collaboration
06         tässä olis niinku (0.4) paljonki mahdollisuuksia
            we would have           lots of possibilities here
07          ja, (.) me oltas niinku (0.2) pitäs vaan
            and     we would beone should only
08          tavallaa puhua niinku meilläkin sitä että et
            discuss it within our organisation as well
09          [tietysti ite ei ni- voi, .hhh ei voi päättää
            because  I can't              I can't decide
10  SP2:    [mm,
11  CUS:    suoraa et meil on ↑sopimukset niinku näis[tä
            directly because we have contracts on it
12  SP1:                                            [mm,
13  CUS:    ja to[ta nyt hh pitää vaa niinku miettiä nyt et
            and now we need to like think about it
14  SP2:         [mm,
15  CUS:    millä tavalla tätä asiaa niinku lähtee sit niinku
            how one should begin
16          kauppaamaan sitte niinku.
            to sell this then
17         (0.4)
18  SP2:    nii.
            yes
19         (0.4)
20  SP2:   [teillä eteenpäi.]
            forward in your organisation
21  CUS:   [.khhhh °s'ten°  ] meillä eteenpäin
                             forward in our organisation
```

First, CUS explicates his personal interest in collaborating with STAFF, marking his opinion as aligned with that of the salespeople (*nään itse kans*, 'I personally see as well', line 4). As CUS goes on to express his contingencies (lines 7–16), SP2 completes the utterance that CUS is producing (line 20), and thereby displays that she understands CUS's situation (for collaboratively constructed utterances in interaction, see Lerner 1996, 2004, and Helasvuo 2004). CUS then accepts SP2's completion (line 21).

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In this section, we have demonstrated that, after the customer's need is determined, salespeople may invoke shared knowledge as a resource in building a mutual understanding of how the participants could do business together (Excerpt (1)). However, our data also reveal that the initial building blocks of mutual understanding are not sufficient, and how a relatively early business proposal may be treated as premature by both a customer and colleague salesperson (Excerpt (2)), requiring further discussion on how to make progress (Excerpt (3)). This implies the need for stepwise and collaborative establishment of a more detailed mutual understanding, as analysed in the next section.

4.2 Collaborative achievement of an advancement in the business relationship

This section demonstrates how the customer's commitment to an advancement (agreement to meet again after inter-organisational discussions) is collaboratively achieved in a multi-sequence course of action. In this action trajectory, successive sequences are linked so that a sequence establishes an agreement on a minor issue and the preconditions for a bigger scale agreement (or ultimately, a joint decision) in the next sequence.

Importantly, in Excerpt (3), CUS clearly expresses his personal interest in collaboration with STAFF. This provides a new resource for the salespeople, as displayed in Excerpt (4). Here, SP2 has just explained that she now wants to think about ways in which 'we could make progress'; the first-person plural pronoun 'we' creates a collective that includes the customer in the same team with the salespeople (on *we* as a resource in institutional interaction, see Drew & Heritage 1992). Below, SP2 continues from this point. Our attention should be on three actions that pave the way for customer commitment: First, SP2 asks about CUS's personal feeling on the chance of collaboration (lines 1–14); second, she asks if she and SP1 could help CUS with approaching his company internally (lines 45–49); and third, she offers to provide CUS with relevant information (lines 61–64). In line 50, the pseudonym EXOT refers to the collaboration that STAFF and TRADE already have in storage and logistics.

Excerpt 4. STAFF_TRADE (1:01:57–1:03:36 of total 1:28:07)

```
01  SP2:    mut mimmonen, (.) tuntuma sulla niinku on: on että
             but what kind of    feeling do you have
02           me ollaan aika< aika monesti nyt törmätty; (0.2)
             we have quite often collided
03           .hh törmätty niinku siihe että me ei päästä
             collided with the fact that we don't get to
04           ideoimaan.
             discuss ideas
```

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05 CUS: **mm.**
06 SP2: **niinku teiän kanssa asioita ja, (.) ja tullu niinku**
with you and and basically
07 **oikestaa just sopimuksen takia ni on tullu seinää**
because of your contract we have hit a wall
08 **vastaan siinä ni .hhh niinku näin pitkälle**
we have not been this far
09 **ei olla päästy,**
before
10 CUS: **mm.=**
11 SP2: **=keskusteluissa aikasemmin ni, (.) mimmone, (.)**
in our discussions so what kind of
12 **mimmone fiilis sulla on että. .hhh että (0.8)**
feeling do you have
13 **tyssääkö meillä näihin sopimusteknisiin asioihin**
will we get stuck in these contract technical
14 **nää vai [#m- m- m-#,**
things or
15 CUS: **[.mhhh .mth HHh no ehh mhhh**
well
16 **(0.8)**
17 SP2: **lö[ytyiskö sieltä joku;]**
could we find some
18 CUS: **[.mts mä uskosi- tietys]ti haaste< haastehan se**
I would believe of course it is a challenge
19 **on ja <tota> [mut ehkä meidä pitäs löytää tavallaa**
and um but maybe we should find like
20 SP2: **[mm.**
21 CUS: **semmoset hyvät perustelut tavallaa sil[le.**
good grounds for it
22 SP2: **[nii.**
yes
((22 lines omitted))
45 SP2: **onko jotain semmost tietoo mitä me niinku voitas,**
is there some information that we could
46 **(.) toimittaa sulle nytte mikä auttais sua, (.) sua**
provide to you that would help you help
47 **[tota ni?**
you
48 CUS: **[.mts .hhh**
49 SP2: **siinä [työssä.**
in that work
50 CUS: **[no ↑tietysti toi, mHHh EXOTin; (.) EXOTin**
well of course the EXOT EXOT
51 **kautta niinku kuvio niinku sillä tavalla niinku**
collaboration is like interesting
52 **kiinnostaa vielä niinku avata aika paljo että,**
to open up
53 **krhmh et minkälaista niinku .hhh KRHh Krhmh**
that what kind of
54 **henkilö- henkilöprofiilia vielä niinku vaikka tässä**
personnel profile even though
55 **ollaan keskusteltu siitä että.**
we have discussed about it here

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```
56  SP2:     mhm;
57           (0.4)
58  CUS:     .mts et sielä o oltu ja, .hhh tavallaa et et mitäh;
              so that they have been there and     like what
59           (0.4) mitä he ovat <tehneet> siellä niinku.
              what have they done there
60  SP1:     .nff[f
61  SP2:         [me voitas [se: siitä tehä sem[monen tota ni
                  we could draft a summary about it
62  SP1:                    [jos-
63  CUS:                    [(--)              [nii.
                                                yes
64  SP2:     yhteenveto sul [le.
              to you
65  CUS:                    [↑mä voisi ottaa iha mielelläni.
                             I would gladly have it
```

In line 13, SP2 uses the first-person plural pronoun 'we' to express the idea of a collective that includes both the salespeople and customer. She implies that this collective has a shared interest and common understanding of the benefits of collaboration, but this interest may be in contrast with the current solution in TRADE's staffing services. The question *tyssääkö meillä*, 'will we get stuck' (line 13) invokes shared knowledge of earlier, failed attempts at collaboration between STAFF and TRADE and implies that the participants have already reached a new step in collaboration (see also *näin pitkälle ei olla päästy keskusteluissa aikasemmin* 'we have not been this far before in our discussions', lines 8–9 and 11), but this progress is in danger of being lost. The candidate proposition (Heritage & Raymond 2012) in this question is designed as a dispreferred option by lexical choice (*tyssääkö* 'get stuck', the bureaucratic description *näihin sopimusteknisiin asioihin* 'these contract technical things', line 13), and the turn-final disjunctive conjunction *vai* 'or' (line 14), projecting a preferred second option (cf. Drake 2015; Llewellyn 2015; Huma, Stokoe & Sikveland 2018).

CUS initiates his response while SP2 has yet to formulate the second part of her alternative question. The turn-initial particle *no* 'well' (line 15) implies a non-straightforward response to come (Sorjonen & Vepsäläinen 2016). Then, overlapping with SP2's completion of the alternative question (*löytyiskö sieltä joku* 'could we find some [solution]', line 17), CUS initiates a positive evaluation (line 18), and sketches a way of progressing. In this plan, CUS repeats the pronoun 'we' (line 19), aligning with the idea that there is indeed a shared understanding of the benefits of collaboration and a collective. After some further discussion of the plan (data not shown), SP2 comes in with a polar (yes/no) question that is tilted to an affirmative answer by the use of *jotain* 'some' (*onko jotain semmost tietoo mitä me niinku voitas toimittaa sulle* 'is there some information that we could provide to you', lines 45–46; Heritage et al. 2007). Indeed, CUS provides an affirmative answer (lines

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50–55 and 58–59), and SP2 offers to provide a summary (lines 61–64), explicitly marking CUS as the beneficiary (*sulle*, 'to you', line 64; cf. Niemi & Hirvonen 2019). Altogether, the participants collaboratively proceed from a problem recognition to a possible problem resolution, and SP2's initiative actions (lines 13–14, 45–47, and 61–64) pave the way for it.

The participants have now reached a possible way of moving forward, but this is insufficient for the salespeople, who must still establish a concrete advancement towards a deal. Next, we demonstrate how this is achieved in sequences that continue the course of action initiated previously (Excerpt (4)). Shortly after the prior excerpt, SP1 says that he believes STAFF can bring true additional value to TRADE, especially as service personnel and personnel working with goods in TRADE outlets become more specialised. CUS then explains that there is still some way to go to reach that point, but it is the direction in which they are heading. In Excerpt (5), he continues in this vein.

Excerpt 5. STAFF_TRADE (1:07:47–1:08:37 of total 1:28:07)

```
01  CUS:   mut tota: (0.6) on: oon itse niinku (.) kyllä sillä
           but um              I am personally like
02         tavalla niinku kyllä innoissani tästä että,
           excited about this so that
03  SP2:   nii,
           yes
04        (1.0)
05  SP2:   mut<=
           but
06  CUS:   =et olis, (0.2) °potentiaaliah°.
           there would be    potential
07         (0.4)
08  SP2:   voidaanko me edetä nii että me tehään ääh tästä
           can we proceed so that we draft a summary about the
09         EXOT yhteis[työstä; (0.2) sulle semmonen tota ni,
           EXOT collaboration to you so
10  CUS:              [mh.
11  SP2:   (.) koo[ste? (.) mitä ollaan tehty minkä profiilin
                   what have we done what profile
12  CUS:          [joo.
                   yes
13  SP2:   tekijöit meil siel o ollu ja missä: missä
           workers have we had there and in what
14         työ[tehtävissä ja .hhhh ja tota ni ihan ihan, (.)
           tasks and and um
15  SP1:      [mm?
16  SP2:   nää, (.) yleiset, (.) perusjutut siitä ja, .hhh ja
           these general basic things about it             and
17         tota ni, #ym: : :# teil on:: omat sisäset
           um               you will have your own internal
18         keskustelu[t, aiheesta ja; .hhh ja m:ä niinku m::
           discussions about this and      and I am trying to
```

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```
19  CUS:              [mm.
20  SP2:   hahmotan aikataulua. (.) sii[s en, (.) miten[kää
           outline a timetable      I mean I don't want to
21  CUS:                                  [joo.          [joo.
                                           yes            yes
22  SP2:   haluu hoput[taa enkä mitää mutta et vähän niinku
           rush you in any way but just to like
23  CUS:              [joo.
                       yes
24  SP2:         #ym:[:# tiedän että missä vaiheessa me, (.) kenties
           know that in what stage we      potentially
25  CUS:              [.thhhhhh HHHh
26  SP2:   voi[tais istuu sit]te taas uudellee [alas
           could sit down again
27  CUS:      [j::oo. ehhh   ]                 [°joo°, (0.2)
           yes                              yes
28         ↑tietysti <joku tota>, (.) nyt eletään; (1.0)
           of course some um  we are now
29         eletää helmikuun loppuu joku maaliskuu
           at the end of February so March
30         tietysti ois ihan,
           would of course be
31         (0.4)
32  SP2:   nii.
           yes
33  CUS:   ihan maaliskuun niinku joku; (0.2) puolivär-
           like in mid-March
34         varmaan niinku viimestää
           probably at latest
```

CUS again expresses his interest in business collaboration (lines 1–2), but a customer's personal interest is not yet a promise of organisational collaboration. Thus, SP2 begins with an acknowledgement token *nii*, 'yes' (line 3), pronounced in a separate prosodic unit with level pitch, and continues with a contrastive conjunction *mut*, 'but' (line 5). Such turn prefaces are used in the middle of an on-going negotiation, and the speaker of *nii mut* utterance claims recognition of the prior speaker's line of action while also implying that it does not completely satisfy him or her (Niemi 2014). After CUS has offered his positive overall evaluation (line 6), SP2 continues the multi-sequence course of action aimed at establishing a joint decision towards proceeding.

First, she makes a proposal (cf. bargaining sequence; Maynard 1984), linked to the second part of her prior alternative question (*vai löytyiskö sieltä joku*, 'or could we find some [solution]') and CUS's affirmative answer (see Excerpt (4)). The proposal consists of the first-person plural modal verb *voidaanko*, 'can we', complemented by the pronoun *me* 'we', the infinitival verb *edetä*, 'proceed' and an utterance initiated by *nii että* 'so that' (line 8). The choice of the infinitival verb is notable, as *edetä* 'proceed' suggests an advance in the business relationship, albeit as modest as a permission to send CUS a summary. Furthermore, by framing the decision as

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contingent on the customer's agreement, SP2 presents this modest step forward as important. The second part of this adjacency pair is the customer's response, which is a simple agreement (*joo*, 'yes', line 12). We argue that CUS's unproblematic agreement arises from the collaborative construction of the foundations for the proposal and its not-too-ambitious character, requiring CUS to agree only to what he has already demonstrated interest in.

Second, SP2 initiates a new first pair part, a request for information on when the participants could meet again (lines 18–26). As observed by Heritage and Sorjonen (1994), prefacing an initiation of a new sequence with *ja* 'and' marks a continuation to a course of action (establishing a decision) that continues over sequence boundaries. Importantly, SP2 presents the request for information (*missä vaiheessa me kenties voitais istuu sitte taas uudellee alas*, 'in what stage we could potentially sit down again', lines 24–26) as the focal action, thereby presupposing CUS's agreement for the new meeting (see also Huma, Stivers & Sikveland 2018). She marks the proposed meeting as tentative only by the use of the modal particle *kenties* 'potentially' (line 24). As CUS already aligned with SP2's prior proposal, not aligning with the continuing course of action would require extra interactional work from CUS. Indeed, CUS provides his answer (lines 27–30 and 33–34), agreeing to meet again.

Shortly thereafter, in Excerpt (6), SP2 makes a new proposal, thereby implementing the phase in which the customer's commitment to a new meeting is established (cf. Stevanovic 2012).

Excerpt 6. STAFF_TRADE (1:09:08–1:09:15 of total 1:28:07)

```
01  SP2:    ni tota ni, (0.2) voidaanko me ottaa tohon
             so um             can we already book
02           maaliskuun puolivälin kieppeille jo joku #m:#
             a time for meeting for around
03           palaveriaikah?
             mid-March
04           (0.2)
05  CUS:     .thhh (0.4) ↑otetaa vaan
                         let's book ((a time there))
06           ((participants pick up their calendars))
```

SP2's proposal of settling on a specific date for a new meeting implements a next step in the course of decision making, for which the agreement to meet again (Excerpt (5)) implements a prior stage. Therefore, the proposal has an incremental character, requiring CUS to agree only to what he has stated to be possible. CUS agrees to the proposal by repeating the verb, *ottaa* 'to book', in the first-person plural form *otetaa* (line 5; Sorjonen 2001: 37–44), and the turn-final particle *vaan* (lit. 'only') signals a go-ahead permission. The participants then take up their notebooks and begin to look for a date for the new meeting.

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The participants have now agreed on how to make progress (Excerpt (5)) and settled a date for a new meeting (Excerpt (6)). These decisions have occurred in separate sequences but in the same course of action. That is, the customer commitment to an advancement in the business collaboration and a new meeting has been collaboratively achieved.

5. Summary and conclusions

In this study, we discussed how salespeople work to obtain their customer's commitment to an advancement in B2B sales interactions. We showed that there are many steps in the path to customer commitment, and the customer is likely to reject a salesperson's proposal of business collaboration if it occurs too early. It is our understanding that the stepwise construction of customer commitment reflects the institutional characteristics of interactions that are specific to B2B sales: Both the salespeople and their customers represent an organisation and are thus constrained in their rights to make decisions. The customer especially will usually need to consult his/her organisation and "sell" the service to the executives. Therefore, the negotiation of a customer need and potential solution to it in the first meeting between a salesperson and prospective customer is only a starting point for a further discussion about how to progress. The customer cannot promise too much, and he/she must design all commitments to a business collaboration with a specific type of professional caution (cf. Drew & Heritage 1992: 45–47; Heritage & Clayman 2010: 74–78).

Studies in social sciences and linguistics have discussed intersubjectivity, or participants' mutual understandings of the on-going action, as based on sufficiently shared cognition (Schutz 1962; Linell & Lindström 2016). Whilst this most likely holds for many institutional, work-related interactions as well, our study proposes that what counts as an intersubjective understanding is a target of elaborate negotiation in B2B sales interactions. That is, the participants pursue stepwise building of a shared understanding and extensively address the question of whether something is agreeable. The salesperson's proposal of an advance in the business relationship is built during a multi-sequence course of decision making where small-scale agreements lead to bigger ones, and eventually, to commitment.

This study makes several important contributions. First, it contributes to the existing sales and marketing literature, being the first to specifically and empirically study how closing occurs in the complex B2B context. It provides a foundation for theoretical development of the closing process as one which relies on a series of intersubjective agreements to proceed proposal acceptance. Further it demonstrates that a patient process is required in selling, as solutions proposals that occur outside

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of this process are more likely to be rejected. It also contributes to the customer decision-making process, which has not yet empirically demonstrated a step-wise process leading up to purchase decisions in a complex B2B context. Finally, it makes an important contribution to the CA literature by extending the understanding of decision-making to the preparatory work that precedes decisions in institutional negotiation. First, we demonstrated that and how participants in negotiation may invoke shared knowledge as an initial step towards decision-making. In addition, both the notion of incremental commitment in multi-sequence action trajectories, in which prior minor agreements are used as a resource for later bigger scale agreements, and of proposal timing (rejected if too early) add to our current understanding. Therefore, in summary, our study contributes to the establishment of joint decisions by focussing on the required groundwork before a bargaining sequence (Maynard 1984), and intersubjectivity in the final purchasing commitment, can be successfully initiated.

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Building an intersubjective understanding of the patient's mental suffering

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The experience of suffering may result in a breakdown of commonly shared meaning, namely the disintegration of intersubjectivity. This article investigates patients' expressions of suffering and professionals' attempts to maintain intersubjective understanding in interactions that are conducted in psychiatric outpatient care. The analysis demonstrates that patients' expressions of suffering involve a strong emotional experience and a particular kind of passivity: tolerance of agonising pain and endurance of what is unbearable. For their part, professionals attempt to verbalise and explain the patient's experience in order to build a shared world of meaning. The article argues that by locating suffering in the symptoms of an illness, professionals structure suffering into a medical problem. This enables them to suggest appropriate treatment options aimed at eliminating suffering.

Keywords: intersubjective understanding, empathy, emotion, explanation, pain, psychiatry, suffering, treatment

1. Introduction

Suffering, the experience of severe pain, strain and distress, can impact mental health problems in more ways than one. Descriptions of mental health problems and psychological illness often refer to an agonising state of anxiety coupled with a vague feeling of being unwell in which there is no end in sight. Suffering can indeed be understood as a state of being whereby the individual loosens their hold on life as a lived reality, an experience in which the anguish of the mind can lead to thoughts and hopes of death (Hänninen & Timonen 2004). Thus, suffering seemingly prevents or disrupts life itself, as the process of making life a lived reality, whether through self-motivation, self-determination, or the ability to work, love or believe in the future, becomes threatened or lost (Utriainen 2004). This is often characterised

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by doubts about the possibility of attributing meaning to an intolerable experience, a state where the sufferer experiences the extreme limits of a situation in which sense-making becomes untenable (Utriainen & Honkasalo 2004).

Suffering can be thought of as both a cause and a consequence of a mental disorder. An individual can live through a traumatic experience that is so intolerable and so traumatic that the related memories do not fade, even over long periods of time (Stettbacher 1991). The psychological pain does not diminish, and the individual is no longer able to perform normal daily functions in his or her life. Illness can also occur as a result of suffering induced by the accumulation of burdensome life experiences. Epidemiological studies have demonstrated a greater risk of illness amongst individuals facing a range of potential causes of distress (Aneshensel, Phelan, & Bierman 2013). These may involve, for instance, threatened livelihoods, housing problems, loneliness, problematic social relationships, substance abuse and physical illness.

Moreover, suffering also causes more suffering. The ability of an individual suffering from mental pain to respond appropriately to environmental stimuli is weakened (Utriainen & Honkasalo 2004). Consequently, such an individual is inclined to act in ways that lead to unfavorable consequences, such as the above-mentioned problems relating to human relationships or financial difficulties. Suffering also results in the inability to take action. Often the sufferer would like to act but believes that nothing can be done, resulting in a state of agony (Vanheule 2017), which creates a self-sustaining cycle of suffering.

Suffering is also a strong physical experience (Hänninen & Timonen 2004). Mental suffering is often accompanied by a range of symptoms, from vague aches and pains and insomnia to total body inertia or constant over-alertness, loss of appetite or overeating and overwhelming physical pain. Suffering is, however, different from pain. Whereas pain manifests as distress in the body, suffering is also a mental, affective experience (Vanheule 2017: 144–145).

Suffering is nonetheless more than an internal experience for the individual concerned, it also affects social relationships in many ways. Suffering causes people to become frightened, confused and turned inward. Indeed, suffering is said to profoundly change an individual's relationship with others (Hänninen & Timonen 2004). In terms of the self-other relationship, suffering has been reported to involve withdrawing from bonds with others (Vanheule 2017). It is often difficult for sufferers to describe their experience to others because it exceeds the limits of imagination for those without similar experiences (Karp 1996). Moreover, while sufferers would like to speak about their experiences, they are often unable to find the words to describe what they are living through. When sufferers are unable to discuss their experiences, suffering finds expression in non-verbal bodily manifestations, including restlessness, agonised crying or self-harm (Vanheule 2017). As a

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result, the individual experiences detachment from others, resulting in isolation, retreat from human relationships and fundamental loneliness. Such loneliness is, at its deepest, the experience of a breakdown of commonly shared meaning, a disintegration of intersubjectivity (Hänninen & Timonen 2004). Separation from others causes more pain at the precise moment when contact with others is most needed.

Previous research has mainly approached suffering from the perspective of the individual and explored the personal experiences of sufferers through interviews and self-report questionnaires (e.g. Orbach et al. 2003; Yager 2015). However, these questionnaires investigate expressions of suffering in fixed formats (Vanheule 2017), and, moreover, they fail to grasp its intersubjective dimensions. This article adopts a different perspective and investigates how suffering and the sufferer's efforts to express it emerge in social interaction, involving moments of both the breakdown and the repair of intersubjective understanding. More specifically, this article seeks to discover how suffering appears and is responded to in treatment discussions in psychiatric encounters.

2. Dealing with mental suffering in psychiatry

Discussions about mental suffering are particularly important in the context of psychiatric institutions. In psychiatry, mental suffering has been conceptualised in various ways. In their summary on existing literature, Meerwijk and Weiss (2011) noted that a central component of mental suffering is the experience of negative emotions. In addition, mental suffering involves negative appraisal of a deficient self, which is a lasting experience that cannot be sustained indefinitely without adverse consequences (Meerwijk & Weiss 2011: 10). Negative self-appraisal is typically triggered by the loss of someone or something or by the failure to fulfil core psychological needs (Meerwijk & Weiss 2011).

The response to mental pain can be pathogenic, and consequently suffering is seen to co-occur with a wide array of psychopathological disorders, including borderline personality disorder, acute psychosis, schizophrenia and post-traumatic stress disorder (Meerwijk & Weiss 2011). Mental suffering can also be seen as a type of psychiatric symptom that indicates the severity of psychopathological conditions (Vanheule 2017), with suicide perhaps being its most radical outcome. Indeed, mental suffering has been found to be the most frequently mentioned reason for suicide (Meerwijk & Weiss 2011).

Recognising the patient's suffering is important in psychiatric encounters for two reasons. Firstly, it provides clinicians with valuable information to support their diagnostic reasoning. According to Vanheule (2017: 136–137), only "if an individual suffers from the way he or she functions mentally, and significant mental pain

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can be observed, can a problem be qualified as pathological in nature". Canguilhem (1966: 137) further argues that "pathological implies *pathos*, the direct and concrete feeling of suffering and impotence, the feeling of life gone wrong". In other words, patients' distress can only be diagnosed as a pathological state if they express significant mental pain and suffering. Thus, according to this view, while an individual who hears voices but rarely feels disturbed by them experiences a psychological phenomenon that deviates from social norms, that phenomenon cannot be considered a psychopathology (Vanheule 2017: 137). Nonetheless, other views in psychiatry place less emphasis on the individual's personal experience, noting that patients can suffer from a severe mental illness, such as mania, without feeling ill or having any insight into their condition.

Secondly, recognising the patient's suffering can itself be a helpful intervention. It may provide the patient with the experience of being heard and understood, which can help to build a bond with other people and ease the patient's loneliness (Vanheule 2017). It is noted that professionals' compassion towards the patient involve three elements: recognising the patient's suffering; attuning to the patient's pain; and responding to his or her experience in an empathic way (Kanov et al. 2004). It is argued that by a compassionate attitude a professional may gain an in-depth understanding of a patient, recognise his or her feelings and ameliorate suffering through relational, intersubjective understanding (Hammarström et al. 2020; Sinclair et al. 2018). Also receiving an explanation for distressing experiences may help the patient integrate those painful experiences into a broader life narrative (Vanheule 2017). Mental suffering is predominantly described as containing the potential for personal growth if people are able to find a meaning for their suffering (Meerwijk & Weiss 2011: 14).

In order to investigate how patients' suffering is expressed and dealt with in psychiatric encounters, this article draws on an analysis of 29 audio-recorded first-visits to a psychiatric outpatient clinic. The recordings were collected between 2015 and 2016 in a Finnish central hospital. Permission to collect the data was obtained from the Ethics Committee of Tampere University Hospital and informed consent was obtained from all patients and clinicians. All names and other details which would enable identification of the participants have been altered in the text and data excerpts. The recordings are of patients' first visits to the clinic for an assessment procedure, where the clinical team met them from four to eight times. In the assessment procedure, the clinicians reviewed the patient's life situation, symptoms and psychological status in order to establish a diagnosis and decide on possible further treatment. Each encounter included three participants: the patient, a psychiatrist, and a psychiatric nurse or psychologist. The length of the encounters varied from one hour to 90 minutes. The patients were men and women aged 26 to 58 with different types of psychiatric symptoms, most commonly depression,

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anxiety or panic attacks. The patients had received a referral from primary care, a private sector clinic or an occupational health unit.

Drawing on conversation analysis, the article investigates how suffering features in patients' descriptions in these psychiatric assessment interviews. More specifically, it investigates the expression of suffering as a social activity. It further explores how psychiatric professionals respond to patients' descriptions in the process of building a shared world of meaning. In the following sections, the phenomenon is illustrated through three data examples that all come from the same patient. These examples were chosen because they illustrate the phenomena found in the data in a clear and accessible way.

3. Patient's descriptions of mental suffering

Patients approach psychiatric services to obtain help for their mental pain. When they speak about themselves and their lives, problems and symptoms, the patients describe suffering they have experienced in many ways. Conversation analytic studies on institutional interaction have described patients' complaints, that is, turns of talk in which patients describe a problematic experience for which they have sought treatment. One of the key features of such complaints is the expression of a negative emotional state that patients wish to have acknowledged (Ruusuvuori & Voutilainen 2009). In the present data, patients' expressions of suffering seem to involve more than simply a strong negatively toned emotional experience. In addition, they express a particular kind of passive experience that involves endurance of something that is unbearable. Below, the first excerpt shows how suffering features in a patient's description of his life experiences.

Prior to the beginning of this excerpt, the male patient in his twenties has already described his life with his mother, who suffered from drug-related problems, and the difficulties that stemmed from his mother's addiction: violence, the illness and death of family members, disruption of relationships, and being left alone. The first lines (1–5) of the excerpt are the last part of the patient's long narration.

Excerpt 1. *expressing suffering* (young male patient_audio_session 1), face-to-face, psychiatric assessment interview (PAT=patient, PSY=psychiatrist)

```
01  PAT:  öö nälkä lapsena oli aina nälkä(h) kun
          um I was always hungry(h) as a child as
02        [äiti käytti huumeisiin kaikki rahat ja
          [my mother used all our money on drugs and
03  PSY:  [mmm.
04  PAT:  sisko teki jostain nokkosista metsästä keittoa
          my sister made nettle soup from the forest
```

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```
05          °se oli ihan(h) kauheeta(h)°.
            °it was really(h) awful(h)°.
06          (0.5)
07  PSY:    keräs jostain,
            picked them up from somewhere,
08  PAT:    joo nokkoskeittoa °teki(h)°.
            yes °she made(h)° nettle soup.
09  PSY:    mmm.
10  PAT:    öö sitte tää jatkuu mitä täs ny- (.) ni mä voin
            well then this continues so what n- (.) I can be
11          olla vuosikausia tekemättä yhtään mitään (0.2)
            for years without doing anything at all (0.2)
12          sillon ku oli (.) mä en tiedä oliks se kymmenen
            when there was (.) I don't know if it was seven
13          viiva seittemän vuotta ni .hh mul oli sillai (.)
            to ten years so .hh it was just like that (.)
14          mä oon niiku elävältä haudattu et se on ihan
            I am like buried alive so it is just as if
15          sama kun mä oisin kuollu (.) mut kuitenkin mä
            I'm dead (.) but in any case I
16          tein niinku asioita et kyl mä (.) niinku jotenki
            did some things like (.) somehow
17          hh (.) °°hoidin lapsiaki mutta,°°
            hh (.) °°I even took care of the children but,°°
18  PSY:    mm se ei tuntunut miltään tai,
            mm it didn't feel like anything or,
```

In lines 1–2 and 4, the patient describes his extremely negative childhood experiences when his mother spent all their money on drugs and he faced constant hunger. He describes how his sister made soup from nettles and then pauses. In line 5, he displays negative emotion by making the rather ambiguous assessment 'it was really awful', which could refer to either the soup or his situation in general. The patient also uses prosody to signify the valence of his emotional experience. His pitch is low and his voice quality is quiet and breathy, almost a whisper.

After talking about his childhood, in line 10 the patient moves on to describe his life as an adult. He begins by saying that he can spend years without doing anything and then points out that for seven to ten years he felt as if he'd been 'buried alive' (line 14). The patient compares that experience to being dead, but he nevertheless reports having taken care of his children during that period (lines 15–17). The decisive characteristic of the patient's state of mind is therefore not his inactivity that he refers to in lines 10–11. Rather, he *experienced* these years as if he were dead. He thus describes not only his negative emotional experiences but also something that can be conceptualised as suffering: coping with mental pain, the patient is forced to endure, to wait until the torment passes; it is like being buried alive.

The patient's description of his experience also reflects the temporal element of suffering. In lines 1–5, when discussing events in his childhood, he uses the past tense. In line 10, however, the patient returns to the present. With 'then this

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continues', he refers to the list of symptoms he has outlined to the psychiatrist. This list includes the problem that he can spend years without doing anything (lines 10–11). It is therefore a state of being that extends from the past to the present day and into the future. The patient's experience of being dead and of being buried alive refers to a period seven to 10 years in the past, but he shifts to the present tense in characterising it (line 14). When talking about caring for his children, the patient then changes back to the past tense (lines 15–17). Thus, the patient's speech refers both to a temporal continuum containing the childhood experiences from which the suffering originates and later events, such as child rearing, and to the constant experience of suffering that colours the past, the present and the future.

As previously mentioned, in the excerpt above the patient describes his experience as being 'buried alive' (line 14), in an effort to make the experience of suffering in some way accessible; however, much of it is beyond words. Indeed, a characteristic of the experience of suffering is that it is difficult to describe to other people. Suffering is present in the body, audible in sighs and breathing. It is evident in the tone of voice and manner of delivery. In line 17, the patient sighs, his voice becomes almost a whisper. Although the patient does not cry aloud, his tone of voice is similar to what has been noted in interactions in which a participant is crying and failures to articulate talk, typically characterised by silence, sobs and whispering (Hepburn & Potter 2007). The turn constructional unit is also typically incomplete, as in this case, when the patient leaves the description of his actions unfinished ('I even took care of the children but'). Such conjunction-final utterances (*mutta* 'but') have been identified as a means of partly retreating from an earlier claim by making a concession (Koivisto 2011), as is the case here, where the patient explains that despite years of inactivity he still took care of his children. Turn-final conjunctions are also used to leave some aspect of the turn implicit and give the floor to another speaker (Couper-Kuhlen & Thompson 2005; Koivisto 2011; Li 2016; Ono, Thompson & Sasaki 2012). In the context of psychotherapy, this has been observed in patient accounts that are problematic in some way (Koivisto & Voutilainen 2016). In line 18, the psychiatrist draws out some aspects of the implications of the patient's talk and offers it to the patient for confirmation. With this continuation of the patient's turn, the psychiatrist displays understanding of the patient's emotional situation (Vehviläinen 2003), offering a candidate reading of the sense established in the patient's turn and thus helping to build an intersubjective understanding of the patient's painful experience.

In sum, the patient's suffering and his effort to express it emerge in interaction through the following means. The patient describes a strong emotional experience whose negative valence is signified through prosody. He uses a metaphor ('buried alive') to illustrate an experience that involves the endurance of something felt to be unbearable. Moreover, he uses non-lexical vocalisations, such as sighs and

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whispers, to display the painfulness of that experience. In addition, he switches between grammatical tenses to portray a constant experience of suffering that colours the past, the present and the future. Finally, he uses conjunction-final utterances, inviting the psychiatrist to infer what is left unsaid. By these means, the patient portrays his experience of severe pain, strain and distress, to which there is no end in sight. Next, I will move on to examine how professionals in psychiatric encounters respond to patients' expressions of suffering: how it is recognised, made visible and justified, or how it is ignored and silenced.

4. Responding to patient's expressions of suffering

In order for the experience of suffering to be recognised and become visible, medical professionals and patients must create a world of meaning that can, at least partially, be shared (Soivio 2004). A key aspect of this is professionals' attempts to verbalise the experience of suffering, even if patients indicate feelings that are inaccessible to others. In so doing, they demonstrate that the patient's words are heard and received. Speaking about suffering structures the experience, giving it shape and validating it. Furthermore, when the experience can be shared, feelings of separation from other people may also be diminished.

Below, I demonstrate three means that professionals use to respond to patients' expressions of mental suffering in psychiatric assessment interviews. Excerpt (2) shows how professionals verbalise the patient's experiences, show empathic understanding and explain the patient's experience. In turn, Excerpt (3) illustrates how professionals recommend treatment to eliminate the patient's suffering.

Excerpt (2) is part of the same diagnostic interview that was presented in the previous example. In the discussion preceding this excerpt, the patient has disclosed his disappointments regarding his relationships with women. In the first line, the patient refers to his attempts to avoid speaking critically about the mother of his young daughters.

Excerpt 2. *explaining suffering* (young male patient_audio_session 1), face-to-face, psychiatric assessment interview (PAT=patient, PSY=psychiatrist, SEI=psychologist, referred to in the transcript as Seija)

```
01  PAT:  mä yritän et mä en puhu niinku (.) pahaa mut mä
          I try not to talk uhm (.) bad but I
02        tosi paljon vihaan naisia,
          hate women really much,
03  PSY:  mmm-m,
04  PAT:  mä en yhtään ihmettelis vaikka mä joskus tekisin
          I wouldn't at all be surprised if I was to do
05        jollekin naiselle jotain .snff
          something to some woman .snff
```

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06 **PSY:** **mmm.**
07 **(2.0)**
08 **SEI:** **paljon [kokenu ras]kaita asioita**
you've [experience]ed lots of hard things
09 **PAT:** **[snf hhhhhh]**
10 **SEI:** **[suoran]aista sadismia**
[even s]adism
11 **PSY:** **[kyllä.]**
[yeah.]
12 **PAT:** **joo[-o,]**
yea[h,]
13 **SEI:** **[°pi]enenä lapse [na°.]**
[°as] a small chi[ld°.]
14 **PSY:** **[joo.]**
[yeah.]
15 **PAT:** **°niihhhh.°**
°yeshhhh.° ((the patient bursts into tears))
16 **(18.0) ((the patient cries out aloud))**
17 **PAT:** **mut emmä nyt oikeesti oo väkivaltanen**
but in reality I'm not violent
18 **vaikka mul tulee välillä tulee semmosia**
even though I have sometimes I have these
19 **[et] mä vihaan ni en mä oo enkä mä haluu olla**
[that] I hate so I'm not and don't want to be
20 **PSY:** **[mm-m]**
21 **PAT:** **paha [enkä mä] ookaan mutta (0.2) joskus mä vaan**
bad [and I'm] not but (0.2) sometimes I just
22 **PSY:** **[°mmm.°]**
23 **PAT:** **vihaan naisia.**
hate women.
24 **PSY:** **mm mm mmm rankat kokemukset niinku seija sano**
mm mm mmm rough experiences like Seija said
25 **sadismia sä oot kokenu kyllä (0.2) se herättää**
sadism you have experienced (0.2) it awakens
26 **ja kroppa muistaa tän tyyppisiä asioita**
and the body remembers these types of things
27 **(0.5)**
28 **PSY:** **ilman muuta.**
no doubt.
29 **PAT:** **nii .snff**
yes .snff
30 **PSY:** **herättää vihaa.**
awakens anger.
31 **PAT:** **mmmhhh**
32 **PSY:** **vaikeita tunteita.**
difficult emotions.
33 **PAT:** **joo:: [.hhhhh]**
Yeah:: [.hhhhh]
34 **PSY:** **[reakti]oita.**
[reacti]ons.
35 **PAT:** **.snf (0.5) nii on.**
.snf (0.5) yeah they are.

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At the beginning of the excerpt, the patient states that he hates women (line 2), and in order to highlight the intensity of his emotion he raises the possibility of engaging in some type of violent act (lines 4–5). The experience described by the patient is therefore not only intense but also socially problematic: regardless of the intensity of anger, recourse to violence is a morally reprehensible act. There is a pause (line 7), and the patient sighs deeply (line 9) when the psychologist states that the patient has experienced many difficult issues and even sadism earlier in his life (lines 8, 10). This statement ignores the patient's reference to violence and makes the intensity of the patient's feelings of anger understandable. The psychiatrist aligns with the psychologist's statement (line 11), which is also confirmed by the patient (line 12). When the psychologist adds 'as a small child' (line 13), the patient begins to cry aloud. The psychologist's words could therefore be viewed, at least to some extent, as constructing an intersubjective understanding that the evil experienced by the patient is recognised and perceived by other people (Weiste & Peräkylä 2014).

In line 17, the patient himself returns to the moral aspect of his thoughts of violence, explaining that he is not really violent even though he sometimes has intense feelings of anger (lines 17–19). The patient also states that he does not 'want to be bad' (lines 19, 21). The psychiatrist accepts the patient's explanation by responding with several empathic statements that provide low-volume minimal feedback (lines 20, 22, 24; see Fitzgerald & Leudar 2010). The psychiatrist also explains the patient's experience in relation to the patient's exposure to sadism, which has left its imprint on his body. These imprints can subsequently trigger feelings of anger and difficult emotions and reactions (lines 24–26, 28). By explaining the patient's suffering, the psychiatrist validates the patient's experience as real and recognisable (lines 30, 32, 34; see Voutilainen, Peräkylä & Ruusuvuori 2010; Weiste & Peräkylä 2014).

In addition to expressing empathy, explaining suffering nonetheless serves other purposes within psychiatry. Locating suffering within symptoms, which are treated as a sign of a particular illness, enables suffering to be structured into a more specific medical problem. Continuing with the same diagnostic interview, I will now examine an excerpt towards the end of the session. The suffering experienced by the patient has been localised and partly explained, allowing the discussion to move on to planning treatment that aims at removing or diminishing that suffering. In her long commentary beginning in line 1, the psychologist justifies the earlier discussion: talking about issues that are painful for the patient is necessary for planning future care and anticipating potential risks.

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Excerpt 3. *diminishing suffering* (young male patient_audio_session 1), face-to-face, psychiatric assessment interview
(PAT=patient, PSY=psychiatrist, SEI=psychologist)

```
01  SEI:  se miks me näit kysytään on tietenkin se että
           the reason why we ask these things is of course
02        jos me osattais suunnitella sulle oikeenlaista
           to be able to plan for you the right kind of
03        hoitoa ja riskitekijöitä mitkä saattaa aiheuttaa
           care and the risk factors which the treatment
04        hoidon (.) että myöskin voitas tunnistaa
           may cause (.) so that we could also recognise
05        etukäteen semmosia epäonnistumisen [et  ]että sun
           in advance that kind of failure    [uhm ] so your
06  PAT:                                     [joo.]
                                             [yes.]
07  SEI:  tarina on (0.2) niin hurja (.) oot kokenut
           story is (0.2) so hard (.) you've experienced
08        niin kovia pienestä alkaen (.)
           such hard things ever since you were small (.)
09        niistä jos niistä käsittelee ni eihän se aina
           so dealing with them of course doesn't always
10        tunnu hyvältä palata niihin kipeisiin muistoihin
           feel good to return to those painful memories
11  PAT:  nii,
           yeah,
12  SEI:  vaikka pääpaino oiski enemmän että oltais
           even though the emphasis could be more on
13        tässä päivässä ja mietittäs et miten
           the present moment and we could think about how
14        sä tässä päivässä pärjäät ja mikä sua helpottaa.
           you cope in the present and what could help you.
((17 lines relating to the importance of focusing on
the present moment removed from the excerpt))
31  SEI:  et tälläsen kuvan sain (.) et sä oot
           so this kind of picture I've got (.) what
32        tänäänki kertonu auttaa kyllä työntekijää
           you've told me today will help a professional
33        ymmärtämään niitä kokemuksia mitä
           to understand those experiences that
34        sä oot läpikäyny.
           you've been going through.
35  PAT:  joo.
           yes.
36        (3.5)
37  PAT:  hyvä.
           good.
38  SEI:  varmaan jatkossa se tärkee asia on sitte
           I guess in the future an important thing is
39        myöski tää alkoholista irtipysyminen koska
           also staying clear of alcohol because
40        se näyttää olevan todella iso riskitekijä
           it really seems to be a major risk factor
```

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```
41          sulle että johtaa helposti aika vaa[rallisiink]i
            for you that easily leads to quite [dangerous ]
42  PAT:                                       [no joo,   ]
                                               [well yeah,]
43  PSY:    kyllä.
            yes.
44  PAT:    mhm (0.5) kyl mä (.) ymmärrän sen.
            mhm (0.5) I do(.) understand it
45  PSY:    mm (0.2) et sillon tää (.) tavallaan vanha
            mm (0.2) then this (.) in a way old
46          koettu aggressio herää ja
            experienced aggression awakens and
47          kohdistuu sitten toisiin tai itseen.
            is targeted at others or yourself.
48  PAT:    joo.
            yes.
```

The psychologist states that the life story described by the patient during the session is exceptionally severe and that the patient's experiences from a young age have been so harsh that the act of discussing them in itself causes a degree of pain (lines 1–5, 7–10). In this formulation there is a dual message: on the one hand, the treatment seeks to focus on issues that will help the patient, but on the other hand, the pain caused by the discussions cannot be completely avoided. These discussions are also justified as beneficial, as they enable the psychiatric staff to identify the possible risk factors that would cause failures in treatment (3–5) and to enhance their understanding of the issues faced by the patient (lines 31–34).

In lines 38–41, the psychologist then suggests that the patient should avoid the use of alcohol. The patient responds to this suggestion with a turn beginning with *no* ('well') and an agreement *joo* ('yeah') (line 42), implying that this is something he already knows (Sorjonen 2001). In line 44 he explicitly confirms that he understands this. Moreover, the psychiatrist emphasises the importance of the psychologist's suggestion (line 43). The psychiatrist is now alluding to the patient's aggression and violence, which both professionals avoided mentioning in the previous excerpt. In the psychiatrist's explanation (lines 45–47), alcohol triggers aggression, which is then directed towards both the patient and other people. Abstaining from alcohol can therefore help avoid dangerous situations and a variety of social problems, which may in turn help break the cycle of suffering.

To conclude, psychiatric professionals respond to patients' efforts to express mental suffering by displaying empathy, explaining their painful experiences and recommending suitable treatments. Psychiatric professionals display empathy by employing low-volume minimal acknowledgement tokens, verbalising the patient's painful experiences and showing that the patient's feelings are understandable. They also explain the patient's suffering. By providing validation and attributing at least some kind of meaning to the patient's experiences, psychiatric professionals

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work to construct an intersubjective understanding where the mental pain experienced by the patient is recognised and perceived by other people. At the same time, the professional constructs the patient's suffering as a psychiatric problem. When explaining the patient's suffering, the professional locates it within psychiatric symptoms. Once structured into a more specific medical problem, a proper treatment can be planned.

5. Discussion

This article has described how suffering and the patient's efforts to express it emerge in psychiatric interactions involving moments of both breakdown and repair of intersubjective understanding. It has shown how suffering is expressed in and through the patients' turns-at-talk. For the patients analysed in this study, descriptions of mental suffering were characterised by intense negative emotional experiences. The ways they expressed their emotions were similar to those observed in previous studies on the display of negative emotions in interaction (see e.g. Sorjonen & Peräkylä 2012). For instance, the patients expressed their emotions through low pitch and a quiet, breathy voice, which has been identified as the prosodic structure of sadness (Couper-Kuhlen 1986) and a common way of delivering bad news (Maynard & Freese 2012). Nonetheless, suffering seems to be more than a bare emotion; rather, it more closely resembles an overall state of being that encompasses the whole mind. In addition to intense negative emotions, expressions of suffering involve a particular kind of passivity, such as tolerance of agonising pain and endurance of what is seemingly unbearable (see also Kleinman 1988; Utriainen 2004). In the case of the interactions with the patient considered in this article, his description of mental pain also reflected the temporal element of suffering, which included his childhood experiences from which his suffering originated. This was juxtaposed against the constant experience of suffering that coloured the past, the present and the future.

The data also suggest that the patients' strong emotions presented the professionals with a profound intersubjective dilemma. On the one hand, strongly displayed negative emotions place increased response demands, but, on the other, such emotions are hard for others to access (Heritage 2011). Thus, the professionals were called upon to strike a fine balance when dealing with the patients' experiences. They tackled this dilemma using similar methods to those employed in psychotherapy and counselling interaction. For instance, they utilised extensions that continued the patient's turn (Vehviläinen 2003) and formulations (Heritage & Watson 1979; Deppermann & Spranz-Fogasy 2011; Weiste & Peräkylä 2013) to signal that the patient's situation was sharable but still owned by the patient (e.g. Peräkylä & Silverman 1991; Weiste, Voutilainen, & Peräkylä 2016).

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The article also shows that the patient's suffering seems to be recognised in psychiatric assessment interviews through at least three kinds of spoken actions: verbalising patient's experiences, explaining patient experiences, and recommending treatment to minimise suffering. The first comes close to the compassionate attitude (Arendt 1963; Hammarström et al. 2020; Sinclair et al. 2018) and the empathic interaction described in conversation analytic literature (e.g. Heritage 2011; Voutilainen et al. 2010; Weiste & Peräkylä 2014). Here, mental-health professionals recognise the patient's experience as relevant and possible (Ruusuvuori 2007; Voutilainen et al. 2010). It could be argued that when the patient's experience is validated and displayed as at least partially understood, the patient's suffering becomes intersubjectively shared and the separation between the sufferer and other people is diminished.

Different kinds of psychiatric, psychological and common-sense explanations also enhance intersubjective understanding of suffering. Explanation is an essential part of recognising the experience and providing sufferers with a firm hold on their situation (Soivio 2004). Suffering that can be located in symptoms which are treated as a sign of a particular illness is more credible than simply the experience of vague ailments (Jutel 2009). The absence of this sort of psychiatric explanation can lead to a situation where the patient's suffering is not institutionally recognised. This may cause confusion, stress and even failure to provide the essential services required in the patient's recovery process. At the same time, the structuring of suffering into a medical problem entails a risk of failing to attune to the patient's emotional experience and recognising the uniqueness of the patient's situation (see e.g. Savander et al. 2019).

Psychiatric explanations enable attempts to remove the patient's suffering through appropriate treatment interventions, such as medication or psychotherapy (Utriainen 2004). A practical framework for action to reduce patient suffering makes the suffering real and recognisable within the psychiatric interview. Interventions aimed at eliminating suffering can provide patients with a lifeline. If sufferers can link their painful experiences to concrete actions that may provide solutions to their suffering, hope for the future is created (see Vanheule 2017). Conversely, explaining the patient's suffering and formulating concrete action plans might also create separation between the patient and psychiatric professionals. Explaining suffering helps professionals deal with suffering and differentiate between themselves and patients. Differentiation may make it easier for these professionals to bear the patient's pain and continue to work without compassion fatigue (Soivio 2004).

The importance of understanding suffering cannot be overstated, as avoiding or lessening suffering is one of the major goals of psychiatric institutional care. Psychiatric interventions aimed at eliminating suffering provide a sense of security created by concrete actions. Instead of dealing with overwhelmingly

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painful emotional experiences, the focus can be targeted towards an action plan. Nevertheless, this approach is problematic if the cause of suffering is not identified or the proposed treatments fail to lead to the end of suffering or its reduction. Even then, this study suggests, a possible approach is to focus on interaction between people, the short moments during which intolerable suffering is shared, despite its painfulness, and an intersubjective connection is at least temporarily established.

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Shared understandings of the human–nature relationship in encounters with small wildlife

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Drawing on video data and ethnomethodological conversation analysis, the study focuses on sequences of human action and interaction in which participants orient to small wildlife within their nature-related activities outdoors. The participants are family members, friends or participants on organized outings, and they engage in activities such as trekking, foraging and fishing. The study examines moments when small wildlife become the focus of the participants' talk and other action and when the relationship between human beings and the natural world is thus constructed in situ. The study considers how participants in such moments display, pursue and achieve shared understandings about what the appropriate ways of treating other living beings and, more generally, conducting oneself in nature are.

Keywords: conversation analysis, ethnomethodology, human–nature relationship, intersubjectivity, multimodality, nature, shared understanding, social interaction, wildlife

1. Introduction

Some recent studies that are at least informed, if not entirely driven, by a conversation-analytic understanding of social interaction go beyond human communities to explore interspecies interaction between humans and, for instance, horses or dogs (e.g. Lundgren 2017; Mondémé 2018; and see Mondémé 2016 for a review) or intraspecies interaction among other primates, such as bonobos or orangutans (e.g. Rossano 2013; Rossano & Liebal 2014). The studies shed new light not only on the particular interspecies or intraspecies interactions that are in focus but also on various aspects of sociality: what counts as participation, how are social actions to be recognized or by what means can understanding be displayed? In this chapter, we focus on intraspecies interaction among human participants to examine how

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interspecies relationships may be constructed. We study moments in which human participants cross paths with small wildlife, rather than domesticated animals or animals held in captivity, during their nature-related activities outdoors. We consider these brief encounters as examples of how participants display, pursue and achieve shared understandings of the human–nature relationship.

Shared understandings of nature and participants' ongoing nature-related activities have been shown to be crucial in interactions involving decisions that include various practical, moral and financial dimensions, such as in a meeting between a landowner and an advisory professional who discuss whether particular pieces of land qualify for government subsidies (Bergeå, Martin, & Sahlström 2008; see also Virkkula 2018). In the context of foraging for wild produce such as berries and mushrooms, participants have been shown to pursue shared understandings of the key characteristics of their finds in order to be able to classify and assess them, that is, to consider their value for the ongoing foraging activity (Keisanen & Rauniomaa 2019; see also Keisanen, Rauniomaa, & Siitonen 2017). Furthermore, transitions from searching to picking in foraging provide a site for socializing children into the specific social order of the activity, including its particular significance for the family (Keisanen et al. 2017), in much the same way as the organization of mundane, everyday activities in the family home presents opportunities for children and caregivers to discuss and negotiate what norms and values those activities may entail for them (e.g. Fasulo, Loyd, & Padiglione 2007; Fatigante, Liberatia, & Pontecorvo 2010; Galatolo & Caronia 2018; George 2013; Pontecorvo, Fasulo, & Sterponi 2001).

We analyze how the human participants in our data display, pursue and achieve shared understandings, or "sufficient understandings for current practical purposes" (Linell & Lindström 2016), about appropriate ways of treating other species and, more generally, of conducting oneself in nature. We are interested in how such understandings are achieved procedurally in interaction, rather than taken as kinds of cultural givens that participants share because they are, or are becoming, members of a particular community (see Schegloff 1992: 1296–1299; on language socialization, see also Ochs 1996; Ochs & Schieffelin 1984, 2011). In other words, we consider intersubjectivity as an accomplishment that participants bring about together by producing "sequentially organized, reciprocal actions, which mutually display and confirm understandings of prior actions" (Deppermann 2019: 23; see also Deppermann 2015a, 2015b). Following Mondada (2011; see also other contributions to the special issue), we take a holistic view on how participants produce and monitor understandings through the linguistic and embodied design and the temporal and sequential positioning of their actions. That is, we recognize that, in the process of displaying and monitoring their evolving understandings, participants draw on, among other things, talk, gaze, gestures, body positions and movement in space.

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After briefly introducing our data, we analyze three kinds of cases of how the human–nature relationship may be constructed in interaction. The analytic sections are organized along a continuum based on how explicitly participants negotiate appropriate orientation to the small wildlife that they encounter. We conclude by reflecting on how our findings contribute to a fuller appreciation of how the human–nature relationship may be constructed in human social interaction as well as to a holistic view on how shared understandings may be displayed, pursued and achieved.

2. Data

For this study, we have viewed approximately 18 hours of video recordings from relatively unbuilt outdoor settings where participants are engaged in a nature-related activity, such as trekking, foraging or fishing. The data are in English and Finnish. The participants include families with children or groups of friends on casual outings, or groups of people on organized, instructed excursions. During their nature-related activities, the participants sometimes cross paths with other species and make them temporarily the focus of joint orientation and action. Our data comprise cases in which the participants come across wild but common invertebrate species, such as ants, slugs, mosquitos and butterflies. In the cases that we have included in the data, the participants talk about and possibly organize their ongoing activities around either animals that are currently present or visible traces of animals that may take the form of, for instance, anthills, trails of slugs or insect bites. We draw on ethnomethodological conversation analysis to examine the data (see, e.g. Garfinkel 1967; Heritage 1984; Sacks 1992) and follow transcription conventions introduced by Jefferson (2004) and Mondada (n.d.).

3. Analysis

In our data, sequences of interaction that concern small wildlife are typically initiated with a noticing: a participant points out and makes relevant something (i.e. here, an animal or traces of an animal) in the present environment and attempts to establish joint orientation to it (Goodwin & Goodwin 2012; Sacks 1992: 90; Schegloff 2007: 219; see also Keisanen 2012). Children, especially, may also expand noticings into occasioned knowledge explorations, in which they make imaginative inquiries about the world (Goodwin 2007; see also Waters & Bateman 2015). In sequences initiated through noticings about small wildlife, the wildlife then become the focus of the participants' talk and other actions, and the participants display, pursue and achieve shared understandings about appropriate ways of treating the wildlife.

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The following subsections are organized along a continuum of increasing involvement in negotiation, demonstration and instruction: First, participants may all treat the wildlife in more or less the same way, displaying their already established shared understandings (Excerpt (1)). Second, participants may pursue shared understandings by treating the wildlife in particular ways and simultaneously providing accounts for doing so (Excerpts 2–3). Third, participants may pursue shared understandings by guiding others to treat the wildlife in particular ways and holding others accountable for doing so (Excerpts 4–5).

3.1 Displaying shared understandings

On encountering other species during an ongoing activity, nature-goers in the data may establish a shared understanding of how to orient to the animals without any explicit negotiation or account. Nevertheless, such encounters provide an opportunity for participants to display their shared understanding in that they deal with the animals in similar ways, treating them as living creatures that belong to the particular ecology of the forest – and that may, depending on the species and the situation, be considered useful, dangerous, pleasant or annoying, for example.

In Excerpt (1), three friends, Mikko, Patrick and Pertti, are on a bird-hunting trip. The excerpt includes talk in English and Finnish, both of which all the participants speak fluently. The participants have been walking in the same direction with some distance between them, to cover a maximal area where game bird may be found, but now they gather together to negotiate how to continue. In Excerpt (1), the participants make note of the considerable number of moose flies. Moose flies, or deer keds, are parasites that live on the blood of their host animals, typically moose (Mysterud et al. 2016). Once they have landed on an animal, moose flies shed their wings and burrow themselves into the animal's fur, or, in humans, usually into the hair. It is therefore harder to shoo them off than mosquitos, for example.

Excerpt 1. *couple moose flies* (36COACT Hunting 00:05:05 / 00:05:03)
(± = Pertti's embodied conduct; * = Patrick's embodied conduct;
¤ = Mikko's embodied conduct)

```
01  MIK:  couple moose flies,
    pat   >>walks twd Per-->
02        (0.5)
03  PAT:  a couple.
04        (3.8)
05  PAT:  what do you think?
06        (.)
07  PER:  tsk .hhh *well we have advanced,
    pat          -->*
08        (0.9)
```

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```
09  PER:  ±just as planned?
          ±rubs neck-->
10        (0.3)
11  PAT:  mm,
12        (.)
13  PER:  .hh* ±but uh:,*
            -->±touches head, picks off a moose fly-->
    pat      *takes cap off, hits it on his leg*
14        *(1.8)
    pat   *wipes head-->
15  PER:  (there are)¤ #s(h)o m(h)any of them,#
    mik               ¤wipes neck-->
    fig                 #1a                    #1b
```



Figure 1a. Pertti (left) and Patrick (right) wipe their heads



Figure 1b. Mikko wipes his neck

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```
16  PAT:  yeah,¤
    mik     -->¤
17        ¤(0.1)#*(1.6)¤
    mik   ¤wipes moose flies off Per¤
    pat       -->*puts cap back on-->
    fig         #1c
```



Figure 1c. Mikko wipes Pertti's arm

```
18  PER:  niitä on joka paikassa.ŧ*
          they are everywhere
                              -->ŧwipes neck-->
    pat                        -->*
19        ¤(1.1)
    mik   ¤picks moose flies off his arm-->
20  PAT:  ((sniffs))
21        (1.0)¤*(1.1)
    mik     -->¤
    pat         *picks a moose fly off his sleeve-->
22  MIK:  he he [he [he he he
23  PAT:        [he [*he
24  PER:            [he he
    pat           -->*
```

At the beginning of the excerpt, Patrick is walking towards Mikko and Pertti, who have already stopped. Pertti is viewing his smartphone, which has a map application that tracks their location via GPS. As Patrick gets closer, Mikko produces a noticing, *couple moose flies* (line 1), which is evidently an understatement about the number of insects at their present location. Patrick responds with *a couple* (line 3), aligning with the noticing as well as the irony evoked in it. After this brief exchange about the

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insects, the participants initiate talk about which direction they should take next to advance the bird-hunting activity (lines 5–13). During their planning talk, however, all three participants begin to deal with the moose flies that have landed on them: Pertti rubs his neck and head already during his verbal turn, Patrick removes his cap to wipe his head and Mikko begins to wipe his neck, too (Figures 1a–b). That is, the participants all deal with the insects by trying to rub or wipe them off, without any explicit (verbal or embodied) negotiation of how this should be done.

The planning talk is soon suspended altogether (see Haddington et al. 2014: 24–25), and the participants focus on the moose flies. Pertti assesses the sheer volume of them in both English (*there are so many of them*, line 15) and Finnish (*niitä on joka paikassa* 'they are everywhere', line 18), while the participants continue to pick insects off of themselves and each other (Figure 1c). Pertti's assessments, together with the participants' more or less identical embodied actions, create shared laughter (lines 22–24). The laughter reflects the participants' having a shared understanding of the situation (see Glenn 1989): evidently the multitude of the moose flies makes the situation not only uncomfortable but somewhat absurd.

In Excerpt (1), moose flies become the joint focus of attention and action for the participants for a while. The participants achieve a shared understanding of appropriate conduct towards the insects in the present situation not only by taking note of and assessing their number but also, and perhaps mainly, by all producing similar embodied actions to deal with them. That is, the rubbing, wiping and picking of the insects show that the participants consider the number, movement and close contact of the insects bothersome and getting rid of them as the appropriate way of treating them. In the following excerpts, participants adopt more respectful orientations to small wildlife and do so, among other things, through demonstrations or instructions.

3.2 Setting an example and guiding others to achieve a shared understanding

In Excerpts 2 and 3, we join participants on a one-day course that concerns the identifying, picking and preparing of wild mushrooms. In comparison with Excerpt (1), the interactional setting is less symmetrical: there are two instructors and thirteen course participants, who alternate between spreading out to pick mushrooms and gathering together to share their finds (see Keisanen & Rauniomaa 2019). Here, we focus on two occasions in which someone finds a slug in a mushroom that they have picked and one of the instructors shows and tells what may be done about it. That is, through both what she does and says, the instructor provides a kind of a

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demonstration (see Keevallik 2010), sets an example, on how to treat small wildlife in appropriate ways. She may also guide the less experienced participants explicitly, inviting them to treat the wildlife in the same way that she does. The kind of orientation that is constructed is different from that seen in Excerpt (1): while the slugs in Excerpts 2 and 3 also need to be removed from their current location, that is, off the particular mushrooms that have been picked, the participants take care that the slugs remain alive and in their natural habitat.

In Excerpt (2), the instructor, Elina, and a course participant, Kaisa, are picking mushrooms and making decisions on which ones to keep. Kaisa finds a slug in a mushroom that she is holding.

Excerpt 2. *tääl on kans pikku etana* 'there is a small slug here also' (08HANS Sieniretki 00:27:02)

(± = Elina's embodied conduct; ¤ = Kaisa's embodied conduct)

```
01  ELI:  myöhemmin mui[stuttaa.
          remind later
          >>holds mushroom in LH; holds RH by the side-->
    kai   >>holds mushrooms in RH; inspects mushroom in LH-->
02  KAI:              [tääl on kans pikku etana.¤
                       there is a small slug here also
                                              -->¤
03  KAI:  ¤ruuka#taan°(ko niitä) edes ±syyä semmo±¤sia?°±#
           do {people} usually even eat those
          ¤holds mushroom in LH------------------>¤
    eli                              -->±.........±grabs
                                                 mushroom±
    fig          #2a                                    #2b
```



Figure 2a. Kaisa (left) has made a noticing

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Figure 2b. Elina (right) grabs the mushroom in Kaisa's hand

```
04          ±(0.4)±
    eli     ±takes mushroom from K±inspects mushroom-->
05  ELI:    e:i ¤niit(ä kannate).
            it is no use {eating} them
    kai         ¤inspects mushrooms in RH-->
06          (0.3)
07  KAI:    joo.
            yes
08  KAI?:   ne ei oo ehkä hirveen hyvän näkösiä.¤
            they aren't perhaps awfully good-looking
    kai                                      -->¤
09           ¤(0.7)¤(1.0)¤#
    kai      ¤takes mushrooms in LH¤lowers LH¤
    fig                   #2c
```



Figure 2c. Kaisa lowers mushrooms

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```
10  ELI:  no pe↑riaatteessa nää ois,
          well in principle these would be
11        (0.3)
12  ELI:  ois tuota mää katon,
          would be erm I'll check
13        (.)±
    eli   -->±picks a slug off mushroom-->
14  ELI:  monesti tullee, (.) tälleen pikakurkattua.
          often {I} do a quick check like this
15        nää ois ihan ±niinku s¤yötä#viä.¤
          these would actually be like edible
                    -->±.............-->
    kai                          ¤lifts LH-¤
    fig                               #2d
```



Figure 2d. Kaisa lifts mushrooms up again

```
16  ELI:   ¤mää JÄTTÄSIN NUO e±tanat.
            I would leave the slugs
                          -->±squats down;
                            lowers RH to ground-->
    kai    ¤inspects mushrooms-->
17  ELI:   mää on vähän liian ±eläin¤ra±kas ni
           I'm a bit too fond of animals so
                             ±lifts RH±cleans mushrooms-->>
    kai                         -->¤cleans mushrooms-->
18  ELI:   mää jätän nuo [etanat tänne met:t(h)ään.¤
           I leave the slugs here in the woods
19  KAI:                 [theh
                                                  -->¤
20  ELI:   ¤hehe
           ¤inspects mushrooms-->
21  KAI:   aivan?
           right
22         (.)
23  ELI:   heh
24         (1.2)¤(0.4)
    kai      -->¤lowers mushrooms to ground-->
```

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```
25  KAI:   no# ↓@(tän) varmaan,@
           well this probably
    fig      #2e
26  ELI:   joo:?#
           yes
    fig          #2f
27  KAI:   mää jätän tuohon,
           I'll leave this there
28         (0.6)¤
    kai      -->¤
29  ELI:   joo.
           yes
```



Figure 2e. Kaisa lowers mushrooms



Figure 2f. Kaisa leaves mushrooms on ground

While inspecting the mushroom (see Mortensen & Wagner 2019; see also Keisanen & Rauniomaa 2019), Kaisa makes a noticing: *tääl on kans pikku etana* 'there is a small slug here also' (line 2), *kans* 'also' probably referring to a similar previous

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noticing by Elina (discussed in Excerpt (3)). Kaisa continues to inspect the mushroom and asks Elina whether mushrooms that have been eaten by slugs are usually eaten by people (line 3). At this point, Elina takes the mushroom from Kaisa and begins to inspect it (Figures 2a–b). Although she initially provides a negative response (line 5), Elina finally concludes that the slug-eaten mushrooms that Kaisa has referred to are 'in principle' edible (line 10). She then holds the mushroom in Kaisa's field of vision and picks off the slug from the mushroom, providing at the same time an explanation of how she usually does 'a quick check' (lines 12–15; see Heritage & Stivers 1999 on similar online commentary). After Elina's initial negative response, Kaisa inspects the mushrooms that she is holding in her right hand, takes them in her left hand and begins to lower them next to Elina's basket (Figure 2c). Throughout Elina's subsequent explanation, Kaisa holds her hand in this lowered position, but she then lifts her hand up and begins to inspect the mushrooms again (Figure 2d). Elina now continues with another explanation, *mää jättäsi nuo etanat* 'I would leave the slugs' (line 16), squats down and apparently places the slug on the ground.

Both Elina and Kaisa then begin to clean the mushrooms that they are holding, and Elina provides an account of how she treats slugs: *mää on vähän liian eläinrakas ni mää jätän nuo etanat tänne mettään* 'I'm a bit too fond of animals so I leave the slugs here in the woods' (lines 17–18). Elina presents herself as going to extremes in her respectful treatment of other species, perhaps in contrast with what may generally be expected of foragers, and this receives amused and acknowledging responses from Kaisa (lines 19 and 21). After Elina's account, Kaisa once more inspects the mushrooms in her hand but then begins to lower them again and, after seeking and receiving confirmation from Elina (lines 25–29), leaves them on the ground (Figures 2e–f) and moves on (data not shown). In short, Elina has here set Kaisa an example of how foragers may deal with slugs and slug-eaten mushrooms: she has provided verbal explanations and accounts, as well as an embodied demonstration of what she typically does. Kaisa follows Elina's example in carefully inspecting and cleaning the mushrooms but eventually deems the mushrooms as not worth keeping (see Keisanen & Rauniomaa 2019). The participants can thus be seen to achieve a shared understanding of how to treat slugs in the context of foraging: rather than simply discarding the mushrooms that have slugs on them, the participants consider the mushrooms as possibly consumable, and rather than simply picking and brushing the slugs away, the participants handle the slugs with some care and gently lower them to the ground.

In Excerpt (3), Elina similarly sets an example of a respectful orientation to slugs but this time does more work to engage her co-participant in the saving of a slug as a joint endeavor. Here, Elina is walking along a path with another course participant, Mikael. Before the beginning of the excerpt, Elina has picked a mushroom from the side of the path.

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Excerpt 3. *meille tuli näköjään etana matkaan* 'apparently a slug tagged along with us' (08HANS Sieniretki 00:24:50)

(±, * = Elina's embodied conduct; ¤, § = Mikael's embodied conduct)

```
01  ELI:   (täss) on kuule# semmonen ku ↑ryytio¤raka±s.
           here's you know one called woolly tooth.
           >>walks along path-----------------------±
           >>inspects mushroom-->
    mik    >>walks along path behind E---------¤passes E-->
    fig                    #3a
```



Figure 3a. Elina (left) makes a noticing

```
02  ELI:   meille tuli nä¤köjään etana¤ matkaan.
           apparently a slug tagged along with us
    mik                --->¤walks ahead-¤turns to look back-->
03  ELI:   ei# moteta- oteta¤ s[itä.
           let's- let's not take it
    mik                    -->¤walks back to E-->
    fig      #3b
04  MIK:                          [↑NÄYTÄ.
                                  show {me}
```



Figure 3b. Mikael (right) turns in direction of Elina (left), who has stopped

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```
05          (0.8)
06  ELI:    jo[o.
            yes
07  MIK:      [he¤ he he
              -->¤stops to look at mushroom-->
08          (2.0)
09  ELI:    °sie*llä on.°
             there is
             -->*removes slug-->
10          (1.1)
11  ELI:    [jätetään se,]
             let's leave it
12  MIK:    [<↑eta]na> [<↓e#tana.>] ((singing))
               slug       slug
13  ELI:                [↑jä#tetään se tä]nne me*t:tään.¤*
                         let's leave it here in the woods
                                              -->*turns, looks
                                                  away*
    mik                                               -->¤
    fig                       #3c
```



Figure 3c. Elina picks slug out of mushroom, and Mikael monitors

```
14          ±¤(0.4)
    eli     ±walks ahead along path-->
    mik      ¤turns away from mushroom-->
15  MIK:    jo[o (he-)  ]
            yes  (--)
16  ELI:      [etitään s]¤ille# ↑etippä si§lle
               let's find it     {you} find it
    mik              -->¤walks along path with E-->
    mik                                  §orients to bucket-->
    fig                        #3d
```

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Figure 3d. Elina and Mikael continue walking and look for mushroom

```
17  ELI:   [semmonen sopiva korvaa]va sieni.§
            a suitable substitute mushroom
18  MIK:   [↑TÄÄL on hyvä sieni.]
             here's a good mushroom
                                          -->§
19  MIK:   (ti↕ti,)
    eli    -->↕walks across path to the side-->
20         (0.7)
21  ELI:   tu:ola, >jätetään se tuonne<,
           there let's leave it there
22         (0.5)↕(0.8)↕(0.5)¤
    eli      -->↕bends down↕squats-->>
    mik                  -->¤
23  ELI:   ¤tuola#
            there
    mik    ¤leans fwd-->>
    fig          #3e
```



Figure 3e. Elina (left) places slug on another mushroom

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Having picked the mushroom and inspected it for a moment, Elina identifies it for Mikael as a woolly tooth (*ryytiorakas*, line 1). Elina places emphasis on the name of the mushroom and also uses the attention getter *kuule* 'you know' (lit. 'hear'; see Hakulinen, Keevallik Eriksson, & Lindström 2003). The design of the turn projects more talk about the mushroom; indeed, in these data, an identification of a mushroom is typically followed by a description of its characteristics (see Keisanen & Rauniomaa 2019). Moreover, by continuing to walk throughout her verbal turn, Elina orients to the present topic as one that can be advanced while on the move (Figure 3a). However, after her turn in line 1, Elina stops walking and changes the course of her talk by making a noticing: *meille tuli näköjään etana matkaan* 'apparently a slug tagged along with us' (line 2). She then produces a proposal (see Couper-Kuhlen 2014), *ei moteta- oteta sitä* 'let's not take it' (line 3), and begins to pick the slug out of the mushroom. In this way, Elina accounts for having stopped and indicates that she is now engaged in an activity that requires her to stand still.

During Elina's noticing, Mikael has walked forward, but he now stops, turns, walks towards Elina and requests her to show him the slug (line 4; Figure 3b). Mikael then monitors from close range, singing 'snailie, snailie', as Elina picks out the slug and produces another proposal, *jätetään se, jätetään se tänne mettään* 'let's leave it, let's leave it here in the woods' (lines 11 and 13; Figure 3c). It is worth noting that both the initial noticing and the subsequent proposals imply that the participants are involved in a joint activity (see Rauniomaa 2017). Now that Mikael is clearly focused on the slug, too, Elina self-repairs from a proposal, in colloquial first-person plural, into a directive, in second-person singular, for Mikael to take up the task (*etitään sille etippä sille* 'let's find it {you} find it', lines 16–17; Figure 3d; see Rauniomaa 2017; see also Raevaara 2017). In partial overlap, after having a look in his bucket, Mikael exclaims to have found 'a good mushroom' (line 18). Elina, however, does not accept the mushroom that Mikael offers but walks across to the side of the path and squats down to place the slug on a mushroom still growing in the ground (Figure 3e). In sum, Elina demonstrates and guides Mikael in treating small wildlife with respect: not only do they leave the slug in its natural habitat, in the forest, but they also put some effort into finding another mushroom to place it on.

In Excerpts 2 and 3, we saw how a more experienced forager, a professional, displays her orientation to slugs, acknowledging their entitlement to mushrooms as a part of their natural habitat and source of food, which happens to be a source of food also for humans. This orientation is evident in her embodied actions of stopping, inspecting, picking the slug and placing it on another mushroom as well as in the ways in which she explains and accounts for those actions. She sets an example for the less experienced to follow at their will, on this and possible future

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occasions (especially Excerpt (2)), and, additionally, invites and guides the less experienced to conduct themselves in similar ways (especially Excerpt (3)). In these cases, the less experienced do follow the more experienced forager's example or at least momentarily engage in saving the slugs together with her.

3.3 Guiding and instructing others to pursue a shared understanding

In Excerpts 4 and 5, shared understandings about appropriate ways of treating small wildlife are negotiated between family members of various ages, that is, again in a somewhat asymmetrical interactional setting. In contrast with Excerpts 2 and 3, in which an instructor implicitly directs course participants by inviting and guiding them to follow her example, here the more experienced participants, caregivers, explicitly instruct the less experienced participants, children, on how to treat ants. Indeed, using linguistic resources such as the imperative form and the zero-person construction, they produce verbal directives that guide the recipient's conduct in both the present situation and similar ones in the future (see Laitinen 1995; Raevaara 2017; Rauniomaa 2017). They may also cut off the recipient's embodied actions and thus display that they treat such conduct as somehow problematic, in which case control touch and carrying may also be employed (see Cekaite 2015).

In Excerpt (4), the participants negotiate the appropriate treatment of ants, as small wildlife to observe but not to touch. Here, three-year-old Risto, his mother and his grandfather notice an anthill when picking bilberries. Only Risto is visible in the video recording.

Excerpt 4. *hei siinoo paljom muulahaisia* 'hey there are lots of ants' (06HANS Mustikassa I 00:14:35)
(§, * = Risto's embodied conduct)

```
01  GRA:   r[is(to).
02  RIS:    [HE[2§I,
              hey
           >>looks at anthill-->§turns to M-->
03  MOT:       [2SIinä kuule,§ hhh nii.§
                there you know hhh yes
    ris                    -->§looks at M§turns to anthill-->
04         (.)
05  RIS:   hei* sii§noo*, (.) ↑pa#ljom  m*uula*haisia.
           hey there are lots of ants
              *........*points at anthill*,,,,*
                -->§looks at anthill-->
    fig                            #4a
```

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Figure 4a. Risto looks at and points to anthill

```
06  MOT:   nii on.
           yes there are
07         (.)
08  MOT:   ↑kuhina käy.
           it's swarming
09         (2.7)
10  MOT:   katopa tänne pu§uhunki.
           look here on the tree too
    ris               -->§turns to tree-->
11         (0.4)§(0.7)§(0.7)
    ris      -->§looks at tree§no longer visible in video-->
12  MOT:   sii:nä ne mennee.
           there they go
13         (0.4)
14  GRA:   se mennee ↑puu§hun siel on,§
           it goes in the tree there is
    ris              -->§looks at anthill§
15         §(0.6)§(0.3)
    ris    §turns to tree§walks twd tree-->
16  RIS:   minä voisin na#pata yhen§ muula[(haisen).
           I could snatch one ant.
                              -->§stands in front of and
                                  looks at tree-->>
    fig                 #4b
```



Figure 4b. Risto approaches tree

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```
17  MOT:                                    [elä ota.=
                                             don't take
18  MOT:    =anna niitten rauhassa kato,
            let them {be} in peace see
19          (0.6)
20  MOT:    ne men[nee si-]
            they go the-
21  RIS:           [ne   voi] pulata.
                    they can  bite
22          (.)
23  MOT:    no vo:i ne purastaki.
            well yes they can bite too
24          §(1.0)§(.)#
    ris     §stretches out RH§holds RH up-->
    fig                  #4c
```



Figure 4c. Risto holds his right hand up but does not touch ants

```
25  MOT:    ↓ei kan[nata ottaa.]
             it's no use taking
26  GRA:            [ne pissaa] päälle j§os (m[eet lähelle).
                     they pee on you if you go near
    ris                                 -->§withdraws RH slowly-->
27  MOT:                                        [↓elä ota.
                                                   don't take
28          (.)
29  RIS:    #ja pannee§ pissaa päälle.
            and {they} put pee on you
                  -->§
    fig     #4d
30  MOT:    nii,
            yes
```

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Figure 4d. Risto withdraws his right hand

The excerpt begins with the grandfather, Risto and the mother each producing in overlap linguistic elements that are typically used to bring about joint attention (see, e.g. Tomasello 1995): the grandfather starts with the address term *Risto* (line 1), Risto with the attention getter *hei* 'hey' (line 2) and the mother with the deictic adverb *siinä* 'there' and the attention getter *kuule* 'you know' (line 3; see Hakulinen et al. 2003). Indeed, they all employ linguistic resources typical of constructing noticings (see Goodwin & Goodwin 2012), and Risto also turns to look at the mother at the end of his turn. The mother cuts off her own turn and positions herself as a recipient with the particle *nii* 'yes' (line 3), displaying orientation to the course of action initiated by Risto. After getting the mother's attention, Risto turns back to the anthill and produces a noticing that indicates where and what the others are to look at. He also describes the target with *paljom muulahaisia* 'lots of ants' (line 5, Figure 4a). The mother first claims to have perceptual access to the target by producing the unmodified agreement *nii on* 'yes there are' (line 6; see Sorjonen & Hakulinen 2009) and then demonstrates that she sees the anthill and adopts a similar perspective towards it by providing a description of her own (*kuhina käy* 'it's swarming', line 8; see Goodwin & Goodwin 2012; see also Mondada 2011). At this point, the participants apparently remain at a distance from the anthill (Figure 4a) and thus display that they have a shared understanding of their ongoing activity as being about observing ants. The mother then directs Risto to look at a tree (line 10), and Risto turns towards the tree on which more ants can be found.

Next, Risto walks to the tree to take a closer look at the ants and proposes to snatch one of them, employing the conditional modal verb *voisin* 'I could' (lines 15–16, Figure 4b). However, the mother explicitly guides him not to do so by using imperative forms, the first of which (*elä ota* 'don't take', line 17) forbids Risto to follow the course of action that he has proposed and the second of which (*anna*

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niitten rauhassa 'let them {be} in peace', line 18) suggests an alternative course of (non-)action that Risto is to follow. The mother's directives are followed by the attention getter *kato* 'see', which typically projects a forthcoming account (Hakulinen & Seppänen 1992; see Siitonen, Rauniomaa, & Keisanen 2019; see also Raevaara 2017). Here, after a 0.6-second pause, the mother begins an account by referring to what the ants are doing (*ne mennee si-* 'they go the-', line 20). Risto, too, orients to an account being relevant at this point by providing one in overlap with the mother's turn: *ne voi pulata* 'they can bite' (line 21). Whereas the mother's directives and account have implied that they should respect the ants' right to be left in peace, Risto's account suggests that they should not touch the ants because the ants might hurt them. Indeed, the verb + subject construction (see Hakulinen & Sorjonen 2009) as well as the dispreferred features, namely the turn-initial *no* 'well' (see Raevaara 1989) and the lengthened *vo:i* 'can', in the mother's following response (*no vo:i ne purastaki* 'well yes they can bite too', line 23) display that Risto's account does not match the mother's. Nevertheless, the clitic *-kin* 'too' at the end of the verb *puraista* 'bite' indicates that the mother accepts Risto's account as well.

Still standing by the tree, Risto stretches out his right hand as if to snatch an ant (line 24, Figure 4c). Again, the mother forbids him, but this time designing the directive as a zero-person construction, *ei kannata ottaa* 'it's no use taking' (line 25). By employing such a construction, the mother treats the nominated action as valid both in the current situation and in similar ones more generally (see Raevaara 2017; Rauniomaa 2017), and by employing the verb *kannattaa* 'be worth it; be of use', she appeals to reason, rather than empathy. Partly in overlap with the mother's directive, the grandfather joins in and explicates another reason not to go near the ants. By saying *ne pissaa päälle jos meet lähelle* 'they pee on you if you go near' (line 26), he, too, suggests that the ants' ability to cause harm or inconvenience to human participants is the reason to keep away from them. So far, Risto has held his right hand up relatively close to the ants on the tree and, in this way, displayed that he does not comply entirely with the mother's directives but continues to orient to the possibility of snatching an ant. After the grandfather's informing about the possible unpleasant consequences, however, Risto starts to withdraw his hand very slowly. At the same time, the mother forbids Risto to take an ant one more time (line 27). By withdrawing his hand and by repeating the grandfather's warning (line 29, Figure 4d), Risto displays that he now aligns with the nominated action, not to touch the ants. The other participants, in turn, do not provide any further directives and thus treat Risto's conduct as an indication of the achievement of a shared understanding that the ants should be left in peace.

In Excerpt (5), we see the same family spotting another anthill a year later, when also the father and Risto's two-year-old little brother, Väinö, join the others on an outing. Here, too, the caregivers guide the children to treat ants and anthills

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with respect, but, in contrast with Excerpt (4), the participants do not use the ants' ability to cause harm to humans as the reason not to go near them. Instead, as they talk about the ants, the participants refer to them by using terms that are familiar to the children from their own human environment and thereby aid the children in taking into account the perspective of the ants (see Galatolo & Caronia 2018). In other words, the caregivers appeal to and develop the children's sense of empathy. The excerpt starts with a noticing by Risto.

Excerpt 5. *tuossa on tiiäkkö kuule muulahaisen keko* 'there is you know listen an ant's hill' (22HANS Mustikassa II 00:07:37)
(¤ = grandfather's embodied conduct; §, * = Risto's embodied conduct; % = Väinö's embodied conduct)

```
01        (1.8)*(0.3)
    gra   >>assists V-->
    ris   >>looks at anthill-->
    ris        *.....-->
02  RIS: ↑kato pap*pa.#
          look grandad
               -->*points at anthill with cup-->
    fig                #5a
```



Figure 5a. Risto looks at and points to anthill but remains at some distance from it; and grandfather assists Väinö in getting up

```
03        (.)
04  RIS:  tuossa on tii¤äkkö kuule muulahaisen§ keko.§*#
          there is you know listen an ant's hill
                                          -->§looks at G§
                                                -->*
    gra              -->¤straightens up,
                          turns to look at anthill-->
    fig                                             #5b
```

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Figure 5b. Risto points to anthill but looks at grandfather; and grandfather orients to anthill

```
05          §*(.)
    ris     §turns to anthill-->
    ris      *,,,,-->
06  GRA:    s¤iinä§ ↑on muura¤*haisen keko.
            there is an ant's hill
            -->¤turns back to V¤bends down to assist V-->
    ris           -->§looks at anthill-->
    ris                       -->*
07          (0.9)
08  RIS:    m[i¤tä (tuo)§ ↑likkoo tuon muu§lahais[e¤n keko.
            what (that) one breaks that ant's hill
    gra     -->¤lifts V up-------------------------¤lets V go,
                                                   steps bwd-->
                    -->§turns to G-------§looks at G-->
09  MOT:     [öh-,
10  GRA:                                          [e::i saa
                                                  {one} mustn't
11          rikkoa.¤
            break {it}
                -->¤
12  RIS:    ¤↑mitä jos sen likkoo.¤
              what if {one} breaks it
    gra     ¤steps bwd-----------¤
13  FAT:    >sit muurahaisella ei oo kotia.<
            then the ant doesn't have a home
14          (.)%(.)
    väi        %walks twd anthill-->>
15  GRA:   ↑n¤§i[in. ]§[muura-,]
            that's right. the an-
            -->¤walks after V-->>
    ris      -->§turns to anthill§looks at anthill-->
16  MOT:        [↑niin.]
                that's right
```

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```
17  RIS                [sitte] ne§ ni- niitä ↑halmittaa.§
                        then they the- they are annoyed
                             -->§looks at V-----------§
18  MOT:     §*ihan [varmasti ha*rmittaa.
              {they} surely are annoyed
    ris      §looks down-->>
    ris       *takes step right-*bends down-->
19  FAT:           [(nii har(-)
                    yes (they) (-)
20           (.)
21  RIS:     ↑ihan *valmasti halmit*taa.
             {they} surely are annoyed
                -->*picks berry----*squats down-->>
```

The grandfather is busy assisting Väino when Risto produces a noticing about an anthill (*kato pappa. tuossa on tiiäkkö kuule muulahaisen keko* 'look grandad. there is you know listen an ant's hill', lines 2 and 4). Risto also looks in the direction of the anthill and points at it with a paper cup in his hand (Figure 5a). At the end of the verbal noticing, by glancing at the grandfather, Risto ensures that they share the same focus of attention. At this point, the grandfather has indeed already straightened up and turned to look at the anthill (Figure 5b). Then, turning back to Väinö and bending down to assist him, the grandfather verbally affirms Risto's noticing (*siinä on muurahaisen keko* 'there is an ant's hill', line 6). At the same time, Risto looks at the anthill again and subsequently expands the noticing into a knowledge exploration (see Goodwin 2007), asking about the consequences of breaking the anthill (*mitä (tuo) likkoo tuon muulahaisen keko* 'what (that) one breaks that ant's hill', line 8). The grandfather explicitly forbids him to break it (*ei saa rikkoa* '{one} mustn't break {it}', lines 10–11) and, by using the zero-person construction, portrays the nominated action as a more general piece of advice that concerns also other people and other situations (see Raevaara 2017; Rauniomaa 2017). However, the grandfather does not account for the directive.

Consequently, Risto repeats his previous question and, by using the conjunction *jos* 'if' and the zero-person construction, highlights it as a hypothetical one, an initiation of a knowledge exploration (*mitä jos sen likkoo* 'what if {one} breaks it', line 12). In line with this, Risto neither approaches the anthill nor orients to it in other embodied ways. The father (not visible on video) answers Risto's question in terms of human phenomena, i.e. having a home (*sit muurahaisella ei oo kotia* 'then the ant doesn't have a home', line 13), and both the grandfather and the mother confirm this explanation with the particle *niin* 'that's right', produced with emphatic prosody starting with high pitch (lines 15–16). Risto himself complements the explanation by referring to an ant as a sentient creature that is capable of being annoyed and, in so doing, displays his ability to take the other's perspective (*sitte ne ni- niitä halmittaa* 'then they the- they are annoyed', line 17; see Galatolo & Caronia 2018). The mother and the father soon confirm the inference that Risto has made (lines 18–19).

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It is worth noting that, throughout the excerpt, Risto, the grandfather, the mother and the father all stand some distance away from the anthill and do not display any intention of moving closer to or touching it. The two-year-old Väinö, however, starts to walk towards the anthill in the middle of the knowledge exploration between Risto and the caregivers. The grandfather orients to Väinö's embodied conduct first by following him and later by using control touch and carrying to stop his movement towards the anthill (data not shown; see Cekaite 2015).

Excerpts 4 and 5 show that, in natural outdoor settings, the caregivers explicitly direct the children to conduct themselves in ways that the caregivers consider appropriate. In this socialization process, the participants employ multiple resources, including language, bodily conduct, (non-)movement, touch and carrying, to construct a respectful orientation towards ants as entitled inhabitants of the forest, in particular, and towards other living beings, in general. The children, in turn, are treated as accountable for complying with the directives and thus displaying in situ that they subscribe to the values set forth by the caregivers. Such values are best established and maintained in those extraordinary moments of everyday life in which human participants cross paths with other species in the wild: unlike the family pet of which children take care and to which they are emotionally attached, or indeed the exotic beast about which children have learnt in television documentaries and which they follow in awe from behind a glass wall in a zoo, small wildlife are varied in shape, size and number, and encounters with them during any outdoor activities are common but unpredictable.

4. Conclusion

In many ways, in our data from natural outdoor settings, representatives of other species are talked about and oriented to similarly to objects on guided tours in urban environments (e.g. Broth & Mondada 2013; De Stefani 2010; De Stefani & Mondada 2014, 2017): participants produce noticings about them, talk about their characteristics and possibly negotiate what to do with them, before moving on to other objects. Moose flies, slugs and ants, however, are *animate* objects, in the sense of both *alive* and *mobile*. They are available for observing and even acting on, but they live and move independently of humans. Apart from moose flies and mosquitos perhaps, participants in our data treat other species as having a right to their natural habitats, which may be described in human terms for the children (i.e. anthills are talked about as homes), and their existence is considered as meaningful in itself.

While all our cases begin with noticings, the subsequent courses of action unfold in different ways so that participants may display and renew their already established shared understandings by all treating the wildlife in similar ways; pursue

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shared understandings by setting an example and providing accounts for the ways in which they treat the wildlife; or pursue shared understandings by guiding and instructing others in treating the wildlife in appropriate ways and by holding others accountable for their conduct. In other words, the cases in our data fall on different points along a continuum of the degrees to which participants explicitly negotiate, demonstrate and instruct others in constructing the human–nature relationship in social interaction.

We have shown how, in the process of displaying and monitoring their evolving understandings about the appropriate ways of engaging in interspecies encounters, the participants draw on, among other things, talk, gaze, body position and space in their own intraspecies interaction. Moreover, we have shown how touch emerges as an important resource in managing such interspecies encounters. Through their multimodal conduct, human participants communicate to one another what forms of touch are appropriate when dealing with other species: for instance, should a careful, and even caring, touch be employed (e.g. Excerpt (2)) or should the wildlife not be touched at all (e.g. Excerpt (4)). Sometimes, small wildlife may also seek contact with humans as part of their natural feeding and breeding behavior, and in such cases touch is used to shoo them off or even to kill them (Excerpt (1)). These different forms of touch in interspecies encounters show that touch is one important means for displaying, pursuing and achieving shared understandings of the human–nature relationship among human participants.

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Extending sequences of other-initiated repair in Finnish conversation

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This paper explores other-initiated repair, or more specifically, extended repair sequences. In extended cases, the repair turn does not immediately resolve the trouble, and the speaker needs to produce a new repair initiation.

Drawing on a collection of 458 other-initiations of repair in naturally occurring everyday interaction in Finnish, we show how the distribution of the outcomes of different types of initiations clearly differs. Typically, candidate understandings and open class repair initiations do not lead to extended sequences, whereas repeats (with question words) are more often followed by a second repair initiation. The type of trouble, as well as the typological specificity of different initiations, explains the outcomes of the repair sequences.

Keywords: other-initiated repair, non-minimal repair, extended repair sequence, open class repair initiator, candidate understanding, repeat, question word

1. Introduction

Intersubjective understanding in conversation is ultimately achieved and maintained on a turn-by-turn level; each turn-at-talk makes a response from the recipient relevant, simultaneously demanding the recipient to display their understanding of the previous turn. On occasion, recipients have problems processing the previous talk; they may not have heard it or parts of it, or they may not have understood the turn or what it was doing in that specific slot in the conversation. On these occasions, one regularly employed option is that the recipient produces an action that indicates they have problems processing and responding in a way that would progress the conversation. These actions thereby make it relevant for the previous speaker to try to repair the problem. In conversation analytic terms, the recipient can launch a sequence of other-initiated (OI) repair. (See e.g. Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977, Schegloff 2000, Sidnell 2010: Chapter 7.)

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In more general terms, conversation analysis describes the organization of repair as ways of managing problems of speaking, hearing and understanding in interaction (see e.g. Schegloff et al. 1977). Thus, it is seen as a system of intersubjectivity maintenance (see e.g. Schegloff 1992, Hayashi, Raymond & Sidnell 2013: 9, Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 112). This organization comprises a wide variety of phenomena from self-repair and word searches to other-correction. The focus of this paper, however, is on the aforementioned type of repair sequence: the recipient of a trouble source initiating repair and leaving the repair work for the producer of the problem. This sequence type has been described and analysed in numerous studies (for a synthesis, see e.g. Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 138–201), and can be schematized as:

T1	A:	trouble source
T2	B:	repair initiator (e.g. *mitä* 'what')
T3	A:	repair (e.g. repetition of turn T1)
T4		progressivity of the conversation continues[a]

a. On some occasions, T4 consists of a repair receipt (Koivisto 2019).

This schema covers a world of real-life variety. Repair is an omnirelevant phenomenon in interaction; thus, recipient (B) can index whichever previous turn as a trouble source turn. Trouble sources are thus recognizable only retrospectively, through repair initiation at stage T2. (See e.g. Schegloff 2007: 100–101.) Repair initiators come in different shapes and sizes. However, much research has shown that specific format types and turn formats are used for performing this type of action, and they seem to be quite similar across languages and cultures – with some local flavours in the syntax and prosody of the formats (see e.g. Dingemanse, Blythe & Dirksmeyer 2014, Dingemanse & Enfield 2015). The central format types are: 1) open class initiators (see Drew 1997), which target the whole previous turn as a trouble source (e.g. Finnish *mitä* 'what'), 2) more specific question words (e.g. Finnish *kuka* 'who'), 3) partial or full repeats of the previous turn, 4) combinations of 2 and 3, and 4) candidate understandings that offer the speaker's understanding of the previous turn or a part of it to be either confirmed or corrected. (See e.g. Schegloff et al. 1977, Sidnell 2010, Kitzinger 2013.) Actions at T3 thus vary according to the repair initiation type to which they are responding.

In a recent study we analysed sequences of other-initiated repair in Finnish everyday conversation (Haakana et al. 2016). Aiming to determine what type of turn-formats Finnish speakers use for OI repair, we showed the range of interactional problems that the various formats target. In this paper we continue our work by turning to the subsequent positions of T3 and T4 of the schema. In our data, most of the problems targeted by other are resolved as the schema shows: after the

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repair-initiator, the first speaker produces a repair, and this resolves the problem, i.e. the main line of talk can proceed. However, in some cases, this does not happen, and the problem continues after the attempted repair. For the focus of this paper, we schematize our cases in the following way:

T1	A:	trouble source
T2	B:	repair initiator 1
T3	A:	repair
T4	B(/C):	repair initiator 2
T5	A:	repair 2
T6		progressivity of the conversation continues // ?

In other words, we investigate cases in which the OI repair sequence extends beyond the first (attempt at) repair and solving the trouble at hand requires more than one repair initiator from the same speaker, or sometimes, in multi-party interaction, from another interactant (C).[1] In principle, the above schema can continue with further steps of repair initiation. However, in our data the sequence usually did not involve more than two repair initiators.

Although OI repair across languages has been the focus of a substantial amount of work, repair sequences that extend beyond the basic three-part structure have so far attracted little attention. Studies focusing on OI repair usually only mention extended sequences in passing. Kendrick (2015: 167) explicates three ways in which a basic three-turn repair sequence can be extended. First, the repair solution for the first OI can become a new trouble source that is reacted to with another other-initiation of repair. Second, in multiparty interaction, multiple speakers can initiate repair on the same trouble turn, and this may lead to an extension of the basic sequence structure. Third, the first repair solution may not solve the problem, and the receiver of the trouble source turn may issue new OIs until the problem is solved. In this paper, we focus on the third type of case, i.e. on situations in which the participants need to issue several other-initiations to the same trouble source turn to solve the problem and re-establish mutual understanding.

Dingemanse and Enfield (2015) refer to extended repair sequences as "non-minimal OIR sequences" (see the special issue on other-initiated repair in Open Linguistics 2015). Schegloff (2000) calls such sequences "multiples" and observed that three subsequent OIs were the maximum in his data. This observation

1. More than one OI can figure in the sequences in several ways. An interactant can produce a combination of two repair initiators in one turn, e.g. question word + candidate understanding. Sometimes, in multiparty interactions, two participants produce an OI simultaneously before any space for repair. However, these two types of cases are not the focus of this paper.

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seems to also hold for many other studies. Even if the number of OIs in extended sequences is not always mentioned, the excerpts exemplifying such sequences usually consist of three subsequent OIs at the most (see also Dingemanse 2015). A recurrent observation is that in extended sequences, subsequent OIs become more specific. For example, if the first OI is an open-class format type, the next one is of a more restricted format type, for example, a question word (see e.g. Schegloff et al. 1977: 369, Dingemanse et al. 2015 and the other papers in the special issue). The studies that mention non-minimal repair sequences do not focus on analysing the problem types that lead to the need to extend the sequences. Sometimes auditory problems are mentioned (Floyd 2015: 469) and sometimes comprehension problems (Gisladottir 2015: 312–313). Sometimes the analysis also shows how mutual understanding is built step by step in the sequences, i.e. the problem is solved one part at a time (Dingemanse 2015: 235–236).

All the above-mentioned studies have analysed data on everyday interactions between friends or acquaintances. In asymmetrical interactions, in which participants do not share the same linguistic resources or have differing cognitive abilities, extended repair sequences seem to be more frequent. For example, in second language interactions, troubles in understanding the language of interaction are sometimes observable in very long and complex repair sequences (see e.g. Egbert, Niebecker & Rezzara 2004, Lilja 2014). Similar observations have been made of data with aphasic speakers (see e.g. Goodwin 1995, Klippi 1996), with participants who have Parkinson's disease (Griffiths et al. 2015) or acquired dysarthria (Bloch & Wilkinson 2011), and with participants who use augmentative and alternative communication devices (Mayes 2020). In some of these cases, the repair sequences are extended because articulatory problems add to the challenges of resolving the original trouble. However, these studies have also observed a general tendency of repair initiators to become increasingly specific as the sequence unfolds.

In sum, even though extended OI repair sequences have been mentioned in prior research, they have not been the focus of analysis in studies of symmetrical everyday interactions. This study aims to remedy this. The data for our study consist of 37.5 hours of audio and videotaped interactions: both telephone and face-to-face interactions, both dyadic and multiparty conversations. All the speakers are adult native Finnish speakers in non-institutional, everyday settings.

For the purposes of this study we counted all the other-initiations of repair that occurred as the first one in relation to the trouble source (N=458) in the data of 37.5 hours of everyday interaction. We classified them according to type of OI: the data included open class initiators (OCRI), question words, repeats, combinations of a question word and repeat, candidate understandings, and finally, interrogative clauses. The number of each initiation type is shown in Table 1. Then we analysed

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each sequence in terms of its continuation: whether the sequence ended after the first repair turn or was extended. Table 1 shows the overall picture. The first column shows the number of each initiation type as the first reaction to the trouble source, and the number in the second column shows how many of these first initiations were followed by another repair initiation.

Table 1. Frequency and format of first initiator of repair sequence, and frequency of subsequent repair initiators

Type	1st OI N=458	Extended N=42	%
OCRI (open class repair initiator)	155	10	6.5
Question Word	71	7	9.9
QW + repeat	47	10	21.3
Repeat	42	9	21.4
Cand. understanding	115	1	0.9
Interrogative Clause	28	5	17.9
TOTAL	458	42	9.2

The first thing the table shows is that sequences of OI repair are relatively rarely extended (42/458): in more than 90% of the cases, one initiator was enough to solve the problem at hand. Furthermore, it should be noted that, even if it is not visible in the table, if the sequence was extended, two initiators were usually enough; i.e. the data included only very few instances of three repair initiators targeting the same trouble turn. Secondly, the table shows that different types of repair initiators led to extended sequences in different frequencies: from virtual zero (candidate understanding) to around one-fifth of the cases (repeats, question word + repeat). This is the guiding observation in the following analytical sections. We first discuss the cases in which extensions rarely happened (candidate understandings and OCRIs) and then the cases in which they were noticeably more common (repeats, question word + repeat).[2] The analysis shows how the sequences typically extended and examines the possible reasons for the different frequency of extensions with respect to the different initiation types.

2. Space limitations prevent us taking up all the initiation types in detail. Furthermore, the 'interrogative clause' is a somewhat heterogeneous category and will be discussed in a separate paper (Haakana, in preparation).

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2. When extensions are rare: Candidate understandings and open class initiators

The major types of repair initiation have a 'natural ordering' based on their power to locate the trouble in the previous turn (see e.g. Schegloff et al. 1977: 369, Sidnell 2010: 117). On this continuum, open class initiators are the 'weakest' and candidate understandings the 'strongest'. As shown in Table 1, in our data, these initiation types are the ones that only rarely lead to extension of the repair sequence. For candidate understandings this is not a surprise. They are indeed a strong way of dealing with a problem: in producing one, the interactant not only displays encountering a problem but also engages in solving it by offering their understanding of the previous turn or a part of it, and then leaves it to the producer of the trouble source turn to either confirm or correct the understanding. Our data had only one case of a candidate understanding being followed by another repair initiator – another candidate understanding offering an alternative understanding of the original trouble turn (data not shown). Furthermore, our previous study (Haakana et al. 2016: 275–276) showed that interactants are quite successful in designing their candidate understandings: they were overwhelmingly confirmed to be correct, and seldom corrected (only 8% of the cases, N=11/135).

However, it is less evident why open class initiators seldom lead to extension of the repair sequence; in fact, because of their 'weak character', one could imagine that this type would have great potential for extending the sequence. Minimally, OCRIs (such as *mitä* 'what') merely display that the producer has heard (or thinks they have heard) the co-interactant saying something (see e.g. Drew 1997, Haakana 2011). Thus, basically, all other repair operations would still be available after the initial repair turn. However, our data show that most of the problems dealt with OCRIs were fairly simple: acoustic problems caused by overlapping talk, noise, changes in the participation framework, and so on. Furthermore, the response (repair) for this initiation type was also simple: merely repeating the trouble source turn as such (or in a slightly modified form) is always a viable option (see e.g. Haakana 2011, Haakana et al. 2016: 258–260).

Speakers extend the repair sequences that begin by open class repair initiators in two major ways. First, in some cases, after the initial repair, the recipient still has a problem grasping the trouble turn as a whole. Excerpt (1) shows such a case. In lines 1 and 2, Reijo and Pekka are in overlap, addressing different aspects of a trip they are about to make together:

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Excerpt 1. Open class [Sg94–7 1A1 Yawning.telephone]

```
01  REI:   oot sä< [(maistanu)- ]
           have you tasted
02  PEK:           [m'olla aika<] pitkää siellä joo,mhh
                    we are there for quite long yes
=>  REI:   >m'täh,<
           what
04  PEK:   .mt mehä ollaa aika pitkää siellä,
           .tch we are there for quite long, y'know
05         (1.0)
->  REI:   >mä en kuullu viel<,=
           I still didn't hear
07  PEK:   =et me ollaa aika PI:Tkään siellä (.) [(-),
           =so that we are there for quite long
08  REI:                                         [ollaan
                                                 yes we are
```

Reijo's first OI in line 3 is the most typical open class initiator in Finnish (*mitä* 'what') (Haakana et. al 2016: 258).[3] After Pekka's repair turn, the repetition of the trouble turn, Reijo displays that he still is having trouble processing the previous turn. He does this using a turn that explicitly states (*mä en kuullu* 'I didn't hear') that he had a hearing problem (line 6), and the adverb *viel* 'still' implies that Pekka's initial problem was also one of hearing. After Pekka's second repair, the problem is solved (line 8).

In our data, the speakers never produced another OCRI after their initial OCRI of the 'what' type. If after the first repair, the interactant still had a problem with the whole trouble turn, they did what we see in Excerpt (1): made it explicit that they had a problem either hearing or understanding.[4]

Second, and more typically, sequences initiated by open initiators are extended with a stronger form of initiation that shows that the speaker already has a grasp of at least some aspects of the initial trouble source turn. Usually the second initiator is a candidate understanding, targeting some part of the trouble turn, as in Excerpt (2). Prior to the excerpt, Missu has asked Viivi if she has already seen her new roommate in the place she has just moved to. Viivi's answer is somewhat vague, and it is this vagueness on which Missu's question in lines 1–6 picks up:

---

3. Out of the 156 OCRIs in the data, 109 are performed with *mitä* ('what'). The particle *tä(h)* was the second most popular format (N=29). The rest of the cases included the particle *häh* (8), apology-based *anteeks(i)* (2), sound object *mhy* (1) and some interrogative clauses of the 'what did you say' type (7).

4. Repair initiations of the type 'I didn't hear/understand' never occurred as a first OI in our data.

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Excerpt 2. [Sg112b9 Room mate.telephone]

```
01   MIS:   ni mitä: yks tyttö siinä pyöri et et sää
            so what some girl was hanging around there so you
02          tiedä onkse sun,
            don't know if she's your
03          (.)
04   MIS:   .hh kämppis vai,
            .hh roommate or
05          (.)
06   MIS:   °vai mi[tä°,
            or what
=>   VII:          [>ai mitä<,
                    PCL what
08   MIS:   .hh et sää tiedä onkse sun kämppis.
            .hh don't you know if she's your roommate
09          (0.5)
->   VII:   >ai se,<
            PCL that
11   MIS:   nii.
            yes
12          (.)
->   VII:   >tyttö.<
            girl
14   MIS:   ni[i
            yes
15   VII:     [↑juu se  oli siellä.
                yes she was there
16   MIS:   JAA eiku mää  aattelin
            PCL no I just thought
```

Viivi obviously had trouble understanding Missu's question: the response is delayed (lines 5–6) and takes the form of an open class repair initiator *mitä* ('what') prefaced by the particle *ai*.[5] In response, Missu repeats the gist of her previous turn (line 8). This is followed by Viivi's repair initiators in lines 10 and 13, which are candidate understandings concerning the person reference in Missu's turn in line 8, after which the repair sequence is brought to an end in lines 15–16.[6]

In sum, repair sequences are only very rarely extended if the first repair initiator is the most specific OI (candidate understandings) or the least specific OI (open class). Next, we investigate cases in which extended sequences are more common.

---

5. *Ai* is one of the many particles in Finnish that displays that the speaker is treating the previous talk as containing something 'new' (Koivisto 2017). It is our strong intuition that the combination *ai* + *mitä* ('what') indicates that the speaker is having understanding problems (see also Haakana 2011: 56). However, the combination was very rare in the data, and the hypothesis should be confirmed with a larger data set.

6. Viivi's turns in lines 10 and 13 can be seen as either two separate candidate understandings, or as one, so that line 13 is an increment of line 10.

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3. When extensions are more frequent: (Partial) repetitions of trouble turn and repetitions with question words

The two OIs that were most often followed by another OI in our data were those including a repetition: (partial) repeats of the trouble source turn and repeats together with a question word. In this section, we focus on these OIs which are most prone to lead to extended sequences and discuss the possible reasons behind this skewed distribution. We begin by exploring partial repeats.

One important dimension of other-initiations of repair is that different initiations typically deal with different types of trouble (Haakana et al. 2016, see also Sidnell 2010, Benjamin 2013). Partial repeats are particularly used in Finnish conversations when the problem concerns the acceptability of the co-participant's turn (Kurhila & Lilja 2017, Stevanovic, Hakulinen & Vatanen 2020). Different trouble types yield different remedies: in the case of auditory problems, a repetition of the original turn often resolves the problem. In contrast, acceptability problems may involve misunderstandings and elements of disagreement, and remedying such problems requires more work than just a second saying of the original turn. The following excerpt illustrates a case of misunderstanding which is not resolved by a single repair initiator.

Excerpt 3. Repeat 1 [telephone, Sg344)].[7]

```
01   JOU:    MORO,
             Hello
02   PEK:    MOI mis        meet,
             Hi whereabouts are you wandering
03           (0.5)
04   JOU:    mä oon täällä Europassa jo,
             I'm here in Europa already
05           (0.6)
=>   PEK:    Europassa,
             in Europa
07           (.)
08   JOU:    mä oon täällä jo,
             I'm here already
09           (1.0)
->   PEK:    Artturissa,
             in Artturi,
11           (0.8)
12   JOU:    Europassa,
             in Europa
13           (1.0)
14   PEK:    ei kun Artturissa.
             no but in Artturi
15           (0.3)
```

7. Europa and Artturi are names of bars.

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```
16   JOU:    Europasta oli puhe alunperin,
             we talked about Europa originally
17           (0.3)
18   PEK:    eipäs ollu ku Artturista. (.) Euro[paan just
             no we didn't but about Artturi not to Europa
19   JOU:                                    [ä-
20   PEK:    sen takia ei< ei kun siä< (.) tulee porukkaa
             precisely because< because there will be so many
21           nii paljon.
             people
22           (1.0)
23   JOU:    jaa:,=eilen< eilen juniori puhu Europasta
             I see yesterday yesterday Junior talked about Europa
```

In this mobile phone conversation, the caller enquires about the recipient's location through a dynamic verb *me[n]et* 'go, wander' (line 2). Thus, the caller displays an assumption that the recipient is in motion. The recipient, however, responds by providing his static location, the name of a bar (line 4). This response becomes the trouble turn: Pekka repeats the name of the bar (in the locative case, *Europa-ssa*, line 6). The first syllable of the repeat is heavily stressed (*Eu*), indicating astonishment or unexpected information (see Kurhila & Lilja 2017: 234). In his next turn (line 8), Jouko seems to be treating the temporal dimension as the source of astonishment: his attempted repair turn (line 8) specifically reverbalizes the temporal reference, that he is already at the location. The location itself is referred to through only a deictic proadverb (*täällä* 'here').

However, the source of the trouble is not the time, as becomes clear in the subsequent turns. Pekka's next turn (line 10) is a second repair initiation, a candidate understanding. He no longer focuses on any elements in Jouko's prior turn; instead he provides the name of another bar (Artturi), again in the locative case. Since Pekka's turn consists of only replacing one linguistic element by another, it comes close to other-correction; the boundary between candidate understandings and outright other-corrections is not always clear-cut (Haakana et al. 2016: 273, Haakana & Kurhila 2009). In this excerpt, the 'correctivity' of Pekka's turns gradually increases: whereas the turn in line 10 offers *Artturi* as the right place, his next turn (line 14) is clearly a correction. It begins with the repair particle *ei kun*, explicitly negating the prior reference and substituting it with another alternative (see Haakana & Visapää 2014, also Laakso & Sorjonen 2010).

It is clear that the speakers in Excerpt (3) have differing ideas of the piece of information (= the meeting place) that they thought they shared. During their conversation, it gradually becomes clear that a misunderstanding has occurred. It takes the participants several turns to remedy the problem and establish intersubjective understanding of the situation; Pekka produces two repair initiations (lines 6 and 10) and two other-corrections (lines 14 and 18) to clarify the situation.

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In addition to misunderstandings, acceptability problems include cases that come close to disagreements. The next excerpt illustrates an instance in which the problem that is targeted by repair initiators involves possibly conflicting views on the matter of piracy and computer games.

Excerpt 4. Repeat 2 (telephone, SG 094–097 2b14)

```
01   LEO:    se kopiohomma vaa p: pilaa markkinoita
             the copying thing does ruin the market
02           aika hyvin kyllä,hh
             pretty much
03   KAI:    no: kyl niis on aika hyvii suojauksii
             well they do have quite good protection
04           tehty tiettyihin pelei[hin,
             developed for certain games
05   LEO:                          [kyllä nykyään ne
                                    well nowadays
06           kakrut pääsee aika hyvin kyllä,[.hhh läpi
             kids are pretty good at getting through
07   KAI:                                   [joo mut
                                             yea but
08   LEO:    kaikesta,
             everything
09   KAI:    ei ku se: vaatii värikopiokoneita ja
             no 'cause it requires colour copying
10           tämmösii s-
             machines and like
11           (1.7)
12   KAI:    se:, ei se: oo aina [niin,
             it it's not always so
=>   LEO:                        [väri<koppareita,>
                                  colour copiers
14   KAI:    nii,
             yes
15           (0.5)
->   LEO:    siis jonkun::, korpun: monistamine,
             y'mean copying some diskette,
17   KAI:    e:i korpun kyllä sä sen voit, mutta .hh
             no not a diskette you can do that but .hh the
18   se      (0.5) arvalla vetää se kone aina eri
             machine draws lots always different codes
19           koodeja sinne millä se pitää jollain
             to where it has to be recognized by
20           väriliuskalla esimerkiks tunnistaa,
             some colour scheme for example
```

The excerpt is from a telephone conversation between two friends in the late 1990s. Kai's comment (lines 1–2) about the 'copying thing' (i.e. pirated copies of computer games) launches a sequence in which the speakers provide competing views about the seriousness of piracy, Leo considering piracy a more serious issue than Kai. The turn that launches the repair initiation is the turn in which Kai defends

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his position: he rejects Leo's prior claim that 'kids get through everything' by giving evidence why this cannot be the case: such piracy requires specific physical equipment, namely colour copying machines (lines 9–10). Leo initiates repair on this turn in overlap with Kai's continuation (line 13). He repeats a more colloquial variant (*värikoppareita*, 'colour copiers') of the key word slowly, stressing the latter part of the compound word. Even though these prosodic features can be heard as displaying scepticism (see Kurhila & Lilja 2017), Kai simply provides confirmation without explanations (line 14). Leo, however, does not accept Kai's position; he produces a second repair initiator, a candidate understanding (line 16), through which he verbalizes the activity for which the copier is supposedly needed. Even this second repair initiation is produced slowly, stretching the ends of the words (line 16).

Leo begins his second repair initiation with the concluding particle *siis,* which has been observed to preface utterances in 'competitive positioning', that is, when two parties insist on incompatible viewpoints (Hakulinen & Couper-Kuhlen 2015: 117, Sorjonen 2018). In these environments, a speaker can use *siis*-prefaced utterances to tie back to their own previous turn and insist on their own standpoint (Hakulinen & Couper-Kuhlen 2015: 128). This is precisely what seems to be occurring in Excerpt (4): Leo does not accept the standpoint introduced by Kai (that piracy is too difficult for kids). Through his repair initiators, Leo targets elements that could potentially be problematic in terms of Kai's position.

In sum, the reason why repeats may lead to extended repair sequences more often than other OIs appears to be connected to the type of trouble a repeat deals with as a repair initiation. Acceptability problems may involve misunderstandings or competing views between participants, and hence a simple second saying of the trouble turn is usually not enough as a repair. Rather, the speakers may need to clarify the details or the source of the misunderstanding, or they may use repair initiations to challenge the view of their co-participant. The second OI following a repeat is often a candidate understanding, as in Excerpts 3 and 4 above. If the speaker has displayed scepticism through a repetition (as in Excerpt (4)), a candidate understanding is a way of highlighting a more specific problematic aspect of the prior speaker's position. In case of misunderstandings (as in Excerpt (3)), the candidate understanding is already a step toward solving the trouble after the initial (perplexity-indicating) repeat.

The other OI format that is more often followed by extended repair sequences in our data consisted of partial repetition and a question word. Instead of acceptability problems, these OIs often target another type of trouble source: a referent that has been marked as known and familiar to all participants, but which turns out to be unfamiliar (see Haakana et al. 2016). In Excerpt (5) (in which the participants talk about tyres), the trouble source is in Susa's question addressed to Paavo (lines 1–2). Susa uses the word *vanne* ([wheel] rim) and marks it as known with the determiner

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se (*sitä* in the partitive case) (see Laury 1997, 2001, Etelämäki 2009). Paavo recognizes the referent and answers the question in the following turn (line 3). One of the other participants, Ina, however, marks the referent as problematic with two subsequent OIs (line 6, 11–13).

Excerpt 5. question word + repeat [multiparty, Sg445]

```
01   SUS:   nii sä et oo enää sitä
            so you're not going to
02          vannetta ottamas kuitenkaa?
            get that rim anymore
03   PAA:   een en(.) en [(    -]-)
             no I'm not no no
04   MAI:                [.mff  ]
05   SUS:   [okei.   ]
             okay
=>   INA:   [mikä van]ne?
             what rim
07          (0.4)
08   PAA:   se [yks se yks va]nne?,
            that ((one)) that ((one)) rim
09   SUS:      [mhhihhh      ]
10   SUS:   .hhh
->   INA:    mikä [vanne siis auton]
             what rim d'you mean a car
12   PAA:         [au- auton       ]
                    car
->   INA:    [vanne?   ]
             rim
14   PAA:    [auton van]ne nii.
             a car rim yeah
15   INA:    okei,
             okay
```

The first OI (line 6) is a combination of a question word and a partial repetition. The second repair initiation (lines 11 and 13) includes two OI formats. First, Ina repeats her prior OI, and this format is then followed by a candidate understanding that suggests that the talked-about rim belongs to a car. This second OI turn illustrates that the first repair attempt (in line 8) has failed to clarify to Ina what the problematic noun (*vanne*) refers to. This understanding is then confirmed in the next turn (line 14) and the conversation continues.

In our data set, the OI repairs of a question word + repeat differed from the previous cases in that it was not just the type of trouble but also the number of interlocutors that seemed to contribute to extending the sequence. The question word + repeat initiations that led to extended sequences typically occurred in multiparty conversations in our data. In other words, the type of trouble (not recognizing a referent that is marked as identifiable) need not be a complex trouble to remedy *per se*. Rather, it seems that this type of trouble possibly occurs more

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easily in multiparty conversation: several co-participants mean several epistemic positions, and knowledge and identification of various referents may be shared between certain participants but not between others (see also Haakana & Kurhila 2009: 174–175). This can pave the way for extended repair sequences, given that the intersubjective understanding between the knowledgeable participants is not necessarily halted at any stage. As in Excerpt (5), Susa and Paavo have no problem understanding each other's turns in terms of the referent, the rim. It is only the third participant, Ina, who does not recognize the referent and tries to enter into the conversation through her repair initiations (see also Egbert 1997). The progressivity of the conversation (between the initial speakers) is not halted, and therefore the pressure to repair the trouble source may not be so great. For example, in Excerpt (5) above, the first repair attempt is fairly vague ('that one rim'), which leads to a second repair initiation by the same speaker.

4. Discussion

In this paper, we have analysed extended sequences of OI repair, that is sequences in which a problem is not resolved by one repair initiator but another is needed for the conversation to proceed. Our analyses show that extended cases are rare: only about 9% of first-position OIs led to extended sequences in our data. In other words, in more than 90% of cases one OI is enough. Even in the extended cases, virtually no more than two OIs are needed. This shows that the repair organization is indeed an effective mechanism. Initiating repair is an interactional routine, and the breaches in intersubjectivity are mainly short and non-fatal.

In our analysis, we found differences with respect to the type of repair initiation and the extendedness of the sequence: some other-initiation types led to extended sequences more often than others. Particularly two types of OI – repeat and question word + repeat – led to extended cases (approximately one-fifth of the cases). In contrast, the otherwise most frequent types of OIs, candidate understandings and open class repair initiators, only rarely led to extended cases (about 1% and 6.5% of the cases, respectively). The rare occurrence of candidate understandings leading to an extended sequence can be explained by its being the most specific type of OI. Speakers tend to choose as specific an initiation type as possible when initiating repair, so no more specific options are available if the repair is initiated through candidate understanding. However, the opposite is not true for open class repair initiations. Even if the whole range of more specific OIs is available, only rarely do the OCRIs lead to extended repair sequences. This can be explained by the fact that the problems that the OCRI deals with are more often auditory than problems of understanding and are typically resolved through a simple repetition

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(Drew 1997, Haakana 2011). Thus, the repair sequences initiated by an OCRI are mostly simple and routine.

The two OI types leading to extended cases – repeat and question word + repeat – are often used when the problem concerns reference issues or acceptability, that is, issues that interfere with the speakers' common ground. A typical case of a reference problem is one in which the speaker presents a referent as known, but it turns out that the recipient or some of the recipients do not recognize it. These cases often occur in multiparty conversations in which the participants may have differing knowledge of the topics talked about. Therefore, more intersubjectivity work is needed in order to keep all the participants on the same track. The cases of acceptability problems dealt with issues of alignment. In some cases, as in the one in Excerpt (3), the extended repair sequence led to overt correction and disagreement between the participants. The complexity of the problem seemed to function in two ways, both of which increased the risk of the sequence extending: 1) the resolution of the problem required more work, and 2) it was not always clear what would be relevant next turn, in comparison to the cases in which the problem was solved by repeating the previous utterance. Thus, when the problem was a complex one, the risk of failing in the first repair attempt was greater.

According to previous studies, the maximum number of OIs is three; in our data, two was nearly always enough. In all the cases, the OI speaker did not extend the sequence with the initial OI type but moved on to a more specific one. Even in the cases in which the speakers did not extend the repair sequence, they tended to choose the most specific OI possible. In terms of intersubjectivity, this indicates that people orient towards the specificity principle, acting in a way that offers as much information as possible for the recipient to resolve the trouble. By choosing the most specific type of OI, the speaker initiating the repair 'displays altruistic behaviour' and orients towards minimizing joint cost (Dingemanse et al. 2015: 9).

In his study on repair after next turn, Schegloff (1992) investigated the organization that provides resources for the interactants to recognize breakdowns of intersubjectivity and to repair them (Schegloff 1992: 1295). Schegloff determines such breakdowns as "trouble in the socially shared grasp *of the talk and the other conduct in the interaction*" (1992: 1301, italics original). However, as intersubjectivity is a broad concept and can refer to, for example, different levels of engagement, joint attention, and stance sharing (e.g. Sidnell 2014), it is not always clear what constitutes a breakdown in intersubjectivity. Based on the analysis of our data, as well as on previous research, we argue that repair organization operates within intersubjective understanding rather than being something that emerges when intersubjectivity fails. We see repair not only as a remedy for breaches in intersubjective understanding, but also as part of the conventionalized intersubjective machinery of interaction. The grounds for our argument are as follows: (1) Repair organization

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is a systematic and routinized way of dealing with problems that arise, and are dealt with, in talk-in-interaction. Thus, repair mechanisms operate within the sequential organization of talk (e.g. as insertion sequences, see Schegloff 2007). (2) The majority of cases are quickly resolved, and extended cases are rare. The most frequently used OI types (OCRI and candidate understanding) are least frequently extended, whereas the less frequently used OI types are more likely to be extended. Thus, the most typical repair sequence is a routine-like recovery of something not heard or clearly understood. (3) Even in cases in which the repair sequence is extended, the maximum amount of OI is limited, and (4) the subsequent OI(s) is/are more specific than the first, which shows an effort to achieve mutual understanding as soon as possible. Typically, repair-sequences are quickly resolved without any real risk of intersubjectivity breaking down.

In cases in which intersubjectivity is more fundamentally threatened, for example, if the participants do not share a common language, repair practices may not be the way to resolve interactional problems. Savijärvi (2011, 2018) analysed Finnish-speaking children in a Swedish immersion kindergarten, and showed that the children did not initiate repair on the educators' turns at the beginning of their immersion, even if they did not understand any Swedish. They only started initiating repair on the educators' turns after several months of immersion – at the same time they also started displaying understanding of the educators' verbal turns by other means, for example, by tying their utterances to the educators' turns. Thus, even if intersubjectivity is at a higher risk during the first months, and even if children could initiate repair in their first language, they do not do so until they already understand quite a lot of the educators' verbal turns and have hence reached some level of intersubjective understanding.

Moreover, it has been reported that speakers sometimes let understanding problems pass rather than employ multiple repair practices in interaction with people who suffer from dementia (Kurhila & Lindholm 2016). If there is serious doubt about the level of intersubjectivity – for example if the speaker does not know whether the other participant can recognize the action they are about to perform – repair practices may not be a useful resource. Thus, fundamental breaches in intersubjective understanding may require other remedial means than OI repairs. More research is needed on the situations in which participants have serious doubts about their intersubjective understanding, and the role of repair practices as a remedy for such intersubjective breakdowns.

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Co-presence during lapses

On "comfortable silences" in Finnish everyday interaction

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This study examines video-recorded, naturally occurring Finnish dyads focusing on lapses (inter-sequential silences). During most lapses, participants undertake bodily activities or behaviors (Hoey 2015). Adding to previous work, this study describes "comfortable" silences where participants share the moment with no bodily activities or mutual gaze, inhabiting the silence with simple co-presence. The analysis suggests that instead of the gathering/encounter dualism, participant behavior in social situations is better described as a continuum of orientations. Also during the "comfortable" silences, understanding of behavioral involvements is intersubjectively created and maintained. Thus, even outside of sequences that allegedly create and maintain the "architecture of intersubjectivity" (Heritage 1984), social organization is jointly negotiated and achieved, most importantly by mutual monitoring and reciprocation of (bodily) orientations.

Keywords: lapse, silence, gathering, encounter, co-presence, embodiment, conversation analysis, Finnish

1. Introduction: Co-presence and social situations

Co-presence – being with other people in the same space at the same time – enables participants to mutually monitor one another's actions and behavior with their senses. In these social situations, individuals are conscious of possibly being also similarly monitored by the other(s). (Goffman 1964, 1978). Based on the kinds of behavioral obligations and normative expectations pertaining to a given situation, Goffman (1964) divides social situations into gatherings and encounters. They are organized differently and different social orders prevail in them when it comes to, among other issues, talking. In an encounter, participants share a joint orientation: they are, for instance, having a conversation. The participants jointly sustain their

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attention on a single (yet moving) focus, both visually and cognitively. Many rules determine the ways in which individuals behave in an encounter, for instance how they initiate and terminate it, and how participants enter into and depart from it. (Goffman 1964).

The other type of social situation, gathering, is a situation where two or more individuals are in a shared space without a joint focus of attention – for instance, people walking on a street or strangers riding an elevator. Participants in a gathering can be oriented to various things, not engaged with one another, and often they are silent and unacquainted. There are, however, normative expectations and behavioral obligations concerning how to behave in these situations, too, for instance when it comes to the physical distance between the individuals. (Goffman 1957, 1963, 1964, 1978).

Approaching transformations between gatherings and encounters, Mondada (2009, see also De Stefani & Mondada 2018) has shown how a common interactional space – that is, an encounter – is achieved multimodally, transforming incidental and silent co-present persons (in a gathering) to co-participants in focused interaction. This article investigates situations that, at least seemingly, may fall somewhere in between gatherings and encounters. These situations are initially organized as encounters: two adults who know each other well sit around a table, one visiting the other, and have a relaxed chat. These encounters, however, include moments when the joint focus of attention – the conversation – ceases and neither of the participants says anything, and in some cases they do not do anything else either. The article explores whether the notions of gathering and encounter – which have not yet been empirically thoroughly examined – could be helpful also in analyzing these cases. The central question is: How to understand and analyze these situations that look like encounters and are initiated and most of the time also maintained as such, but then, momentarily, transform into something different? Is it appropriate to describe these moments with Goffman's dualistic terminology as gatherings, or do we need something more, or something else, instead? In this paper, it will be shown that a more dynamic approach in analyzing naturally occurring conversational data actually challenges Goffman's categorization of social situations into two distinct types.

Furthermore, I will also discuss how the social order of each type of social situation – the participants' coordinated understanding of the nature of the situation and the behavioral involvements – is intersubjectively created and maintained between the participants, as well as how transitions between the situation types are achieved. One crucial issue here is whether there is talk or silence; as Goffman (1978: 813) writes, "[i]n every society, one can contrast occasions and moments for silence with occasions and moments for talk." The participants' embodied behavior, such as their gaze and body postures, is also highly important for the analysis. Accepting

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the importance of sequence organization for intersubjectivity (e.g., Heritage 1984), I will argue that the organization of the ongoing social situation is also jointly negotiated and intersubjectively achieved outside of sequences. The following section will elaborate on this topic.

The empirical starting point of this study is a lapse, which in conversation analytic literature has been defined as the silent moment that may occur at a sequence ending when all participants forgo the option to speak and no specific turn is being expected next (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974). Literature on lapses will be reviewed next.

2. Empirical background: Lapses as silent moments in interaction

In conversation analytic literature, silent moments that sometimes occur in conversations have been divided into three categories based on the specific point in a turn and sequence at which they occur (Sacks et al. 1974). *Pause* is a silent moment within one speaker's turn before its projected completion. *Gap*, on the contrary, occurs between two turns within a sequence. It is silence at a moment when a certain turn-at-talk is expected to occur – for instance, when a second pair-part is expected after a first pair-part, such as an answer after a question. There is a whole body of literature on gaps and the impact and meaning they may carry in conversation (e.g., Jefferson 1989, Kendrick & Torreira 2015, Mushin & Gardner 2009, Pietikäinen 2018, Stivers et al. 2009), whereas the third silence type, *lapse*, has been investigated much less. Lapse is the silent moment that may occur at a sequence ending when all participants forgo the option to speak and no specific turn is being expected (Sacks et al. 1974). A lapse thus occurs between sequences, after "rounds of possible self-selection" (Sacks et al. 1974). These silences do not "belong" to anyone: no one has been selected as the next speaker, and no one has self-selected. It is thus everyone's and no one's responsibility to end the silence and resume talking again.[1]

When a lapse emerges, the participants may orient to it in different ways, as has been shown by Hoey (2015, 2020). They may treat the silence as (1) "now relevant" and begin being engaged with an activity that precludes simultaneous talking, such as doing individual assignments in a shared space (see Szymanski 1999) or making

1. Contrary to Hoey (2015, 2020), I thus define the types of silences solely based on the sequential environment, not on the participants' (bodily) behavior during a given silence that may indicate their orientation to relevance of talk. Thus for me, "gap" is a silence after a turn that clearly expects a response, whereas "lapse" is a silence after a potential sequence-ending turn – and during them both, various bodily behaviors may or may not occur. In other words, participants can orient to both gaps and lapses in different ways.

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a phone call in the midst of a face-to-face conversation. Participants also may treat the emerging silence as (2) "allowable", whereupon they, instead of maintaining conversation, orient to an alternative engagement such as "watching television", or "sharing a car ride" and just gazing forward in the moving vehicle. In these situations, talking remains an option but is not specifically expected, as the current focus is elsewhere and the silent moment is occupied by another activity.[2]

Participants may also orient to the lapse as (3) potentially problematic or "awkward" – in Hoey's (2015) words, as "the conspicuous absence of talk". This orientation is visible in the participants' embodied and/or vocal behavior during the lapse. The participants may disengage bodily via, for instance, drinking, eating, self-grooming, or yawning (see, e.g., Hoey 2017a, Luopa 2016) – i.e., occupying themselves with bodily behaviors that do not constitute a recognizable alternative activity for that moment (in contrast to activities such as jointly watching television, as described above).[3] Some of these bodily activities are such that their endpoint is (more or less) projectable, such as taking a sip from a coffee cup, and participants may methodically exploit these projectable trajectories to manage the lapse in a range of ways: initiating such embodied activity when entering a lapse and resuming talking when that activity reaches its projectable completion, or timing either the initiation or the termination of the embodied activity to coincide with the lapse boundaries (Vatanen 2018). Further possibilities for the participants to deal with lapses are to recomplete the prior sequence that had already been completed (Hoey 2017b), or to use other verbal means such as certain particles (Luopa 2016).

These lapse management strategies support Sacks's (1992: 225) claim concerning situations and settings organized for sustained talk-in-interaction that "under the more general rule of the turn-taking techniques we're dealing with, silence is a terrible thing. The turn-taking rules say that somebody should be talking all the time; not more than one person, but somebody". At these moments, the turn-taking machinery provides no next speaker or next thing-to-do. The previous sequence has been completed, and often the topic has been exhausted, too. Indeed, in the literature, lapse behaviors have been linked to the feeling of embarrassment. According to Heath (1988: 156–157), embarrassment may surface "in circumstances in which the nature of the individual's involvement in interaction is at issue or ambiguous" and when "persons are found in each other's immediate co-presence whilst lacking a mutually coordinated activity to which they are committed" (see also Hoey 2017a: 161). Furthermore, some studies suggest that lapses are moments that

2. This type of moments are sometimes also called "continuing states of incipient talk" (see Schegloff & Sacks 1973: 324–326, Berger, Viney & Rae 2016).

3. These behaviors have also been called "auto-involvements" (e.g., Goffman 1963, Goodwin 1986).

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participants may experience as ambiguous or even "painful" (see, e.g., Goffman 1967: 120 on "interaction-consciousness"; also McLaughlin & Cody 1982).

Experiencing lapses as ambiguous moments in interaction also relates to intersubjectivity. Lapses by definition occur outside of sequences of turns-at-talk, and it has been claimed that it is the sequential organization of talk that creates and sustains the "architecture of intersubjectivity" in interaction (Heritage 1984, Schegloff 1992, Deppermann 2015). Consequently, when a lapse emerges, it produces a moment in interaction when this architecture does not support the flow of interaction (or, more generally, togetherness): nothing has been projected to occur next, at least not in the same way as within sequences. (See also Hoey 2017a: 176.)

However, it is turn-taking and sequence organization that also provide for the occurrence of lapses. When a sequence has been brought to a close and no one self-selects, a lapse may occur. As discussed above, there are various bodily behaviors and activities that may be exploited to account for the lapse (see also Goodwin 1981) and thus offer a way to be (more) "comfortably" silent. In addition to the three ways to orient to a lapse identified by Hoey (2015) – as now-relevant, allowable, or awkward – the current study finds that participants have one more way in which they may deal with the lapse, which will be examined in the following sections. The main focus here will be on situations where there is no talk or other activities or involvement going on during the silent moment, and still the moment seems not to be oriented to as awkward or painful. Instead, the participants "comfortably" share the silent moment without doing anything visible. The participants' observable behavior during the lapse suggests that they create, negotiate, and most often eventually share an intersubjective understanding of the lapse as a silent moment where it is possible to simply be together with the other, to just sit still and be there, inhabiting the silent moment with mere co-presence. At these moments, talking is not specifically expected, even though the participants are not engaged with any observable activity.

In this study, I will thus show that even outside the organization of sequences, which has been said to create and sustain the "architecture of intersubjectivity" as reviewed above, the organization of the ongoing social situation is jointly negotiated and intersubjectively achieved, most importantly by mutual monitoring and reciprocation of (bodily) orientations. The analysis below will discuss silent moments where "nothing happens," as well as cases where participants are engaged in certain activities. I will also reflect upon the notions of gathering and encounter and their applicability for analyzing these kinds of silent moments in social situations.

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3. Data and methodology

The data for this study consist of three hours of video-recorded, naturally occurring dyadic everyday interactions in Finnish where the participants are friends or family members. The settings and participant configurations investigated here are, at least seemingly, organized for sustained talk: they mostly involve a visit by a friend. At these moments, the participants are together (mainly) for the sake of interaction, and there seems to be a joint, moral and normative commitment to socialize. Moreover, the participants are seated around a table in the kitchen or in adjacent armchairs in the living room. They are thus spatially positioned as if they were in a focused encounter.

During most of the identified 130 lapses (at least two seconds long) in the data, participants engage in embodied activities such as eating, drinking, or stroking a cat, or they produce some vocal or verbal elements such as particles. However, in altogether 15 of the lapses in the data, either one or both participants display no "lapse-management devices" at all. Instead, they remain silent, with constant bodily orientations, not engaged in (visible) side involvements (Goffman 1963). These moments are the main focus of this study, even though I will also use some of the other cases to illustrate the boundaries of the phenomenon. In my analyses, I use multimodal conversation analysis (Mondada 2016; on conversation analysis in general, see Sidnell & Stivers 2013) and present close moment-by-moment analysis of such lapses, focusing on participants' verbal and embodied conduct in the situated, material environment.

4. On ways to orient to lapses: Towards the "comfortable" silence

I will start the analysis with interactional moments where the participants are, apart from talking, also occupied with other activities such as eating. The participants thus have their focus on a joint activity – the same activity, albeit accomplished individually. From this type of case I will move on to instances where no such activities are used.

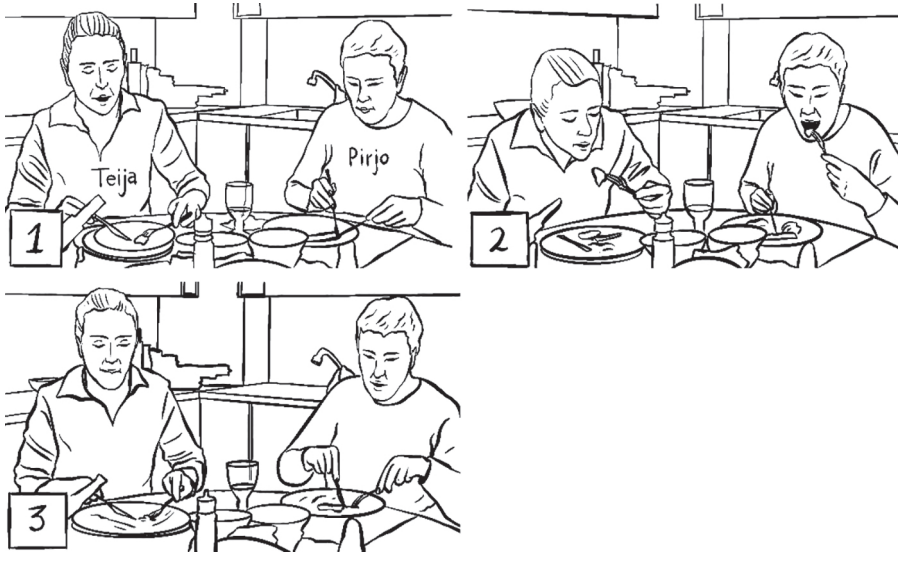
In the first excerpt, the participants are seated at the kitchen table and eating a warm meal. Eating is also what they do during the silent moment that emerges, which makes this case an activity-occupied lapse – and hence, at least at first sight, an "allowable" silence where talking remains an option while the participants are involved in some other activity (Hoey 2015). Here two middle-aged sisters, Pirjo visiting Teija (see Figure 1.1), are talking about what their families usually have for Christmas dinner. The sisters are occupied with eating, already close to finishing their meals. During the whole fragment, their gazes remain at their plates

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or elsewhere on the table. Before the fragment, Teija has reported on the main course at her family's Christmas dinner and how to prepare it, to which Pirjo has responded with the acknowledgment token *mm*. This exchange is followed by a lapse, and after 6.4 seconds of joint eating in silence, Pirjo reports on the dish that her family usually has (line 1).[4]

Excerpt 1. Sg 437, 40–50: 09:45

```
01   PIR:    meill_on aina valkosipulipe°runat°?
             we always have garlic potatoes
02           (2.0)
03   TEI:    ne on kans kyl* hyvät?
             they are indeed good as well
     fig                  *fig1.1
04           (0.3) * (6.9) ((=7.2))
     fig          *fig1.2
05   PIR:    mut* niinku tosiaan ni, (0.2) m nyt tänä
             but anyway so (0.2) now this
     fig        *fig1.3
06           jouluna sitte kir↑si saa valii että,
             Christmas Kirsi can then make the choice that,
```



Figures 1.1–1.3 of Excerpt (1)

4. The verbal and vocal features in the examples are transcribed according to the conventions developed by Gail Jefferson (2004). Embodied features of the excerpts are mostly captured by illustrations (drawn based on still images of the video) attached to the transcript. These illustrations are aimed at capturing the central features of the during-lapse activities; when there is a change in the participants' activities or, for instance, body postures, there is a new image. The multimodal transcription follows Mondada's (2019) conventions.

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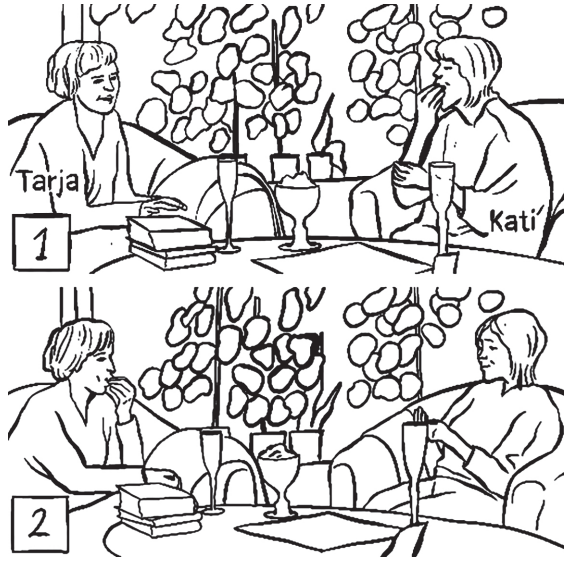
Teija assesses Pirjo's announcement positively (line 3), after which another longish silence ensues (line 4). During lines 1–3, both participants put food on their forks, their gazes down (Figure 1.1), and as soon as Teija finishes her turn (line 3), they both put food in their mouth (Figure 1.2). During the silence, they both chew their food, gazing at the table; Pirjo also prepares another portion onto her fork. Pirjo then resumes talking (line 5), still gazing down, and Teija does not raise her eyes either (Figure 1.3). The silent moment here partly resembles a gathering where silent, co-present persons all engage in some activity (such as participants in a gymnastics class). However, mainly due to the relatively short length of the silence surrounded by talk, and also the participants' relationship to one another, it seems more reasonable to claim that this is an activity-occupied encounter and an "allowable" silence where the participants' focus is on joint activity of sharing a meal. Due to their body postures and gaze direction they are able to monitor one another's activities, and their orientations are reciprocated. Given that it is culturally not favorable to talk with one's mouth full, the silent moment could perhaps even be analyzed as a "now-relevant" lapse for the participants.

In the above case, the overall activity of eating was already going on long before the lapse occurred and was then continued during it; furthermore, the participants temporally positioned the action of bringing food into the mouth at a potential sequence boundary. In the following case, in contrast, the activity taken up during the lapse – savoring chocolate – is prepared only shortly prior to the lapse and is initiated when the lapse emerges. Thus the use of the activity seems more strategic than in the case examined above by virtue of being prompted by the current interactional contingencies, and in that sense the participants might almost seem to treat the lapse as "awkward". However, there are also other ways to interpret the silence. In both of the lapses that occur in this fragment, the participants (Tarja visiting her friend Kati, see Figure 2.1) have more or less a joint, reciprocal orientation to the lapse: they involve themselves in the same activity, accomplishing it individually. The fragment begins with Tarja's report of how she the day before tasted the chocolate that she had recently bought:

Excerpt 2. Sg 398: 30:30

```
01   TAR:     haukkasin semmosen ison palan ja
              I bit a big piece and
02            rupesin pureksimaan sitä nii[n tota
              started to chew it so uhm
03   KAT:                                 [>joo<
                                           yeah
04   TAR:     arghhyä ahh he heh +he he+ .hh
     kat                        +shakes head+
05            (0.5) * (3.0) * (2.1) ((=5.6))
     fig           *fig2.1 *fig2.2
```

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Figures 2.1–2.2 of Excerpt (2)

```
06   KAT:     *↑mm. (0.4) hyviä.*
                mm.       tasty.
     fig      *fig2.3           *fig2.4
07            (4.0) * (1.0) ((=5.0))
     fig             *fig2.5
08   TAR:     >njo niitä niitä< niitä ku syä niin kyllä
              them them (-) when you eat them so indeed
09            menee suklaahimo hähh(viää) he[h heh he
              your craving for chocolate disappears heh heh he
10   KAT:                                    [£hhhh£ ((nods))
```



Figures 2.3–2.5 of Excerpt (2)

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Tarja reports on her tasting the newly bought chocolate (lines 1–2), ending her turn with a gestured and vocalized demonstration of its somehow unpleasant taste (line 4). The demonstration ends with laughter, and Kati responds with an appreciative head shake. After this a lapse emerges, during which Kati is the first one to put in her mouth a piece of chocolate (Figure 2.1) she had just unwrapped during Tarja's telling. At the same time, Tarja first puts the chocolate wrapper on the table (Figure 2.1) and then puts the chocolate in her mouth (Figure 2.2); she had also taken the chocolate and opened its wrapping during her previous telling. The participants' understanding of the situation is thus reciprocated. For both of them, this is the first piece of chocolate they have taken from the bowl on the table. Tarja then lowers her hand from mouth a little bit, and Kati has almost finished with balling the wrapper in her hands (Figure 2.3). At this moment Kati assesses the chocolate they are savoring with the gustatory *mm* (Wiggins 2002) and the evaluation token *hyviä* 'tasty' (line 6), thus using the environment – the ongoing activity – to generate talk (see Bergmann 1990, Hoey 2018). This lapse is, hence, filled with activity-relevant embodied action (chewing) as the participants, or at least Kati, focus on tasting the chocolate in silence (see Mondada 2018).

Tarja does not respond to Kati's assessment, and they both continue to savor their chocolates in silence, gazing down (Figure 2.4, line 7). This may suggest that the previous lapse is a "tasting silence" (Mondada 2018) only for Kati and not for Tarja. During the subsequent silence, they both still chew and savor the chocolate. Kati also continues to ball the wrapper in her right hand, and Tarja rubs her hands (Figure 2.5). These minor movements somewhat resemble activities that are done during an "awkward" silence to make it more accountable (Hoey 2015, Luopa 2016). However, the movements are barely visible, and the participants do not really seem to be disturbed by the occurrence of the silent moment; in fact, it seems rather comfortable for them, as they do not engage in clearly visible "lapse-management behaviors". Furthermore, even if not talking or gazing at one another, the participants sustain their bodily orientation towards each other and thus keep their orientation to the social situation intact. The lapse ends as Tarja, without any changes in her posture or embodied activity, starts talking (line 8), coming back to a prior topic (on ways to resume talking after a lapse, see Hoey 2018, Vatanen 2020). Only when Tarja starts talking does Kati lift her gaze to her.

The next case is an example of a lapse that is not occupied with any activity. Examining it suggests clearly that the three categories posed by Hoey (2015, 2020) do not capture all participant orientations to lapses that occur in my data. Here we have Pirjo telling her sister Teija about an incident in the past.

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Excerpt 3. Sg 437: 57:35

```
01   PIR:     sillai että sai sitten siisteissä vaast-
              so that (she) then was able to put the little
02            a *↑vaatteis pikkusisko ni, (0.4)
              sister in c- clean clothes (0.4)
     fig        *fig3.1
03            päiväk+o[tii ja, (.) [ja, (.) kaikki* kangas=
              to day care and, (.) and (.) all canvas
     tei            +gaze down
     fig                                          *fig3.2
04   TEI:             [mm.          [nii?
                       mm            yeah
```



Figures 3.1–3.2 of Excerpt (3)

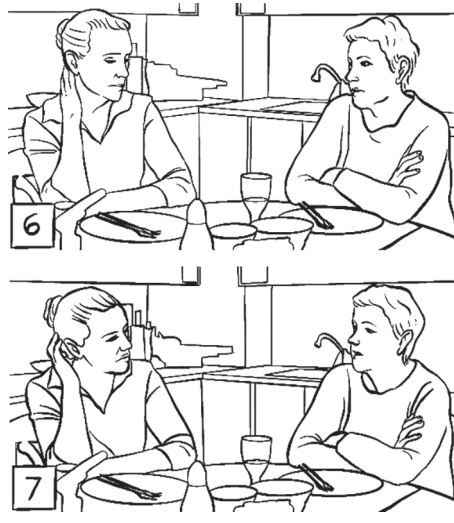
```
05  PIR:     =kengät ja [kaikki tämmöset #näi#,
              shoes and all such things
06  TEI:                [°.tjoo°
                         yeah
07          (0.1) * (0.2) * (6.5) * (0.2) ((=7.0))
    fig           *fig3.3 *fig3.4 *fig3.5
```



Figures 3.3–3.5 of Excerpt (3)

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```
08   PIR:    .mth mut ohan niinku niil justiin ni toi, (.)
             .mth but it is (as you know) like they have that(.)
09           .hhhhhh tommiki* ni #se:# se on kans semmone,
             .hhhhhh Tommi as well so he he is also such
     fig                  *fig3.6
10           .hh (0.4) @hän on hyvin #järkevä# ih*minen?@
             .hh (0.4) he is a very sensible person
     fig                                        *fig3.7
```



Figures 3.6–3.7 of Excerpt (3)

Teija responds to Pirjo's telling (lines 1–3 and 5) with the acknowledgment tokens *mm*, *nii* (line 4) and the inhaled *joo* (line 6) that in general implicates closure (Sorjonen 2001: 280–283) and lack of involvement in the topic (Hakulinen 2010). Having gazed at Pirjo during the telling (Figure 3.1), Teija brings her gaze down (line 3, Figure 3.2) and does not look up for a long time. Pirjo crosses her arms upon finishing her telling, stabilizing her body posture, and for a couple tenths of a second, still gazes at Teija (Figure 3.3, line 7). She then brings her gaze down (Figure 3.4), and they both look at the table for almost seven seconds (see Figure 3.5 with no visible differences compared to Figure 3.4). Both still gazing down, Pirjo starts another telling. She looks up at Teija only when saying the name of the main-character-to-be of the current telling (line 9, Figure 3.6). Her sister looks at her only in the end of line 10, at the end of Pirjo's animated reported speech (see Figure 3.7).

During the 7-second lapse in this excerpt (line 7), the participants' orientations are first not reciprocal, as Pirjo still gazes at Teija, orienting to a continuation of the sequence and topic (see McLaughlin & Cody 1982, Rossano 2012, Luopa 2016). After a couple tenths of a second – not receiving any more responses – she, however, adapts to her co-participant's behavior and shifts her gaze to the table. For the rest of the lapse, they both look at the table, being totally motionless (compare

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Figures 3.4 and 3.5); Teija does not even pass her fingers through her hair, which she did before the lapse. The lapse ends when Pirjo simply starts talking about a related topic, tying it to the previous one with the conjunction *mut* 'but', the clitic particle *ki* 'also' and the anaphoric pronoun *niil* 'they', not specifying the referent with a lexical noun (lines 8–9). Here no embodied behavior plays a role in ending the lapse (see Vatanen 2018, 2020).

In this case, the participants in a couple tenths of a second achieve an intersubjective, mutual understanding of the nature of the lapse. It becomes a moment of partial mutual disengagement: they do not talk or look at each other, nor do they display any orientation to lack of talk – features that normally characterize *encounters* (Goffman 1964). Nevertheless, the participants stay oriented towards one another with their bodies, not changing their postures. With their stable bodily orientations, they methodically inhabit the occasion of simple co-presence. Their behavior involves certain features of a gathering: though in the same physical space, they do not share a focus of (visual) attention. In that sense, they seem to momentarily re-form the encounter into a more gathering-like social situation. However, as they are acquainted, and have just been talking together and still maintain bodily orientation (excluding gaze) towards one another, *gathering* does not seem an appropriate label for the situation either. It seems thus clear that participants' behavior in social situations cannot be captured by the dual distinction between gatherings and encounters. Rather, a more dynamic analytic approach suggests a continuum of orientations.

This excerpt and other similar instances suggest that there is a fourth way to orient to a lapse, in addition to the three described by Hoey (2015, 2020). Thus, for the participants, the lapse may not only be "now-relevant," "allowable" or "awkward," but also "comfortable". These "comfortable" lapses are one possible form of co-presence that is available for participants – a way to be together (cf., Carbaugh, Berry & Nurmikari-Berry 2006 on the "naturalness" of silence with regard to the Finnish culture; for other, similarly meaningful silences in certain American Indian cultures, see Basso 1970, Scollon 1985, and references therein).

Let us now look in more detail at cases where participants even more clearly negotiate their understandings of the ongoing situation.

5. On the reciprocity of orientations: Negotiating understandings of the lapse

As was already mentioned in some of the cases explored above, the participants' orientations to the lapse are not always reciprocal, at least not from its very beginning. However, these cases seem to especially suggest that the social order of co-presence – shared understanding of how to be together and what the relevant activities are – is intersubjectively created, negotiated, maintained and transformed

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amongst the participants. In some cases, one participant adapts to the other's orientation very quickly (as was the case in Excerpt (3)), whereas in others, their orientations are non-reciprocal throughout the whole lapse. Let us now investigate an instance of each type.

In the following case, the sisters Teija and Pirjo sit at the kitchen table after having finished their meal. Pirjo has told Teija about the situation at her workplace, which is a state agency. Here she moves to a more general level, suggesting that the unit she works at is very inefficient (lines 1–6). Teija has responded to the telling only very minimally throughout, mostly gazing at and stroking the cat in her arms (see Figure 4.1 below). Then a lapse emerges (line 8).

Excerpt 4a. Sg 437, 70–80: 06:35

```
01   PIR:    eihän voi aatella sillai että valtiol ylläpidetään
             one cannot (you know) think so that such units are
02           ni semmossii yksiköit joiss_ei saada mi_tään
             maintained within the state that don't get anything
03           ai*kaseks et niit vaan pi_detään niinkun;
             accomplished so that they are only maintained like
     fig       *fig4.1
04           .hhmhh niinku si_llailla ettäm; (0.6) et ne on vaan
             .hmh like so that (0.6) that they are merely
05           niinku itseisarvo et me vaan* niinku työ_llistetään
             an absolute value that we just like employ
     fig                                  *fig4.2
06           ite itteemme ve_rova#roil [siel#?*
             ourselves by ourselves with tax money there
07   TEI:                              [mm::? *
     fig                                    *fig4.3
```



Figures 4.1–4.2 of Excerpt (4a)

```
08           (0.5) * (6.5) * (4.8) * (1.0) ((=12.8))
     fig           *fig4.4 *fig4.5 *fig4.6
```

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Figures 4.3–4.6 of Excerpt (4a)

```
09   TEI:   .mt tää röyhnä tuli nyt tähän sitteh. (0.2)
             .mt this purry creature got here then (0.2)
```

After Pirjo's generalizing statement (lines 1–6), Teija only utters *mm* (line 7), acknowledging her sister's telling (see Gardner 1997), while not committing to furthering the sequence or the topic.[5] During her telling, Pirjo mostly gazes at her recipient Teija (see Figure 4.1), at times gesturing and gazing straight ahead (Figure 4.2); she returns to look at Teija at the end of her story (Figure 4.3). Teija still does not look up. For the first half second into the silence, Pirjo still gazes at Teija, orienting to a continuation of the sequence (Rossano 2012), but then shifts her gaze to the table, looking straight ahead (Figure 4.4). She thus adapts her orientation to the lapse to be similar as her sister's, not displaying (visible) orientation to the relevance of talk but rather orienting to the current moment as one which they can (comfortably) share by just being together in silence. Both participants remain in a static position for about six seconds. Teija continues to stroke and look at the cat in her arms, thus using an available resource to generate some physical activity, and Pirjo just gazes at the table. Pirjo then turns to look at the cat in her sister's arms (Figure 4.5), remaining in this position for the rest of the silence (for almost another six seconds; see Figure 4.6), while Teija constantly strokes the cat, looking at it. Remaining in a static position during the silence and not engaging in visible

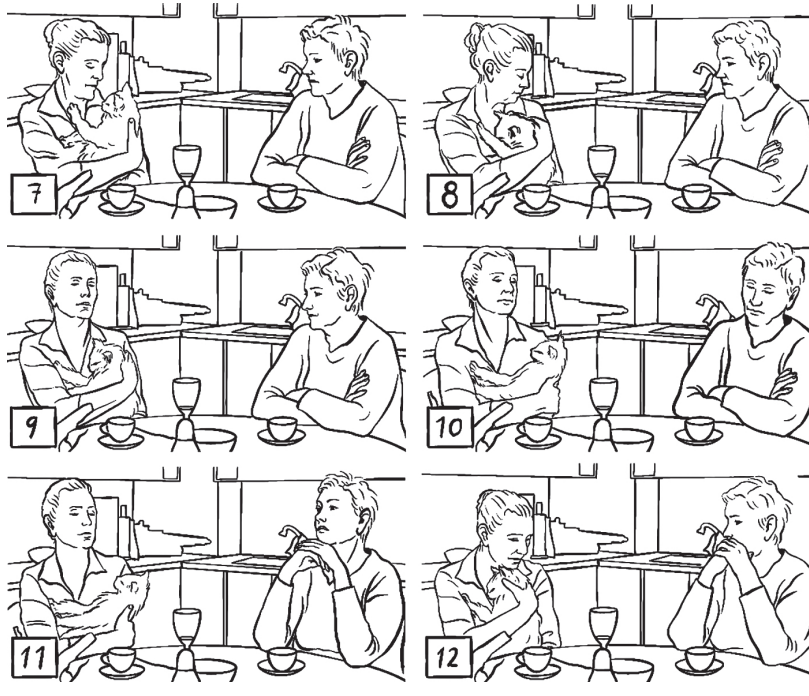
5. It is not uncommon in the data that a lapse emerges in a situation where a topic (sometimes a narrative) is about to come to its end, and at least one of the participants does not further the topic or the sequence (see also Excerpt (3) above). It is unfortunately not possible to elaborate on this phenomenon in this paper; see, however, McLaughlin and Cody (1982) and Luopa (2016) on responding minimally prior to a lapse.

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bodily activities (other than gazing at her sister's cat) suggests that Pirjo orients to the moment as one that does not need to be filled with such behaviors, but can simply be inhabited with joint co-presence.[6] Not changing her body position or direction of gaze (see Vatanen 2020), Teija ends the lapse by commenting on the cat's arrival in her arms (line 9), even though that happened already a good while earlier, continuing then to report on its imagined thoughts (lines 10–11 below). She thus uses the material environment to generate more talk (see Bergmann 1990). Pirjo smiles slightly in response to Teija (see Figure 4.7 below) but does not say anything. Then another lapse emerges (line 12).

Excerpt 4b. Sg 437, 70–80: 06:35

```
10   TEI:    mt kuvittelee et se on nyt sitt_iha, (.)
             mt (it) imagines that it is now right (.)
11           *.hhhh (.) niinku y:kköshommapaikas, (.) mm,
             .hhhh (.) like in the number one spot (.) mm
     fig     *fig4.7
12           (2.5) * (0.5) * (0.2) * (1.0) * (4.0) * (8.0) ((=16.2))
     fig           *fig4.8 *fig4.9 *fig4.10*fig4.11*fig4.12
```



Figures 4.7–4.12 of Excerpt (4b)

6. Whether Pirjo's gaze at the cat in Teija's arms indicates a pursuit for a response from Teija is difficult to prove.

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```
13   TEI:    mt *mutta kahdeksanteen asiasta ni olis kiva
             mt but from one issue to the next, it would be nice
     fig        *fig4.13
14           et jos mattikii tulis sit nummelle?
             that if Matti would also come then to Nummi
15           (0.8)
16   PIR:    m↓m-m[m?
```



Figure 4.13 of Excerpt (4b)

During the second lapse in this fragment (line 12), Pirjo first looks at the cat and Teija stroking it (Figure 4.8) for a couple of seconds. Teija then straightens her posture, shifting her gaze straight ahead (Figure 4.9), after which Pirjo immediately adjusts her posture as well, shifting her gaze in her front on the table (Figure 4.10). Pirjo also lifts her arms up from the table, resting her chin on her hands and elbows on the table, gazing straight ahead (Figure 4.11). Both stay in these positions for approximately four seconds, after which Teija starts to rub her chin against the cat's head, and Pirjo immediately turns to look at them both, at the same time partly covering her mouth with her hands (Figure 4.12). Both keep these positions for eight more seconds, staying silent. Not changing her posture (Figure 4.13), Teija begins a new topic, also marking it as such by the idiom *kahdeksanteen asiasta* 'from one issue to the next.' Here ending the lapse and resuming talking are achieved without any embodied action trajectories (cf., Vatanen 2018).

Both lapses in this excerpt are illustrations of the ways in which participants may inhabit the lapse and how they (may) adjust and adapt their bodily behavior and orientation to that of the co-participant, transforming their orientation which then becomes reciprocal. The situation here, similar to the one examined in Excerpt (3), somewhat resembles a gathering where individuals are in a shared space without a joint focus, not engaged in one another but still co-present. Individual activities, if available, may be used, but they do not become shared in the sense that both participants are engaged in the same activity. One participant, nevertheless, may look at what the other is doing – such as here when Pirjo looks at the cat that Teija strokes. However, the shared immediate past as well as the participants' relationship and bodily configurations include encounter-like characteristics as well. In this

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situation, as in the one in Excerpt (3), the participants (for the most part of the time) orient to the lapse as "comfortable" – as a natural way to inhabit co-presence, and comfortably share the silence together.

In the following case, the participants' orientations to the lapse are non-reciprocal almost throughout. Here Beea tells her friend Anne (see Figure 5.1), who is visiting her, about a certain city holiday destination where Beea has been with another friend of hers (called Mirva) and where Anne is planning to travel. Beea mentions a specific cheese served in that city. Anne says she remembers having heard Beea talk about that, and then announces that now traveling there, she will taste the cheese, too (line 1). Beea acknowledges Anne's announcement (line 2) and continues by telling that she sometimes reminisces about the cheese with that friend of hers (lines 4–7), ending her turn with laughter-infused words (constructing her telling as laughable; Ford & Fox 2010). Anne responds to Beea's telling about the cheese-reminiscing just by smiling in mutual gaze with Beea (see Figure 5.1). After that, a lapse follows (line 8).

Excerpt 5. Sg 377: 26:15

```
01   ANN:    kyl mäkin otan nyt friteerattua [juustoa,
             I'm now going to have some deep-fried cheese too
02   BEE:                                     [£kylläᵢf?
                                                yes
03           (0.5)
04   BEE:    sit mä aina välillä; (0.5)
             then I every now and then (0.5)
05           välillä just mirvan kans kun on
             every now and then with Mirva when (we)
06           tapaaminen nii mä muistelen °mirvan kans°
             see each other I reminisce with Mirva
07           sitä fr(h)iteer(h)attua* j(h)uust(h)oa, hh .hh
             about the deep-fried cheese hh .hh
     fig                            *fig5.1
08           (1.0) * (2.0) * (2.0) * (3.2) * (0.3) ((=8.5))
     fig           *fig5.2 *fig5.3 *fig5.4 *fig5.5
```

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Figures 5.1–5.5 of Excerpt (5)

```
09   ANN:    mä menin eilen nälkä*senä kauppaan. .nmf
             I went yesterday to the store (being) hungry .nmf
     fig                          *fig5.6
10           (1.8) * (0.2)
     fig           *fig5.7
```





Figures 5.6–5.7 of Excerpt (5)

```
11   ANN:    >mä ostin heti sen< pakastep:izzan
             I bought immediately the frozen pizza
```

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After having smiled at Beea in response to her telling (Figure 5.1), Anne shifts her gaze down to the table and her smile slowly fades away (Figure 5.2). She continues leaning her chin on her hand, keeping this position for the duration of the ensuing lapse. In less than a second after ending her telling, Beea lets go of the smile she had in the end of her telling (see the sharp change between Figure 5.1 and Figure 5.2). Stirring her tea, she shifts her gaze after two seconds from Anne (Figure 5.2) to her own tea (Figure 5.3), and after another two seconds to Anne again (Figure 5.4).[7] She thus orients to her co-participant and the possible continuation of their interaction (see Rossano 2012), but her co-participant continues not to orient to her, as if they were momentarily not "supposed to" engage with one another. Thus, for Anne, the silence is "comfortable", one where the co-present persons just share the joint moment without orienting to one another in any hearable or visible way. After a total of 8 seconds of silence, Beea lifts her teacup (Figure 5.5) and prepares to take a sip. Immediately after this very visible activity, Anne begins to talk (see Vatanen 2018) by initiating a new topic about her grocery shopping the day before (line 9, Figure 5.6). To generate talk she thus uses an "unmentioned mentionable" (see Hoey 2018), an issue that could be talked about but so far has not. Anne still does not look at her recipient, who is in the middle of taking a sip from her teacup (Figure 5.6). A gap follows, and after a little over 1.5 seconds of silence, Anne shifts her gaze to her recipient, who smiles in response (Figure 5.7), after which Anne continues her telling (line 11).

In this excerpt, the participants' orientations during the lapse are somewhat non-reciprocal, even though they both continue in the same bodily configuration, facing each other at the table. The differing orientation manifests in other aspects of their bodily behavior: Anne orients to the lapse as a moment when interacting is not expected or relevant and it is possible to just stay quiet together (i.e., for her the lapse is "comfortable"), whereas Beea seems to orient to the situation as a focused encounter, despite the silence, checking every now and then whether her co-participant is available for interaction (and thus, for her, the lapse is at least partly "awkward").[8] Here, however, neither of them adjusts their orientation, and hence the attempted negotiation does not lead to reciprocity.

---

7. Because of Beea's glasses, we cannot be totally sure of her gaze direction; it may also be to the window behind Anne. Regardless, when looking in Anne's direction, Beea is demonstrably oriented towards her.

8. In spite of these differing orientations and one participant's ostensible orientation to the lack of talk at that moment, I do not define the situation as a gap but as a lapse. This is in contrast to what Hoey (2015: 441) suggests, that an orientation to the lack of talk in the silent moment makes it gap-like. I have chosen to define a silent moment as either a gap or a lapse solely based on the sequential environment it occurs in.

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This section has shown instances where negotiating understanding of the situation is rather explicit. During some of the examined lapses, such as the last one, the negotiation continues throughout the lapse and the participants' orientations remain non-reciprocal; however, this is not oriented to as a problem either. These examples thus illustrate how the social order of co-presence is negotiated, created, maintained and transformed intersubjectively amongst the participants.

6. Concluding remarks: On co-presence and its intersubjective transformation

When a lapse emerges, in most of the cases the participants do something about it: they orient to an alternative engagement such as eating, or they resort to other bodily behaviors such as self-grooming. They are said to do this to account for the lapse and to reduce the potential awkwardness of being silent together. Lapse-management devices may thus offer a way of being (more) comfortably silent. These devices are also argued to "permit situational presence without substantive involvement" in a way that the "participant is still officially engaged in the interaction, but is accountably involved with something else, and is therefore a less-than-eligible candidate for next speaker" (Hoey 2017a: 162). However, not all lapses involve these kinds of behaviors. The current study examined lapses where participants do something, as well as those during which ostensibly "nothing happens," and yet the participants are engaged in the current social situation. In these cases, inhabiting the lapse and not doing anything embodied or manual at the same time seems *not* to be problematic for the participants. Instead, they seem to collaboratively (or, intersubjectively) transform the nature of the situation into something slightly different – it is a "comfortable" silence.

At these moments, the participants construct the nature of the situation as one where sustaining a joint focus of attention is no longer central. Instead, it is allowable and comfortable to stay quiet and still, each in their own thoughts, and nonetheless maintain a shared sphere – the joint co-presence. This orientation is achieved by maintaining body postures towards the co-participant and by omitting the use of lapse-management behaviors. The lapse is thus constructed as one that does not need to be "managed" in any way but can simply be jointly inhabited. Using conversation analytic methods it is not possible to find out what the participants think and feel during these moments, and so the claims made here are solely based on the participants' observable behavior.

In Goffman's terms, it could be said that in these moments a typical encounter-type situation, where co-presence is very interactive (in addition to often being physical as well), is transformed to a more gathering-type situation where co-presence mainly involves physical presence only – in a certain way, it is simply

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co-presence.[9] These moments, however, are not typical gatherings either. Rather, it seems that the nature of an encounter-type situation momentarily becomes fragile.

This study provides one attempt at operationalizing the notions of *gathering* and *encounter* in face-to-face interactions, and offers one way to approach what they are and how they are used. There are, however, certain issues that make the silent moments examined here different from those that are typically described as gatherings, such as strangers walking on the street. One is the way in which the state of talking is initiated after the silence. In the situations examined by Mondada (2009) it required specific steps to establish interaction between the persons. In contrast, at the end of the lapses examined here, talking is resumed without any specific preparations or effort, often even without establishing mutual gaze first. The silence ends as one of the participants just starts to talk, either coming back to some previous topic (as in Excerpt (2)) or starting a new one (as in Excerpt (5)). This easiness has to do with at least three issues: the participants know each other well (most often participants in "gatherings" are unacquainted), their configuration and the setting support joint interacting (cf., unplanned encounters between acquainted persons: De Stefani & Mondada 2018), and a short moment earlier, they have had a joint conversation. The same has been observed when people share long car rides: even though there are extended periods of silence, the state of talking can be (re-)established without any preparations or effort (Hoey 2015, Mondada 2012).

Regardless of whether there is talk or not, the participants may thus be engaged in and committed to one another and the joint co-presence, even without any lapse-management behaviors. Their commitment is visible in a slightly different manner, at least in that they maintain body postures which are oriented towards each other. Even though the sociality of the moment is somewhat different compared to moments where joint focus is maintained, it is still, in Goffmanian terms, a social situation. This article has demonstrated how the participants methodically inhabit the occasions that could be said to involve just shared co-presence. It is suggested that the nature of the situation and its sociality (the social order of co-presence) are intersubjectively negotiated, created, maintained and transformed amongst the participants. The co-present participants may seamlessly move between types of social situations during the same event.

As discussed in Section 2, lapses emerge between sequences, at a point where a sequence has been potentially completed. At these moments the sequential organization of turn-by-turn talk that creates and maintains the "architecture of intersubjectivity" (Heritage 1984, Schegloff 1992, Deppermann 2015) does not support the

9. Somewhere between these two seems to fall the "situational presence" that Hoey (2017a: 162) mentions (see above).

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participants and guide their interactional behavior (see Hoey 2017a: 176). However, the current data suggest that even outside of sequences, at moments when there is no talk and no turns have even been projected, the participants may reach an intersubjective understanding of the nature of the situation and the ways in which to behave in it. Here the role of embodied behavior is crucial.

These Finnish data suggest that when people who know each other well are spending time together, it is allowable – and, actually, comfortable – to have moments when no one says or does anything. People just are there together (cf., Carbaugh et al. 2006). As Gardner and Mushin (2015) have argued, when intimates are together in familiar surroundings, there may be a lack of pressure to talk. Moreover, Couper-Kuhlen (2010: 36) has suggested that these kinds of "[s]ocial gatherings – – are more common, perhaps even more basic, to human society than situations of 'just talking'." This paper thus offers an analysis of a type of situation that is arguably basic to human sociality. Furthermore, as suggested already by Sacks (1992: 50), the ability to be silent together is a crucial issue in a relationship. Lapses may thus call forth considerations of what the silence may mean for and tell about the participants' relationship (Hoey 2017a: 162). Based on these findings, I suggest that the silent lapses where "nothing" happens are one way to construct the situation and the relationship as intimate and familiar.

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PART III

Bodies and intersubjectivity

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Achieving the intersubjectivity of sensorial practices

Body, language, and the senses in tasting activities

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Intersubjectivity is a crucial issue not only for how participants in social interaction communicate and coordinate shared projects, but also for how they engage in sensing the material world around them while they are jointly acting in that world. This paper offers an ethnomethodological and conversation analytic study of sensoriality that provides for a multimodal interactional analysis of sensory practices. On the basis of a video-recorded beer tasting session, I show how, far from being limited to individual and neuro-physiological processes, situated activities of sensing are a collective accomplishment here and now, emerging within joint activities of searching, finding, and sharing relevant features of taste, building agreements, and overcoming divergent views.

Keywords: conversation analysis, ethnomethodology, multimodality, social interaction, sensoriality, body, language, sensing, tasting, intersubjectivity

1. Introduction

Participants in social interaction engage not only in communicating and coordinating shared projects, but in sensing the material world around them while they are jointly acting in the world. Multimodal studies of social interaction, which deal with verbal as well as embodied resources without a priori establishing any principled hierarchy between them (Mondada 2014), have enabled ethnomethodology and conversation analysis (EMCA) to highlight the importance of body and language in building and interpreting the accountability of action (Goodwin 2000, 2017). In particular, in recent years, EMCA has engaged with the study of embodiment in its various facets (Mondada 2016; Nevile 2015; Streeck, Goodwin, & LeBaron 2011), from hand gestures to movements of the entire body, and including bodies in space (Haddington, Mondada, & Nevile 2013) as well as objects in social interaction

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(Nevile, Haddington, Heinemann, & Rauniomaa 2015). However, despite much diversified work on multimodality, the way in which participants experience the world through their senses – primarily relying on their body, but also expressing these experiences verbally – has been much less studied. The body has been approached in terms of fine-tuned embodied adjustments and alignments with other co-participants – revealing crucial aspects of temporality and coordination – but has generally not been considered as engaging in sensory experiences within its social and material environments.

Although they are still neglected in the field of EMCA, sensorial practices have been studied in neuro-cognitive sciences (Barretto et al. 2015), anthropology, and history (Classen 1993; Ochs, Pontecorvo, & Fasulo 1996; Shapin 2011). The senses are often addressed either as biologically and cognitively determined, primarily involving individual physiological and biological features or as shaped by generic social features, like social class, historical forms of socialization, and cultural expectations. Likewise, the linguistic expression of the senses has been considered within either the former or the latter type of approach (Backhouse 2005; Croijmans & Marjid 2016; Lawless 1984; Lehrer 1983). Within this context, what is missing is an account focusing on activities in which people actually perceive, sense, and experience the world. A focus on activities also enables further study of how people make the sensory features of these experiences relevant for others, and share them intersubjectively by collectively and jointly producing and coordinating them, publicly expressing, displaying, and witnessing them.

This paper aims to show how EMCA can offer original contributions to the study of sensoriality, and to demonstrate how a multimodal interactional analysis of sensory practices is not only possible but indeed contributes to a better understanding of sensory experiences in general. Intersubjectivity is a key issue in this respect. It characterizes situated activities of sensing as a collective accomplishment here and now; it is the result of joint activities of searching, finding, and sharing relevant features of taste, building agreements, and overcoming divergent views.

In order to explore the intersubjectivity of sensory practices, this paper focuses on a specific multisensorial activity: beer tasting. Tasting activities are a perspicuous setting in which to observe the ways descriptors are collectively discussed (Fele 2016), how participants rely on the use of tools and artifacts such as aroma wheels and color measurement standards (Mondada 2018a), and how, on the basis of standard and normative repertoires of tasting categories, they produce an objectivization of tasting and taste (Liberman 2013). Tasting activities are also a locus to observe how participants alternately treat a material object as an item to touch, smell, taste, or talk about (Streeck 2011; Mondada 2019). They enable us to observe how the body engages in sensory explorations involving various methodic and systematic embodied conducts, sequentially organized and publicly

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visible, before eventually producing some verbalized assessments and descriptions, shared with the co-participants (Mondada 2018b, 2021). In the present analysis, tasting moments are studied as involving both individual and collectively designed engagements, which are recognized, witnessed, and overheard by others, and in which others might co-engage in a responsive, interactive and coordinated manner.

The data studied come from a tasting workshop introducing novices to the taste of beers, organized by beer amateurs. An expert presents a series of 10 beers, which the participants taste using a variety of documents, such as an aroma wheel for beer and diverse tasting sheets with their codes. Tasters also use a color continuum, the Standard Reference Method (SRM), elaborated by brewers to measure the color of the beer. These material objects constitute "tools for perception" that reflexively guide taste and at the same time are made meaningful within the very practice of tasting. The participants are distributed around several tables (in total, three tables have been recorded on video, with three persons sitting at each of them), share their searches and discuss their findings, using French as their common language, although English and German are also spoken. Finally, participants write a notation of their tasting experience on apposite forms. In the present analysis, I focus on two tables tasting the same beer, and describe the methodic practices that enable the participants to engage in tasting, display their sensations, and formulate a description of what they sense.

These interactions have been recorded with the written agreement of the participants, and then multimodally transcribed (Mondada 2018c). Video recording and transcribing taste may seem a hazardous enterprise – especially considering that sensing is a private experience dictated by the individual's neuro-physiology in contact with materiality. But within the EMCA perspective adopted in this study, recording and transcribing tasting practices results to be not only possible, but also analytically worthwhile (see for a discussion Mondada 2020, 2021: Chapter 2). Tasting is an accountable action performed with the body in a visible way, displayed for, and seen by, the co-participants. Transcribers and analysts access similar visible-audible details, as do the co-participants, and inscribe/exploit them in order to reconstruct the intersubjectivity of tasting as a collectivized activity and experience.

The chapter focuses on two small groups of beer tasters who are sipping Guinness. The analysis covers the emergent process and the different phases through which the participants engage in tasting a sample. It shows how different participants individually discover the taste of *smoke* (2.1), how they establish it as a shared judgment (2.2), and how they further engage in collectively elaborating on its description (3.1). Their activity is based on documents such as the aroma wheel and tasting sheets (3.1), and it is further enhanced by overhearing what the other group says (3.2), resulting in a wider intersubjective accomplishment.

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2. From individual experiences to public evidences of sensorial qualities: Sharing sensations

The first step into tasting consists in organizing the embodied access to the materiality to be sensed. In the case considered here, beer tasting, this is achieved by raising the glass of beer to the mouth, which occasions some smelling before a sip is actually taken. As we shall see, this is accomplished by concentrating the attention on the beer, looking at the glass or away, without talking. This is configured as an individual moment that eventually produces a "response cry" (Goffman 1978) or a verbal description. Most often, this outcome is expressed in a turn addressed to a co-participant while redirecting the gaze towards her, thus re-engaging in a collectively shared activity. These steps are systematic and converge with the methodic sequential organization described for other tasting experiences (Mondada 2018b). In the present case, the outcome is verbalized in a first category – *fumé* 'smoky' (adj.), *fumée* 'smoke' (n.) – shared as evident sensory quality among the participants within the two parallel groups studied. This section details how this evidence is emergently and progressively established, through moments interactively designed first as individual, and then as collective.

2.1 The evidence of 'smoke' (Group 1)

We join the action as the first group has discussed the aroma of the beer, on the basis of olfaction, and now begins to consider the taste, on the basis of a sip. Celia and Nicolle are engaging in taking a sip (line 1), while Cinzia is still looking at her documents (Figure 1):

Excerpt 1a. (Guinness–1.40.40–1.42.42–T3)

```
01              # (1)            ± (2)
     nic →      >>drinks, gaze up±puts glas on table, absent gz->
     cel →      >>smells then drinks, absent gaze->
     cin        >>looks at her tasting sheet-> l.14
     fig        #fig.1
```



Figure 1.

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```
02   NIC:→    MM+M:,        +
          →   ->+closes eyes+
03             +(0.5)
     nic ⇒    +looks at CIN->
04   NIC:⇒    le goût ça c'est# c'est: c'est::
              the taste that it's it's it's
     fig                      #fig.2
05             fumé* +fu•mé.•#
              smoky smoky
     nic ⇒         ->+looks at CEL->
     cel →           ->•glass away•swallows->
     cel →         *absent gaze->
     fig                   #fig.3
```



Figure 2.



Figure 3.

```
06             (0.5)
07   NIC:⇒     >non?<
               >no?<
     08        (0.4) • (0.3)
     cel →        ->•
09   NIC:⇒     tu [trouves?*#
               do you [think?
10   CEL:⇒        [*mh,*    #
     cel ⇒     ->*stares at NIC and nods* looks at NIC->
     fig                  #fig.4
```



Figure 4.

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```
11          (0.1) *(0.2)* ±(0.2)±
     cel         ->*nods *looks at NIC w little nods->
     nic                 ±nods-±
12   NIC:    ça c'est [très] fumé.
              that is [very] smoky
13   CEL:            [ouais.] c'est fumé=*
                     [yeah] very smoky
                                      ->*lks tasting sheet->
```

As a result of absorbing a sip of beer (line 1), Nicolle first utters a positive "gustatory" *MMM:* (line 2) (Wiggins 2002). During the sip, Nicolle adopts an absent gaze, looking up (Figure 1); during the *MMM:*, she closes her eyes. This gaze displays how she configures her sensory access to the sample: she is visibly concentrating on her glass and on what she is sipping. In this way, this very first moment is shaped by her as an *individual* experience – in which the taster withdraws from talk and mutual gaze, although remaining *publicly* witnessable by others. Thus, this individual moment is interactionally designed as accountably and intersubjectively meaningful.

As soon as Nicolle has uttered her *MMM:*, she opens her eyes and looks at Cinzia (line 3), while announcing the description of the taste (lines 4–5, Figure 2). Taste is categorized as *fuméfumé* 'smoky smoky' (line 5), using two adjectives, one following the other, indicating intensity. On the second adjective, she looks at Celia (Figure 3). So, after a first *individual* phase, accessing the material sample, a second *collectivizing* phase follows, in which taste is verbalized aloud and co-participants are addressed.

At this point, Cinzia is still looking at her documents (she has not yet grasped her glass), and Celia is still tasting her beer. On the completion of Nicolle's turn, Celia puts away her glass, but she is still engaged in her individual tasting: this is visible in her absent gaze, displaying her concentrated access to the tasted liquid, as well as in her swallowing the sipped beer after she has set down the glass. This is evidence that the individual momentum in which a person experiences taste has a temporal extension that cannot be merely identified by the contact of the glass with the mouth, and therefore cannot be considered as simply terminating when the glass is put down. This complex process includes late swallowing (very visible here on the video) as well as experiencing aftertaste (not directly visible on the video, but displayed by maintaining an absent gaze). The public visibility of these individual activities, for the co-participants and for the camera, enables their video documentation as well as their multimodal fine-grained transcription.

This visible unavailability of the co-participants is oriented to by Nicolle: she looks at Cinzia during her turn (lines 4–5), but can see that Cinzia has not yet begun to taste; she turns to Celia at the end of her turn, but sees that Celia is still engaged in her individual tasting. Her unavailability is treated by Nicolle's tag (line 7) and pursuit of a response (line 9).

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At that very moment (lines 9–10), Celia responds: her absent gaze terminates and she vividly reorients towards Nicolle (Figure 4). She does a big nod while uttering an aligning *mh,* and staring at Nicolle, continuing to nod and to look at her (lines 10–11). In this way, Celia not only demonstrates that she agrees with Nicolle, but also that she has accessed what Nicolle was describing in a personal way. At that point, Nicolle repeats and upgrades her previous description (*très fumé* 'very smoky' [line 12], instead of *fumé fumé* 'smoky smoky' [line 5]). She is overlapped by Celia's *ouais* 'yeah', followed by a confirmation without the upgrade (*c'est fumé* 'it's smoky' [line 13]).

The case seems to be settled for Celia, who then looks down at the tasting sheet, projecting the writing of the final notation.

At this point, the only person who has not yet engaged in tasting is Cinzia, who produces an explanation for being late (line 14). This explanation makes clear an orientation to a normative order, in which the actual tasting should precede judgments of taste.

Excerpt 1b. (continuation of 1a)

```
14   CIN:     =j'ai pas goûté,$ (0.2) °d'abord°•
              =I haven't tasted (0.2) °first of all°
                              ->$brings glass to mouth->
     cel                                        •puts glass dwn->
15             (0.4)*
     cel          ->*looks at NIC->
16   CEL:      $c'est$ fumé• hein?
              it's smoky right?
     cin      ->$smells$drinks->
     cel                 ->•
17   CEL:      ouais$ c'est vrai [c'est
              yeah it's true    [it's
     cin          ->$glas away, closes eyes->
18   NIC:                        [±>ou±ais.<
                                 [>yeah<
                                  ±quickNod±
19   NIC:      m±+*aintenant± tu: tu:#
              now              you you
     nic        ±.....+gesture->
     nic      ->+looks at CIN->
     cel      ->*looks at CIN->
     fig                              #fig.5
```



Figure 5.

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```
20   CEL:     tu vas £voir
              you will see
     cin               £body withdraws and torques->
21   CIN:     p$oo±o.kh, £ba$con,
              ((resp cry)) bacon ((English))
              ->$looks NIC--$looks at the tasting sheet->
                        ->£
     nic        ->±
22   NIC:     ((l[au*ghs))+.H$HH
23   CEL:        [°ou*ais°
                 [°yeah°
     cel          ->*looks at tasting sheet and writes->>
     nic                ->+looks at tasting sheet and writes->>
     cin                   ->$writes->>
```

While Cinzia grasps her glass (lines 14–16) and drinks from it (lines 16–17), Celia puts down her own glass and looks at Nicolle: she produces again the taste descriptor *fumé*, with a final tag addressed to her (line 16), and explicitly agrees with her (line 17). Nicolle responds briefly to this agreement with a *ouais* 'yeah' and a quick nod (line 18).

This response is immediately followed by both Nicolle and Celia shifting their gaze to Cinzia (line 19). Nicolle addresses her with a description of her imminent sensation (line 19, Figure 5), which is completed by Celia (line 20). So, both Nicolle and Celia orient to the imminent publicization of Cinzia's access to taste, and anticipate it: they present themselves as already knowing, and as agreeing about what they know (thanks to the collaborative extension, in which Celia goes second [line 20]). Nonetheless, they project but do not yet verbalize the expression of taste: Nicolle makes a gesture (Figure 5), but Celia does not complete her sentence with the argument of the verb (moreover, she uses the future tense). In this way, they participate in the emergence of taste, but they do not speak on behalf of Cinzia (who is still not publicizing anything, and holding her absent gaze), thus preserving her autonomous production of an output.

Cinzia's expression of (dis)taste is first embodied – she withdraws from the table and torques to the back (line 20) – then vocalized by a response cry *pooo.kh* (line 21), and finally verbalized with a unique English word, *bacon* (line 21). She briefly looks at Nicolle, but quickly reorients towards her tasting sheet: Cinzia is the last to access the taste, but the first to write the outcome, promptly followed by the others.

On their tasting sheets, Celia, Cinzia and Nicolle write either *fumé* 'smoky' or *fumée* 'smoke'. Cinzia is the only one who adds *bacon*.

In sum, this first excerpt has shown how tasting is intersubjectively organized by the co-participants. The tasting experience is first organized as an *individual moment*: they access the sensory object while withdrawing from the other co-participants present and the contingencies of the local setting. Absent gaze and

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closed eyes manifest their concentration, but also visibly display it for the others, as a way of being momentarily unavailable. Second, the tasting experience is organized as a *sharing moment*, in which the expression of taste is publicized and agreement is sought – as shown by the re-establishment of mutual gaze and/or by the gaze moving from one participant to the other, searching for an aligning response. The first taster pursues a response from the second and the third; however, she waits for them to complete their individual exploration, recognizing their autonomy. Going second is not produced merely as conforming or aligning with the first; rather, it is produced as displaying having autonomously accessed the same sensory experience. In this way, a "collectivity of taste" is progressively built.

2.2 The evidence of 'smoky' (Group 2)

If we turn now to another group tasting the same beer, we can observe a similar procedure, in which the same immediacy of taste and the quick emergence of the same descriptor (here: *smoky* [line 7]) are observable. This enables a systematic analysis of the procedure.

Excerpt 2. (Tasting Guinness–1.40.40–1.42.42–T2)

```
01          #(0.2) •(0.2)• (.) •(0.2)• +(0.2) •(0.3)•
      jan           •sff--•      •sff--•         •sff::•
      nat   >>smells-------------------+drinks->
      dia   >>smells->
      fig   #fig.6
02          (.)•(0.2)+(0.2)•
      jan      •drinks-----•
      nat           ->+lks dwn->
```

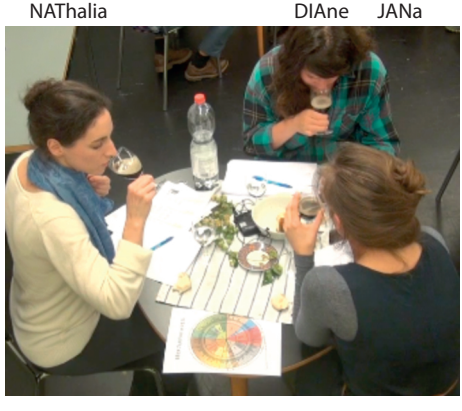


Figure 6.

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```
03          •(0.2)
      jan   •looks at NAT->
04    NAT: lpt lpt
05    JAN: lpt
06    NAT: wo+:w
           ->+looks at JAN->
07         (0.8)
08    JAN: smoky*:::*
smoky ((English))
                 *smiles*
09    NAT: hum+ mh
            ->+looks at taste sheet->>
10          (0.3)
11    NAT: mpt mpt c'est pas$ mal,
           mpt mpt it's not bad
      dia                    $drinks->>
```

At the beginning of the fragment, the three co-participants are putting their nose in their glasses (Figure 6). Jana smells it in an audible way (line 1), contrary to Nathalie and Diane, who are more silent. While Diane continues to smell and does not yet taste the beer, the two other take a sip (lines 1–2). Whereas Nathalie looks down, in a concentrated way, Jana looks at her. Nathalie continues to swallow audibly (line 4), promptly followed by Jana (line 5) also swallowing. These actions seem to rely on a form of responsiveness, mutual attention, and coordination that organizes access to the sensory experience in an intersubjective and aligned way (see Mondada 2021).

Nathalie is the first to verbally express her experience (line 6): at that precise moment, her gaze down is reoriented and shifted towards Jana in a way that makes *wow* both a "response cry" (Goffman 1978) and an assessment, which is addressed to Jana. Jana is still looking at her: she describes the taste as *smoky:::* (line 8) with a smile and by stretching the last vowel, signaling alignment and affiliation. Nathalie responds positively (line 9) and turns to the tasting sheet, while she continues to make some audible movements with her mouth and gives a mildly positive assessment (line 11). Like Cinzia in the previous excerpt, here Diane is late, and does not join the others – she remains absorbed in her own tasting.

If we look at their tasting sheets, Nathalie and Jana jot down the same descriptors (*smoky*, *fumée*); later, Diane will write something a bit different first, but then mention *fumé* 'smoky'. Their interactional coordination produces coherent and aligned written results.

In sum, in this excerpt, the same descriptor as in the other parallel group emerges, with the same evidence. In similar ways, tasting is organized as a progression from a more individual to a more collective experience. Moreover, in this case, the public character of the individual sensorial access to the sensed object is manifested not only in a *visible* way but also in an *audible* way. Sniffing in a loud

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way (transcribed with *sff*), making sounds with the mouth, either swallowing (*lpt*, lines 4–5) or later moving the lips (line 11) are interesting ways to make publicly available a sensory engagement and appreciation of the tasted sample (see Mondada 2021 for a systematic analysis). This is indeed responded to by another co-participant aligning with these sounds: participants sniffing and sipping are responding to each other in a kind of turn-by-turn organization based on pure sounds. This is an early way in which the individual experience becomes public and intersubjective.

3. Searching for what it tastes: Building intersubjectivity

In the previous section, we focused on instances of individual, and then collective, sensory experiences in which the sensorial access to the object was orchestrated in an aligning and affiliating way, conferring to the taste descriptor ('smoke/smoky') a kind of *evidence*. In this section, we turn to a more complex trajectory, through which the intersubjectivity of taste is progressively built. First, we look at the way in which another descriptor (*tobacco*) is produced by using a tool – the aroma wheel – and then confirmed and further elaborated on (*cigarette*) through direct access. Second, we study the way in which the latter descriptor (*cigarette*) spreads from one group of participants to another through being overheard, resulting in the creation of a larger community of sensorial experience.

3.1 Searching for taste: From the glass to the aroma wheel

We join the second group as they search for a more precise taste description. Jana begins in a very vague way (line 1), and Nathalie engages with her in the search for a descriptor, in a turn left unfinished (line 4). They utter some assessments (lines 7, 9), still not finding the right word. This will emerge later (line 14), as Jana looks at her documents, among which there is an aroma wheel (in English):

Excerpt 3a. (Tasting Guinness–1.41.34/0.55–aroma wheel–T2)

```
01   JAN:    *oui:* là, c'est vraiment+
             yes there it's really
     jan     *reposits glass on table*
     nat     >>sips-------------------+
02           +un goût$ trèstrès diffé+rent.
             a very very different taste
     nat     +reposits glass on the table+
     dia             $writes->
```

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```
03              (0.2)
04    NAT:      mais, +ts ça sent le:
                but    ts it tastes the
      nat             +looks up/away, swallowing->
05              (0.7)
06    NAT:       mpt
07    JAN:       #>c'est* drô+le<mpt# (.) mpt (.) mpt
                 >it's funny<    mpt (.)  mpt (.) mpt
      jan               *looks at the aroma wheel->
      nat                  ->+looks at and searches in her papers->
      fig       #fig.7              #fig.8
```



Figure 7.



Figure 8.

```
08    (10.0)
09    NAT:      >j'trouve pas mal<
                >I find (it) not bad<
10              (0.6)
11    JAN:       moi non plus j'trouve=
                 me neither   I think
12    DIA:       =oui. moi [je xx+ xx (note?)
                  yes  me  [I xxxxxx (note?)
13    JAN:                [•.h y a aussi
                          [.h there's also
      jan                  •…->
14              un+ peu• de#:: to*bacco.
                a bit of tobacco ((Eng))
      jan            ->•pts wheel w pen->
      jan                    ->*lks NAT->
      nat       +writes on her tasting sheet/comments on the R->
      fig                   #fig.9
15              (0.2)
16    JAN:       du$ t+abac.#
                 of tobacco ((French))
      nat           ->+looks at JAN's aroma wheel->
      dia        ->$
      fig                  #fig.10a/b/c
```

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Figure 9.



Figure 10a.



Figure 10b.

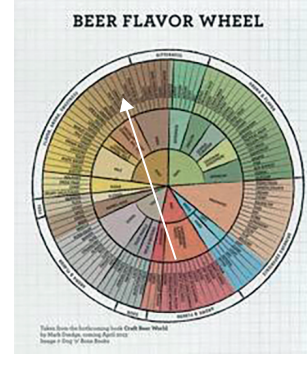


Figure 10c.

```
17                (0.4)
18    NAT:        a:+h?
                  ->+looks at her own aroma wheel->>
19    DIA:        $hein?*=
                  uh?
      dia         $…..->
      jan             ->*looks at DIA->>
20    JAN:        =ou$i:
                  yes
      dia          ->$grasps her glass->
21                (0.7)$
      dia            ->$smells glass->
22    NAT?        pour*quoi• pas $hein?$#
                  why      not  uh?
      jan           ->*
      jan                  •L grasps glass->
      dia                      ->$,,,,,$puts down her glass->
      fig                              #fig.11
```

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Figure 11.

```
23   DIA:    ah £oui=
             oh yes
     dia       £looks at JAN->>
24   JAN:    =oui:•• £
             =yes
                  ••R     writes ,tabac'->
     dia          ->£
25               (0.4)
26   DIA:    ou:£
             or
              ->£looks up->
27               (0.5) $ (0.3) $ (1.2)
     dia         ->$grasps glass$smells->
28   DIA:    ou$i, des ciga••re*£ttes.$
             yes       cigarettes
             ->$reposits her glass----$
                                £looks at JAN->
     jan                  ->••
     jan                     ->*looks at DIA->
29               (0.2) • (0.2)      •
     jan         ->•smells glass•
30   DIA:    ou$ais.$
              yeah
               $nod-$
31   JAN:    oui:, (.) £•oui::,•
              Yes  (.)   yes
                        •points at DIA•
     dia     ->£looks down at her sheet->
32   DIA:    mhm£. (.) mh.
              ->£looks down at her sheet->
33   JAN:    oui• [oui,
             yes [yes
34   DIA:        [oui:£
                  [yes
     jan      ->•writes ,cigarette'->>
     dia            ->£writes ,comme des cigarettes'->>
```

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The beginning of the fragment shows how Jana and Nathalie engage in the search for the adequate descriptor – with some difficulty, as shown by the vagueness (line 1), the unfinished turn (line 4), and the shift from descriptors to assessments (lines 7, 9).

Although collaborating, Nathalie and Jana engage in the search in different ways. Nathalie looks up/away, swallowing, concentrating on the after taste produced by the previous sip (line 4, Figure 7). Like Nathalie (lines 4–6), Jana continues to swallow (line 7), but instead of concentrating on her bodily sensations, she turns her gaze to the table where the documentation is (Figure 7). Nathalie does the same only afterwards, also looking and searching within her papers (Figure 8).

Turning to the documents represents a specific kind of search. The participants' table is full of papers – tasting sheets, lists of taste descriptors, and an aroma wheel for beer – which constitute various tools for enhancing the description of taste. These tools are material artifacts that can be mobilized locally and situatedly by the participants in their search for the most adequate category. Moreover, they are also institutional tools that standardize the available repertoire of terms for aroma and taste, and therefore socialize the participants into authorized and sedimented lists of lexical categories. In this sense, the aroma wheel – as well as the tasting sheets – are tools that connect the present situated sensing practices with the tradition and history of the tasting procedures. The historical, cultural, and institutional dimension of tasting is locally accomplished by grasping the aroma wheel and by using it for solving a present situated problem.

Both participants study their documents for some time (line 8). They again produce a positive assessment (Nathalie first [line 9]; aligned with by Jana [line 11], joined by Diane [line 12]). All of them utter a first subjective judgment – using the personal pronoun *je* 'I' (lines 9, 11, 12). But at the same time, they use the documents to further search for descriptors objectifying their first subjective impression.

When Jana announces *.h y a aussi un peu de tobacco* '.h there's also a bit of tobacco' (line 13–14), she simultaneously points at the aroma wheel, to the brown area where *tobacco* is written (Figure 9). She utters the English word*tobacco* (rather than the French *tabac*), which seems to be read from the wheel, before being translated (line 16). She also looks at Nathalie (line 14), addressing her as the recipient of her finding. We can observe that in Jana's turn, nothing refers explicitly to the visual document: *.h y a aussi un peu* '.h there's also a bit' quantifies the amount of tobacco in what she has sensed; only the hesitation on *de::: tobacco* 'of tobacco' possibly shows a problem encountered in integrating a word read on the map into her turn. The way Nathalie responds to her shows an orientation to the possible source of that descriptor: instead of turning and glancing at her, she looks at her aroma wheel (line 16, Figure 10). She utters a change-of-state token (*ah?* [line 18]), while Diane, who was engaged in writing until then, produces an interrogative token (*hein?*

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[line 19]). Nathalie not only looks at Jana's document, but also turns back to her own documents, and to her own wheel (line 18). In this way, she treats the aroma wheel as a relevant source, consulting it directly.

Nevertheless, the wheel is not the only resource mobilized: as Jana offers a confirmation (line 20), Diane grasps her glass and smells its content. Jana does the same (lines 20, 22, Figure 11) while Nathalie continues to study the aroma wheel. On the basis of her renewed access to her glass, Diane confirms (line 23). So, here, a description that was found by using the artifact of the aroma wheel generates two types of subsequent actions: one consists of consulting the aroma wheel too; the other of returning to a direct sensorial access to the object. Diane does not only check the descriptor on the basis of smell; as Jana closes the episode by writing her finding, she begins to project an alternative (*ou:* 'or:' [line 26]), looking up – withdrawing from other interactional contingencies. She also grasps her glass again (line 27), and smells again. Here the search is clearly made by going back to the sensorial source. This produces a result – a complementary descriptor, *des cigarettes* (line 28) – which is displayed as directly enabled by smelling the sample. Jana, exchanging glances with Diane, does the same, grasping and smelling in her own glass (line 29). This produces her enthusiastic alignment (line 31), responded to by Diane (line 32), and further expanded (lines 33–34): her alignment, as above, is not a mere agreement with what Diane just said, but is displayed as a result of the autonomous act of smelling.

In this excerpt, two sources for the production of a taste descriptor are locally exploited by the participants: the aroma wheel and the return to the sensorial source. The aroma wheel is an ordered repertoire of tasting descriptors, which is used as a tool in finding what is searched for, but ineffably eludes the search. The aroma wheel is used to discover words fitting with the sensory experience, not as a simple list of labels. Its use is reflexively organized: searching and finding a descriptor makes it possible to revisit the initial experience and to name it (Mondada 2018a).

The discovery made by means of the aroma wheel is validated by returning to the initial source: now, sensorial access is guided by the descriptor the aroma wheel has made available. In this sense, the wheel and the sensation are reflexively organized: they mutually elaborate each other. Interestingly, this produces another discovery: Diane utters an alternative descriptor (*cigarette* instead of *tobacco*). The difference shows that this is the result of her sensory experience, convergent with what has been found by means of the aroma wheel, but encountered in an autonomous manner.

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3.2 Finding taste descriptors: Overhearing from one table to another

While Nathalie, Diane, and Jana seek and find the descriptors *tobacco* and *cigarette*, at the next table, Nicolle, Celia, and Cinzia are also further exploring the beer's taste. Both groups have easily arrived at 'smoky' as an immediate and evident descriptor, and both engage in a deeper search, further elaborating that description. In this section, I shall demonstrate how the two groups, which are sitting at tables next to one another, communicate with each other. Findings circulate from one table to another, thanks to possible overhearings from one group to the other (Goffman 1979). This will further show how the experience of taste is collectivized. Overhearing is a way of enhancing the intersubjectivity of sensoriality and of reflexively elaborating it.

In the following transcript, I integrate the two groups' exchanges within the same transcript, using different colors in order to show the phenomena of simultaneity and possible overhearing. In the analysis, I consider overhearing only when I have evidence that this is happening – for instance, when I can show that one participant at one table is paying attention to the neighboring table (e.g., by looking at it).

We join the group at the same moment as Diane announces a new possible descriptor, *des cigarettes* (Excerpt (3a), line 28), while Nicolle's group is also searching for something more (line 27). The two groups are transcribed in different colors, and in the course of this episode they are alternatingly talking separately, overhearing each other, and exchanging together:

Excerpt 3b. (1.20)

```
27   NIC:    fumé:, et:
             smoky and
             >>looking dwn at her tasting sheet->
     cel     >>looking dwn at her tasting sheet->
     cin     >>looking dwn at her tasting sheet->
28   DIA:    oui, des cigarettes.
             yes, some cigarettes
29           (0.4)
30   DIA:    ouais.
             yeah.
31   JAN:    oui:, (.) [oui::,
             yes   (.) [yes
32   NIC:              [oui c'est ça que   [j'ai mis
                       [yes  it's  what I [have written
33   CEL:                                  [mais y a quelque
                                           [but there is some
34           chose d'autre=
             thing else
35   CIN:    =Mhm.
36   DIA:    mhm. (.) mh.
37   JAN:    [oui [oui,
             [yes [yes
```

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```
38   DIA:          [oui:
                   [yes
39   CEL:     [qu*' est-ce qu' v'avez mis?
              [what have you written?
               ->*looks at NIC's sheet->
40   NIC:     .h ci±garhhettehh eh
              .h cigarettes eh
                   ±writes->
41            (0.3) * (1.3) * (0.3)
     cel          ->*looks away/around*
42   CIN:     ja: (.)± voll *aschen*becher±
              yes (.) full ashtray
     nic           ->±looks at CIN--------±
     jan                    *.....*turns to Table 3->
43   NIC:     $±JA.h± AH£ $[ah# [ih ih ih ih ih ih ±
              YES.h AH      [ah [ih ih ih ih ih ih
44   CIN:                   [ah [ih$ ih ih ih ih ih $
45   JAN:                   [AH [HH ah ah
46   DIA:                       [AH AH
     nic      ±pts CIN±convulsive laughter--------±
     cin      $convulsive laughter------------------$
     cin                    $.....$turns to Table 2->
     dia                    $turns to Table 3->
     fig                        #fig.12a/b
```



Figure 12a.



Figure 12b.

```
47   ALL:     ((gene$ral$ [laughte$r))
48   DIA:                 [GANZ xx$$ ah $ah $aschenbecher
                          [whole xx ahah ashtray
     dia            $nod$thumb up-$ $turns bck$to NAT->
     cin                        ->$
49   ALL:     ((ge$nera$l la[ughter))
50   NIC:                    [GENAU
                             [EXACTLY
     cin              $nods$
51   NAT:     AH AH ah ah
52   CIN:     cen[drie$::r
              ash[tray
                    $looks at DIA->
53   DIA:        [cend$rier$$
                 [ashtray
     dia            ->$to CIN$writes->
     cin                 ->$
```

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```
54   NIC:    cen•drier ±oui:± (.)* hi hi hh
             ashtray   yes         hi hi hh
                       ±…….±writes->>
     cel        •takes a sip->>
     nat                          *takes a sip->>
```

As we join the action, Nicolle is looking at her sheet – where she has already written *fumé*– and utters *fumé:, et:* 'smoky:, and:' (line 27). Both words are uttered in a stretched way and with a rising intonation, in a manner that not only projects more but is typical of reciting lists in French. This makes her search for a second descriptor publicly audible to her co-participants: they are all looking at their tasting sheet, although not writing. All, individually but simultaneously, adopt a posture of searching.

They are still searching (line 27) when Diane, at the other table, proposes *des cigarettes* 'some cigarettes' (line 28). They do not immediately pay attention to that, as shown by Celia searching for 'something else' (lines 33–34), acknowledged by Cinzia (line 35), and by the fact that Celia turns to Nicolle's sheet (line 39) asking what she had previously written. But Nicolle's answer (line 40) at that point shows that she has overheard and realized what Diane was saying: she utters *cigarhhettehh* with a laughing voice (line 40). She also writes it down as she utters it. In this way, and by presenting it as laughable, she displays it as *not* something she found herself, but as a repetition of what she heard, and as something surprising, although convincing, since she jots it down.

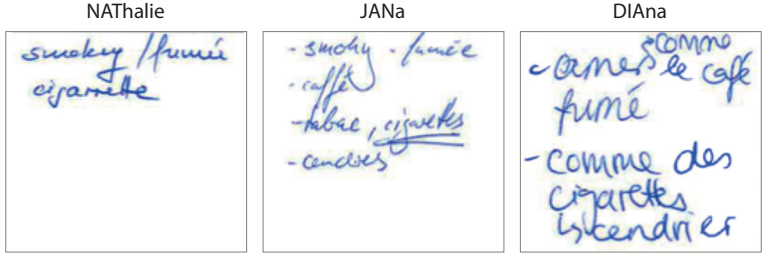
While Celia does not respond (staring at her sheet and then looking away [line 41]),Cinzia, after a gap (line 41), produces an acknowledgment and adds a new version of the descriptor, in German (*ja:* (.) *voll aschenbecher* 'yes (.) full ashtray' [line 42]). This new version is not only in another language – shared by this multilingual group – but it is also different than the previous overheard descriptor. Not only does it transform 'cigarette' into 'ashtray', but also emphasizes the latter with the modifier 'full'. In this way, *aschenbecher* 'ashtray' represents a) an upgrade of the previous proposal, b) a upgrade that emphasizes a negative aspect – referring to something dirty, stinking, also hinting at many cigarettes, and even at smoky and cold ones, which can have a very bad odor – whereas cigarette or tobacco could be possibly seen positively, c) a category that is – contrary to 'tobacco' – expressed in the local language of the participant, and therefore marked as more subjective and autonomous than the descriptors found in the documents. Her observation is shared with Nicolle, who looks at her immediately. Then they burst into a convulsive laughter together (lines 43–44).

Cinzia's proposal is also overheard by the other table, as visible in Jana's turning to them (line 42) and joining in the collective laughter (line 45), as well as Diane doing the same a bit later (lines 45, 46) (Figure 12). A general laughter unites the

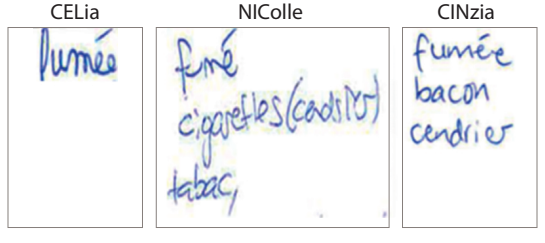
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two tables (lines 47, 49) with some exchanges between them: Diane responds in German (line 48), repeating Cinzia's expression and assessing it with a thumbs up; Nicolle responds to her, also in German (line 50). Cinzia expands the sequence by producing a French translation of the word (*cendrier* 'ashtray', line 52), looking at Diane, who repeats it in French too (line 53), looking back at her. The prolonged exchange between the two groups displays not merely overhearing and being overheard, and having fun in doing so, but also more seriously about sharing findings, overhearing a descriptor, and proposing another one in exchange, agreeing with them and adopting them as something corresponding to what was searched for. The joyful expansion of the sequence also conveys the pleasure of sharing not just a word or an idea, but the description of something they have all experienced with their senses.

The collective adhesion and agreement is also observable in what participants write down (Documents 1 and 2).



Document 1. Notes taken by Nathalie, Jana, and Diana



Document 2. Notes taken by Celia, Nicolle, and Cinzia

The notes reflect the way they participated in this expanded exchange: Nathalie, who was the one participating least in the exchange between the two groups, only writes *cigarrette*; Jana, involved in the exchange between the two tables, writes *tabac, cigarettes*, and Diane, who proposed *cigarette* in the first place and welcomed the counter-proposal *aschenbecher*, writes *comme des cigarettes -> cendrier* 'like cigarettes -> ashtray'. At the other table, Cinzia, who suggested *aschenbecher* 'ashtray'

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(German) writes only *cendrier* 'ashtray' (French); Nicolle, who picked up *cigarettes* from the other group, writes *cigarettes (cendrier)*, and Celia, at this point, has not yet written anything. The individual notes reveal the type of participation of their author in the collective descriptive sequence.

4. Conclusion

The analysis of the same moment within a tasting session as experienced by two parallel groups reveals some common systematic procedures for engaging in sensory practices and in searching for taste descriptors. The first sensorial access to the sample is produced by silently smelling or sipping, while looking away: this configures it as an individual experience. Second, as soon as this direct bodily access is completed, the experience is turned into an interactive one, with the gaze turning back to the co-participants and a response cry and possibly an assessment. Third, a verbal descriptor is profferred. Fourth, a search for a more elaborated descriptor is initiated, either by returning to the material source, or by using documentary tools, such as the aroma wheel or the tasting sheet. These tools enhance the experience of tasting by offering a repertoire of taste descriptors; once a candidate descriptor has been identified, the participants turn again towards the sample to taste it, in order to confirm the description. Fifth, the descriptors that are finally found are uttered aloud, and possibly overheard by another group. Overhearing enhances the neighboring participants' search, and produces not only repetitions, but also further elaborations and refinements, which might be exchanged, agreed, or disagreed upon. Overhearing enhances the intersubjective and collective character of the search. It produces the shared character of the tasting experience and its verbalization in a way that reflexively confirms and is confirmed by going back to the tasted sample. Finally, the written notes further confirm the way in which each participant has contributed to the procedure.

Relying on two parallel groups, this analysis shows how a moment within a tasting activity can reveal diverse but also systematic practices dealing with embodiment, sensoriality, and its verbal expression. It also reveals different levels of intersubjectivity. First and foremost, even if tasting can be configured as an individual experience, it is publicly displayed for other co-participants, who can witness it and even adjust to it in response. Second, tasting can be configured as a collective and shared experience, occasioned by and further occasioning sequences of turns-at-talk, overhearing, and mutual bodily orientations and common embodied engagements, as well as laughter, indexing pleasure and affect. Third, tasting is configured in an intersubjective way also by the use of material tools, like the aroma wheel,

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which enhance individual sensations through resources that work like predecessors, shaping present sensorial practices through past accumulated experiences and their expression, achieving intersubjectivity in the sense of building a tradition, a standard, an institutional view that can be shared and reproduced, although in situated manners (Goodwin 2017; Schutz 1962).

In this way, the study reveals how a multimodal analysis can contribute to a better understanding of the intersubjectivity of sensorial activities.

Transcription conventions

Talk has been transcribed according to Jefferson's conventions used in CA. *An indicative translation is given in italics, line by line, which aims at helping to understand the original.*

Embodied actions are transcribed according to Mondada's conventions (see 2018c for a conceptual discussion, and https://www.lorenzamondada.net/multimodal-transcription for a tutorial):

* *	movement descriptions are delimited between
+ +	two identical symbols (generally one symbol per participant/type of movement)
% %	and are synchronized with corresponding stretches of talk
>>	movement described begins before the excerpt's beginning
--->>	movement described continues after excerpt's end
*--->	movement described continues across subsequent lines
---->*	until the same symbol is reached
….	movement's preparation and emergence
----	movement's apex is reached and maintained
,,,,,,	movement's retraction
nic	identification of the participant doing the movement
fig	the exact point where a screen shot has been taken is indicated
#	with a specific sign showing its position within turn at talk

More particularly, specific symbols have been used for relevant embodied aspects of each participant:

Table 1	Symbols	Table 2
NIC	gaze + gest ±	NAT
CEL	gest • gaze *	JAN
CIN	gaze £ gest $	DIA

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Emotion, psychophysiology, and intersubjectivity

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Conversation analytical studies on emotion show how expression of emotion is part of the intersubjective experience. Emotions, however, are as much physiological as experiential events. Physiological processes pertaining to emotion involve changes in cardiovascular activity, in the activation of sweat glands, and in muscular activity. The dyadic systems theory by Beebe and Lachmann (2002) suggests that actions that regulate social interaction also serve in the regulation of internal emotional states of interacting subjects. Drawing from this theory, our overall research questions was: how is the expression of emotion in social interaction linked to physiological responses in the participants? Our main result was that thorough conversational affiliation, the participants share the emotional load in the interaction.

Keywords: psychophysiology, autonomic nervous system, affiliation

1. Introduction

In the past decade or so, conversation analytical studies on emotion in interaction have proliferated (see, e.g., Peräkylä & Sorjonen 2012). Conversation analytical studies focus on emotion as it is expressed in social encounters through prosody, lexical choices, grammatical structures, and body and face kinematics, exploring the ways in which expression of emotion is embedded in the organisation of social interaction. They explicate the interactional context and consequences of emotional expressions. Thereby, they show how expression of emotion is part of the intersubjective experience.

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Emotions are as much physiological as experiential events. Emotions are embodied when we blush, when our heart is pounding, when we sweat, or the corners of our mouth and eyes move, often in uncontrollable ways. More than 100 years ago, William James (1884) and Carl Lange (1885) independently suggested a hypothesis that has been discussed ever since: the experience of emotion ("feeling") does not instigate the physiological response, but vice versa: the bodily reactions come first, and feeling only thereafter. Even though the theory is controversial, it is very illuminating in showing the central place of the body in the emotion process.

Physiological processes pertaining to emotion involve changes in cardiovascular activity (heart rate and blood flow), in the activation of sweat glands, and in muscular activity (startle reflex, body movement, and the activation of facial muscles) (Kreibig 2010). Many of these changes are controlled by the autonomic nervous system, which means that they are largely beyond the volitional control of the individual. Autonomic nervous system activation associated with emotion is called "arousal". Positive or negative emotions can involve either a strong or weak arousal component (Bradley & Lang 2007).

There are well established methods of measurement of such physiological responses (Cacioppo, Tassinary & Berntson 2007). The standard paradigm in the psychophysiological studies focuses on individual responses to emotionally arousing stimuli (Bradley & Lang 2007). However, already since the 1950s, there have also been studies on "interpersonal physiology" (Kleinbub 2017; Palumbo et al. 2017). These studies focus on the ways in which the physiological responses in individuals are linked to such responses in other co-present individuals.

With a team of sociologists and psychologists associated with the Center of Excellence on Intersubjectivity in Interaction, we engaged in a study on the psychophysiology of emotional interaction. Our overall research questions was this: how is the expression of emotion in social interaction linked to physiological responses in the participants? From there, we examined the ways in which physiological responses are anchored in intersubjective experience.

In the project, we combined psychophysiological measurements with conversation analysis. To do so, we needed to quantify not only physiological responses, but also the conversational events, and use statistical data analysis techniques. The theoretical concepts that could embrace both social interaction and physiological processes came from dyadic systems theory as formulated by Beebe and Lachmann (2002). This theory basically suggests that expressions and actions that regulate social interaction also serve in the regulation of internal emotional states of interacting subjects. So, for example, smiling usually invites a co-participant to reciprocate the smile, but it also has consequences for the momentary psycho-physiological states of the interacting individuals (increase of muscular activation associated with pleasant feelings).

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The physiology of interactional affiliation has been a central theme in our work. In a number of studies, we have explored the ways in which interpersonal affiliation is mapped onto the physiological responses in the participants of interaction. We have found that interpersonal affiliation involves sharing of the physiological activation: the affiliating participant becomes physiologically more aroused, while the recipient of the affiliation calms down, becoming physiologically less aroused. In what follows, we tell the story how we found this and how we repeatedly confirmed our finding.

2. Sharing the emotional load in storytelling

Storytelling is one conversational environment where affiliation is particularly relevant. The storyteller not only recounts consecutive events, but also shows a particular emotional relation, or "stance", to them. Affiliation involves the hearer reciprocating the teller's stance: "the hearer displays support of and endorses the teller's conveyed stance" (Stivers 2008: 35). Telling a story is in effect an invitation for the recipient to affiliate. (e.g., Couper-Kuhlen 2012). Several CA studies have shown how the teller monitors the hearer. In case the hearer does not affiliate, the tellers regularly pursue affiliation by means that can be verbal (such as rephrasing the punchline; see (Couper-Kuhlen 2012; Selting 2010, 2012) or non-verbal (such as facial expressions enhancing the stance after the completion of the story; see Peräkylä & Ruusuvuori 2012). In our study, we wanted to know whether this "need" for affiliation is connected to physiological processes.

In Peräkylä et al. 2015, we invited volunteers to take part in dyadic interactions with other volunteers that they did not know from before. We chose to have unacquainted dyads because we wanted them to tell about events that were not familiar to the co-participants. To avoid any gender-specific variation in the data, all the participants were female. The mean age of the participants was 23.5 years, ranging from 18 to 46 years. The 45-minute-long interactions were video recorded, and the participants' physiological responses (heart rate, frequency of breathing, sweating of the palm, facial muscle activation) were recorded during the interactions. The participants were instructed to talk about happy events and losses in their life in a freely chosen way. They ended up telling each other a lot of stories.

To combine conversation analysis with psychophysiological and statistical methods, we needed to code our data and count the frequencies of some of the coded events. From the 20 discussions, we found 317 stories. They were accounts of events in temporal succession usually extending over several turn construction units. Regarding emotional valence, 89 stories were happy, 95 sad and 89 ambivalent (involving both positive and negative emotion). 44 stories could not be classified.

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Adapting Labov's and Waletzky's (1967) and Sacks' (1974) idea of the phasic structure of stories, we coded each story according to phases: build-up, climax, and evaluation. In some stories, there were only the two first phases but no evaluation as a separate phase.

We coded for the affiliative behaviours of the story recipients, distinguishing between 10 recipient actions that included minimal responses, full verbal responses, and non-verbal responses (see Table 1). Based on earlier interactional research (e.g., Stivers 2008; Couper-Kuhlen 2012; Selting 2012), we allocated each behaviour a proximate "weight" in term of affiliation (see Table 1). What earlier research considered as central affiliative practices – such as response cries or verbal responses affiliating with the teller's stance – was given bigger weight than behaviours that merely maintained the hearership (such as continuers) or acknowledged the ideational content of the story without sharing the teller's stance (such as neutral verbal responses). The overall score for recipients' affiliative behaviours involved the sum of the affiliative weights of all observed affiliative behaviours during the story. Behaviours in each phase of the story were coded separately so that each phase received its affiliative score. The overall affiliative score for a story was obtained by adding up the phasic scores. Because climax is understood to be critical for affiliation, however, we multiplied the climax score by two.

Table 1. Story recipient actions and their affiliative weights

Story recipient actions and their affiliative weights	
RECIPIENT ACTION	**AFFILIATIVE WEIGHT**
Minimal responses	
1. Continuers	1
2. Epistemic news-markers	2
3. Affective minimal responses	3
4. Response cries	5
Full verbal responses	
5. Verbal responses neutral regarding the teller's stance	3
6. Verbal responses affiliating with teller's stance	5
Non-verbal responses	
7. Nod	1–3
8. Sequentially adequate affiliative change in face	3
9. Sequentially adequate epistemic change in face	2
10. Sequentially adequate affiliative gesture, e.g., headshake	2

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For stories with rather non-affiliative and with more affiliative recipient, see Excerpts 1 and 2, respectively, below. The phases of the stories and the observed affiliative behaviours are marked in the tables below the extracts (Tables 2 and 3).

Excerpt 1. *passive story reception*
TEL = teller
REC = recipient
Beginnings of conversational phases are marked with line ----------

```
Build-up starts ------------------------------------------
01   TEL:    no siis (0.4) on mulki tota (.) .mthh (0.4)
             PRT PRT       is me-too PRT
             well I mean (0.4) I've too (.) .tskhh (0.4)
02           no (.) mun yks kaveri (.) lähti vaihtoon
             PRT    my one friend       left to-exchange
             well (.)  a friend of mine (.)  went to exchange
03           italiaan jossain vaihees ja löys sielt miehen
             to-italy somewhere at-stage and found there man
             to Italy at some point and found a man there
04           ja jäi     sinne .hhh (.) *ja siis* jotenki niinku
             and stayed there and PRT somehow PRT
             and stayed there .hhh  (.) and so
     rec                               *nods---*
05           aluks        me pidettiin tosi   paljon yhteyttä
             at-beginning we kept      really much contact
             at the beginning we kept in touch a lot
06           mut sit se ↑on jotenki jääny ja sit
             but then it is somehow left and then
             but then tha:t ↑has somehow stopped and then
07           se sen mies on pikkasen är:syttävä .hhh (.)
             it her man is little annoying
             that man of hers is a bit annoying .hhh (.)
08           tai >jotenki et< aina ku ne suomessa
             or somehow that always when they in-finland
             or >somehow that< always when they're in Finland
09           (.) .hhh (.) jos se on sen (.) miehen kanssa niin
                          if it is that man with PRT
             (.) .hh   (.) if she's with that (.)  man of hers so
10           se ei voi jättää sitä miestä sekunniks
             it not able leave that man for-a-second
             she can't leave that man behind for a second
11           minnekkään ja se mies on kauhee jotenki (.)
             anywhere and it man is terribly somehow
             and that man is terribly somehow (.)
12           .mhhh (.) huomion kipee (.) ja (.)
                       attention sick     and
             .mhhh (.) attention-seeking (.) and (.)
13           sit (.) m- tota (.) sillee >jotenki et<
             then       PRT      PRT     somehow PRT
             then (.)  m- so (.) like >somehow<
```

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```
14            sen on pakko olla koko ajan osallisena
              it's is must be whole time taking-part
              he just has to be part of the
15            keskustelussa ja jotenki et
              conversation and somehow PRT
              conversation all the time and somehow that
Climax starts ---------------------------------------------
16            .hhh (.) sit mä oon vähän sillee et
                       then I am little PRT that
              .hhh (.) then I'm a bit so that like
17            y:::a::::rrrhh .hhh=
18   REC:     =nii.=
                PRT
              =yeah.=
19   TEL:     =mut tota .hh (0.4) nii (.) no (.) emmä
              but  PRT            PRT     PRT    I-don't
              =but then .hh (0.4) so (.) well (.)  I don't
20            tiiä ja sit se on jotenki (.) >sillee et< (.)
              know and PRT it is somehow     PRT    that
              know and then it's somehow (.)              >so that< (.)
21            aina välillä mä yritän jotain    meilailla
              always sometimes I try something email
              every now and then I try to email
22            sille mut ei se sit (.) m- vastaa se mun
              to-that but not it then    reply it my
              her a bit but then she doesn't (.)   m- reply that
23            kaveri jotenki se on vähän huono
              friend somehow it is little bad
              friend of mine somehow she's not so good
Evaluation starts ------------------------------------------
24            pitää yhteyttä ni sit se on kans vähän
              keeping contact PRT PRT it is also a-little
              at keeping contact so then it's a bit
25            sillee (.) .mhhh harmi (.)
              somehow          pity
              somehow (.) .mhhh a pity (.)
```

Table 2. Affiliative responses in Excerpt (1)

Phase	Affiliative response	Line
Build-up	Nod	4
Climax	Continuer	18
Evaluation	–	–

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Excerpt 2. *active story reception*

Build-up starts ----------

```
01   TEL:    mä (.) mul on >tai siis lähinnä sen takia
             I      I-have or PRT nearest because-of
             I (.) I've >or you know mostly because
02           et mä olin:< mä tulin: tiistai iltana
             that I was   I came tuesday evening
             I was:< on I came on Tuesday evening I came from
03           Yllä:kseltä mis mä olin *kuus päivää?* tai  from-place
             where I was six days or
             Ylläs where I'd been for six days? or
     rec                    *smiles------*
04           [siis (.)
             PRT
             [you know (.)
05   REC:    [(↑°uuu°)
             [(↑°ooh°)
06   TEL:    no ensinnäkin tää on (.) mä oon meiän niinku<
             PRT first-ly this is     I am our PRT
             well first of all this is (.)  I'm like our<
07           >mäent < meil on siis nää killat?
             I-don't we have PRT these guilds
             >I don't k < we have like these guilds?
08   REC:    *↑joo tiän.*
             PRT I-know
             ↑yeah I know.
     rec    *nods-------*
09   TEL:    niinku.
             PRT
             like.
10   REC:    *↑joo.*
             PRT
             ↑yeah.
     rec     *nods-*
11   TEL:    ni meil on kröh paperi insinööriki- kilta
             PRT we  is      paper engineering   guild
             so we have krhm the paper engineers' g- guild
12           mihin mä kuulun ni mä oon siel niinku (0.3)
             to-which I belong PRT I am there PRT
             to which  I belong so I'm there like (0.3)  the
13           meiän nn siel  raa:dissa    elikkä niinku meiän, .hh
             our      there in-council   PRT    PRT    our
             our n: in co:uncil so that our, .hh
14   REC:    ↑aa.
             ↑ah.
15   TEL:    mul on niinku virka?=siis tämmönen,
             I   is PRT    position PRT this-kind-of
             I have a kind of position?=like this,
16   REC:    *↑joo? joo.*
             PRT PRT
              ↑yeah? yeah.
     rec     *nods-----*
```

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```
17   TEL:    meiän siäl (0.3) hh >meil (oli) kaikkii näit<
             our   there      we-have had all-of these
             in our (0.3)  hh >we ( had)  all these<
18   REC:    (joo.)
             PRT
             (yeah.)
19   TEL:    virka >mä oon tavallaan niinku< ulko-
             position I am in-a-manner PRT   foreign
             position >I'm sort of like> the minister of foreign
20           ministeri?= mut mä oon niinku tämmönen
             minister    but I am PRT this-kind-of
              affairs? =but I'm like this person in charge of
21           ulkovastaava on meil se termi.=ja m:ä pidän niinku .
             out-responsible is our it term and I  hold  PRT
             international relations as we say.= and I sort of
22           huolta *kaikist meiän vaihto   opiskelijoista?*
             care    all-of  our   exchange students
             take care of all our exchange students?
     rec     *nods-------------------------------*
23           (.)
24   TEL:    .hhh ja *sit mä olin niitten kaa siel Ylläksellä*h.
                  and then I was them   with  there place-at
             .hhh so and I was then with them there at Ylläs h.
     rec             *smiles-----------------------------------*
25   REC:    ↑uuuh,
             ↑oooh,
26   TEL:    oli siel kemialaisiiki ja oli
             were there chemists-also and were
             there were some chemists and
27           sikki[läisiiki vähän.
             eeg-members-too some
              electr[ ic engineers too.
28   REC:           [oliks iso porukka,
                     was big group
                    [was it a large group,
29   TEL:    meit oli viistoista.
             us was fifteen
             we were fifteen.
30           (.)
31   REC:    *↑joo.*
              PRT
             ↑yeah.
     rec    *nods-*
Climax starts ---------------------------------------------
32   TEL:    ni siel oli [(.) ihan <sairaan kivaa>
             PRT there was     PRT   sick fun
             so that was [(.) like <ridiculously great time>
33   REC:                [( ) kiva.
                             nice
                         [( ) nice.
34   TEL:    *ja sit mä oon vieläki jotenki hhe ihan
             and then I am still somehow totally
             and then £I'm still somehow hhe in
     rec    *smiles---------------------------------
```

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```
35          niis maailmois*
            those in-worlds
            that world
    rec     ---------------*
36          *et mä en oo viel £las↑keutunu   maan  pinnalle£.*
            PRT I not am yet       landed    earth ground
            I haven't £landed back on earth yet£.
    rec    *smiles----------------------------------------*
37  REC:    [kävitsä siel (.) Hovissa.
             visit-you there name
            [did you visit that (.)  hovi. ((restaurant))
38  TEL:    [tai palautunu todellisuuteen.
             or returned to-reality
            [or back to reality.
39  TEL:    *ai pohjanhovissa.*
              PRT name
            you mean pohjanhovi.
    rec     *surprised face---*
40  REC:    *joo.=*
            PRT
            yeah.=
    rec     *smiles*
41  TEL:    =joo käytiin,
            PRT visit-we-did
            =yeah we did,
42  TEL:     nhe he
43  REC:    onks siel to:inenki se on se
            is there another it is it
            is there another it's the
44          [Pohjanhovi halli ja
            name        hall and
            [Pohjanhovi hall and
45  TEL:    [joo.
             PRT
            [yeah.
46  REC:    sit  on [se   [Pohjanhovi
            then is that   name
            then there's [that [Pohjanhovi
47  TEL:            [joo  [niit on   [kaks
                     PRT  them-of is  two
                    [yeah [there are [two of them
48  REC:                             [joo.
                                          PRT
                                     [yeah.
49  TEL:    ni kyl me käytiin siel vanhas nii.
            PRT yes we visited there old PRT
            and so we visited that old one so.
50  REC:    joo.
            PRT
            yeah.
51  TEL:    ja käytiin* moottorikelkkailemas*sa ja?
            and visited driving-snowmobile and
            and we went snowmobile driving and?
    rec     *smiles----------------*
```

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```
52   TEL:    mh tuota (.) lautailemassa tietty    kahten
                 PRT       boarding      of course on-two
             mh I mean (.)  snowboarding of course on two
53   TEL:    päivän ja.  [tällast näin ni
             days and     this-like PRT PRT
             days and.   [this sort of thing so
54   REC:    [↑no noni,
               PRT PRT
             [↑well oh my,
55   REC:    wa:u
             wo:w
End of story ------------------------------------------------
56   TEL:    voi että siellä oli kivaa.
             oh that there was fun
             my how it was fun.
57   REC:    mäki   kä[vin just       niinku (.) Ylläksellä,
             I-too visited recently   PRT        name
             I just vi[sited like (.)  Ylläs too,
58   TEL:             [mh he
59   TEL:    joo.
             PRT
             yeah.
```

Table 3. Affiliative responses in Excerpt (2)

Phase	Affiliative response	Line
Build-up	Continuer	18
	Epistemic news marker	5
	Neutral verbal response	8
	Nod	8
	Affiliative change in face	3
Climax	Continuer	48
	Epistemic news marker	54
	Respose cry	55
	Neutral verbal response	37
	Affiliating verbal response	33
	Affiliative change in face	34–35
	Epistemic change in face	39

The affiliation scores of these two excerpts were calculated as follows. The affiliation score in the build-up of Excerpt (1) is three (it comes from the nod; following Stivers (2008) notion that nods are a sufficient display of affiliation in telling phase but not in the story climax, nods in buildup were weighted as 3, while in climax and evaluation they were 1), the initial score of affiliation in the climax of Excerpt (1) is one (coming from the continuer), and the score in evaluation is zero (as there is no coded recipient action during the evaluation). Likewise, the scores for affiliation in Excerpt (2) are the following: build-up =11 (coming from continuer, epistemic

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news marker, nonaffective verbal response, nod and affiliative change in face) and the initial score of the climax = 21 (including all responses present in the build-up except the nod and adding the response cry, affective verbal response and epistemic change in the face).

An overall score for affiliation was calculated for each story by adding up scores of each story phase. Furthermore, because some stories (such as Excerpt (2) above) did not have an evaluative phase at all, we divided the sum of affiliation scores by 4 in stories with evaluation, and by 3 in stories without evaluation (so that we could emphasize the climax in a way that is comparable in all the stories). Thus, the overall score of affiliation for Excerpt (1) is 1.25 [(3 + 2 x 1 + 0)/4] and the overall score for affiliation in Excerpt (2) is 17.7 [(11 + 2 x 21)/3].

We use electrodermal activity (EDA) – commonly known as skin conductance – as our primary indicator of arousal. When a person is aroused, his/her sympathetic nervous system is activated, resulting in increased sweat gland activity and skin conductance. (Sympathetic and parasympathetic nervous systems together form the autonomic nervous system.) Electrodermal activity has been shown to be sensitive to psychological states and processes, and it is widely used to study attention, information processing, and emotion (Dawson, Schell & Filion 2007: 159–60).

How might the physiological arousal of the participants be linked to affiliative behaviours such as those seen in Excerpts 1 and 2? Earlier social psychological research has suggested that emotions are contagious (Hatfield, Cacioppo & Rapson 1994). We can expect the behavioural contagion to have a physiological correlate, so we expected that the increased behavioural display of affiliation would bring about a corresponding increase in physiological arousal in the story recipient. Earlier CA research has suggested that the storyteller intensively monitors the story recipient's responses to the story, and that lack of affiliative responses activates the storyteller to behaviourally pursue response (Couper-Kuhlen 2012, Selting 2010 and 2012; Peräkylä & Ruusuvuori 2012).

Furthermore, a pioneering psychophysiological study (Butler et al. 2003) showed that suppression of emotion in interaction is associated with increased physiological response in interaction participants. Thus, we predicted that increased recipient affiliation is associated with decrease in the physiological arousal in the storyteller: affiliation calms down the storyteller.

The analysis of linkages between affiliative behaviours and physiological arousal (as indexed by skin conductivity) indeed confirmed these hypotheses. The more the story recipient affiliated, the less there was physiological arousal in the story teller, and the more there was physiological arousal in the story recipient himself. There happened something that we can call "sharing the emotional load" of the story telling. The results are illustrated in Figures 1 and 2 below.

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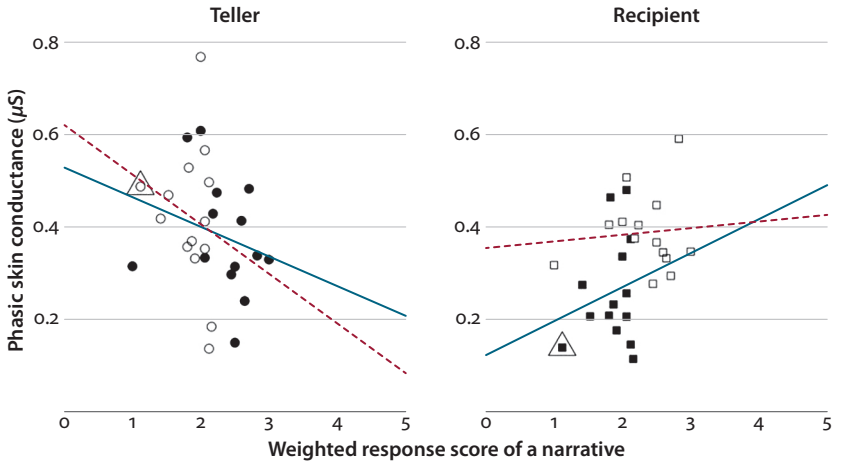


Figure 1. The relationship of affiliative response score for the stories of Dyad 1 with Electro-Dermal Activity in the tellers (left panel) and recipients (right panel).

Note: Black circles = person A as a teller; white circles = person B as a teller; black squares = person A as a recipient; white squares = person B as recipient; solid regression lines = person A as a teller and as a recipient; dashed regression line = person B as a teller and as a recipient; circles and squares in triangle = story shown in Excerpt (1)

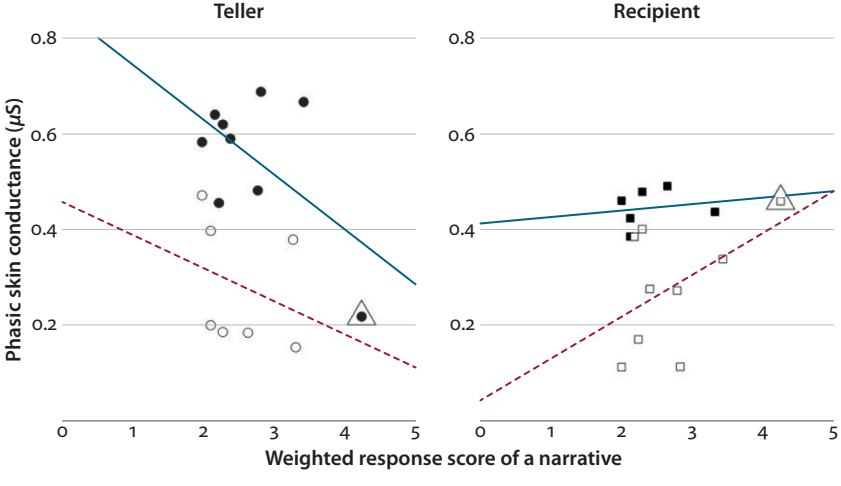


Figure 2. The relationship of affiliative response score for the stories of Dyad 2 with Electro-Dermal Activity in the tellers (left panel) and recipients (right panel).

Note: Black circles = person A as a teller; white circles = person B as a teller; black squares = person A as a recipient; white squares = person B as a recipient; solid regression lines = person A as a teller and as a recipient; dashed regression lines = person B as a teller and as a recipient; circles and squares in a triangle = story shown in Excerpt (2)

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Figure 1 shows all the stories told in the interaction from which Excerpt (1) was taken (Dyad 1), and Figure 2 shows the stories in the interaction where Excerpt (2) took place (Dyad 2). In Dyad 1, 27 stories were told, and in Dyad 2, 15 stories. The circles or squares surrounded by a triangle correspond to the stories shown in Excerpt (1) and Excerpt (2). In both figures, X axis shows the affiliative weight of the recipient behaviours, and Y axis shows the skin conductance of the teller or the recipient. The regression lines (lines that go through the figures) indicate the linkage between the affiliative weight of the stories and the electrodermal activation in the tellers and the recipients. By looking at the Figures we can see the same as a statistical analysis of the whole data shows (see Peräkylä et al. 2015). There is such a linkage between affiliation and arousal as we expected; while the linkage is statistically significant, it is not very strong (probably due to the big amount of "noise" in the physiological data in a naturalistic setting).

In sum, our study demonstrates that the emotional load is shared: increased affiliation is associated to increased arousal in the story recipient and decreased arousal in the storyteller. Monitoring of affiliation by the storyteller, and interactional consequentiality of affiliation reverberates in the participants' autonomic nervous system responses. As this statistically significant connection was not strong, replication studies are called for. In what follows, we will present results from two studies where we elaborated on these results, using different data and partially different methods.

3. Physiology of affiliation and dominance in Asperger's syndrome

In a recent study (Stevanovic et al. 2019; see also Stevanovic et al. 2017), we re-investigated the connection between affiliation and the body, now using a different method in accounting for social interaction, and including in the study participants that might be expected to respond differently to affiliation.

Our data collection protocol was the same as in the study on affiliation in storytelling: participants who did not know each other were instructed to discuss happy events and losses in their lives. Nine dyadic conversations involved two "neurotypical" males (i.e., persons without major psychiatric disorders); in 10 dyads one of the participants was diagnosed with Asperger's syndrome.

Asperger's syndrome is a neurobiological disorder that manifests itself in patterns of socio-emotional behaviour that are unlike those in majority population. It does not involve lower intelligence. In 2013, Asperger's syndrome was merged into a broader diagnostic category of autism spectrum disorder, which is characterized by difficulties in social interaction and restricted patterns of behaviours, activities or interests (see American Psychiatric Association 2013). Since the participants in

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our study were diagnosed before the new diagnostic manual, we refer to them as participants with Asperger's.

Instead of focusing on stories and their reception, we used continuous rating of the interactions. In every moment of the interaction, the behaviour of each participant of the dyad was rated for two dimensions: affiliation and dominance. This two-dimensional view of interaction is based on the interpersonal theory developed by Leary (1957; for further developments, see Sadler et al. 2009; Lizdek et al. 2012), and we hypothesized that the physiological consequences of affiliation might vary depending on whether or not a participant is simultaneously dominating vs. not dominating the conversation. We adopted the joystick method developed by Lizdek and colleagues (Lizdek et al. 2012). Three independent raters were trained to observe the degree of affiliation and dominance in each participant while watching a video of the dyad discussing. The raters' understanding of affiliation and dominance was informed by 16 interpersonal adjectives, such as warm, trusting, passive, unsociable, indifferent, critical, assertive and outgoing, and a set of 21 one-sentence-long verbal descriptions of interactional events such as "The participant poses challenging questions" (maximally dominant) or "The participant provides friendly and encouraging backchannelling responses to his/her co-participant's telling" (maximally affiliative). The inter-observer reliability for different dimension of interaction (affiliation and dominance) and different participant groups varied between "acceptable" and "excellent".

In the rating, one axis of the joystick indicates the rater's observation of affiliation (unfriendly to friendly) and the other axis indicates the observation regarding dominance (from dominant to submissive). The movement of the joystick while the rater is watching the video gives a record of the moment-by-moment changes in affiliation and dominance in the interaction. As for the physiological responses in the participants, we used both heart rate variability (the variation of intervals between heartbeats in a timeframe), and electro-dermal activation as indicators of physiological arousal.

Our research design made it possible for us to re-test the hypothesis regarding the "sharing the emotional load" that was generated in the earlier study. In short, we confirmed the hypothesis in the neurotypical participants: increased affiliation in the conversational partner was associated with decreased physiological arousal in the interacting subjects. This effect was the largest when the subject himself was dominating the conversation – situations that, in the context of this study, could involve the subject engaging in storytelling or being otherwise actively in charge of the conversation. Also in line of our previous study, the increased affiliation with the co-participant shown by the subject himself was associated with higher physiological arousal. Importantly, in this study, the results were consistent across the two measures of arousal (electrodermal activation and heart rate variability).

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What was specifically new in this study, however, were our findings that suggest that participants with Asperger's syndrome do not exhibit these affiliation-induced physiological response patterns.

In Figures 3 and 4 below, key results regarding electrodermal activation are presented. In Figure 3, the bars, each coloured with three shades of grey, show the effect of partner's affiliation (low or high) on subject's electro dermal activation in three types of dyads: neurotypical (NT) participant conversing with other NT participant (two bars of the left), NT participant conversing with Asperger (AS) participant (two bars in the middle) and AS participant in conversation with NT participant (two bars on the right). The mediating effect of dominance is indicated by the differences between the sections of three shades of grey in each bar: we see that in neurotypical participants conversing with other neurotypical participants, the calming effect of high affiliation is biggest when the subject is high in dominance, and that in Asperger subjects conversing with neurotypical subjects, the reverse effect (partner affiliation linked with increased arousal) is strongest when the subject is high in dominance.

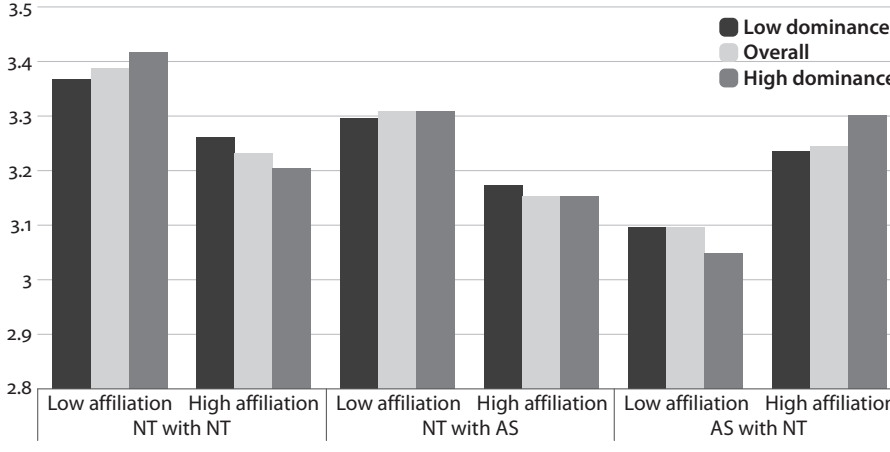


Figure 3. Effects of partner's affiliation on the Electro Dermal Activation. NT=Neurotypical participant; AS=Asperger participant

Figure 4 below shows how the subject's own affiliation is associated with his arousal, as indicated by electrodermal activation. The neurotypical participants are more aroused when they show more affiliation. Again, our hypothesis regarding the sharing of the emotional load was confirmed. In the Asperger participants, a similar effect was found – but only when participant is low in dominance.

Thus, besides offering confirmation of the hypothesis about sharing of the emotional load, this study showed that the Asperger participants' cognitive and emotional

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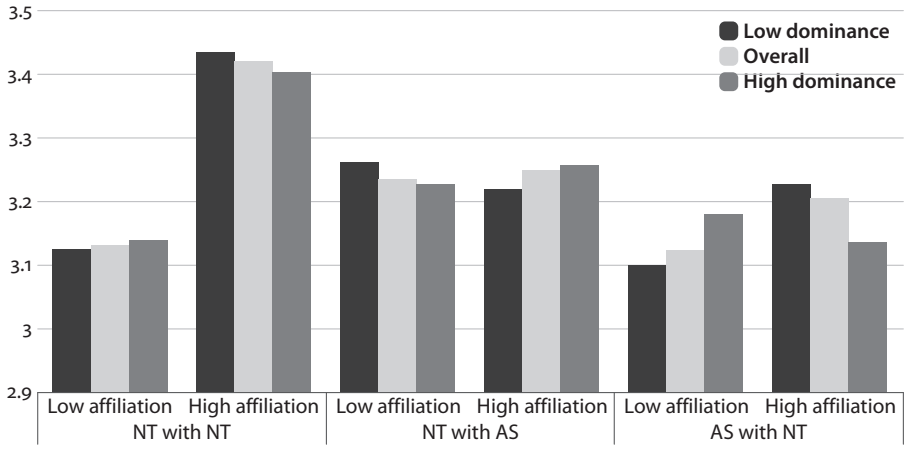


Figure 4. Effects of own affiliation on the Electro-Dermal Activation. NT=Neurotypical participant; AS=Asperger participant

specificity plays out also in the physiological responses in conversation. The finding that partner's affiliation increases rather than decreases arousal in Asperger subjects lends support to the hypothesis put forward by Markram and colleagues (Markram, Rinaldi & Markram 2007), who proposed autism to be characterized by a hypersensitivity to emotions, instead of being characterized by an empathy deficit. Consequently, emotional expressions by others might in some cases become anxiety-inducing and stressful for individuals on the autism spectrum. (Markram et al. 2007; Markram & Markram 2010). Our results indeed showed that affiliation shown by others can be stressful for subjects on the autism spectrum.

4. Physiology, affiliation and challenge in psychotherapy

Recently, we investigated the interconnections between interactional practices and physiological activation in yet another setting: psychotherapy. The motivation for this study arises from the idea that *empathy* and *challenge* are key facets in the client-therapist interaction. Bänninger-Huber & Widmer (1999) and Ribeiro et al. (2016) and many others (see also Voutilainen, Peräkylä & Ruusuvuori 2010; Weiste & Peräkylä 2014) have maintained that a psychotherapist needs to balance between (1) attuning him- or herself to the client's experience, and (2) questioning the client's beliefs about self, the world and his or her ways of being with others. The former aspect of interaction entails empathy, and the latter aspect entails challenge. We wanted to know how these facets of interaction are linked to the physiological responses in the participants.

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As data, we had 30 naturally occurring, video recorded psychotherapy sessions that came from 5 dyads. The therapists all had training in psychodynamic psychotherapy. The therapy approach draws theoretically from the psychoanalytical tradition, but unlike in classical psychoanalysis, in psychodynamic therapy the participants sit and face each other, and the frequency of the meetings is lower (usually two meetings per week). The participants' heart rate, electrodermal activation and facial muscle activation (EMG) were recorded during the sessions.

In the analysis of the interaction, our focus was on the therapists' *formulations*. Formulations are indeed one of the most researched practices in psychotherapy interaction research (see Antaki 2008; Peräkylä 2012; for formulations in general, see Heritage & Watson 1980, Deppermann 2011). In a formulation, the therapist says in other words what the patient has said, what the therapist takes the patient to have meant, or what can be inferred from the patient's talk. Such utterances are ubiquitous in psychotherapy. They communicate and demonstrate that the therapist is understanding the patient, and how he/she understand him/her. Formulations can also redirect the focus of the talk, for example to build grounds for interpretations (Antaki 2008, Peräkylä 2011, Vehviläinen 2003, Weiste & Peräkylä 2013) or to investigate a problematic emotion (Voutilainen et al. 2010, Weiste & Peräkylä 2014).

We coded 24 sessions (leaving out the first recoded sessions from all dyads) and found 694 formulations. In excerpt 3 below, there is an example of a formulation in our data.

Excerpt 3. *a formulation*

```
01   CLI:    mut se nyt tietyst   on. (.) ö:: yliopiston
             but it now of+course is.         university-GEN
             but that is of course. (.) erm an university
02           suoritus    ja  täytyy tehä jotta ihan
             performance and must   do   for   quite
             assignment and has to be done so it is
03           turha   siit on valittaa.
             useless it   is  complain
             no use to complain.
04           (6.4)
05   THE:    joo mut se kuitenki sua #ä::# miten
     PRT     but it nevertheless you           how
             yes but it is anyway #erm# how
06           sen sano- #e::# t- ↑tekee mieli
             it  say         does mind
             should I say #erm# you ↑feel like
07           valiɬt(h)taah e[t(h) vähä .hh£
             complain      PRT    little
             complaining [a bit .hh£
08   CLI:                  [£↑no tekee,£ yhy
                             PRT does
                           [£↑well yes,£ ehe
```

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In lines 1–3, the client, a university student, comes to the end of a telling about his coursework – he has told that the task at hand does not support his overall progress optimally. Yet, after having said this, he concludes in lines 1–3 that he should not complain. After a rather long gap, the therapist in lines 5–7 formulates his inference regarding the upshot of the client's talk: in contrast to what he claims (no use to complain) he actually does feel like complaining.

For our study, two properties of each formulation were assessed: challenge and empathy. These two properties are understood as independent: a formulation that was coded as challenging could also receive a high score in empathy. For challenge, we chose to use coders who had conversation analytical training; they were asked to decide whether or not each formulation had the following qualities in relation to the prior talk:

- Shifting the focus of talk from outer world to inner experience
- Adding emotional intensity to the experience that was being described
- Changing the content of the experience that was being described

If at least one of the three criteria were fulfilled, then the formulation was coded as *challenging*. If none of them was fulfilled, then it was coded as *benign* (i.e., non-challenging). Out of our 694 formulations, 455 were benign and 239 challenging. As for the formulation shown in Excerpt (3) above, it was coded as challenging, because there was a shift of focus from the outer world to inner experience, and the content of the experience was changed.

The evaluation of empathy was done in a different way. Rather than analysing the formulations in their conversational context (as we did for the coding of challenge), we asked naïve raters (university students who did not know about our research aims) to assess on a scale of 1–9 how empathetic the therapist appeared in each formulation. The raters saw short segment of client's earlier talk and the focus formulations in random order from all five therapists. We chose to use naïve raters (rather than CA coders) because of the multimodality of empathetic displays (e.g., Peräkylä and Sorjonen, 2012), and because we thought that ordinary persons are competent for recognizing emotional events. Each formulation was rated for empathy by two raters. The agreement between raters was measured by calculating a score for inter-rater reliability; we achieved a score indicative of fair reliability, close to the limit of good reliability.

In measuring the physiological responses to challenge and empathy in formulations, we had two temporal foci. One was the physiological activation level during whole sessions. We investigated how the average scores of empathy and challenge in formulation during each session were linked to the physiological activation in the participants during that session. The other temporal focus involved the physiological activation during and immediately after the formulations: we investigated

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how the participants responded to empathy and challenge in each individual formulation. We will first consider our results at the level of the whole session.

Regarding empathy, the session-level picture was quite clear, and it corresponded to our earlier observations regarding the sharing of the emotional load. Key results regarding skin conductivity are illustrated in Figure 5 below. The X-axis shows the mean empathy score in therapist's interventions during a session and the Y axis shows the change in skin conductance during a session. Each therapy session is marked with an open (white) symbol. The shape of the symbol (circle, square, etc.) indicates the dyad; and the filled (black) symbols show the mean values of each dyad. Basically, when the therapist's formulations were more empathetic, the therapists became more aroused, while the clients became quite dramatically less aroused.

Regarding challenge, the picture is somewhat less clear, as Figure 6 below shows. Here, the X axis shows the relative ratio of challenging interventions during a session. While the association between the ratio of challenging interventions and skin conductivity change failed to reach statistical significance, it appears that in the clients, this association was there if we would exclude the sessions of one dyad (Dyad 5). In the remaining 4 dyads, the increase in the ratio of challenging interventions seems to be strongly associated with increase in skin conductance.

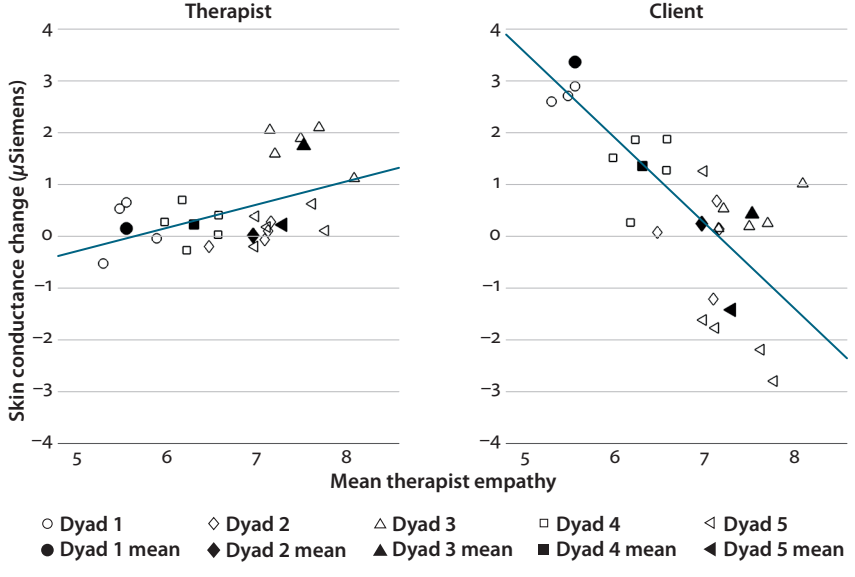


Figure 5. The relationship of mean empathy with change in skin conductance level (SCL) across a session. The open symbols indicate the mean of empathy and SCL change in each session for the therapist and the client. The filled symbols indicate the mean empathy and SCL change of the therapist and the client in each dyad

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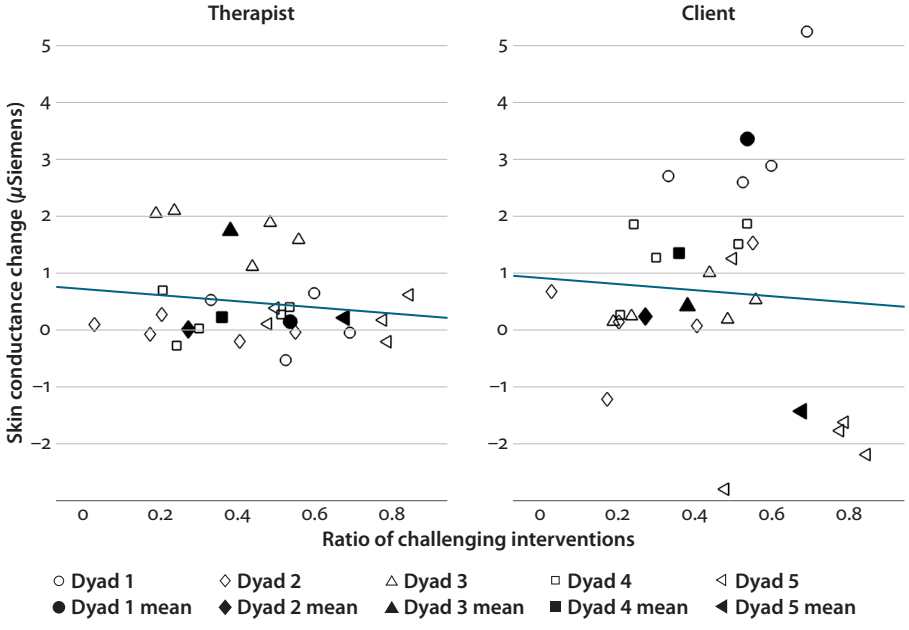


Figure 6. The relationship of ratio of challenging interventions with change in SCL across a session. The symbols indicate the mean of challenge ratio and mean SCL in each session for the therapist and the client. The colored symbols indicate the mean of the therapist and the client in each dyad

Finally, let us turn to the physiological changes during and immediately after the formulations. Against our expectation, empathy in formulations was not related to skin conductance level in the either participant. Regarding challenge of the formulations, there was however a significant result: the challenging formulations increased the skin conductance level in the therapists (the statistical significance was very strong, $p = <0.001$), but not in the patients. Now we can put together this observation regarding the "momentary" effect of challenge in the therapists, and the picture given in Figure 6 above – that at the session level, the challenge in formulations tended to affect the patients rather than the therapists. Thus, it appears that the therapists respond physiologically to their challenging formulation in a *momentary* way, and the patients in a more *long-term* manner. This can be indicative of professional management of emotion (cf., Hochschild 1979). The therapists are momentarily sensitive to the challenge that they impose upon the patients, but the effect does not remain in their bodies; while the patients do not respond physiologically in the moment, but in the long run, the challenge seems to have an effect on them.

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5. Discussion

In this chapter, we presented a string of studies that explored the ways in which physiological arousal is associated with interactional expression of emotion, exploring the intersection between intersubjective experience and bodily processes. We will now first summarise our results, and then discuss the ways in which they possibly enhance our understanding of intersubjectivity.

The baseline for these studies was the connection that we established between interactional affiliation and physiological arousal in storytelling in female dyads. We encapsulated that connection in the hypothesis about sharing the emotional load (Peräkylä et al. 2015): increased affiliation by the story recipient is associated with decreased arousal in storyteller and increased arousal in the recipient. Our results were statistically significant, but the linkage between affiliation and arousal was not strong; hence, the study needed replication.

In the first replication (Stevanovic et al. 2019) we investigated male dyads and employed a different way of annotating interactions (continuous rating of affiliation and dominance rather than CA-based coding of stories). We also introduced new type of population as participants: alongside the typically developed adults, we now had adults with Asperger's syndrome. The hypothesis of sharing the emotional load was confirmed (importantly, not only regarding electro dermal activation but also regarding cardiac response). Furthermore, the hypothesis was elaborated as the Asperger participants' responses exhibited different patterns (Stevanovic et al. 2019).

The second replication (Voutilainen et al. 2018) involved a new interactional setting: instead of the quasi natural dyadic discussion between unacquainted people, we investigated naturally occurring psychotherapy sessions. The focal action was formulation by therapist, and the annotation of interaction was partly based on CA-informed coding, and partly on rating by naïve observers. The time frame of the analysis was also different, as alongside the momentary responses (like those examined in the baseline study and the first replication), we also examined the levels of physiological activation during entire psychotherapy sessions. Our results confirmed the hypothesis of the sharing of the emotional load, but only at the level of physiological responses during entire sessions.

In terms of method, our studies were the first ones where CA-informed understanding of interaction was linked to the measurements of physiological responses in the participants. It goes without saying that combining the two methods had its price. From the point of view of psychophysiological research, using natural and quasi-natural interactions as data led to lack of experimental control of many aspects of interaction (what exactly was done, what exactly was spoken about, what exactly was the sequence of events) and the use of complicated statistics. From the

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point of view of CA, our techniques of coding and rating were unable to catch many aspects of the granularity of interaction. For example, the role of second stories in the co-regulation of emotion was not explored. Yet we think that the price was reasonable, as we did come up with positive results and were able to replicate them.

Where, then, is intersubjectivity in these observations? We can take a narrow or a broad view. According to the narrow view, intersubjectivity resided only in the interactional expression of emotion, but the physiological responses are not part of it. In other words, intersubjectivity would involve (only) the uses of language, voice, face, and body that conveyed affiliation or empathy. These expressions are monitored moment-by-moment and responded to by the co-participants, and their being available for the co-participants makes them available also for the conversation analysts and naïve or trained raters. The narrow view would imply that the physiological arousal is not part of those expressions. It is hidden in brains and bodies, not part of the interactional organization or the intersubjective field. The narrow view suggests that showing linkages between physiological arousal and interactive events may be of some interest, but basically, such linkages go beyond what the participants of interaction actually orient to, and are therefore beyond the field of interest for conversation analysis.

The broader view, in contrast, suggests that as humans, we perceive our own bodies while we interact with other people. The tension or relaxation in our bodies is part of the experience of being in interaction with others: what we do together with others reverberates in our muscles, heart, breathing and sweating (Beebe and Lachmann 2002). It is reasonable to think that these bodily experiences inform our choice of next action in interaction (Damasio 1994). Likewise, we sense these bodily reactions in others: in the rigidity or plasticity of their movements, in the colour of their skin, in the rhythm of their breathing. Even if we do not have very good means for recording and analyzing these events, they cannot be cut off from the intersubjective field, or excluded from our thinking about intersubjectivity. This question, that is how much the bodily arousal that can be measured by scientists is actually shown in the intersubjective field, remains for future research.

More than many others, Goffman was aware of this aspect of social interaction, as he characterized the experience of embarrassment as involving "blushing (…) sweating (…) blinking, tremor of the hand, hesitating or vacillating movement (…) constriction of the diaphragm (…) dryness of the mouth, and tenseness of the muscles" (Goffman 1956: 264). Using a combination of interactional and physiological research methods, we have tried to explicate something of the organization of such experiences.

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Movement synchrony as a topic of empirical social interaction research

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In this chapter, we consider movement synchrony from two different perspectives. On the one hand, we report a small-scale empirical study to test the hypothesis that movement synchrony is a sequential phenomenon, which serves as a demonstration of how conversation analytically informed research on participants' unconscious tendencies to synchronize their body movements could proceed in practice. On the other hand, we consider movement synchrony through three closely related, yet essentially different, conceptual lenses: conditional relevance, dialogic resonance, and affordance. We suggest that a specific combination of the insights provided by these three conceptual tools would make conversation analytically informed study of movement synchrony both possible and fruitful.

Keywords: movement synchrony, joint decision-making, conditional relevance, dialogic resonance, affordance

1. Introduction

As an indication of a specific form of human intersubjectivity, numerous studies have pointed to the deep pre-reflective tendency of humans to imitate each other's gestural behaviors and synchronize their body postures and movements when interacting (LaFrance 1982; Kimbara 2006). Such spontaneous synchrony has been observed when pairs of people walk (Zivotofsky & Hausdorff 2007), swing pendulums (Schmidt & O'Brien 1997), or sit in rocking chairs (Richardson et al. 2007). The tendencies of movement synchrony can be observed at many different levels, building a continuum of behaviors ranging from automatic to intentional (Shockley, Richardson, & Dale 2009; Chartrand & Bargh 1999; Ramseyer & Tschacher 2008; Hari et al. 2013), and they have been shown to exist already very early in infancy (e.g., Condon & Sander 1974).

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The term 'synchrony' generally refers to the idea of the temporal coupling of independent oscillators that enter into a phase relationship (e.g., Miles et al. 2010), and in behavioral synchrony, two or more individuals perform similar movements simultaneously. Behavioral synchrony is thus separate from mimicry or behavioral matching or imitation, where an individual observes and replicates another's behavior (Louwerse et al. 2012) either intentionally or subconsciously. Behavioral synchrony also ranges from automatic imitation or mirror effects, which are understood as covert forms of synchronous movement (Heyes 2011), to intentional synchrony, as when playing music or dancing together. Furthermore, the broad idea about the similarity of behavior between participants in interaction encompasses also intentional behaviors such as "gestural rephrasing" (Tabensky 2001), "bodily quoting" (Keevallik 2010), and "achieved synchrony" (Lerner 2002), where behaviors are designed to be seen as the same (Arnold 2012; Warner-Garcia 2013).

In this chapter, we focus specifically on synchronous body movements that seem not to be part of intentional communication. While empirical interaction research in the domain of conversation analysis (CA) has widely embraced the intentional similarity of movement as a topic of investigation and discussed its possible functions in interaction, such as indicating understanding, agreement, and appreciation (Warner-Garcia 2013), the participants' more unconscious tendencies to synchronize their movements have been largely excluded from the scope of CA inquiry (see, e.g., Arnold 2012). There may be various reasons for such an omission – something that we will discuss in the latter part of the chapter. Notably, however, CA researchers generally emphasize that any feature of the participants' conduct may be relevant for the course of the interaction. Even if CA researchers seek to ground their analysis in the participants' publicly observable orientations to their own and each other's behaviors, the analysis usually contains no claims about the presence or absence of the participants' communicative intentionality in the given instance. For this reason, there seems to be no a priori reason to treat the spontaneous, pre-reflective type of movement synchrony as irrelevant for the CA-informed analysis of social interaction. In this paper, we explore some theoretical possibilities to enrich CA-informed studies with analyses of spontaneous movement synchrony. In addition, we report a small-scale empirical study, which serves as a demonstration of how this could proceed in practice.

In line with the hybrid aim of the chapter, the first two sections are empirically oriented, while the last section is more theoretical. First, we will draw on recent literature in empirical social interaction research, introducing the hypothesis that movement synchrony is a sequential phenomenon. Then, for the purposes of investigating our hypothesis, we will report the preliminary results of a study on the use of movement synchrony during dyadic decision-making. Finally, we will consider the topic of movement synchrony through three closely related, yet

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essentially different, conceptual lenses: conditional relevance (Schegloff 2007), dialogic resonance (Du Bois, Hobson, & Hobson 2014), and affordance (Gibson 1979). We suggest that a specific combination of the insights provided by these three conceptual tools would make possible the fruitful CA-informed analysis of movement synchrony.

2. Movement synchrony as a (sequential) contextual phenomenon

Even as an unintentional, pre-reflective phenomenon, extensive literature points to the social meaningfulness of movement synchrony. Moving in synchrony has been theorized to play a significant role in the degree to which individuals are perceived as a social unit or entity (Campbell 1958; Condon 1980; LaFrance 1985; Kendon 1990; Hamilton & Sherman 1996; Marsh, Richardson, & Schmidt 2009). Moving in synchrony has also been suggested to facilitate communication by helping the alignment of mental and affective states (Cross 2005; Frith & Frith 2006). Being in synchrony has positive social and affective outcomes: it has been shown to increase compassion (Valdesolo & DeSteno 2011), trust (Launay, Dean, & Bailes 2012), rapport (Miles, Nind, & Macrae 2009), affiliation (Hove & Risen 2009) cooperation (Reddish, Fisher, & Bulbulia 2013; Valdesolo, Ouyang, & DeSteno 2010; Wiltermuth & Heath 2009), and generalized prosociality (Reddish, Bulbulia, & Fischer 2014), as well as empathy in children (Rabinowitch, Cross, & Burnard 2013). According to the communication-accommodation theory (see, e.g., Giles, Coupland, & Coupland 1991), the degree of similarity in the behaviors of two individuals serves as a means for achieving a desired social distance between them, with more similarity leading to a smaller social distance, and less similarity to a larger social distance (for a review on the social aspects of behavioral similarity in terms of temporal and rhythmic entrainment in spoken interaction, see Beňuš 2014).

Movement synchrony is also influenced by task requirements. In their study on body movement synchrony during conversational interaction, Paxton and Dale (2013) found significantly less synchronicity between the participants in a dyad during argumentative conversational settings when compared to affiliative ones. Fusaroli and Tylén (2012) found that when dyads were making joint decisions in a psychophysical task, the degree to which the participants matched each other's task-relevant expressions correlated positively with their task performance, whereas the indiscriminate matching of all expressions had the opposite effect. In a seminal study, Shockley, Santana, and Fowler (2003) showed that two participants synchronized their body sways more when they worked together on a puzzle task than when the same participants were still in the same space but each performed the same task with a different partner. Quite surprisingly, the body sway patterns were similar

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irrespective of whether or not the two participants could see each other during the task, which led the researchers to conclude that, at least to some extent, body sway synchrony could be an epiphenomenon of the convergence of the participants' speaking patterns (see also Shockley et al. 2007).

Hence, people seem to be sensitive to what to match, and when. In the above-reviewed studies in cognitive science and experimental psychology, participants' behaviors have mostly been examined with reference to the qualities of the entire interactional episodes. From the point of view of CA, however, the timescales used in these studies are too coarse. CA is about describing the moment-by-moment dynamics of interactional events in a high level of detail and about considering each behavior with respect to the very action that it implements in its immediate sequential environment. Indeed, studies in CA have shown that the interactional import of embodied behaviors of identical content can differ drastically depending on what has been said and done in the interaction before (see, e.g., Sorjonen 2001; Rossano 2012). This insight arising from CA suggests that we might attain a deeper understanding of the social significance of movement synchrony by taking the local, sequential context of interaction into consideration.

In our recent study (Stevanovic et al. 2017), we investigated movement synchrony with reference to significantly smaller units of social interaction than has been done previously. We asked whether sequential continuations and sequential transitions would exhibit different degrees of synchronicity in the body sways of two participants engaged in joint decision-making. Our results showed that participants' body sway synchrony was higher during sequential transitions than during sequential continuations. Further, we asked whether the participants' mutual visibility would influence their body sway synchrony. Here, in contrast to the findings of Shockley and colleagues reviewed above (Shockley et al. 2003; Shockley et al. 2007), we found the participants' body sways to be significantly more synchronized when they could see each other compared to when they could not. However, our main finding here was that the positive relation between the participants' mutual visibility and increased body sway synchrony was significantly more prominent during sequential transitions when compared to sequential continuations.

These findings suggest that, instead of being just an automatic reaction to the visible cues provided by the co-participant or a result of the participants generally having positive effects towards each other, the similarity in the participants' body sway patterns may function as an interactional resource at those moments of interaction when a close between-participant coordination of behavior and the maintenance of affiliative bonds become particularly critical, as is the case during sequential transitions. In what comes next, we will consider another locus in the sequential unfolding of interaction where such concerns may become critical, which is the non-acceptance of proposals.

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3. An empirical case: Synchronization of body movement during joint decision-making

Joint decision-making typically consists of sequences that start by one participant making a *proposal* on what could be done (Stevanovic 2012a; 2012b). A proposal in turn makes relevant an *acceptance* by the other participant. From this point of view, the two actions – proposal and acceptance – form the adjacency pair that constitutes the core of a decision-making sequence (cf., Houtkoop 1987). Proposals, however, may also have other outcomes: they may be rejected or silently ignored, or their ultimate outcome may be left pending after the recipient has expressed some reception of the content of the proposal. While the range of responses that constitute non-acceptance can thus be varied, our previous work on joint decision-making in a dyad has suggested that, in practice, the majority of non-acceptances are accomplished in relatively similar ways, which involve the participants "coordinately" abandoning the proposals simply by not pursuing them anymore (Stevanovic 2012a; Himberg et al. 2017).

In this study, we ask: (1) is the degree of movement synchrony during joint decision-making sequences affected by whether the proposals are accepted or not, and (2) how does the participants' mutual visibility (or lack of it) influence the pattern?

3.1 Data and method

Two Finnish-speaking participants at a time engaged in joint decision-making tasks while we recorded their body movements with an optical motion-capture system and their voices with portable head-worn microphones. The dyads were asked to discuss, negotiate, and decide on descriptions of fictional characters while either facing or not facing each other. These immersive and engaging tasks were developed to afford naturalistic dynamics of joint decision-making interaction, while the task structure provided the repeatability and comparability of the data across all dyads.

3.1.1 *Participants*

Altogether 24 healthy participants (7 female–female and 5 male–male dyads; mean ± SD age 27.0 ± 6.6 years) were recruited via email lists. Four dyads knew each other very well, four not at all, and four were somewhere in-between. Their identity was revealed only to the members of the research group, who needed to sign a confidentiality contract. The study had prior approval by the Aalto University Research Ethics Committee. All participants were informed about the use of the data and signed a consent form.

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3.1.2 *Measurements*

The body-movement data were collected with a 20-camera OptiTrack motion-capture system and by each participant wearing a whole-body suit with 37 optical reflectors attached to it. The motion-capture system measured the locations of the reflectors on the suits at intervals of 10 ms. Each participant's voice was recorded using a DPA d:fine portable head-worn condenser microphone that has a frequency response from 20 Hz to 20 kHz. HD video recordings of the trials were used as a reference and to illustrate the patterns identified in the quantitative statistical data analysis. We also measured the participants' gaze direction using portable eye-tracking glasses, but these data will not be reported here.

3.1.3 *Procedure*

A single dyad was studied at a time. At the beginning of each session, the two participants put on the motion capture suits, head-worn microphones, and eye-tracking glasses, which were then calibrated. The participants carried out three warm-up tasks aimed to help them forget the measuring equipment, relax, and get acquainted with interacting with each other.

The participants were asked to choose together an adjective that best describes a fictional target. The adjective needed to start with a given letter, and once a decision was reached, the dyad had to move on to the next letter in the alphabet, deciding altogether on eight adjectives. As a motivation for the task, the participants were told to imagine themselves as editors of a children's book whose aim was to teach children the alphabet by featuring the target character, and they needed to choose suitable adjectives for that purpose. The task was performed twice. In one trial (consisting of eight decisions), the adjective target was Donald Duck, and in the other, Scrooge McDuck. The series of letters were based on the alphabet: either directly [H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O] or with one "non-Finnish" letter (Q) skipped in between [N, O, P, R, S, T, U, V]. In one condition, the participants could see each other, in the other they could not.

The order of the two visibility conditions (mutual visibility, no mutual visibility), the target type (Donald Duck or Scrooge McDuck), and the alphabet list, as well as the order of this task in relation to another task not reported here, were counterbalanced across pairs. At the end of each session, the participants filled in a questionnaire about their experiences with the task requirements and their collaboration partner.

3.1.4 *Data processing*

Out of the 24 trials carried out (12 dyads x 2 visibility conditions), we obtained audio, video, and motion data from 21 trials. We then had 9 successful trials for mutual visibility and 12 for no mutual visibility. As the tasks were self-paced, the

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duration of the trials varied from 2 min to more than 7 min, with most trials lasting about 3–4 min. The audio analyses were primarily carried out using recordings from the head-worn microphones. However, in 4 trials, the data from the microphone were so noisy that the audio recorded by the eye-tracking glasses was used instead.

We used Praat (Boersma & Weenink 2015) to annotate all proposals from the interactions on the basis of the audio recordings. In all, we identified 323 proposals from all the trials used in the study: 162 in the mutual visibility condition and 161 in the no mutual visibility condition. The recipients' responses to the proposals were then divided into two categories, depending on whether the proposal was *accepted* (148 proposals) or *not accepted* (rejected, ignored, or left pending; a total of 175 proposals).

The movement data from the optical motion capture system were processed to enable the analysis of movement synchrony in participant pairs. From the raw position data of the 37 markers on each motion capture suit, 21 body-joint positions for each participant were calculated. From these 21-point skeletons we picked the chest marker to represent body sway. To eliminate the effects of movement direction and the participants' different bodily orientations in space, we calculated the accelerations of these markers along their trajectories of movement. This is a standard procedure in the analysis of barely-visible cyclical movements such as body sway, where the synchronicity of oscillations is assumed to be of greater social significance than the direction of movement at each point in the cycle. This procedure gave us only one statistically stationary time-series per marker, which allowed a straightforward cross-correlation analysis to be conducted and compared across pairs. We calculated the cross-correlations for time-lags of up to three seconds, so as to be able to detect matches between the time-series even if they occurred at a delay.

To consider the changes in movement synchrony over time, the cross-correlation analysis was carried out in a 6-second moving window (600 samples) through each entire trial. From the resulting time-series, we picked the maximum correlation coefficients for each time-point and averaged across a window of six seconds around each proposal to obtain the average maximum correlations used in the statistical analysis. We then conducted a two-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) to see if movement synchrony was different when participants were facing each other vs. when they were facing away (effect of mutual visibility), and whether accepted and not accepted proposals led to different levels of synchrony (effect of proposal type).

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3.2 Results

Body sway synchrony exhibits a trendwise sensitivity to the different proposal outcomes and visibility conditions (Figure 1). Neither main effect is statistically significant alone, but the interaction effect just skirts the boundary of significance ($p = 0.0503$). Post-hoc analysis shows the difference between the two not accepting conditions to be significant ($p = 0.03$). In other words, when facing each other, non-acceptance of proposals led to the participants moving more in sync, while when not seeing each other, non-acceptance led to the participants moving less in sync.

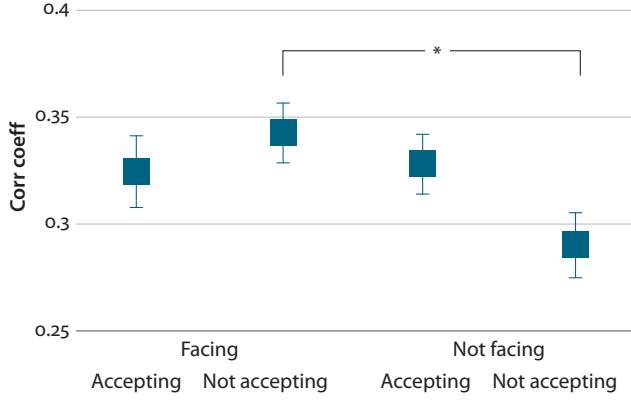


Figure 1. Maximum cross-correlation coefficients of chest markers (body-sway synchrony) in proposal time windows, by mutual visibility and proposal type

3.3 Discussion of the results

Joint decision-making is a complex endeavor where participants draw on a great variety of resources in different modalities, including words and prosody, and material artifacts (Stevanovic 2012a; 2012b; Stevanovic et al. 2017). Our results show that more subtle body movements can also play a role in this regard. However, instead of considering movement patterns of one participant as to their interactional import, we considered clustering patterns across our whole data set to compare two different sequential environments with reference to how synchronous the participants' body movements were in relation to each other.

Our findings give mixed evidence to support the idea of movement synchrony as a sequential phenomenon. Visibility as a phenomenon as such has little to do with sequentiality. From this point of view, given that our results attribute significance to visibility as an enhancer of synchrony, they could be related to earlier

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studies in the field of psychology (Shockley et al. 2003), while falling out of the scope of CA research. Notably, however, in our analysis, the main effect of visibility as such was not statistically significant, but our results were obtained only when considering the sequential distinction between accepting and non-accepting responses to proposals. Thus, our findings highlight visibility as a precondition for the participants to make effective use of body sway synchrony as a resource to deal with specific sequential challenges – in this case, the challenges related to the maintenance of affiliative bonds and close behavioral coordination during the non-acceptance of proposals. Indeed, the idea of visibility enabling the use of a wider range of interactional resources, compared to conditions of invisibility (e.g., telephone conversations), is intuitively quite obvious. In addition, the idea is also in line with our previous study on sequential transitions (Stevanovic et al. 2017), where we specifically suggested that, during invisibility, a decreased level of body sway synchrony may be compensated for by an increased level of pitch register matching. Notably, however, our empirical results only skirted the boundary of statistical significance and must therefore be treated with corresponding caution.

Unlike some CA studies, which scrutinize single instances of participants' behaviors at the level of the turn-by-turn unfolding of interaction, in our quantitative analysis, we have summarized interactional phenomena in general metrics that represent some characteristics of behavior in different types of sequences. From the perspective of CA, the analysis may come across as too coarse and unable to capture all the information that participants might use in communication. While a case-by-case analysis of individual decision-making sequences might encourage the consideration of more precise movement correspondences, such as those between the participants' hand movements, we have not yet been able to generalize such findings across the participants within all the dyads in our data. However, compared with the previous studies on behavioral synchrony where entire interaction episodes are summarized as single data points (see, e.g., Hove & Risen 2009; Valdesolo et al. 2010), our approach is relatively detailed, given that our focus is on local sequences of interaction.

4. How should one account for the interactional functions of movement synchrony?

From the perspective of CA, movement synchrony is a challenging phenomenon to account for. Inasmuch as there are two fundamentally different frameworks for interactional coordination, sequential and concurrent (see Stevanovic & Peräkylä 2015; Deppermann & Streeck 2018), CA has largely been concerned with the former. In spoken conversation, joint action is primarily organized in successive turns

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at talk, which makes stable trajectories of initiative action (e.g., proposals, offers, and invitations) and responsive action (e.g., acceptances and rejections) possible (Schegloff 2007). The sequential framework of interactional coordination involves participants imposing constraints on the next speakers in their following utterances by making specific response options "conditionally relevant" (Schegloff & Sacks 1973). As a result, spoken conversation is permeated by constantly alternating asymmetries, one speaker at the time occupying the role of a powerful agent who controls the course of joint action, and others being accountable for producing expected responsive actions (Enfield 2013; Enfield & Kockelman 2017).

One "home environment" for the concurrent framework of interactional coordination, which is recognizable to everyone, is the collective production of sound and movement through singing, playing, and dance (Durkheim 2001[1912]; McNeill 1995; Heider & Warner 2010; Himberg & Thompson 2011; Phillips-Silver & Keller 2012). However, the concurrent framework of interactional coordination is not absent from spoken conversations, either. Mother–infant interaction is characterized by simultaneous vocalizations, these frequently coinciding with positive affective expressions (Beebe, Stern, & Jaffe 1979). Women engaged in single-sex talk with friends have been shown to produce a lot of overlapping talk (Coates 1994), with the overlap often characterizing instances of agreement (Goodwin & Goodwin 1987; Vatanen 2014). A classic example of the concurrent framework entering the sequential world of conversation is laughing together (Jefferson, Sacks, & Schegloff 1987). Synchronous moments of interaction are likely to be part of "shared intentionality" (Tomasello & Carpenter 2007; Ford & Fox 2010), which has been argued to be a unique characteristic of *human* intersubjectivity. However, this aspect of shared intentionality is difficult to account for when taking the CA notion of conditional relevance as the analytic starting point.

Besides CA, another approach to the study of sequential relations between utterances and other behaviors is provided by the dialogic perspective (Vološinov 1973[1929]; Bakhtin 1981[1934]; Du Bois 2007; 2014; Linell 2009; see also Goodwin 2018). This approach has been influential in the emerging field of sociocultural linguistics (Bucholtz & Hall 2005) and in associated fields, such as anthropology, philosophy, and literature. It deals with the ways in which participants reuse materials created by each other (Goodwin 2018), such engagement yielding to "the catalytic activation of affinities across utterances" (Du Bois 2014). This phenomenon, called "dialogic resonance" (Du Bois 2007; 2014), is considered to be a matter of dynamic coupling between two distinct but coordinated systems so as to create a new, intersubjective system (Du Bois et al. 2014). The dialogical approach is particularly well suited to the analysis of how participants in interaction constantly take a stance both toward the content of talk and toward each other (Du Bois 2007; Du Bois &

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Kärkkäinen 2012). This implicit relational dimension of interaction may sometimes be even more important to the participants than the actual contents of the spoken interaction (Jensen & Pedersen 2016: 91; for an analogous idea of "phatic communion," see Malinowski 1946[1923]).

According to some recent suggestions, dialogic resonance may also be realized by body movements (see, e.g., Arnold 2012; Warner-Garcia 2013). For example, holding hands can be considered as a dialogical act that connects individuals and implies mutual care (Linell 2009; Hodges 2009; Jensen & Pedersen 2016). Thus, even if verbal social interaction, which has traditionally constituted the focus of the dialogical approach, most often takes place within the sequential framework of interactional coordination, the dialogical approach can be seen to encompass concurrent interactional phenomena just as naturally as sequential ones. When analyzing behaviors that hardly reach participants' conscious awareness, it is necessary to find ways to conceptualize interaction without having to take a stance with regard to the relative degree of intentionality that underlies the participants' behaviors. From this point of view, the advantages of the dialogic perspective stand out. The perspective allows the analyst to focus on the social and affective *outcomes* of the participants' mutually coupled behaviors without necessarily having to specify the roles that individual participants play in the achievement of these outcomes. From this point of view, the social and affective outcomes of synchronous communicative patterns may also be oriented to as interactionally meaningful. These patterns may therefore also be *studied* as meaningful, even if some details of these patterns, such as who imitates whom, would not be available to the researcher.

What is then concretely meant by suggesting that the social and affective outcomes of synchronous communicative patterns may be oriented to as interactionally meaningful? Here, we argue that these patterns are interactionally meaningful inasmuch as they may be considered to provide the participants with new action possibilities, or "affordances" (Gibson 1979), with regard to their next actions. From an ecological perspective, the core idea in the theory of affordances is that an organism directly perceives the possibilities for action within an environment on the basis of values that it attaches to the different aspects of the world. In this type of perception, affect plays a crucial role, influencing the intrinsic attractiveness or aversiveness of an action in relation to the future direction of interaction (Jensen & Pedersen 2016; Himberg et al. 2018). As pointed out by Slaby and colleagues (Slaby, Paskaleva, & Stephan 2013: 42), "emotions disclose what a situation affords in terms of potential doings, and the specific efforts required in these doings, and potential happenings affecting me that I have to put up with or otherwise respond to adequately." On this basis, we may interpret the results of our study in two somewhat different ways. On the one hand, we may argue that visibility allows the

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participants to use movement synchrony as a way to manage the implementation of delicate and potentially non-affiliative actions such as non-acceptance of proposals in an affiliative way. On the other hand, we could think that the positive social and affective outcomes of movement synchrony provide the participants with an affective basis to maintain solidarity in the face of behaviors that might appear problematic. Whichever direction of reasoning one prefers, our findings highlight the deep interwovenness of movement synchrony and the management of sociality and affectivity in interaction.

The above insights may be brought to bear on some recent ideas about the constitutive role of affect in action formation. Stevanovic and Peräkylä (2014) suggested that human social action is organized with reference to three orders of social relations: the emotional order, the deontic order, and the epistemic order. The emotional order was defined to consist of "the socio-cultural, personal, and local expectations concerning the expression of affect within a momentary relationship of interacting participants" (Stevanovic & Peräkylä 2014: 192). This definition highlights the multiple timescales where human interpersonal coordination happens. The timescales range from fast automatic reactions to interpersonal cues, across the behavioral and gestural coordination of action within sequences of action during single encounters, to the long-term interactional patterns associated with interaction histories and personal relationships (De Jaegher, Peräkylä, & Stevanovic 2016). From this point of view, we may consider movement synchrony as one of those resources by which participants may negotiate their relative emotional statuses at the most local level of interaction (along with a range of other resources; see, e.g., Ochs & Schieffelin 1989), which in turn has consequences for the range of actions that can be accomplished as they rely on these statuses (see Stevanovic & Peräkylä 2014).

In sum, we have considered the topic of movement synchrony through the conceptual lenses of "conditional relevance" (Schegloff 2007), "dialogic resonance" (Du Bois et al. 2014), and "affordance" (Gibson 1979). As a point of departure for the analysis of movement synchrony, each of these three concepts may be considered inadequate. However, we argue that a specific combination of the insights provided by these approaches together makes the fruitful CA-informed analysis of movement synchrony possible. First, the dialogical perspective allows us to surpass the questions of sequentiality vs. synchronicity and intentionality vs. unintentionality of behavior in favor of a focus on the social and affective outcomes of behavior. Second, the notion of affordance enables us to link a high/low level of movement synchrony to specific interactional consequences. Finally, the notion of specific interactional consequences leads us back to the CA notions of conditional relevance: it is only in relationships with a sufficient degree of closeness and intimacy that certain ostensibly ambiguous actions can be perceived as affectionate, the relationships thus

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having implications for the degree of synchrony that various responsive actions are expected to exhibit. Hence, while further research is needed to unravel the empirical details of movement synchrony as a sequential phenomenon, this paper has discussed how this could happen with reference to a CA approach to intersubjectivity.

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PART IV

Evolving intersubjectivity

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Learning to request in interaction

Intersubjective development of children's requesting between one and five years

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This study examines intersubjective development of children's requests in home interactions of Finnish-speaking 1–5-year-old children with their caregivers, siblings and peers. Children's early requests emerge sequentially through the caregivers' co-construction of the children's early vocalizations, word-gesture combinations and two-word utterances. Children's first linguistically explicit requests, imperatives, also rely on intersubjective understanding between the child and the caregiver. Children start to use conditional verb forms and interrogatives as social adaptations for making requests to equal peers. Between one and five years, children's requesting develops from embodied, co-constructed action to distinct linguistic formulations. Caregiver interaction supports the children's reliance on co-participants' co-operation in fulfilling requests whereas peer interaction enhances children's intersubjective understanding of co-participants' varying commitment and entitlement to grant the request.

Keywords: children, co-construction, development, request, conditional, imperative

1. Requesting as social action

Requests are acts of asking something to be given or done. In doing requests we rely on the assistance of others to help us (Kendrick & Drew 2016). More precisely, requests mobilize and direct a future action by another person, get others to do things (e.g., Enfield 2014, Rossi, Floyd & Enfield 2020). As a means of directing the actions of others, requests are an essential part of human communication and everyday life (Tomasello 2008: 87, Drew & Couper-Kuhlen 2014). To be effective, they require shared understanding of the requested action and social co-operation from the recipient of the request. Requests can either be complied with within an

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interactional sequence, like *pass me salt* and passing of the salt, or they can be more distal and future-oriented. Previous research has focused on requests for distal future actions (often made in telephone conversations, e.g., Curl & Drew 2008) and only recently have the multimodal aspects of requests been studied in face-to-face interactions (e.g., Fox 2015, Mondada & Sorjonen 2016).

This study examines how the intersubjective understanding of the action of requesting develops in children aged one to five years in local "here and now" interactional contexts with parents and peers. In particular, this study will describe the interactional development of requesting from the early gestural-vocal requests of one-year-olds to the linguistically more elaborated requests of four-to-five-year-olds. The analysis shows how children begin to influence the behavior of others in order to get them contribute to, or comply with, their own goals. It will also be demonstrated how children formulate and modify their requests for different recipients, and how they gradually understand what kind of social actions requests are, and what kind of norms and intersubjective assumptions are related to requesting and responding. More generally, the study aims to contribute to the knowledge of developmental paths of learning social actions.

In conversation analytic terms, a request is the first part of two adjacent actions, a request and its response, performed by two different participants in social interaction (cf., Schegloff 2007: 13).The first action, the request, calls for a certain kind of second action that responds to the expectations set by the request. Thus requests are actions that, at least in face-to-face interaction, are generally responded to by interlocutors. The response reflects a situational understanding of how the interlocutor has interpreted the request. As requests are situated actions, the local action environment in which the request emerges shapes its formulation and how it is understood, its reception. Thus, central in studying requesting as a social action is the analysis of the entire interactional sequence of actions, consisting of both the request and the response to it, and their position in the local embodied, verbal and physical context.

In order for an action to be recognizable as an act of requesting, one needs to use specific linguistic and embodied resources for formulating it. One may request explicitly and verbally (e.g., *anna kynä* 'give me the pen'), or one may act more implicitly by pointing towards the pen when, for example, starting to sign a paper. In either case these actions can be responded to by someone else by giving the pen. The response may also be a declination to act as requested. The choice of formatting the response to a request is not however neutral. Instead, a complying positive response (in this case, giving a pen) is socially preferred as it is collaborative and thus avoids conflict and maintains social relationships, whereas declining a request, a non-complying response, may affect social relations negatively. For this reason, if declining a request, people hesitate and give reasons why they cannot or will

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not do what they were requested to do. In pursuit of the acceptance of the request, speakers may also give accounts specifying the benefits of their request to themselves or minimizing the costs of fulfilling the request to its recipients (Clayman & Heritage 2014).

The linguistic form of requests varies in different contexts, languages and cultures (e.g., Zinken & Ogiermann 2013). Studies on similar linguistic resources used in different languages to format directives, including requesting, include, for example, the use of imperative form (see Sorjonen, Raevaara & Couper-Kuhlen 2017). Forms of requesting generally include imperative, interrogative and declarative request forms, as well as non-clausal turn formats (e.g., *leipää* 'bread') (e.g., Drew & Couper-Kuhlen 2014). In English everyday conversation it is typical to use interrogative forms with modal verbs (e.g., *Can you*) but in institutional interaction interrogative requests may be prefaced by a conditional (e.g., *I wonder if you could*) (Curl & Drew, 2008). In commercial encounters customers also use *need/want*-declaratives to request service (Fox & Heinemann, 2017). The choice of request form can be seen to display the speaker's understanding of the degree of entitlement she or he has to making the request, and of the contingencies the recipients may have in fulfilling the request. In Finnish convenience store encounters, where the entitlement of the customer to request an item from the seller is obvious, customers may use a bare noun phrase to specify the requested object, but may also use interrogative (e.g., *saa-n-ko* get-1SG-Q *X* 'can I have X'; *saanko V* 'can/may I + verb'), declarative (e.g., *mulle tulis* 'I'd have') and imperative clausal forms (e.g., *anna* 'give' *X*) (Sorjonen & Raevaara, 2014). Clausal formats are used when the customer is more distant and approaching towards the shop counter. Similarly, in routine family interactions, mobility and positioning in the interactional space, as well as touching, have been found to be essential for requesting, in which responding often takes an embodied form (Goodwin & Cekaite 2012). In sum, the formulation of a request is a socially elaborate process of getting others to do something on the speakers' behalf.

2. Development of language and requests in childhood

To learn language children need exposure to language in social-interactive contexts (e.g., Bruner 1983, Clark 2003, Ochs 1988, Schieffelin 1990, Wootton 1997). From the very beginning, newborn children are tuned to observe human social stimuli such as human faces and sounds (Trevarthen & Aitken 2001). Shared focus of attention towards an object by the child and adult is a prerequisite for learning language, and for requesting an object (Tomasello & Farrar 1986). Joint attention to an object is considered as *primary intersubjectivity*, a primitive form of shared understanding

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between the interlocutors, whereas *secondary intersubjectivity* involves a shared understanding of the signs of language that refer to objects (e.g., Trevarthen & Hubley 1978). In children's everyday face-to-face encounters, requesting makes use of both forms of intersubjectivity: shared attention on objects, and language referring to them.

Traditionally language acquisition is viewed in terms of "adult input" in which adults seek their children's attention with a summons and label objects for their children, and children learn by imitating the words the adult has labelled (e.g., Estigarriba & Clark 2007). On the other hand, it has been found that already preverbal children focus their attention according to their own interests, and not only in response to caregivers' attention getting summons (Tomasello & Farrar 1986). Children are thus not only passive respondents of adult input but actively initiate conversational sequences in their interactions with caregivers (e.g., Laakso, Helasvuo & Savinainen-Makkonen 2010, Checa-Garcia 2014). Children initiate interactive sequences first with embodied and vocal (but nonverbal) means, and then gradually through their developing speech. In the preverbal stage, caregivers respond to children's nonverbal expressions by offering their interpretations, and in single-word stage, by correcting and extending children's expressions (Laakso 2010). Language acquisition is thus a social-interactive process in which both the children and caregivers are active participants in negotiating the forms and meanings of words and the actions they ascribe.

In their early years, children are highly dependent on others. It is essential for the children to be able to express their basic needs, and for their caregivers to respond to them by giving care and nutrition. Thus, developing an ability to get other people to do things is central. According to previous studies, the linguistic skills to form requests are finalized rather late in childhood (Bruner 1983). At approximately 9–12 months, children use manual gestures, such as gaze shifts, pointing and reaching for an object, which may work as requests. At this age children are already familiar with everyday objects and the interactional sequences of recurrent daily activities. They also begin to understand contextually relevant language and make sense of the world around them, i.e., they start to understand the symbols and actions related to their linguistic and cultural community. At this stage, children's manual gestures are often accompanied with vocalizations which start to represent a more symbolic way of communicating with others (Wootton 1997: 27). Manual requests are highly context-dependent and may not always be understood by the interlocutors, which may lead to miscommunication (Golinkoff 1986).

During the second and third year of life the children start to use linguistic devices, such as different clause formats: declarative (e.g., *I want x),* interrogative (e.g., *can you do x)* and imperative forms (e.g., *read another one*) for making requests (Wootton 1997: 13–14, 31–34, 69). Later on, conditional verb forms and, in some

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languages, specific lexical request forms (e.g., *please*; Wootton 2007) emerge in use. The developmental forms of requests are relatively well known, at least in English, but we still do not know very much about the interactional processes through which children learn to request and how they form their requests in languages and cultures that clearly differ from English. Furthermore, more information is available on the interactional development of early gestural requesting than later emerging spoken requests. This study will expand the current knowledge by exploring the interactional development of requesting of one-to five-year-old Finnish-speaking children.

3. Data and procedure

The data consist of interactions of children from one to five years of age with their parents or with their siblings or peers. All participants spoke Finnish as their first language. The data come from two data bases. In the *Helsinki Longitudinal Child Language Corpus* five children, interacting with their parents at home, were followed longitudinally from 10 months to five years of age. The video-recording took place weekly in the first year and then four times a year in ordinary home environment, mainly in play situations. In the *Helsinki Cross-sectional Child Language Corpus* ten 3-year-old, ten 4-year-old and ten 5-year-old children were video-recorded interacting first with a parent, then freely in different domestic occasions, and finally interacting with another child, either sibling or peer. All cross-sectional video-recordings were made at the children's homes and consisted mainly of play situations. A cameraman who did not take part in the interaction was present recording all interactions except for the free domestic family interactions, which the families themselves video-recorded during one week. Participation in the research was voluntary and all families gave their written consent to allow data collection, analysis, and publication of the findings.

The data were transcribed using CA notation, and, in addition, relevant gestures and handling of play objects were described using the conventions developed by Lorenza Mondada (cf., Mondada 2018). Simultaneous embodied actions were marked below the current speaker's verbal turn, and on a line of their own if they occurred without speech. The names used in the transcripts are pseudonyms. In the data extracts presented here, the original transcripts of speech in Finnish are accompanied by English translation below them.

In the analysis, children's emerging requests were identified from the data. Requests were defined as actions that were responded to by the co-participant and that influenced the co-participant to do something in response. Following Couper-Kuhlen (2014), central in the identification of the request was that the agent fulfilling the request was the recipient of the request, and the beneficiary

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of the requested future action was the speaker who made the request. Requesting actions that were identified were analyzed for their linguistic form and for their function, whether as a request for an object or for some assistance from another participant. In the analysis, the adjacency pairs consisting of requests and responses were examined to determine the distribution of agency between the interlocutors (cf., Enfield 2014), the intersubjective understanding of the requested action (cf., Levinson 2013), and the commitments and responsibilities the interlocutors have to one another (Zinken & Rossi 2016). Children's repairs of their original requests were also examined to explore how the intersubjective understanding of the child's request was negotiated further. Finally, comparisons were made to identify the typical features of request–response adjacency pairs in the interactions of children aged one to five years.

4. Interactional development of requesting between one and five years of age

The activity and form of requesting in the data developed in social interaction as an emerging continuum from the children's early vocal and bodily behaviors towards more explicit linguistically formulated requests. Both caregiver and sibling/peer interaction were crucial for the social development of children's requests, but adult and peer interactions were found to enhance different kinds of request practices. In peer interactions requests were not as readily fulfilled as in caregiver interactions, and thus children had to reformulate their requests in order to get a collaborative response. In this reformulation process, children learnt to consider the contingencies associated with the recipients' ability and willingness to grant the request. In the following, the continuum of emerging formulation of children's requests is inspected in their sequential interactive context.

4.1 Intersubjective understanding of embodied requests

Our data show that participants' joint attention to objects is the environment where children's requesting actions first emerge. Before speech, the act of requesting relies on the adult co-participant's interpretation of the child's early vocalizations and embodied behavior. Previous research has shown that caregivers interpret already children's cries (Soltis 2004). Adults respond to crying by interpreting what is the potential cause and attempting to fulfill the children's needs. Also in the present data the adults' responsive interpretations support the emergence of the children's intersubjective understanding of the activity of requesting. When adults respond to

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the child's preverbal embodied actions, it enables the child to have an early sequential understanding of the impact of their own actions on others. The observations of the present data suggest that the regularity of adult responsiveness reinforces children's active use of gestures and vocalizations to influence the adult: the more actively the adult responds to the child's preverbal vocalizations and gesturing, the more the child makes initiations.

4.1.1 *Shared agency in co-constructing embodied requests*

Early emergence of requesting can be seen in the following extract, where a one-year-old child, Nuppu, who is still in the preverbal phase in her language development, uses a body torque, gaze shift, pointing gesture and vocalization to influence her mother's behavior. A crucial moment is the shared focus of attention at the sink (line 3). At the beginning of the extract, Nuppu is sitting in her high chair by the kitchen table and the mother is feeding her porridge.

Extract 1. Water. [Feeding situation; MOT=mother, NUP=Nuppu, a girl aged 1 year; 0 months]

```
01   MOT:    *otaksä       vielä  vähän*.
             take_Q-you.SG still  little
             will you still take some
     mot     *offers a spoonful of porridge to nuppu*
02   NUP:    #+°ät:tä,°+
     nup      + turns her head away and does not take porridge+
             #fig.1
```

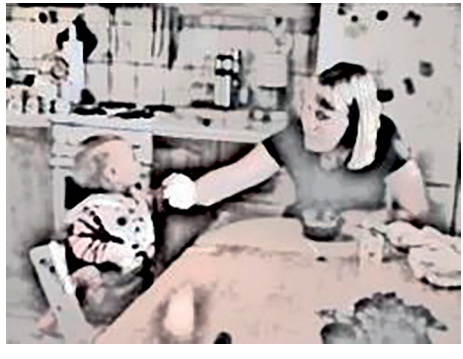


Figure 1.

```
03   NUP:=>   +(1.0)*ät:tä,#(0.8)
     nup      + turns her body towards the sink behind her-->
     mo             *turns to look at the sink-->
                     #fig.2
```

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Figure 2.

```
04   MOT:     ↑vettä.(2.5)siel on nokkamuki.*+
              water       there is the sippy cup
               ------------------------------>*
05               *(15.0)*
     mot         * walks to the sink, fills sippy cup with water*
     nup         ---turned to sink follows mother's actions-->+
06               *(4.0)*
     mot         *brings the cup to nuppu*
07               +(6.0)+
     nup         +takes cup, turns to table and drinks+
08   NUP:         et::thä.
```

In line 2, Nuppu says *ät:tä* and refuses to take the porridge mother is offering her (see Figure 1). Instead she turns her body towards the sink, looking and pointing at the sink where her sippy cup is, and repeats *ät:tä* (line 3, see Figure 2). In this moment, in which both the child and the adult are looking at the sink, a primary form of intersubjective understanding is formed as joint attention to an object, a sippy cup, and then displayed in the mother's responsive actions: she interprets the child's gestural-vocal behavior as a request for water and responds to it (lines 4–6).

Throughout the whole feeding situation Nuppu has frequently used [ættæ], a phonetically consistent vocalization with one lengthened articulatory movement of the consonant /t/, when pointing at different objects in her environment, and the mother has responded to them by labelling the objects (see Laakso, Helasvuo & Savinainen-Makkonen 2010 for a more detailed analysis). The vocalization [ættæ] resembles a word but does not have a specific symbolic meaning yet as the same early vocalization is used as a proto-word to label all kinds of referents. The vocalization is nevertheless used in a word-like manner and addressed to co-participant to get a response, thus approaching symbolic communication (for consistent early vocalizations called proto-words see e.g., Dore et al. 1976). The proto-word *ättä* (if it were a recognizable noun in Finnish language, which it is not) may also be interpreted to contain a partitive case ending *-tä* expressing an indefinite quantity of something (see Karlsson 1987: 72–74). Partitive case is among the first suffixes to be

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learned by children acquiring Finnish, as it is repeatedly used by caregivers in their offers of food and drink (e.g., *leipä-ä* 'bread', *puuro-a* 'porridge', *vet-tä* 'water') (see e.g., Toivainen 1980). In this occasion, Nuppu uses *ättä* when pointing at different objects in the kitchen and also when pointing outside through the kitchen window.

At this moment the mother not only looks and responds by naming the object of their joint attention, but does something more (line 4). She first says *vettä* 'water' with a high-rising pitch in the beginning of the word, as if being surprised or asking Nuppu whether water is something she wants. This is different from her previous labelling actions. Moreover, she also adds a comment *siel on nokkamuki* 'there is the sippy cup', raises herself up, walks to the sink, takes the sippy cup and fills it with water, then coming back and giving the sippy cup to Nuppu (lines 5–6).

Nuppu displays satisfaction with her mother's interpretation and actions the sippy cup from her mother, turning back to the table, and starting to drink (line 7). With these actions Nuppu accepts her mother's interpretation; they can be seen to have established an intersubjective understanding of the intention of Nuppu's vocal and embodied actions. The activity of requesting is determined not only by the object or event that the infant and his or her communicative partner are jointly attending to, but also by shared experience and knowledge about that object or event (cf., Liszkowski, Carpenter & Tomasello 2007). Both the object of joint attention (sink with sippy cup) and the circumstances (feeding situation) of Nuppu's actions help to enable the mother's interpretation. In this local context Nuppu is able to influence her mother to do things for her by using only vocalization and embodied actions. It is the mother who makes an interpretation of Nuppu's actions in the local context of the feeding situation, in which drinking as well as eating are relevant, and proffers her understanding that Nuppu wants to have her sippy cup and drink. Thus, this early request is co-constructed by both the actions of the child and the caregiver, and the agency in formulating the request is shared between them.

It is noteworthy that after drinking from the cup, Nuppu looks at her mother and utters the proto-word in a modified form *et::thä* changing the first vowel /*ä*/ into /*e*/ and also producing /*h*/ that sounds like a satisfied sigh in the middle of the word (line 8). With changed vowel this later, modified pronunciation of the proto-word, [ettæ] (line 8), is phonemically similar to the mother's [vettæ] 'water' (line 4), her interpretation of the object of Nuppu's embodied request. This suggests that the mother's actions, her offered interpretation *vettä* and the fulfillment of the request, enhances the process in which the proto-word is being modified towards a word that has a symbolic meaning connected to a certain real-life referent, in this case, water. It is the child who initiates an embodied requesting action with a proto-word. The adult reproduces the proto-word in the adult equivalent form, *vettä*, and performs an action, that is, gives the child the water she needs, thus reinforcing the conventionally understood meaning of the word. In these recurrent

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interactive sequences the processes of learning language and what can be done with it to influence the others are intertwined. Furthermore, in this way the secondary intersubjectivity (see Trevarthen & Hubley 1978) based on the symbolic signs of language starts to develop in interaction in the local sequential understanding of initiating and responsive actions.

4.1.2 *Declined embodied request: Child displays dissatisfaction*

Not all early requests are fulfilled in the way that child seems to have intended, as can be seen in Nuppu's repeats of her embodied request in the next extract. Here the mother and Nuppu are negotiating their intersubjective understanding of Nuppu's actions. In line 1, Nuppu uses a similar proto-word and pointing gesture combination in joint attentional focus as in Extract 1, but the mother does not comply with it: she does not give Nuppu the flower Nuppu is pointing at (line 2). As a consequence, Nuppu repeats four times her embodied requesting action (lines 3, 5–6, 8, 13).

Extract 2. Flower. [Feeding situation; MOT=mother, NUP=Nuppu, girl aged 1 year; 0 months]

```
01   NUP:=>   +ät:tä.+
     nup      +LH points at a flower pot on the table+
02   MOT:     *se on kukka.*
              it is a flower
     mot      *moves the pot closer but keeps it out of nuppu's
              reach*
03   NUP:=>   +ät:ti.-----------------+
     nup      +LH straightens her arm and reaches further+
04   MOT:     kukka.
              flower
05             (15.0)
     nup =>   looks at the flower, straightens her whole body
              towards flower, LH reach for the flower
06   NUP:     Ättbbhhh.= ((crying))
07   MOT:     =M:mhym?
08   NUP:=>   +ät::tä,+
     nup      +points at the flower and reaches for it+
09   MOT:     *kukka? noi.*
              flower so
     mot      *turns the pot but does not move it any closer*
10   nup      LH rubs her ear, moves restlessly in her chair
11   NUP:     ÄÄÄÄhHÄÄÄÄHHÄÄÄ ((crying))
12   MOT:     *tos oli sun oma lusikka*
              there is your own spoon
     mot      *RH puts a spoon on the table in front of nuppu*<
13   NUP:=>   +Ät::::tä,# ((stressed production))+
     nup      +stretches her body and points at the flower+
              #fig.3
```

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Figure 3.

```
14   MOT:    kukka?
             flower
15   NUP:   (K)hhbbhybhybhy. ((crying))
16   MOT:    *tossa lusikka.*
             there's a spoon
     mot     *RH touches the spoon*
17   MOT:    *ai niin meidän piti ottaa ne vitamiinitipat.*
             oh yes we should take the vitamin drops
     mot    *leaves the table to get the vitamins*
```

When the mother does not give Nuppu the flower but only names it (line 2), Nuppu tries to repair the noncompliance by repeating her vocal and embodied request both by intensifying its presentation (lines 3, 5–6, 8, 13) and combining it with crying (lines 6, 11, 15), displaying dissatisfaction with her mother's actions.

In this sequence it becomes clearly visible what Nuppu is requesting as she keeps on redoing her request. First she only points and looks at the flower saying ät*:tä* (line 1). When the mother tells her that *Se on kukka* 'it is a flower' and only moves the flower a bit closer (line 2), she does not treat Nuppu's actions as a request for an object, but for joint attention and a name: she does not give her the object. As a consequence, Nuppu sustains the requesting action she started earlier. Now modifying her embodied action and the spatial relation between herself and the flower, she moves bodily closer by stretching her body and extending her arm towards the flower – thus displaying that she seeks to touch and grasp the flower (line 3). Simultaneously she vocalizes *ät:ti* changing also the final vowel of the proto-word. The mother, however, only names the flower again thus sustaining the action she started by only repeating the name of the object (line 4). Now Nuppu straightens her whole body and hands towards the flower, and cries, thus displaying her dissatisfaction (lines 5–6). Mother acknowledges this with *M:mhym?,* requesting more information, and Nuppu redoes her proto-word and pointing gesture (lines 7–8).

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The mother again responds by naming the referent and turns the flower as if for Nuppu to see it better (line 9).

Nuppu's response (lines 10–11) suggests that she is still not satisfied with this, as she moves restlessly and cries. Nuppu's crying can also be seen as a third position repair that rejects the mother's actions as not adequate (see also Wootton, 1994, for observations of early third position repair). As the mother has now inferred that Nuppu wants to get hold of the poisonous flower, she tries to get Nuppu's attention to a spoon away from the flower (line 12). Nuppu ignores the spoon and keeps on requesting the flower by stressing her proto-word vocalization even more ä*t::::tä* and reaching for the flower (line 13). Again, the mother does not give the flower to her but only labels it (line 14). Nuppu cries again, and finally the situation relaxes when the mother changes the activity and starts to give vitamins to Nuppu (lines 15–17).

4.1.3 *Intersubjective development of embodied requests*

The preceding two extracts showed different ways in which a requesting sequence can evolve between a one-year-old requester and her mother. In the first extract, mother complies and gives water to child after child's proto-word, gaze, and pointing gesture at the sippy cup. In this way adults' interpretations of children's preverbal actions support the emergence of intersubjective understanding of the activity of requesting, and also enable a secondary intersubjectivity, based on symbolic language, to develop in the local sequential understandings of words related to requests. In the second extract, mother and child negotiate their intersubjective understanding of the child's actions when the child repeatedly tries to get her mother to give her an object. Faced with denial of their requesting actions, children start to develop an understanding that requests require shared understanding and compliance by the other party to be realized. They also find ways to influence their interlocutor by intensifying their requesting actions and by displaying dissatisfaction with the denials. In the negotiation of intersubjective understanding between child and caregiver, we see firstly how a child's actions – in the absence of language – can be interpreted, and secondly how the adult responds to display whether the child's action is clear and interpretable (as in Extract 1), or not permissable (as in Extract 2).

In sum, by the age of one year there are early child-initiated interactive request sequences where 1) the child directs the caregiver's attention to a target through body position, eye gaze, vocalization and pointing or reaching gestures, 2) the caregiver interprets the action as a request and responds to it, and 3) the child accepts the interpretation or rejects it as wrong. Both child and adult are active agents in collaboratively constructing the act of requesting and response: the child initiates it with nonverbal means and the adult interprets the meaning of child's actions, thus sharing the agency with the child in forming a requesting action. Thus, in the early

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embodied child–caregiver request–response sequences the necessary prerequisites for the emergence of intersubjective understanding of child's requesting action is the establishment of mutual focus of attention in a joint interactional space, as well as the collaborative stance of the caregiver towards the child.

4.2 Interactional development of emerging verbal requests

During the second year of life, when first words emerge, children start to use language in their requests, and one-third of children's first linguistic expressions are requesting actions (Wootton 1997: 13). In the present data the children used word-gesture combinations to form their first verbal requests (e.g., a bare noun, or imperative verb form *anna* 'give-IMP', both combined with reaching for a target). English-learning children have also been found to combine two modalities, speech and gesture, in their early verb-gesture constructions, which can be seen as a developmental phase towards multiword argument structure constructions (Kelly 2006). Thus, first verbal requests make use of single words and embodied pointing and reaching, which still need the co-participant's contextual interpretation in order to be understood as requests.

4.2.1 *Caregiver co-constructs early word-gesture combinations*

In the word-gesture combinations of the present data, some aspects, either the requested target (e.g., a toy), or the action to be performed (e.g., giving), were verbalized, but as in earlier embodied formats, the request had to be interpreted in the local situational context by the adult co-participant. That is what happens in Extract 3 below, where Nuppu and her mother are sitting on the floor and inspecting toys that they are picking out from a string bag. In line 2, her mother asks Nuppu to name the plastic apple she has picked from the bag, but Nuppu is focused on getting of one of the toys, a plastic banana, from the string bag, and does not reply to her mother's question (line 3). Throughout the extract, Nuppu is oriented to taking the banana out of the string bag. When she does not succeed, she requests her mother's assistance in line 8.

Extract 3. Banana. [Playing with plastic toys; MOT=mother, NUP= Nuppu, girl aged 1 year; 10 months].

```
01          +(2.0)
     nup    +searching for toys from the string bag
02   MOT:   *ja tämä, (1.8) mikä [tä-*
            and this        what thi-
     mot    *shows an apple to nuppu*
     nup    ---searches the bag----------------------
                                 [
03   NUP:                        [manen- (.) banaanni.
                                 [manen-     bananna
```

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```
04   NUP:     onnoonoo(7.5) banaani.+ +(2.0)Homm↑onen?+
                            banana          that one
     nup-->   digs in the bag+         +finds a giraffe,
                                       gives it to mother+
05   MOT:     *+mikäs tää on?*
              what is this
     mot      *holds the giraffe, shows it to nuppu*
     nup      +digs in the bag, does not look at giraffe
06   NUP:     banaani.(10.5) BANAANI,+
              banana         banana
     nup      digs----------------->+
07   MOT:     joo:?
              yeah
08   NUP:=>   MANAANI TU(O)LTA    BANAANI,
              manana   from.there  banana
09   MOT:     *siinä. banaani (.) noin,*
              there a banana      so
     mot      *takes banana from the bag, gives it to nuppu*
10            +(3.0)+
     nup      +takes banana, pretends to eat it,
              offers it to mother+
11   MOT:     £nam nam nam?£ (2.8) leikkibanaani.
              yum-yum yum          a toy banana
```

As Nuppu, despite her continuing efforts, cannot herself get hold of the banana, she makes a request-like action by saying the target word, banana, in a loud voice (line 6). The raised tone of the voice (increased volume and level pitch) makes the presentation of the word have a quality of commanding and demanding. When the mother only acknowledges this with *joo* 'yeah' (line 7) and does not show understanding of the bare noun as a request, Nuppu specifies her request by adding a location to the noun: *manaani tuolta banaani* '(b)anana from there banana' (line 8). The location *tuolta*' from there', having the place formulation that expresses a movement away from the location (indicated by the case ending *-lta*, ablative), makes her action more clearly a request (line 8). In this way, Nuppu is able to produce a proto-imperative that influences her mother's behavior: The mother responds immediately and fulfills the request by taking the banana out of the bag, and giving it to Nuppu (line 9). Nuppu displays satisfaction, and she immediately starts to play with the banana: she pretends to eat the banana and also offers it to the mother. Mother joins the play and they both smile and look at each other, mutually enjoying the activity.

It is noteworthy that Nuppu does not yet use explicit imperative (e.g., *anna* 'give') or interrogative (e.g., *voitko antaa* 'can you give') forms directly addressed to the caregiver. Instead, she displays her intention in the form of naming the target object and a location with case suffix indicating movement away, which the mother interprets as a request to get hold of the object. Thus, despite the use of some words, at this developmental phase, children's requests are still co-constructed by caregivers and the agency in doing the action of requesting is shared.

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4.2.2 *Imperative forms in requesting*

At two to three years of age, more explicit imperative formulations emerge in children's requesting (e.g., *laita* 'put.IMP.2SG'). The imperatives still rely on the caregiver's co-construction of the request in recognizing the target object and/or the precise action to be performed with it. In Extract 4 three-year-old Vertti is playing on the floor with cars and toy figures with his mother. When his mother asks where one of the figures could be placed, Vertti directs his mother's actions with imperatives (lines 4–5).

Extract 4. Put on the bed. [Car play; MOT=mother, VER=Vertti, 3;3]

```
01   MOT:     mut minnes toi     ↑puuhapete         vois mennä,
              but where that    Bob.the.Builder    could go
02   VER:     +vaikkapa,(1.0) ↑tänne lavalle,=
              let's see       here to the (dropside) bed
     ver      +holds a dropside lorry in his hand, leans over it
03   MOT:     =mm:?=
04   VER:=>   =laita tänne lavalle,
              put (it)here on the bed
05   VER:=>   äiti laita?
              mommy put
06   MOT:     *noin?*
              so
     mot      *puts toy figure on the dropside bed of the lorry*
```

At the beginning of the extract the mother is planning the play and asks where one of the toys, Bob the Builder, could go (line 1). Vertti responds by suggesting a location, the dropside bed of the toy lorry he is holding in his hand (line 2). As the mother responds only with a closed-mouth-produced, mild acknowledgement *mm*:?, requesting more information, Vertti repeats his suggestion of the location, but this time he does that by presenting it in an imperative clause (*laita* 'put.IMP.2SG' *tänne lavalle* 'here on the bed', line 4), and in so doing verbalizes the action required. Furthermore, as the mother does not immediately respond to the request, Vertti reformulates his request by focusing now on his mother's action by using an address term, *äiti* 'mommy', followed by the simple imperative verb form *laita* 'put'. Now the mother fulfills Vertti's request and puts the toy figure on the dropside bed of the toy lorry.

The first linguistic form to emerge in use to do a request by the Finnish children studied was the imperative. Children's use of the imperative clearly shows that they have an intersubjective understanding of the roles of requester and requesteé, and that they see their caregivers self-evidently as their benefactors. As caregivers are morally positioned as the benefactors of their children and are obliged to take care of their children's wellbeing, small children can trust on this compliance and can direct their caregivers' actions with simple verb forms, in Finnish the imperative, to fulfill their current needs. Imperative has also been found to be used in early

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requesting in e.g., Japanese, British English, Spanish, Catalan and a Papua New Guinean language Ku Waru (Rumsey 2003, Wootton 1997: 56). Children's early use of imperative is in line with the findings that imperatives are linguistic constructions that project and count on the compliance of the requesteé (e.g., Zinken & Ogiermann 2013).

Considering the intersubjective development of children's requesting, Extracts 3 and 4 show how the children, as early as in the age of one to three years, modify their verbal requests in order to reach mutual understanding when their co-participants do not respond in the way that satisfies them. This is largely a result of the fact that, even if parents tend to fulfill the children's requests, they do not always immediately understand what the child is requesting. As a consequence, children repeat and modify their requests in order to get their caregivers to comply and respond. In this process children are learning how to use and combine words to make their requests intersubjectively understandable, including how to foreground locally relevant aspects of their request through the design of their turns. The modified design of children's turns thus displays their social orientation towards co-participant's mind and understanding. This social orientation develops further in children's peer interactions.

4.3 Learning linguistic sophistication of requests in peer interaction

At four years of age, the children gradually start to use modal verbs and conditional verb forms in their requests (e.g., *saanks mä lainata* 'may I borrow'). In the data studied, this change is related to children's increased engagement in imaginative peer play. Linguistically more sophisticated requests emerge in the moments in which children are trying to get their peers to collaborate and comply with their own ideas in the play. The child co-participants usually have a common interest in playing and are mutually involved in it, but they also have their own interests concerning the characters and the activities in play. Furthermore, other children are not similarly morally obliged to fulfill the requests of their peers as caregivers as benefactors are. This is shown by the fact that children do not comply with other children's requests as readily as caregivers. As the requests in peer interaction are not always fulfilled, children justify their reasons and modify their requests to be more persuasive to other children. Children also apparently recognize that a request should be fulfilled to sustain collaborative action, and thus may negotiate even if they initially reject the request. The following extracts show the emergence of modal verbs in requests by a four-year-old child playing with an approximately same-aged peer (Extracts 5 and 6).

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Extract 5. May I borrow your car. (OSK=Osku, boy aged 4 years; 4 months, and KIA=Kia, girl aged 3 years; 11 months, are playing with cars on traffic carpet)

```
01   KIA:=>    hei Osku saanks mä lainata sun autoo ku mulla
               hey Osku may    I  borrow your car   as I
02        =>   jäi yks auto kotiin?
               left one car at home
03   OSK:      ei, se on mun kamulla, se on mun kamu,
               no my buddy has it     it is my buddy
04             se on mun kamu, se on mun kamu.
               it is my buddy it is my buddy
05             otas-     täs paljo oli   enemmän paljo autojaki
               (you)take- here many were many more cars too
06             ja, kato nyt, täs on vaikka tämmönen auto.
               and look now here is for example this car
07   KIA:      mulle vai?
               for me or
08   VER:      niin. sä saat vaikka näin paljo.
               yes you can have for instance this many(cars)
```

Extract 6. Could I get one fish. (SOF=Sofia, girl aged 4;3, and LUU=Luukas, boy aged 4;9, are playing with a plastic "Fish market")

```
01   SOF:      hei onkse- tää möi,  jooks et tää möis näitä.
               hey is it- this sold yeah+Q that this sells these
02   SOF:=>    saisinko-    saisinko yhden kalan.
               could I get- could I get one fish
03   LUU:      ei ei ei Ä ä ä ää ää. EI, ei ei ei ei vielä.
               no no no             no no no no not yet
04             pannaan-    tehdään    se tuon  alle.
               let's.put   let's.make it below that.
05             siel on joku      siinä ois se koko paikka
               there is someone there would be the whole place
06             ja sit se pannaan tonne. Tehdäänks nyt niin.
               and then it is put there shall we do so now
07   SOF:      hei, ei,((pistänkö tää meijän kotiin))
               hey no    shall I put this to our home
```

Pretend play with peers poses new interactional challenges because children have to take other children's interests into account and socially adjust their requests to please the other children. They do not use imperatives as self-evidently as with their caregivers, but instead use turns containing a modal verb to ask for an item (e.g., *saada* 'can/may +verb'; Extract 5, lines 1–2, 'can get X', Extract 6, line 2). The children also start to use a conditional verb form in their requests for an object (*saisinko* 'could I get', Extract 6; cf., Kauppinen 1996).

In Extract 5 Kia also formulates her request for Osku's car as *lainata* 'borrow' and gives a reason why she wants to have that car in her play (she forgot one of her cars at home). In Extract 6 Sofia pre-frames her request with a turn planning the play with fish market: she takes a plastic toy figure and suggests that the toy figure

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would be selling the fish (line 1). Here she also uses the particle *jooko* (*joo* 'yes' + a question clitic *-ko*, meaning approximately 'right ok?') (Tykkyläinen & Laakso 2010), which projects a complying answer. Although the particle *jooko* can here be seen as persuasive towards the requesteé, Finnish does not have a specific request particle, such as *please*, which English-speaking children use very early on (cf., Wootton 2007). After setting the play role of her toy figure as the fish seller, Sofia then moves on to request the fish with a conditional form.

The responses to the requests are denials (Extract 5, lines 3–4; Extract 6, line 3). Peers often do not immediately grant the requested item, but the initial denials are followed by a negotiation in which another item (Extract 5, lines 4–6) or course of action (Extract 6, lines 4–6) is offered to replace the requested target. So, although the children can reject a request immediately, which adults less often do, children's negotiating actions show that they already share the intersubjective understanding that a request should be granted to sustain collaborative action.

Despite their conflicting interests and disagreements in how to play, children do sustain like-mindedness in the design of their peer play. Thus, in peer interaction four-to-five-year-old children learn to negotiate when their interests conflict, using a wide variety of linguistic constructions. Children are also sensitive to the degree of their entitlement to ask another child to fulfill their request. In Extract 5 Kia asks for a car owned by another child who has also been playing with it. She then adds a justification to her request; she has left her car at home. Somewhat similarly, Sofia justifies taking a play figure from a set Luukas is organizing, saying it is to act as a seller in the fish market. After designing the play in this way she presents herself as entitled to ask for a fish and does so with conditional interrogative formulation.

Four-year-old children thus form their requests in peer play as interrogatives and also try to influence the other child to fulfill the request by giving reasons, framing the request with a complying *jooko*, and using conditional. The use of interrogative with conditional verb displays explicitly children's intersubjective understanding that a requestee's granting of the request can be conditional, and they have to ask the other, not order them to do something, in order to maintain collaborative play. Thus they adapt their requests to be pro-social and take intersubjectively into account the other child's perspective: the commitment and entitlement the child may have in fulfilling the request. At this developmental phase, requests are not anymore co-constructed by the recipients, but children act as independent agents, designing their requests for their current recipients and taking into consideration the local context in which the requests are used.

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5. Conclusion and discussion

Between one and five years of age children's requests develop from embodied non-verbal action to combinations of embodied and verbal action, and then towards distinct linguistic formulation. The developing embodied and linguistic practices show the social evolution of intersubjective understanding in doing requesting action. In recurrent interactions children learn to understand how one can form a request to get what one wants, but also how, after denial or other dispreferred response, one may repeat or modify the request to get a preferred, complying response. Particularly in interaction with other children, children also learn how to express their disagreement and how to negotiate their conflicting interests. Thus, learning the social action takes place in interactive sequences through the co-participants' responses to children's requesting actions. In this learning process, both caregiver and peer interaction are needed. Social actions do not emerge out of nowhere by themselves, instead a wide range of different types of interactions nurtures children's acquisition of social action formats and gives them the knowledge to use them.

In their early years, children's requests are co-constructed and display shared agency between children and their caregivers. Caregivers' collaborative interpretations of children's embodied actions and early vocalizations display their understanding of the act of requesting by their children and sequentially render it shared and intersubjective. From early on caregivers treat their children's actions as meaningful in their local context and display their commitment to comply with their children's needs. Simultaneously caregivers' co-constructed interpretations of early embodied requests enable children to realize how they can purposefully influence the behavior of others. The use of vocalization and pointing allows early requesting actions to be interpreted as requests, although the vocalization in itself does not have a meaning that that can be understood. The early embodied requests are more like recruitment of caregivers' assistance as they rely heavily on the interlocutor's understanding and interpretation of the embodied behavior (for recruitment, see Kendrick & Drew 2016). As in recruitments, caregivers perceive their children's need and assist them by giving them what they understand them to want (e.g., by giving water when child gestures towards sippy cup). In asymmetric caregiver-child interaction the caregivers are morally committed and treat themselves as obliged to assist their children in fulfilling their basic needs.

Faced with denials of their requesting actions, children start to develop an understanding what kind of social actions requests are: i.e., that requests require the consent of the other party to be realized, and that their requests can also be denied. Denied requests present a challenge that children resolve by finding ways to influence other parties by clarifying and intensifying their requesting actions

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and by displaying dissatisfaction with denial. In the negotiation of intersubjective understanding of the child's action, caregivers' denials are followed by expressions of dissatisfaction (e.g., crying) and intensified repeated formulations of requests.

The first linguistic form to emerge in requests of Finnish children is the imperative verb form, which is used in interaction with caregivers by children from the second year onwards. As caregivers are morally obliged to take care of their children, children understand their entitlement to use simple imperative formulations in doing requesting. Similarly, 2-year-old British English speaking child (Wootton 1997: 60–61), and children speaking Kaluli (Schieffelin 1990) use imperative constructions in their first verbal requests. However, English-speaking 2-year-olds also use more diverse linguistic forms, such as declarative (e.g., *I like*/*want X*) and interrogative (e.g., *Can you do X*) at least as frequently as imperative verbs (Wootton 1997: 57). This is in accordance with observations of English-speaking adults using a wide variety of constructions, including *I want/need X*, in their requests at customer service encounters (Fox & Heinemann 2016), whereas the prominent use of explicit imperatives by Finnish-speaking children are similar to the early requests of, for example, Japanese children (Clancy 1985). By children learning Finnish, the use of imperative constructions displays explicitly children's emerging intersubjective understanding of the separate roles of 'self', the requester, and 'other', the requestee, in doing requesting actions.

Later more socially nuanced linguistic forms and ways of acting according to collaborative social norms emerge in peer interactions where the children's intersubjective understanding of the others' separate interests and contingencies in responding to the request develops further. Simultaneously, the distribution of agency in requesting changes from the early years, where children's requests were co-constructed by caregivers sharing the agency with the child, towards children acting as separate, self-reliant agents who can formulate their requests in socially adaptive ways for the less collaborative peers. In this process children gradually understand what kind of actions requests are, i.e., that they should justify and modify their requests for different recipients, who are more or less willing to grant the request or who may have different kinds of commitment in fulfilling the request depending on local interactive context.

To conclude, the analysis of children's home interactions shows the significance of local sequential responses to the development of social actions, such as requesting. The sequential responses, the co-construction of caregivers, and denials of peers, contribute to the emergence of active awareness of the 'self' and 'other', i.e., to the development of intersubjectivity in children learning to speak and use language in their daily interactions.

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How an improvised scene emerges in theatre rehearsal

Constructing coherence by recycling

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This paper investigates how a group of young adults participating in theatre rehearsals construct a spontaneous improvised scene. The analysis shows how the youths construct a fairly coherent scene in a situation in which the interactional moves and the interactional frame emerges. We analyse how the improvisation is initiated, how it is carried forward, and how the scene is discussed afterwards. After the improvised scene, it emerged that the participants had differing conceptions of what exactly they had been doing. However, these differing conceptions did not hinder them from participating and contributing to the scene in coherent ways and were thus sufficiently similar for practical purposes. In our analysis, we focus on how the youths constructed the scene by recycling lexemes, syntactic forms and embodied actions.

Keywords: intersubjectivity, understanding, theatre rehearsals, emergent, enact, improvisation, recycling, embodied participation, conversation analysis, frame

1. Introduction

One of the basic questions concerning mutual understanding, and hence, intersubjectivity, is how social actors "come to know, and know in common, what they are driving and the circumstances in which they are doing it" (Heritage 1984: 76). Influenced by the philosophy of Alfred Schutz, conversation analysis relies on the conception of intersubjectivity as a practical matter (Etelämäki 2016). Even if we cannot have identical experiences of the world, we are able to interact; we act as if our experiences are similar enough (Schutz 1990[1962]: 10–12).

In everyday conversation, the formulations we use are always incomplete. As Schutz points out, the actor's attitude is not that of a scientist who questions the validity of knowledge; the participants "take the things as they seem" (Heritage

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1984: 77). Ultimately, the understanding of other peoples' behaviour is based on inferencing (Goffman 1959: 15; Garfinkel 1967; Drew 2018). The inference-making task is possible because events and actions have typical patterns. Inferencing operates on a turn-by-turn level: every turn displays an interpretation of the previous turn(s), and at the same time functions as the base for subsequent interpretations. (Heritage 1984: 77, 242.) Inference-making processes and their analysability are based on the fact that our interactional moves are public. They are produced for others to perceive, and are thus recognizable to both the participants in an interactional situation and the analyst (Schegloff & Sacks 1973; Schegloff 1991). In the performing arts, interactional moves also need to be recognizable to the audience (see Hazel 2018).

In this paper, we investigate how young adults participating in theatre rehearsals constructed a scene in which they spontaneously started to improvise. The scene emerged when the participants returned from a break. In our analysis, we focus on how the improvisation is initiated, and the means by which the youths construct a fairly coherent scene. We even show the conversation following the improvisation, which reveals that the youths had differing understandings of what they had been doing during the improvisation. Ultimately, these differences did not hinder them from participating in coherent ways.

The paper is organised as follows: We start by presenting the data and the method (Section 2). In Section 3, we analyse the improvised scene in detail. We first show (3.1) what happens before the scene, and then (3.2) we turn to analyse how the improvisation is initiated and how coherence is constructed. In 3.3, we focus on embodied contributions. In 3.4, we show how the participants discuss the preceding scene, and in so doing, recycle each other's verbal and embodied contributions from the previous scene. In Section 4, we discuss the results.

2. Data and method

The data are videotaped theatre rehearsals that took place during a six-week long summer job (URB summer job), organised by the Urban Art festival of the Kiasma Theatre, together with the city of Helsinki. The participants were young adults who, during the summer period produced a performance for the URB festival. Rehearsals lasted six hours a day. No previous acting experience was required. The leaders (the director and her assistant) were professionals. One of the goals of the URB summer job was to provide youths with the opportunity to experience and learn performing arts by making theatre. The manuscript for the performance emerged during the collaborative work: the youths carried out exercises during the rehearsals both individually and in groups. The leaders then selected materials

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and produced the manuscript for the performance. The study was carried out as part of the *Art as work and a working tool* 2015–2017 project, funded by the Kone Foundation. This was a collaborative project for researchers and artists, led by Liisa Raevaara.[1]

The conversations analysed in the current paper took place in the fourth week of the summer job, so the participants had already been practising together for near to four weeks. The analysed sequence emerges between exercises, after a lengthy break. It is not a typical one in the data. However, it reveals how the youths spontaneously, without the director's input, create an enacted scene and thereby practise some of the skills needed in acting. In terms of intersubjectivity, the scene is revealing; in order to participate in coherent ways, the youths need to rely on contextual cues to a greater extent than in situations in which the frame is not so much in motion.

We discuss the youths' contributions in terms of coherence; that is how the turns connect to each other in meaningful ways. We analyse how the youths recycle items from previous turns (see Anward 2004, 2015; Laury 2005; Linell 2005; DuBois 2014). Anward (2004, 2015) suggests that recycling and modifying is the basic method of turn construction in interaction. Building on a similar idea, Breyer, Ehmer, and Pfänder (2011) discuss the emergent and improvisational nature of everyday talk. We also refer to improvisation as a form of theatre (Routarinne 2004; Tanner, Miller & Montgomery 2018: 11). It is worth noting, however, that the youths were not professional actors, and there was no explicit agreement on improvisation. Therefore, our focus will be on everyday interactional features.

Conversation Analysis (CA) investigates social interaction from the members' perspective. The analytical focus is on how people complete and make sense of each other's actions in the temporally unfolding interaction. CA is an empirical method that investigates the architecture of intersubjectivity (Heritage 1984: 254–260). Recently, there has been a growing interest in applying CA to research on the performing arts, especially theatre (in addition to the research carried out in the *Art as work and a working tool* project, see e.g. Harjunpää, Deppermann & Sorjonen 2021; Hazel 2015, 2018; Kolberg 2012; Norrthon 2019, 2020; Schmidt 2014, 2018). As a social institution, theatre investigates and operates with concepts of human sociality at the micro level. CA's basic analytic question, "why that now" (Schegloff & Sacks 1973), is at the core of theatre making that seeks to create experiences and communicate with the audience (Norrthon 2017).

Research on theatre rehearsals is tied to research on embodied interaction (e.g. Broth & Keevallik 2020; Broth & Mondada 2019; Goodwin 1979, 2007; Haddington, Mondada & Nevile 2013; Keevallik 2013; Mondada 2016; Nevile 2015). It highlights

1. For research carried out within the project: Ihalainen, forthcoming; Izarra & Sirviö 2018; Malaska 2016; Raevaara 2020; Savijärvi 2019, 2021; Turunen 2018; Visakko 2020a, 2020b.

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the different temporal layers of everyday interaction; participants need to orient to multiple temporal timescales, and the analysis needs to capture these orientations (e.g. Deppermann & Streeck 2018; Goodwin 2000, 2002; Keevallik 2015; Mondada 2018). Leppäkoski (2001) notes that theatre also involves a temporal dimension that she calls vertical; a theatre play is situated in a specific time and place. It has a beginning and an end, and the person who goes to see the play steps out of their everyday life when entering the theatre. After the play, they step back to their everyday life in which the temporal dimensions of the theatre play no longer count. In this sense, theatre has similarities with games.

3. Analysis

We now turn to analyse how the improvised scene emerged. We first show what happened before the improvisation, and how the participants proceeded to the improvisation. It takes some time to get the conversation going. The participants sometimes used exactly the same expressions, instead of creating new turns by recycling with modifications (cf. Anward 2004).

Anward (2004) has shown how in everyday conversation, speakers construct new turns by recycling and modifying items from previous turns and reusing, for example, words, grammatical constructions and semantically similar expressions. Helistén (2018) shows how speakers recycle body positions when getting back to a topic after an interruption in conversation (see also Goodwin 2007). According to Linell (2005: 243–244), recycling is the very means to bring coherence to conversation, and to enhance intersubjectivity. Recycling makes the conversation dialogical and polyphonic in Bakhtin's terms (1981: 293–294), and sequentially, drives the conversation forward. Exact repeats, on the other hand, have the potential to stop the flow of conversation, especially when used as repair initiators (Kurhila & Lilja 2017). Of course, in some sequential contexts, a repeat can also be the relevant next and thereby move the conversation forward (see Thompson, Fox & Couper-Kuhlen 2015: 84–87).

3.1 Preceding scene: Getting going and getting stuck

We now join the youths who are returning from a break. The director has instructed them to take chairs. Thus, the entering participants have chairs with them. The first three participants who enter are Tapani (Tap), Emilia (Emi) and Tuula (Tuu). As illustrated in Excerpt (1), the conversation starts with reciprocal greetings by Tuula and Tapani, and what follows is an extension of the greeting sequence. After a few reciprocal turns, the conversation stalls (lines 9–11).

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Excerpt 1. *'Greetings'* [U076_tauko]

```
01   TUU:    °hei°
              hi
02   TAP:    @↓HEI,@
              hi
03   TUU:    =hei ole-n Tuula.
              hi be-1SG 1NAMEF
              hi I'm Tuula
04           (1.0)
05   TAP:    @HEI TUula,@ (0.8) ole-n Tuula.
              hi   1NAMEF       be-1SG 1NAMEF
              hi   Tuula        I'm    Tuula
06           (1.7)
07   TAP:    hei olen Tuula,
             hi  I'm  Tuula
08           (0.4)
09   TUU:    aha
             PTC
10           (1.7)
11   TUU:    ↑häh,
              huh ('what')
12   TAP:    £hehehe[hi?£
13   TUU:           [£mit(h)äh,
                   what
14   TAP:    hh [hehe
15   TUU:       [pitää-ks mu-n          sanoo @ole-n ↓Tapani@
                have.to-CLI 1SG-GEN    say   be-1SG  1NAMEM
                 do I have to say I'm Tapani
16           (.)
17   TUU:    ↓hei[i >Tapani<,
              hi Tapani
18   TAP:        [£HE£
19           (0.5)
20   TUU:    Emilia (--) äänel[lä
             NAME         with voice
21   TAP:                      [↑su-n etunimi o-n <ole-n>, (.)
                                2SG-GEN first name be-3SG be-1SG
                                 your first name is <I am>
22   TAP:     sukunimi     o-n   Tuula.
              Family name be-3SG 1NAMEF
              family name is Tuula
23           (0.7)
24   TAP:    olen Tuula.
              I am Tuula
25   TUU:    (↓hei ole-n Tuula.) =↑hei ole-n Tuula,
              hi be-1SG 1NAMEF     hi be-1SG 1NAMEF
              hi I'm Tuula hi I'm Tuula
26           (1.3)
27   TUU:    &joo,
              yes
     tuu     &nods
```

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The reciprocal greetings indicate that something out of the ordinary is taking place. The participants, who already know each other well, introduce themselves to each other using their real names (pseudonyms in the transcription). Tapani responds to Tuula's greeting with changed voice quality: he speaks louder, and the turn is prosodically marked (line 2). Furthermore, Tuula presents herself (line 3) as if for the first time to a person not known to her. Both participants are engaged in the same activity at this point: they respond to each other in a way that is recognisable as reciprocal greetings.

Tapani responds with yet another greeting, repeating Tuula's name (line 5). Then he adds an utterance, also repeating the verb. Here, the greeting sequence is extended, as this is the fourth greeting in the same sequence, and greetings typically consist of two parts (Sacks 1995 part I: 96). It is not a conventional way of responding, as Tapani (male) repeats Tuula's (female) introduction of herself (line 5). After a pause, Tapani continues (line 7), ending up with a turn that is a partial repetition of what Tuula said a moment before (in line 3).

After a short pause, Tuula responds with the particle *aha* (line 9), displaying that she is in the process of reorientation (see Koivisto 2016). After a lengthy pause (line 10), Tuula then produces an open class repair initiator *häh* ('huh') (line 11) that is used in a similar way to the more conventional *mitä* 'what' (Haakana 2011). Open class repair initiators (OIR) indicate a problem in the previous turn, but do not define or locate the problem in more detail (Drew 1997; Haakana 2011; Dingemanse, Torreira & Enfield 2013). The typical response to OIR is to repeat the problem turn (e.g. Haakana 2011), Here, Tapani laughs in response. Tuula then continues with yet another OIR *mitä* 'what' (line 13).

Typically, repair processes initiated by OIRs are quickly resolved, and are rarely extended; the problems that they target are usually simple (see Haakana, Kurhila, Lilja & Savijärvi, this volume). In the current sequential context, however, the problem cannot be easily located in the previous problem-turn, nor is the problem solved by a repetition. It seems that the problem is rather what the joint activity is. This is evidenced in Tuula's following turn. She produces an interrogatively formatted candidate next turn, asking whether she should say *olen Tapani* 'I'm Tapani' (line 15), that is, introduce herself as if she was Tapani. Tuula seems to be in the process of discovering the 'rules' of the game that Tapani has started.

She then continues by greeting Tapani again, with a lowered voice (line 17). Tapani explains in detail what he meant (lines 21–22), and produces a turn, constructed of the verb *olen* 'I am' and Tuula's name (line 24). After two repetitions (initiated by the greeting particle (line 25), Tuula closes the sequence with *joo* 'yes' and nods (line 27). Thus, she displays that sufficient understanding has been reached for practical purposes (see Sorjonen 2001).

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3.2 Moving on to improvisation and constructing coherence

After the extended greeting sequence, the conversation continues with discussion about names in real life situations (the participants talk in the here and now context). While the name discussion is still going on, Tapani starts a new line of action (line 1).

Excerpt 2. *'The situation is such'*

```
01   TAP:    nytten kuul-kaas   tilan[ne  o-n    sellainen   että,
             now listen-IMP.2PL situation be-3SG DEM3.SG.ADJ PTC
             now listen the situation is such that
02   YUS:                              [(--) ↑mä tunnen
                                              I   know
03:          jonku jonka sukunimi on olen.
             someone whose family name is I am
// 31 lines omitted, the name discussion continues//
35          (2.7)
36   EMI:   mä en (pääse [-)
             I can't (get [-)
37   TAP:                [nytten asia o-n    kuul-kaas
                          now thing be-3SG listen-IMP.2PL
                          now the thing is that listen
38   TAP:   *sil-lä  tava-lla, (0.9)*
            DEM3-ADE way-ADE
            so
     tap    *turns gaze to left and right and back to middle*
39   TAP:   että yhtiö-mme   ei    tuota tarpeeksi ↓voitto-a,
            that company-1PL NEG produce enough   profit-PAR
            that our company is not making enough profit
40          (0.4)
41   TUU:   *mitä tee-mme:.*
               what do-1PL
               what shall we do
     tap       #*gz at Tuula*
               #fig1
42          *(1.8)
     tap    #*turns head to the left
            #fig2
```



Figure 1.

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```
43   TAP:   *mitä ↑tee-mme.
              what   do-1PL
            what shall we do
     tap    *gz fwd
44          (0.6)
```



Figure 2.

Both the morpho-syntactic formatting and the semantics of Tapani's turn show that he is initiating something new, in a new context, in order to get the others' attention (*nytten* 'now', *kuulkaas* 'listen', line 1). Yusuf, however, continues with the previous line of talk (line 2), the conversation about names, and Tapani stops talking. When the name discussion reaches an end, and a silence of 2.7 seconds occurs ("a lapse", in Hoey's 2015, 2017, 2018 terms), Tapani starts a similar kind of turn (lines 37–39). Tuula responds to this second attempt (line 41), and the improvised sequence begins. As Hoey (2018) shows, in everyday conversation, a lapse can be used to bring up something that did not emerge in the preceding conversation. In this case, it provides an opportunity to restart something not taken up by the others (the first attempt in line 1).

Tapani presents a scenario that is clearly out of the here and now context: a company that is not making enough profit. More precisely, he creates a scene in which the participants are, or could be, a group of company owners, as indicated by the first person plural possessive suffix *-mme* (in *yhtiömme* 'our company', line 39). Tuula responds with a question that is meaningful in the light of a company being in trouble (line 41). The morpho-syntactic formatting is also similar: Tuula uses the first person plural of the verb (*tee-mme*). Both forms, *yhtiömme* and *teemme,* are almost only used in standard Finnish, not in colloquial Finnish (the variety that the youths normally speak). By using the standard variety, the speakers create a formal context. In addition, by using the same kind of variety as Tapani, Tuula not only continues the same line of action but also displays herself as a speaker of a similar variety, evoking someone attending an official meeting. Furthermore, the use of the same variety creates coherence in the conversation. In DuBois' (2014: 372–375) terms, this is resonance.

Tuula's question, *mitä teemme* 'what shall we do', is not responded to, but is followed by a pause (line 42). Thus, a lapse occurs again. During the lapse, Tapani turns his gaze from right (from Tuula) to left and then forward. He repeats the question, making an answer a relevant next. If analysed in the light of the "rules" of

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improvisation, new turns should accept and add on to the previous contributions (Routarinne 2004; Tanner et al. 2018: 11). Here, Tapani does not add any linguistic item but uses the same words as Tuula used. However, he does add to the participation framework (see Goffman 1981).

Even though the question (line 41) specifies the next relevant action, it does not specify the next speaker. Thus, it is not clear who should take the turn. The plural form reveals that the turn is targeted at a group. However, the group here is an imaginary collective that Tapani has just created by his enactment, and therefore, it is not clear who is in it. When Tuula produces the question, Tapani gazes at her (line 41).[2] Tapani could be the next speaker since the second person plural (*teemme* 'we do') could refer to a two-person group, consisting of Tuula and Tapani, which could be the case if Tapani answered. If so, the participation framework would consist of two participants who engage in the improvisation (Tapani and Tuula), and the other youths would be an audience.

Instead of answering, Tapani turns his head to the left and then forward (line 42). Then he repeats the question. Repeating the same action after gazing at the whole group modifies the participation framework. Tapani invites the others to join the enacted scenario as actors (and not just as the audience). As evidenced in Excerpt (3), first Emilia and then Nina join the enacted conversation. Thus, it seems that the attempt to engage the others is successful. Excerpt (3) follows directly after Excerpt (2).

Excerpt 3. *'Lunchbreak at McDonald's'*

```
01   EMI:    lounastauko pide-tään ↑Mäkkäri-ssä.
             lunchbreak  keep-PASS McDonald's-INE
             the lunchbreak will be at McDonald's
02           (0.7)
03   TUU:    +niin,[↑anne-taan tämä-n] asia-n olla ja pääte-tään
             DM let-PASS DEM1-GEN thing-GEN be CON decide-PASS
             yes let's let this thing be and decide
     nin     +walks with a chair twd the other youths --->
04   EMI:          [se-hä ol-i se mainos].
                   DEM3-CLI be-PST DEM3 advertisement
                   that was the advertisement
05   TUU:    [missä me syö-dään #tänään,#]
             where 1PL eat-PASS today
             where we eat today
06   YUS:    [£aa hhh£      ]
07   TUU:    ja mites ne meijän (.) #pehmusteet näihin
             and how about our paddings for these chairs
     nin     ---walks with the chair #fig3 --->
08           ↓tuoleihin. (.)
```

2. Tuula's gaze is not easily identifiable, but her head is turned slightly to the left where Tapani is sitting.

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```
09   TAP:    ↑tarvitseeko meidän ihan rehellisesti <syödä.>
             frankly speaking do we need to eat
10           (1.3)+              +(0.5)
     nin     --->                +puts the chair down
11   TUU:    no [kyllähän tässä syödään valtion velkarahalla vähän
             well we are eating with state's debt money
12   NIN:    [+mä o-isi-n    halu-nnu nii-tä+
             1SG be-COND-1SG want-PPC DEM3.PL-PAR
             I would have wanted those
     nin     +prepares to sit down+ # fig4
13   NIN:    +<torkkupeitto-j-a.
             snooze.cover-PL-PAR
             blankets
     nin     +sits down
14   TUU:    ↑TORKKUpeitto-j-a    ol-isi     hyvä:.
             snooze.cover-PL-PAR be-COND.3SG good
             blankets would be good
15           (0.8)
16   TUU:    ja ↑mä halua-isi-n muuten tä:n, (.) tota, (.)
             CON 1SG want-COND-1SG PTC DEM1.GEN PTC
             and I would like by the way this PTC
17           kevyemmän taksiliksan vieläki että,
             lighter  cab fee still so
18           joutuu s- jotain senttejä pulittaan
             you need to cough up some cents
19           vielä siit matkasta >tänne< töihi.
             still for the cab ride here to work
```



Figure 3.



Figure 4.

Emilia's turn (line 1) is fitted to the enacted frame. It can be interpreted as an answer to the question *mitä teemme* (shown in Excerpt (2), line 41). She proposes a possible activity that is meaningful in the context of saving money. Her next turn reveals that she used the voice of an advertisement (line 4): she produces a meta comment that explains the origin of the turn (the pronoun *se* 'it', the clitic particle *-hä(n)*, and the change of the verb tense from present to past). The commenting turn (line 4) is in overlap with Tuula's turn (line 3) and is not responded to. Instead, Tuula continues the line of activity that Emilia has introduced in the enacted frame; she proposes that they need to decide where to eat (lines 3, 5). Tuula produces the turn after an 0.7 second lapse (line 2). She starts with *niin* which marks the turn as a continuation of the previous turn(s). The first part of her utterance (*annetaan tämän asian olla* 'let this thing be') indicates a previous discussion on some topic (*tämä(n) asia(n)* 'this thing'). A potential source is in Tapani's initiation *asia on sillä*

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tavalla 'the thing is so that' (Excerpt (2), lines 37–38). According to Hoey (2018), the most frequent way to resolve lapses is to recycle something from the preceding conversation. Tuula recycles the noun, *asia* 'the thing' and puts it in a new context. Then she continues by taking up the eating topic that continues the line that Emilia has brought to the conversation (eating lunch). The morpho-syntactic formatting of the verbs resonate with Emilia's turn. A moment earlier (shown in Excerpt (2), line 41), when responding to Tapani's turn, Tuula uses the standard verb form (*teemme,* 'we do'), but she now changes to the colloquial first person imperative when producing the proposal (lines 3 and 5, *annetaan, päätetään, syödään*), thereby tying it syntactically to Emilia's turn (line 1, *pidetään*).[3]

Tuula then continues by adding another issue, (line 7–8) which connects to the here and now context, the chairs in the room. Connecting to the visible surrounding is also a way of finding solutions to continuity problems in conversation (Hoey 2018, see also Kolberg 2012 for improvisation theatre). The line of talk halts again, as Tapani escalates the eating theme (line 9), and Tuula states that they are eating with the state's debt money (lines 11). The conversation is now moving towards a parody.

While the youths are talking, Nina walks with her chair towards her place (lines 3–13, Figures 3 and 4). She verbally joins already before sitting down (lines 12–13); she reaches the noun *torkkupeittoja* 'blankets' at moment she takes the seat (line 13). Verbally, she does not tie her turn to the immediately preceding turn (concerning eating) but adds another artefact. Interestingly, she uses the demonstrative determiner *niitä (torkkupeittoja)* 'those blankets', implicating that this is not the first mention. As Nina just joined, and as there has been no discussion on blankets, the source for the definite formulation has to be found elsewhere. Of course, it may be part of the enactment, thus evoking a frame in which 'blankets' have already been discussed. However, Tuula also uses a demonstrative determiner in her turn: *näihin (tuolehin)* 'to these chairs' (lines 7–8). Thus, the demonstrative determiner in Nina's turn *niitä (torkkupeittoja)*, has at least a potential source in the preceding conversation, even though she does not use the same demonstrative but chooses one that fits her turn.

In contrast to the other contributions thus far produced in the first person plural (either standard variety or colloquial), Nina uses the first person singular, thus speaking for herself, in the enacted frame. Tuula responds with a positive evaluation (line 14). She starts with an exact repetition of the noun *torkkupeittoja* 'blankets' (part. pl.), even if it leads to a slightly odd, although possible, syntactic construction. In line 16, after an 0.8 second lapse, Tuula continues, now using the first person singular, as Nina did. Tuula picks both the syntactic formatting (first

3. The colloquial first person plural forms are morphologically identical to the passive voice (*pidetään, annetaan, päätetään, syödään*). The imperative function is displayed in the syntax.

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person singular) and the line of activity that Nina has brought to the conversation (wishing something for oneself, displayed by the verb *haluta* 'want', and the conditional *haluaisin* / *olisin halunnut*). The formatting of the turn reveals that Tuula is processing while speaking, and that she is dealing with issues of continuity (*muuten* 'by the way', pauses, the particle *tota*).

Although the first contributions to the enacted scenario, started by Tapani and continued by Tuula, were produced in the standard variety, for example, *yhtiömme, teemme* (Excerpt (2), lines 39, 41), at this point, the participants use far more colloquial forms. The noun *taksiliksa* (line 17), as well as the verb *pulittaan* (line 18) are not used in standard Finnish. In addition, the formatting of the verb is more like slang (*pulittaan* pro *pulittamaan*). Thus, the youths glide from one end of the formal–informal scale to the other.

3.3 Orchestrating with embodiments

The vivid enacted conversation is now about where to take money from (how to save money) and where to spend it. Tuula has suggested saving from daycare, and Nina adds child benefit. Tapani imitates writing, and comments positively on the suggestions. We focus on Kristian's embodied contribution:

Excerpt 4. 'The cleaner'

```
01   TAP:    ¤kyl[lä. =joo opinto]tuet ↑p(h)ois,¤¤ °joo.°¤
             yes       yes study grants away     yes
     kri     ¤#sits leaning forward ¤ ¤#changes pos.¤
              #fig5                    #fig6
02   TUU:        [kultaa olevat.]
                  golden ones
03   NIN:    [¤MÄ< e- mä haluun
               I e- I want
     kri     ¤stands up
04   EMI:    [¤MUSTEKYnäpyyhekumit, = (-) niil pystyy¤
             ballpoint pen erasers    with them you can
     kri     ¤takes two steps to the left¤
05   EMI:    ¤kumittaa mustekynää.
             erase ballpoint pen
     kri     ¤makes sweeping movements--->
06   NIN:    <nimikoidut mustekynät?> #fig7
             ballpoint pens with engraved names
07           (0.7)
     kri     ---sweeps--->
08   TAP:    [#joo. (.) joo.#
             yes        yes
09   KRI:    ¤[kunhan ette musta luovu.¤
             as long as you don't get rid of me
     kri     ¤takes 2 steps backwards, 'sweeping'#¤
                                                  #fig8
```

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Figure 5.



Figure 6.



Figure 7.



Figure 8.

Kristian has been sitting in a forward leaning position (Figure 5) since line 17 in Excerpt (3). He has been following the conversation by turning his gaze towards the speakers (not displayed in the transcripts). When Tapani says *opintotuet pois* 'study grants away' (line 1), Kristian changes position (Figure 6). He then stands up and starts 'sweeping' the floor (Figure 7). The other youths continue the vivid enacted conversation, speaking partly in overlap. In fact, one could argue that verbal participation would be challenging because there is already so much talk going on. There is, however, space for embodiment.

Kristian makes sweeping movements and takes two backwards steps. Then he produces a verbal turn (line 9). The turn topically fits the conversation; it displays a conditional acceptance of the proposals presented in the preceding turns. The others enact a group that decides where to save money, and how to spend it on themselves. Kristian takes the opposite perspective and displays himself as someone who is dependent on the others' decisions. We now look at what happens next:

Excerpt 5. *vähän pitää kyllä*

```
01   kri     takes 3 more steps backwards
02   TUU:    ¤&>kyl'ä< me su-a& vielä tarvitaa.
                  PTC   1PL 2SG-PAR still need-PASS
                     we do still need you
     tuu     &gz at Kri and reaches twd him with her arm&
     kri     ¤continues 'sweeping' the floor--->
03           (1.1)
04   NIN:    ¤nii just &se on sitte ku o firman
             yes exactly it's when we have the company
     tuu             &gz at Nina --->
     kri     ¤continues 'sweeping' the floor--------------------
```

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```
05   NIN:   pikku#joulut nii [tarvitaan# &(-)
            pre-Christmas party then we need
     tuu    --------gz at Nina---&
06   TAP:                    [me &↑>joudutaan< nyt,*(.)*¤
                              we   have to   now
     tap                                          *points at Kri*
     tuu                                  &gz at Tapani--->
     kri                                             --->¤
07   TAP:   ¤↓kyllä tiputtaa
               PTC    lower
     kri    #¤sweeps with slower and smaller movements--->
                    #fig9
08   TAP:   sun palkasta vähä[sen (että se)
            your salary a bit that it
09   TUU:                  &[vähän& &pitää ¤#>kyllä.<&
                             a bit must.Ø PTC
                             a bit we have to
     tuu    ----> &turns gz twd Kri& &gz at Kri #fig10
```



Figure 9.



Figure 10.

```
10   TAP:   toi sun työn laatus on kyllä nyt sen verran
            your work quality is PTC actually now so
11          &¤huono että,
              poor that
     kri    ---> ¤¤#freezes in same position --->
     tuu    &turnes gaze twds Tap
                                  #fig11
12          (.) et et sä noin paljon tartte [että,
            that you don't need so much so
13   TUU:                                   [↑oliskoha [tääl,
                                             I wonder if here
14   TAP:   %[↑mehä,¤ (.) *¤voitas #fig12
               we           could
     tap                *straightens back
     kri    ---> ¤ ¤steps twd Tap,'sweeps' fast --->
     mik    %enters the room and walks twd the circle --->>
```

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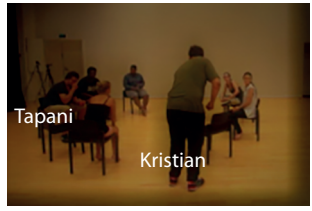


Figure 11.



Figure 12.

```
15   TAP:    meijän palkkoi kyl vähän nostaa ku me ollaan
             raise our salaries PTC a bit now that we are
16           ?¤¤taas ylitöis ylitö[issä täällä,
             working late again here
     kri     --->¤¤stops sweeping and step twd his chair
     mar     ?enters and walks twd the circle --->>
17   TUU:                          [me ollaan taas y- [minuutti
                                    we have worked a minute
18           ylitöihin jo]
             of overtime already
19   EMI:                                            [joo.
                                                      yes
20           ¤#VIIS]kyt prossaa nostetaan.
                     We'll raise it fifty per cent
     kri     ¤ walks twds his chair
                              #fig13
```

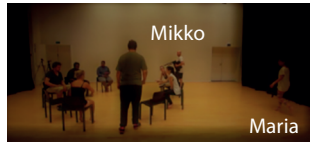


Figure 13.

Kristian takes three more steps backwards, and heads out from the circle. At this point, Tuula responds with a *kyllä*-prefaced turn (line 2), thus displaying strong alignment (see Hakulinen 2001). When producing the turn, Tuula reaches towards Kristian with her arm. In overlap with Nina, Tapani states that his salary needs to be reduced: *me joudutaan nyt kyllä tiputtaa sun palkasta vähäsen* (lines 6–8). Tuula continues with a turn that consists of recycled items *vähän pitää kyllä* (line 9).

The turns discussed here all make use of the particle *kyl(lä)* (lines 2, 7, 9). *Kyllä* is used in responsive turns. In turn-initial position, it displays strong alignment, but the alignment weakens when it is further from the turn beginning. *Kyllä* deals with delicate issues arising from the context, and it has a reassuring function (Hakulinen 2001). The first *kyllä*-turn (line 2) is a response to Kristian, who has expressed concern in his role character as a cleaner (Excerpt (4), line 9). Kristian

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takes steps out from the circle. Thus, he (or his character) displays being at risk of drifting away – dropping out not only from the circle but also from society (as a cleaner who might lose his job). With *kyllä me sua vielä tarvitaan* 'we do still need you' Tuula reassures Kristian (his character) that he does not need to worry. Tuula also reaches towards Kristian with her arm, thus also addressing to him bodily.

Tapani uses *kyllä* in the turn-middle position (lines 6–8). He starts in overlap with Nina (who aligns with Tuula by giving an example of a situation in which they need the cleaner) but takes a different position: he states that his salary has to be reduced. He refers to Kristian in the second person singular, and points at him, thus strengthening the contrast between the group and the 'solo' actor. The verb *joudutaan* 'we have to' (line 6) describes the action (of reducing the salary) as a necessary evil.

The next *kyllä*-speaker is Tuula, whose preceding turn was *kyllä*-preficed. Now she uses a turn-final *kyllä*. According to Hakulinen (2001), in turn-final position, *kyllä* can display reluctant alignment. This would make sense in the current sequential context; Tuula has a moment earlier displayed strong alignment with Kristian, reassuring him that he (or his role character) is still needed, but now aligns with Tapani, who presents quite a different position. Tuula recycles the lexical items from Tapani's turn but changes the verb to an approximate synonym. She does not continue with the 'we' form but uses the zero-person (*pitää*), thus leaving unexpressed her own position in relation to the described action (reducing salary).

Kristian reacts to the talk by making slower and smaller sweeping movements (7–10). Tapani escalates by criticising Kristian's work quality (lines 10–11), and the salary reduction that he just presented as a necessary evil now turns into something that is the result of poor work. Kristian freezes (line 11, Figure 11) and stays in the same position until Tapani starts a new line of activity (line 14, marked by a higher onset in ↑*mehä*, and a changed body position, Figure 12).[4] Kristian takes a step forward (moving in the same direction towards which Tapani moves his upper body, line 14, Figure 12) and starts making very fast sweeping movements. Here, Kristian responds to the verbalisations by acting correspondingly – or in this case, in the opposite way – by cleaning faster when hearing that his work quality is poor. Of course, this makes sense in the enacted scene, as he probably would not want his salary to be reduced and acts instead as a hard-working employee.

As displayed in Figure 12, the director's assistant Mikko enters the room. Kristian sweeps with fast movements, then stops sweeping and steps out of the role (see Raevaara 2020), when Mikko and Maria (the director) get closer to the circle (Figure 13). The verbal enacted conversation continues a few moments longer. Nina

4. Even this turn makes use of the particle *kyl(lä)* in turn-middle position (line 15).

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and Emilia are seated with their backs towards the entering participants, so they might not see them approaching. On the other hand, Kristian is the only one who has to move towards his chair, in order to be ready for the next activity.

3.4 Reflecting on the scene

The director then asks what the youths are talking about, and the question triggers a conversation in which it emerges that the participants have had differing conceptions of what exactly they were doing:

Excerpt 6. 'It progressed'

```
01   TUU:    ↑meil on menos kan↓sankokous >tai me just<
             we are having a people's meeting or we just
02           päätettiin leikkaa lapsilisistä et me
             decided to cut child allowance so that we (can)
03           saadaa uudet muste#kynät.#
                 get new ballpoint pens
// 6 lines omitted //
10   EMI:    eiks tää (-) firman.
               isn't it   the firm's
11   NIN:    mä luulen me oltiin £poliitikkoja.£=
              I think we were politicians
12   TUU:    =nii me ↑oltiinki ↓poliitikkoja
             yes we were politicians
13           (0.5)
14   TAP:    tää vähä, (.) tää <kehitty> [tä-ssä
             DEM1 PTC     DEM1 develop.IMP DEM1-INE
             this a bit        this progressed here
15   TUU:                                [tää kehitty (-)
                                            this progressed
16   KRI:                                [(- mä luulen) et
                                            I think that
17           me ollaan (talo)yhtiön kokous ja yhtäkkiä
             we are a housing company meeting and suddenly
18           [@lapsilisät@,
             child allowance
19   TUU:    [&mä↑ihmette ↑mä &&#ihmettelin et sä haluut mennä
             I wondered    I wondered why you want to go
     tuu     &raises arm     &&points twds Kris #fig14
20           &#£siivo(aa) (>jotaki<)£*
             and clean something
     tuu     &stands up and enacts 'cleaning' #fig15
```

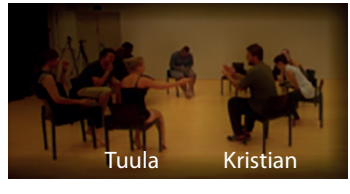


Figure 14.

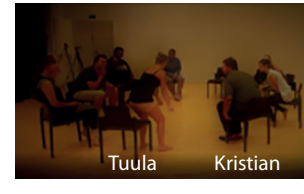


Figure 15.

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Tapani summarises the differing ideas by describing that the scene 'progressed' (line 14). Thus, he produces a description of the scene, and of the process of the preceding conversation. It is also a valid description of improvisation, since improvisation is essentially about creating something new out of the materials produced by the participants in the progressing interaction (Routarinne 2004).

Tuula and Kristian continue by pointing out moments that they found surprising in light of the frame that they had in mind. Kristian refers to the talk of *lapsilisät* 'child allowance' in a house company meeting. Tuula refers to Kristian's cleaning. She stands up and recycles some of Kristian's movements in the enacted scene (Figure 15). The recycled embodiment lasts a shorter time and the movements are smaller than in the 'original' embodiment during the improvisation. As displayed in Figures 14 and 15, Tuula's and Kristian's body positions are remarkably similar.

4. Discussion

We have analysed how young adults, participating in a theatre rehearsal, spontaneously create an improvised scene when returning from a break. We discussed the scene as improvisation even if the participants did not use the term. However, together they created a scene that was out of the here and now context, which they defined as something that 'progressed'. The sequence is analysable as a parody of society, and its meeting culture. The youths created the context of a group whose most important task was to save money and spend it on themselves. Kristian's embodied contribution created a contrast to the scenario and altered the participation framework (Goffman 1981). The contrast was manifested in his embodiment (he stood while the others sat), as well as the pronouns he used in the verbal contributions (he was referred to as *sinä* 'you', the others as *me* 'we').

We discussed the participants' contributions in terms of recycling. Recycling is an inherent feature of interaction, and operates on several levels: interactional, lexical, syntactic and embodied.[5] The scene started with a recycled turn (analysed in Excerpt (2)). Within the enacted frame, the youths created new turns by recycling items from previous turns. They used similar syntactic formats, thus creating an impression of speakers of the formal variety, matching the emerging enacted frame. Once they entered the enacted frame, they glided quite rapidly to the standard variety, and even slang. This also happened through recycling.

If we look at the whole sequence, it is evident that the first contributions were characterised by exact repeats and pauses, and dealt with issues of continuity, whereas the latter part was characterised by vivid simultaneous talk and embodied

5. We did not analyse prosody.

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participation. As the improvisation started, the everyday frame functioned as an alternative source of interpretation. Once within the enacted frame, the participants addressed and interpreted both the verbal and the embodied contributions as part of the enactment. The improvisation ended when the director and her assistant entered the room and came closer to the youths. Thus, the improvisation had its own temporal timescale. It had a beginning and an end, although these were not accomplished at exactly the same time by all participants.

The conversation that followed the improvisation revealed that the participants had differing conceptions of what exactly they were doing in the improvisation. These differences did not surface while the improvisation was going on, nor did they hinder participation. Besides the differing conceptions of the situation within the improvisation, the youths shared an intersubjective understanding of the activity; they were contributing to an emergent improvisational scene that was fictional and out of the here and now context. In a way, they engaged in joint imagination (see Stukenbrock 2015).

Intersubjective understanding was halted in the extended greeting sequence that preceded the improvisation. It was like a prelude to the improvisation in the sense that two participants constructed a scene that was contrary to the factual situation; they started greeting each other as if they were strangers.

Some crucial factors enabled the improvisation to emerge. First, the youths waited for the instructed activities to begin, and there was time and space for unplanned social activity. Second, the youths had participated in rehearsals for weeks. They were familiar with the rehearsals as a social activity, and knew that the others shared the same experiences. Third, they waited in the room where they had and would do exercises. The room was a potential "stage" (see Raevaara 2020). It would be quite unlikely for a similar kind of sequence to emerge between people waiting for a doctor's appointment or any other waiting room, where strangers are doing waiting (cf. Ayass 2020). In contrast, something similar could well emerge in a school class or kindergarten where children are waiting for their teacher, and they share knowledge of the typical patterns and potentials of the situation (see Savijärvi 2011: 45–46).

The intersubjective understanding of what is possible in theatre rehearsals was a crucial prerequisite for this improvisational sequence to emerge. At the same time, this spontaneous improvisation showed that during the four weeks, the youths had socialised in at least some of the processes of theatre making.

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Interactional reciprocity in human–dog interaction

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This chapter explores the potential existence of interactional reciprocity in human–dog interactions by analyzing experimental data on situations where dog owners fail to produce reciprocally modified actions for two minutes. We found that their dogs soon realized the strangeness of the situation. While they pursued missing feedback with touch, gaze and vocalizations, they also addressed other humans and requested their attention. Therefore, the dogs oriented to the lack of reciprocity and attempted to repair it. We demonstrate that interactional reciprocity in human–dog interactions can be breached, thus proving its existence. Moreover, we show that it also returned when the experiment ended. The findings are compared with mother–infant experiments where evidence of interactional reciprocity has also been found.

Keywords: conversation analysis, dogs, experiment, Finnish, high-pitch vocalizations, intersubjectivity, interspecies interaction, reciprocity

1. Introduction

This chapter investigates the possibility that dogs and humans share similar reciprocal processes. Research suggests that the dog was the first domesticated animal (Larson et al. 2012) and has thus existed in human societies longer than any other animal. Nonetheless, while sayings such as "a dog is a man's best friend" imply that the human–dog relationship is very special, it is unclear whether dogs have begun to establish what is known as *interactional reciprocity* with humans. The notion usually refers to conditions where a human mother and her normally developed infant coordinate and produce their own actions based on the feedback they receive from one other. Moreover, what infants learn of the processes of interactional reciprocity from their mother is the basis for their social behavior in later life (Tronick et al. 1978; Tomasello 1995). Recent studies have hinted that similar reciprocal

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processes may, in fact, occur in human–dog interaction (e.g., Topál & Gácsi 2012). For instance, it has been proposed that owners promote their dogs' confidence to play with strangers (Prato-Previde & Valsecchi 2014: 172), that dogs could establish emotional loops with humans via mutual gaze and touch to promote affiliation (Nagasawa et al. 2015), and that dogs and blind persons could coordinate their joint action of walking together (Naderi et al. 2001). Revealing the significance of interactional reciprocity in human–dog interaction could help us understand how interspecies interactions are organized in general.

Consequently, we conducted this study to investigate how reciprocal processes in human–dog dyads could be demonstrated by videotaped materials analyzed with conversation analysis (Sidnell & Stivers 2013). Our analysis is supported by auditory and acoustic analyses (Szczepek Reed 2006; 2011; Walker 2013) in order to capture the dogs' vocalizations (e.g., whining). Conversation analysis is built on the principle of social interaction as a local achievement constituted in an orderly, reciprocal manner by those members present on a particular occasion (Stivers & Sidnell 2013: 2). However, are dogs also capable of reciprocating, for instance, via their vocalizations? In a foreword to David Goode's book *Playing with my dog Katie. An Ethnomethodological Study of Dog–Human Interaction*, Lynch suggests the moment-to-moment unfolding of play in human–dog interaction can be analyzed in detailed ways: "To speak of *actions* or *inter-actions* in this context is already to grant that the nonhuman 'other' of the encounter is an agent rather than a mechanism that can only react on cue" (Lynch 2007: xiv, original emphases). Following Lynch, we focus on processes of reciprocity in human–dog interaction and investigate dogs as *members* who produce their part of those processes. Thus, we attempt to avoid abstract, extra situational explanations (Lindwall, Lymer & Ivarsson 2016) and, rather, focus on the concrete details of the data.

For these reasons, we briefly introduce two experiments originally designed to investigate the human mother–infant relationship, which we have used here to study human–dog interaction: the Still-Face Paradigm and the Strange Situation Paradigm. Next, we outline the setting and the methods used, after which our research questions are introduced. The analysis is then presented in two sections. Finally, we summarize the analysis and present our conclusions.

1.1 The Still-Face Paradigm

The studies of Murray & Trevarthen (1985), Daniel N. Stern (1971), and Edward Tronick et al. (1978) have created a rich research framework for investigating reciprocal processes between human mothers and infants. The Still-Face Paradigm (SFP) is an experiment for investigating interactional reciprocity (e.g., Tronick

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et al. 1978) that is conducted in a laboratory where a mother sits in front of her infant. In the experiment, the participants are first invited to play together, after which the mother is asked not to respond to the infant's actions for three minutes. A normally developed infant facing an unresponsive mother is reported to appear uncomfortable, serious, wary, and helpless. After the Still-Face phase, however, the participants resume their normal interaction patterns. These phases are videotaped and subsequently analyzed according to the methods employed by this research tradition.

A review and meta-analysis of 85 empirical studies on the SFP (Mesman, van IJzendoorn, & Bakermans-Kranenburg 2009) has demonstrated the robustness of the paradigm, with the Still-Face effect being found regardless of most experimental variations (e.g., the infant's gender, the length of episodes, the order of episodes). As a result of their parent's inattentiveness, infants gaze less at their mothers and display less positive affects and more negative affects. Furthermore, the Still-Face effect has been shown to influence the following reunion phase. There too, infants display less positive affects and more negative affects than prior to the experiment.

Streeck (2013) has proposed that participation in social relationships is based on *implicit knowledge*. If this is the case, the SFP thus proves that infants have access to such knowledge of how their caregivers usually behave (see also Lyons-Ruth et al. 1998). We hypothesized that dogs participating in the SFP (and in our experiment reminiscent of the SFP) would recognize the strangeness of the situation and orient to their owners in a distinct way. This, in turn, would hint at dogs possessing implicit knowledge of their owner's ordinary behavior.

1.2 The Strange Situation Paradigm

The Strange Situation Paradigm (SSP) is an experiment for studying attachment in mother–infant interaction. This experiment has its roots in John Bowlby's psychoanalytical studies, which were influenced by ethology (e.g., Bowlby 1958); hence, the notion of attachment is defined by Ainsworth & Bell (1970: 50) as "an affectional tie that one person or animal forms between himself and another specific one – a tie that binds them together in space and endures over time." Mother–infant attachment ties are tested in the Strange Situation by inviting the mother and child to a laboratory, where the experiment is conducted in eight phases. First, the infant and their mother spend some time together in the laboratory. Then, they are joined by a stranger. Next, the mother and, shortly afterwards, the stranger leave the lab. The infant is then left alone for three minutes. After that period of time, the stranger returns to the room. Finally, after another three minutes have elapsed, the mother returns and the test is complete.

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Based on the findings from the SSPs, Ainsworth identified three attachment styles (e.g., Ainsworth & Bell 1970): secure, ambivalent–insecure, and avoidant–insecure. For the purposes of this study, the secure attachment style is most relevant. In this attachment style, the mother acts as *a secure base* for the infant's exploration in the lab. The infant misses the mother when she is outside of the lab (no secure base available) and greets her when she returns. However, separation from the mother is distressing. Nonetheless, once the infant is comforted by the mother, the child continues to explore and play. Although the SSP and SFP are known to cause minor discomfort for their participants, the paradigms are not considered to provoke long-term distress (Mesman et al. 2009: 32).

Overall, the SSP has received more attention than the SFP from researchers investigating human–dog interaction. Prior dog studies on the SSP have suggested that dog owners could act as secure bases for their dogs (Topál & Gácsi 2012; Horn, Huber, & Range 2013). In these experiments, dog owners' presence has been found to promote exploratory behavior in their dogs and a willingness to play with strangers (Prato-Previde & Valsecchi 2014: 172). However, different dog breeds and attachment styles should be taken into account, as they might influence the outcomes of the SSP (Rehn, McGowan, & Keeling 2013). Moreover, it has been suggested that the moments after separation should be studied in detail, as they are crucial when considering dyadic attachment (Prato-Previde & Valsecchi 2014: 183).

Both the SSP and SFP are reminiscent of a set of breaching experiments conducted by Harold Garfinkel (1967) that considered the sense-making procedures shared by humans. In these experiments, usually conducted with one experimenter and one participant who is unaware of the experiment, the participant's everyday understanding was momentarily breached. This was achieved, for instance, by the experimenter asking for clarification on a self-evident matter raised by the participant (e.g., "What do you mean by a flat tire?"). As a result, the participants often scratched their heads and became hostile toward the experimenter. Other experimental setups were also employed, including the use of games (Heritage 1984).

2. The setting and methods

The data for our study were drawn from a short 5-minute behavioral test organized for dogs in an indoor arena in Finland during 2010–2011. The participating dog owners signed and returned informed consent forms, and videotaped interactions from 15 owner–dog dyads were then analyzed with conversation analytic methods.

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The purpose of the behavioral test was to investigate the validity of a questionnaire developed for behavioral phenotyping of fearful behavior by studying correlations between the questionnaire and behavioral test results (Tiira & Lohi 2014). The questionnaire surveyed dog owners' thoughts on their dogs' emotions and reactions in various encounters (e.g., meeting a stranger or an unfamiliar dog). Of the 1832 dog-owners who answered the questionnaire, 54 were invited to participate in the test with their dog(s).

In short, the test consisted of three phases: (1) a human stranger approached and attempted to pet the dog, who was waiting alongside its owner; (2) the dog was freed for a 2-minute exploration while the owner was instructed to ignore the dog (and the stranger waited at the other side of the arena), and (3) a novel, strange, human-like moving object entered the arena. The details of the test scoring are presented in Tiira & Lohi (2014). For instance, Phase 2 was scored by measuring the distance of the dogs' exploration in the indoor arena. Tiira & Lohi (2014) found disparities between the test scores for Phase 2 and the dog-owners' questionnaire answers on their dogs' behavior in a new situation or environment. The authors suggest that the 2-minute exploration activity was affected by the owner–dog relationship: well-trained dogs almost immediately stared at their owners instead of exploring.

The present study expands previous understanding of the way dogs engaged with their owners during Phase 2. Through a detailed analysis of videotaped materials, we show several methodical practices used by the dogs to pursue feedback not only from their owners, but also from others present in the indoor arena. Moreover, we introduce new information on the dogs' vocalizations during the test.

Although we initially investigated 15 dyads, we ultimately chose to focus on just two human–dog relationships. The dogs we analyzed were a Nova Scotia Duck Tolling Retriever and a Saluki. The former breed, like other Tollers, are characterized by the production of a high-pitch vocalization known as *the Toller scream*, which is elicited when the dog is excited. Similarly, Salukis are also known to emit high-pitch sounds. Details of the breeds can be obtained from various online resources. Nonetheless, the specific ways in which the two breeds' high-pitch vocalizations are deployed in human–dog interaction are as yet unknown.

However, a study investigating the frustration whines of several other breeds (Caucasian Shepherd, Collie, Dachshund, Giant Schnauzer, Mongrel and Pekingese) found that dogs attempting to attract their owners' attention are able to produce low and high pitch vocalizations when facing an unsolvable problem (Volodina, Volodin & Filatova 2006). Their audio data were collected in home environments where the dog-owners organized various frustration-invoking situations related to the dogs' requests for food, a walk, or opening a door (Volodina et al. 2006: 260).

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In the present study, the dogs' vocalizations and other multimodal activities are analyzed with conversation analytic methods (Sidnell & Stivers 2013) supported by auditory and acoustic analyses (Szczepek Reed 2006; 2011; Walker 2013; Selting 2010; Ogden 2010). In these analyses, we measure high pitch and the span of pitch in the dogs' voice range. Pitch represents the rate of dogs' vocal fold vibration (e.g., Riede & Fitch 1999); in turn, their voice range is determined by the length of their vocal folds (Szczepek Reed 2011: 79). For instance, whines may occur in a low-pitch range (400–1400 Hz) and/or a high-pitch range (3100–11000 Hz) (Volodina et al. 2006: 260). We also investigate pitch movements and, in particular, pitch accents, such as rising pitch and falling pitch (Szczepek Reed 2011: 32). Intonation contours represent overall pitch movements in a given extract; shorter segments of an intonation contour are referred to as intonation phrases (Szczepek Reed 2011: 43–53). Intonation phrases, in turn, have boundaries, which are marked with silences and changes in pitch (Szczepek Reed 2011: 53). All these auditory and acoustic features, initially introduced for investigating human speech, are detectable in dogs' vocalizations (Taylor et al. 2014). The dogs' vocalizations and other embodied actions are transcribed following conventions established by Mondada (2018a, especially Extract 5) and developed further according to the requirements of the data.

3. Research questions

As previously mentioned, this chapter explores the possible existence of interactional reciprocity in human–dog interactions. More specifically, we aim to answer the following research questions inspired by prior studies:

- How do dogs pursue missing feedback from their owners and others during a 2-minute exploration?
- How do the dyads coordinate their reunion after the 2-minute exploration?

If the dogs do pursue feedback, it would suggest they have registered the strange situation and possess the means to solve it. Moreover, those moments right after separation are considered critical in the literature in terms of the affective tie. If we agree that interactional reciprocity exists in interspecies interactions, a third question thus arises:

- How are interspecies dyads able to restore their interactional reciprocity?

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4. Analysis

For the analysis presented in this study, 15 dyads were initially investigated. From these, we identified seven dogs that emitted audible vocalizations for their owners during the 2-minute exploration. As noted above, we selected two of these dogs for detailed analysis: a Nova Scotia Duck Tolling Retriever and a Saluki. We attempt to answer the research questions by analyzing their interactions.

4.1 The Nova Scotia Duck Tolling Retriever and the passive owner

First, we investigate the Nova Scotia Duck Tolling Retriever's attempts to elicit feedback from its owner. We begin by demonstrating how the dog applies physical pressure to awaken its owner, but without any response. Then we examine how the dog apprehends the lack of interactional reciprocity. Without clearly knowing what to do, the dog produces vocalizations that can be interpreted as indications of tension and concern. Finally, we consider their interactions after the 2-minute exploration, where the dog orients to the owner and engages in play and the dyad's interactional reciprocity seems restored after the experimental breach.

We begin as the Toller explores the corner of the arena where the video camera and crew are situated. The dog then returns to the starting point, where its owner is located. In this section, we analyze the dog's feet, gaze, and high-pitch vocalizations. The extract (1) demonstrates that the dog's practices for eliciting a response consist not only of *gazing at the owner* (Tiira & Lohi 2014) but also of *gazing at the other adults*, *touching the owner*, *and producing variable vocalizations*. At the beginning of the extract, the dog is running toward the owner and is soon close enough to touch her with its left front foot (LFF) (line 1).

Excerpt 1.

```
01      +  (23.5)   +   (0.1)   +   (0.3)    +
  DOG >>+run forward+ LFF touch +put LFF down+
  DOG >>+look ahead-->
  DOG               +snout touch+
  fig               +#fig.1     +
```

In the extract above, the dog approaches the owner from the other side of the arena (line 1). It runs forward for 23.5 seconds, reaches the owner, and touches her with its snout and left front paw (Figure 1). From the video, we can observe that the dog's tail is wagging; it is currently on the dog's left in Figure 1.[1]

1. The rotating video-camera during the dog's rapid movement caused the picture to blur.

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Figure 1.

Touching the owner fails to elicit any feedback. The dog realizes this and lowers its left front foot (line 1). Then, the dog takes a sequence of steps backward while maintaining gaze with its owner's face (lines 2–3).

```
02      +    (0.3)    +   (0.2)     +   (0.2)     +
  DOG   +LFF step back+RBF step back+RFF step back+
  DOG   +LBF step back+             +LBF step back+
  DOG ->+look up at the owner-->
03      +    (0.2)     +   (0.2)     + (2.2) +
  DOG   +RFF step back +LFF step back+
  DOG                  +RBF step back+
  DOG ->+look up at the owner-->
  fig                                +#fig.2 +
```

Those steps bring the dog to a distance where the owner's face is fully visible. For the next 2.2 seconds, the dog stands still and gazes at its owner (line 3). Shown in Figure 2, the dog's tail has stopped moving but is not completely limp either, which might imply that the dog is currently more suspicious than, for instance, distressed: the dog has apprehended the strange situation. Again, the practice of gazing at the owner from this particular position fails to produce a response.



Figure 2.

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```
04      +    (0.2)    +    (0.3)    +    (0.4)    +
  DOG   +LBF step back--------------+LFF step back+
  DOG                 +RFF step back+RBF step back+
  DOG ->+look at owner-->
05      +   (0.1)     +   (0.1)     +  (0.2)  +
  DOG   +LBF step back--------------+
  DOG                 +RFF step back----------+
06      + (5.0) +    (0.1)    +    (0.2)    +
  DOG   + stand +RBF step back--------------+
  DOG                         +LFF step back+
  DOG ->+look at owner-->
```

The dog takes several steps backward while maintaining its gaze (lines 4–5). This movement brings the dog to a new location from which to pursue feedback. It stands still for five seconds and gazes at the owner, after which it takes two more steps backward (line 6) and begins to sit down (line 7).

```
07      +   (0.2)    + (0.16) +   (0.6)    +
  DOG   +sit down-------------+ sit-->
  DOG ->+look at owner-->
  DOG   +vocalization+        +vocalization+
  fig   + #fig.3 (L) +        + #fig.3 (R) +
```

While sitting down, the dog stares at its owner and produces a vocalization. The intonation contour shown in Figure 3 has two intonation phrases that are divided by 160 milliseconds of silence (line 7). The first phrase begins at 13980 Hz and ends at 13550 Hz (Figure 3: left-hand side), thus the pitch is higher than the level previously suggested for dogs' high voice register (i.e., 3100–11000 Hz). Next, the second

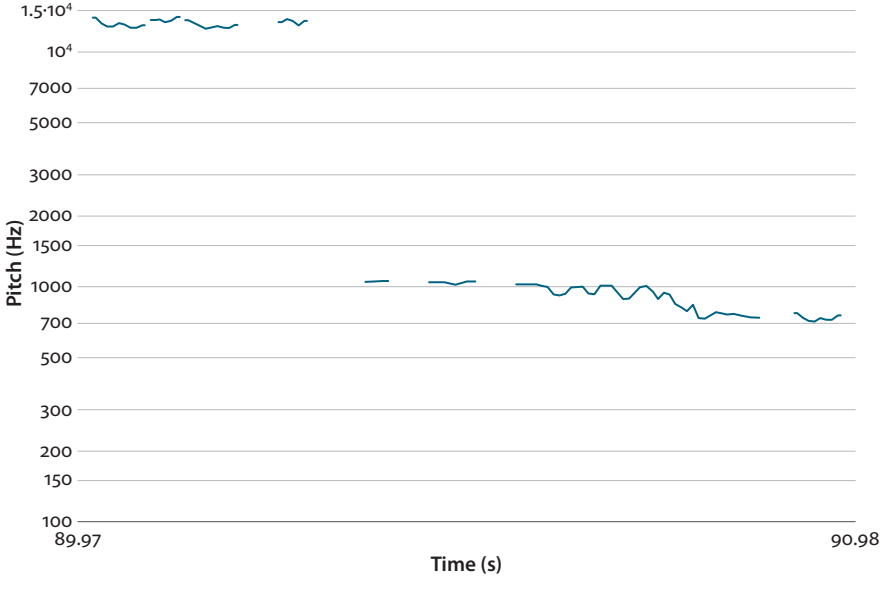


Figure 3.

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phrase is a longer vocalization, interpreted as whining. Here, the pitch fluctuates between around 700 Hz and 1100 Hz (Figure 3: right-hand side), thus belonging to a lower voice register (Volodina et al. 2006).

By contrast, as previously mentioned, the pitch of the first intonation phrase is approximately 13000 to 14000 Hz. The theoretical maximum for human hearing is around 22000 Hz (Heffner & Heffner 2008). However, the maximum pitch of human conversation is around 800 Hz (Szczepek Reed 2011: 182–183). This Toller, it seems, is able to communicate with its owner with a combination of very high-pitch vocalizations and lower-pitch vocalizations. It has been suggested that dogs change their voice register in this way in an attempt to attract their owner's attention (Volodina et al. 2006). *Changing the voice register* is, therefore, yet another dog practice. In line with the findings of Volodina et al. (2006), the dog waits for its owner's feedback for 4 seconds (lines 8, Figure 4).

```
08      + (4.0)  +
  DOG ->+ sit-->
  DOG ->+ look at owner-->
  fig   + #fig.4 +
```



Figure 4.

In sum, this section addressed the question of dogs attempting to receive feedback from their owners. In the extract, the dog pursued feedback with several modalities of action (Stivers & Rossano 2010). The dog ran to a close distance and touched its owner, first with its snout and then with its left front paw. Then, moving slightly away, the dog strove once more to elicit feedback by attempting to establish a mutual gaze with its owner. Subsequently, the dog moved further away, stood still, and finally sat down and produced two vocalizations while watching the owner. It thus seems that the dog was able to calibrate the distance between itself and its owner in order to pursue feedback. However, was the dog able to calibrate the frequencies of its dual-pitch vocalization so that the owner could hear them? To answer this question more investigation is required, but while prior studies have suggested that ultrasonic communication (>22000 Hz) is used in interspecies communication (Sales & Pye 1974: 1), the Toller's very high-pitch was not ultrasonic: the dog's

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pitch range rises to 14000 Hz, with 12000–14000 Hz considered the upper limit of middle-aged adults' hearing. Consequently, some older adult recipients would be unable to hear the dog's dual-pitch communication as the dog intends it. Another interesting empirical question is dogs' capacity to recognize and orient to failures to completely hear their vocalizations. Do they calibrate the frequencies of their vocalizations according to the recipient? In other words, do they orient to recipient design (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974)?

4.1.1 *The dog sets a new project*

In the previous section, the dog found no means to resume interaction with its passive owner. Even sitting in front of her, staring at her, and producing a dual-pitched vocalization failed to produce results. In the next section, after noticing this impasse, the dog's project seems to change. This section investigates what happens then. While we continue to analyze the dog's feet, gaze and vocalizations, in addition, we pay attention to the dog's tail, which is now included in our transcripts.

```
09      +    (0.3)    +   (0.1)    +
  Dog ->+lean forward +RFF step-->
  Dog ->+look at owner-->
  Dog                 +vocalization+
  Dog                 +tail swing-->
  fig                 +  #fig.5 (L)+
```

In line 9, the dog's head and upper body bend slightly forward; then the dog rises and takes a step forward toward the owner. Simultaneously, the dog produces an intonation phrase in a low voice register with an extremely stable intonation contour between 1294 Hz and 1340 Hz (Figure 5: left-hand side).

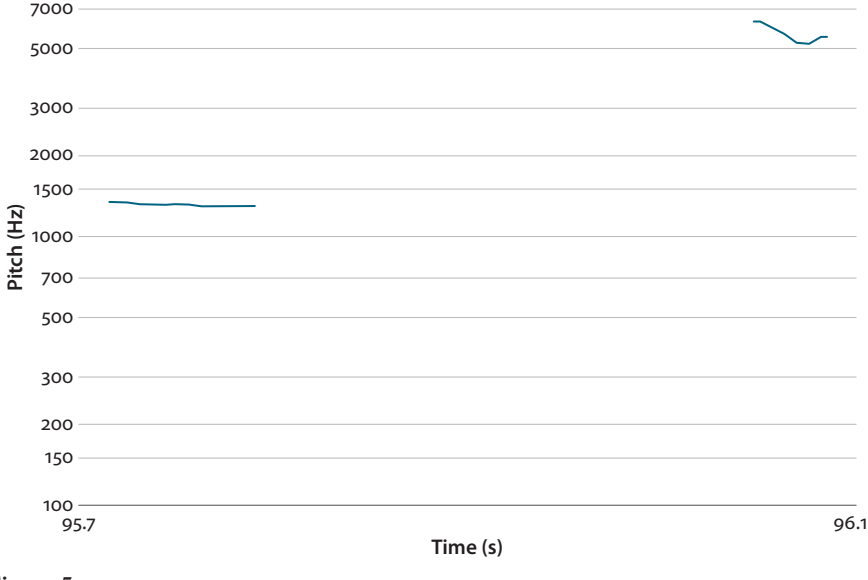


Figure 5.

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While the dog takes the step, it begins to wag its tail. The dog continues to approach its owner in line 10.

```
10      +  (0.2)  +(0.08)+  (0.04)    +(0.18)+
  DOG ->+RFF step +      +            +
  DOG   +look at owner's LH-->
  DOG                    +vocalization+
  DOG ->+tail swing-->
  fig                    +  #fig.5 (R)+
```

The dog delivers a high but extremely short vocalization, depicted on the right of Figure 5. This intonation phrase is delivered 280 milliseconds after the previous phrase. We suggest that this vocalization, which is deployed between 5257–5985 Hz, represents the dog's high voice register. Thus, the dog has deployed vocalizations from three registers while gazing at the owner.

After that, the dog orients more clearly to its owner's left hand, which is at her side. The dog approaches the owner with six steps, but the owner looks into the distance and pays no attention to her dog. The dog's approach leads, as shown in Figure 6, to its front feet being parallel; it is now very close to its owner, almost as close as in Figure 1. Furthermore, it is wagging its tail.



Figure 6.

This section investigated the dog's new project, which was preceded by a session of sitting and watching its owner for 4 seconds. Here, the dog approached the owner with its tail wagging (Figure 6). Its tail was also wagging the first time it approached its owner (Figure 1). Moreover, its vocalizations were gaze-selected, thus arguably directed at the owner. In addition, they were also shorter in duration when compared to the cases shown in the previous section. Since the dog's new project again failed to produce any expected outcome, the dog terminated its efforts to receive feedback exclusively from its owner.

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4.1.2 *The dog requests help from the owner and others*

In this section, we continue to investigate the dog's attempts to obtain feedback from its owner and also from others. Therefore, we focus on the dog's vocalizations and use of gaze. Following the events in line 10, the dog sits down and remains seated for 1.5 seconds. Then, the dog looks to the left, rises, and moves behind the owner, with its tail wagging, perhaps indicating that a way out of the strange situation has eventually been found. The dog then spends eight seconds standing and gazing at the owner and then at the video camera crew. In Figure 7, the dog is watching its owner, with its snout pointing at 10 o'clock.



Figure 7.

Considering the dog's location in the corner of the arena, it seems likely that it can observe all the humans present. It then leans against the wall, located on its left (not visible in Figure 7); perhaps tactile sensitivity is bringing the dog comfort. The dog's tail is no longer moving, indicating, once more, a change in the level of activation. The strange situation is not over yet.

The dog gazes at the owner's upper body and simultaneously sits down and produces a whine. This whining, shown in Figure 8, is a dual-pitch vocalization with four intonation phrases. The first phrase is delivered in a high voice register (Figure 8: on the left). The pitch then drops to a low voice register during the second phrase. The third intonation phrase also maintains the pitch in a low voice register. Finally, the fourth phrase is produced after approximately 230 milliseconds of silence, and it lasts for approximately 1200 ms.

The dog's gaze selection leaves no doubt that the selected recipient of the dual-pitch vocalization is the owner. However, the acoustic properties of the intonation contour are different from those in the previous examples; this vocalization is audible as an initial peak and then a long whine that fluctuates at the end of the phrase.

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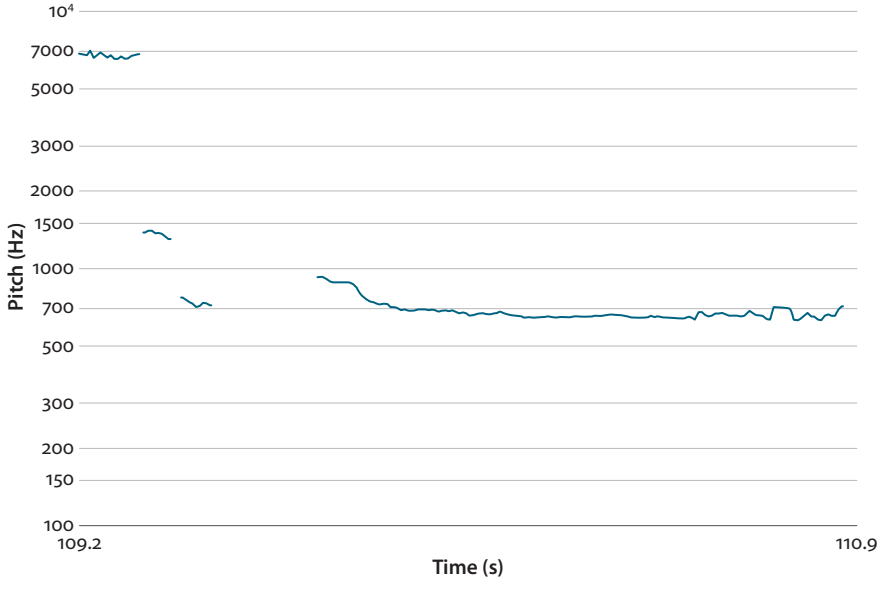


Figure 8.

Subsequently, the dog sits still for 26 seconds and gazes alternately at the owner's upper body, the target of the owner's gaze – as if looking for cues to solve the strange situation – and the camera crew. During that time, the dog emits three vocalization sequences. The first sequence occurs five seconds after the intonation contour shown in Figure 8 is delivered, when the dog is watching the owner. Four more seconds elapse before the dog's head turns toward the camera, and then the dog elicits the second vocalization. Here, we focus on that second sequence and leave the investigation of the first and third sequence to future studies.

The dog's gaze selection preceding the second vocalization implies this sequence is intended for the other humans in the indoor arena. The dog's snout is directed at the camera (Figure 9).



Figure 9.

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While looking at the other humans, the dog elicits an intonation contour with four intonation phrases (Figure 10). The first phrase occurs in a very high voice register: the pitch ascends from 13152 Hz to 14534 Hz, which is the highest frequency found in this study. The second intonation phrase occurs after 500 milliseconds of silence and shifts the pitch to a high voice register. Then a silence of 110 milliseconds occurs, which ends when the third intonation phrase begins. Now the pitch drops to a low voice register, after which silence ensues for 540 milliseconds. The final phrase returns the pitch to a high register.

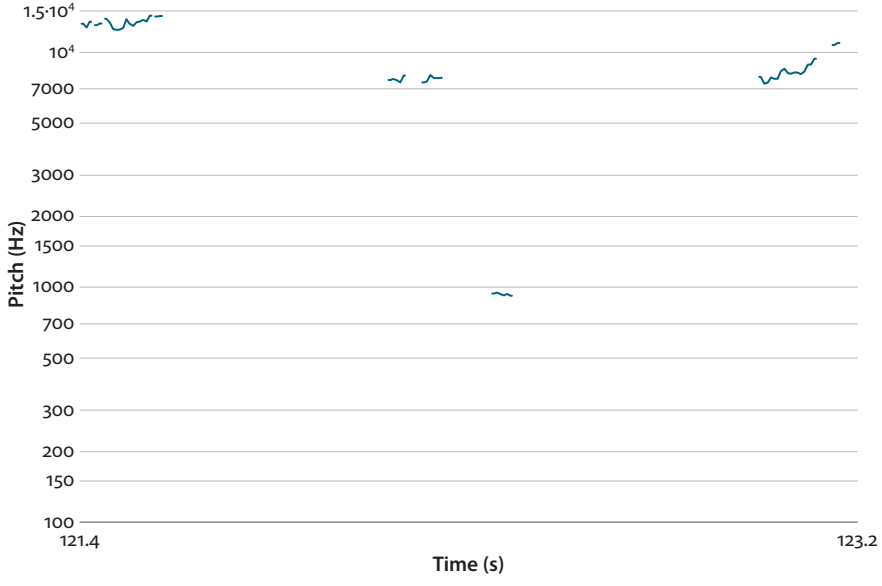


Figure 10.

Thus far, we have established a new voice register for dog vocalizations. According to Volodina et al. (2006), dogs have a low-pitch range (400–1400 Hz) and a high-pitch range (3100–11000 Hz). Nonetheless, Figures 3 and 10 suggest the Nova Scotia Duck Tolling Retriever possesses the capacity to use a very high pitch register (13000–14500 Hz) in interspecies communication.

While the sounds the dog projects at its owner (Figures 3, 5 and 8) are dual-pitch vocalizations used to elicit the owner's attention (Volodina et al. 2006), the sound used to attract the attention of the other humans (Figure 10) is a tri-pitch vocalization. Moreover, the vocalizations intended for the owner contain a flat or falling pitch (Figures 3, 5 and 8), and they are audible as whining. The vocalization for the other humans contains two intonation phrases with a rising pitch accent (Figure 10). If the dog's whining conveys tension and concern for the recipients, the intonation phrases signal urgency or even an emergency.

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In the preceding sections, we have seen how the dog attempted to obtain feedback from the owner and other humans. The dog pursued feedback with the practices of touching its owner, gazing at her, gazing at the other adults and producing variable vocalizations for the recipient(s) selected by gaze. However, the highest-pitch, estimated to reach 14500 Hz, was produced when the dog was gazing at the other humans. Moreover, this involved a tri-pitch vocalization containing pitch movements in three registers: very high, high, and low.

Tail-wagging, in turn, began when the dog approached its owner: both initially (Figure 1) and later on during the dog's new project (Figure 6). In both cases, the dog's approach ended with it standing close to its owner, after which the tail-wagging soon stopped (for example, Figure 2). As is clear by now, in this section, the dog failed to establish interactional reciprocity with its owner (or even with the crew).

4.1.3 *Once contact is restored, the dog engages in play*

This section investigates how the reunion is coordinated after the separation. It is important to note that the owner did not physically leave the indoor arena, in contrast to the SSP; rather, according to the rationale of the SFP, she simply failed to reciprocate: not only her face but also her entire body remained still.

As demonstrated in the previous sections, the dog owner distanced herself from the dog's immediate presence and reduced her active participation in interactional reciprocity (i.e., remained aloof). Thus left to its own devices, the dog then produced expressions that implied the existence of an affective tie. In this section, by contrast, the owner is no longer still, and the dog's affective expressions indicate something that we might call playfulness. Prior studies have suggested that the moments after separation are critical for any dyad's affective tie (e.g., Prato-Previde & Valsecchi 2014).

Here, we analyze the dog's feet, gaze and tail, but not its vocalizations, since the dog is silent, as is its owner (OWN). The test leader (LRD) is holding a timer (TMR), and soon she instructs the human–dog dyad to move on to the next part of the experiment.

```
11      +(0.3)+(0.3)+(0.3)+(0.3)+(0.3)+(0.3)+
  DOG ->+look at the camera-->
  OWN                                  +turn head-->
  OWN                                  +bend R knee-->
  OWN                                  +rotate body-->
  TMR   +ring +                  +ring +
  LRD               +hyvä.+
                     good.
```

The owner hears the alarm but does not move until the test leader says "*hyvä*" ('good') and the timer rings again. Then, the owner begins to turn her head and upper body toward the video camera. In addition, the owner pushes her right knee forward (R). The dog is looking at the camera throughout line 11.

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```
12      +    (0.6)      +    (0.2)   +
  DOG   +look at owner--+look at owner's face-->
  DOG   +stand up-------+RFF step    +
  OWN   +RF to the right+
  OWN ->+---------------+rotate body toward dog-->
  LRD   +sit sä voit    +=ota kiinni +
         then you can    =catch
```

The dog notices the movement in the owner's knee (in line 11) and becomes interested in that development. When the owner moves her right foot (RF), the dog stands up, then begins to gaze at its owner's face and takes one step forward. The test leader provides instructions to the owner, "*sit sä voit=ota kiinni*" ('then you can=catch'), and the owner begins to rotate her upper body toward the dog. This indicates the owner follows the instruction.

```
13      +  (0.2)   +   (0.3)   +
  DOG ->+look at owner's face-->
  DOG   +LFF step  +RFF step   +
  OWN   +look at dog-->
  OWN              +LF close RF+
  LRD   +          + ota  se   +
                     take it
  fig   + #fig.11  + #fig.12   +
```

The owner looks at the dog, who is approaching and already gazing at her (Figure 11). The owner shifts her left foot (LF) close to her right foot, as if making space for the dog (Figure 12). By moving her left foot, the owner invites the dog to come closer, and the dog accepts the invitation by complying. This *invitation–acceptance* adjacency pair (Stivers 2013: 192–193) is conducted by the interspecies participants in embodied ways. Furthermore, by skillfully coordinating their movements, they maintain mutual gaze. These linked efforts could be seen as indicating intersubjectivity between the owner and the dog (Heritage 1984: 256), but, to substantiate that claim, further evidence is needed. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, we suggest they are restoring the dyad's interactional reciprocity. In addition, the test leader continues with her upcoming instruction (line 13).



Figure 11.



Figure 12.

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```
14      +    (0.3)    +  (0.2) +
  DOG ->+look at the owner's face->>
  DOG   +LFF step-----+RFF step+
  DOG                 +RBF step+
  DOG   +tail swing->>
  DOG                 +lower anterior->>
  OWN   +lift her LH--+touch dog with LH->>
  LRD   +vaan         +takas   +
         just          back to
  fig                 +#fig.13 +
```

The dog's tail is wagging again, marking the dog's third approach to the owner. The dog continues to advance, but it simultaneously lowers the front of its body while keeping its posterior elevated, thus performing an embodied action designed to indicate play, rather than conflict (see, e.g., de Waal 2019: 71). Such a movement is termed a *play bow*. The owner bends over the dog and raises her left hand (LH) before lowering it to touch the dog. However, the dog withdraws its head while looking at its owner's face, as if playfully attempting to avoid the touch (line 14). These embodied features are visualized in Figure 13.



Figure 13.

The owner's left hand makes a circle in a clockwise direction above the dog's head. The dog takes one step to the left with its left feet, thereby regaining its balance after play bowing, while simultaneously looking at its owner's face. The owner returns her left hand to just above her lap, close to her right hand, and then she begins to put the leash on her dog. The dog stands still, waiting patiently, and participates in their mutual accomplishment of fastening the leash (Figure 14).

In sum, we investigated how a reunion after separation is coordinated and revealed how promptly the participants oriented each other with their bodies and gazes. The dyad skillfully demonstrated how interactional reciprocity in human–dog interaction could be re-established in an experimental setting.

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Figure 14.

4.2 The Saluki and its passive owner

In this section, we turn to the investigation of the Saluki's attempts to make sense of the strange situation. Here, attention is focused on the practices already established in the previous sections: touching the owner, gazing at the owner, gazing at the other adults and producing vocalizations. In addition, we analyze the dog's movement and describe in detail how it walks to the side of its owner.

When we arrive at this encounter (2), the Saluki has been exploring the floor near the owner. While the Toller investigated the whole indoor arena, the Saluki has remained closer to its owner. It is likely that the dog's activities, such as sniffing and tasting the air (Mondada 2018b), have continued for some time. Then, the Saluki turns toward its owner and begins to approach (line 1).

Excerpt 2.

```
01      + (0.4)  +  (0.4) +    (0.3)    +  (0.5) +  (0.2) +
  DOG >>+RFF step+
  DOG >>+RBF step+                       +RBF step+
  DOG            +rotate upper body to L+
  DOG            +LBF step+
  DOG >>+nose near the floor-->
02     +  (0.3) + (0.5)  + (0.3)  + (0.3)  +
  DOG  +RFF step+LFF step+RBF step+RFF step+
  fig                   +#fig.15 +
```

The dog has been moving away from its passive owner, but now, in line 1, it is time to turn back and return to her. The dog's right feet move at the same time, turning its posterior. Then, the dog's upper body begins to rotate to the left (L). After this rotation, the dog takes four steps forward (Figure 15) and then one further step. The dog's nose is almost touching the floor, as if it is carefully investigating the floor.

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Figure 15.

```
03      + (0.3)  + (0.5)  + (0.2)  + (0.2)  +
  DOG   +LBF step+LFF step+RFF step---------+
  DOG                              +LBF step-->
  DOG            +head begins to rise up-->
04      +  (0.3) + (0.2)  + (0.3)  +
  DOG   +LFF step---------+RFF step+
  DOG ->+LBF step+RBF step---------+
05      +      (0.2)        +        (0.3)      +
  DOG   +stretch head upward-->
  DOG                      +LFF stationary step+
06      +   (0.5)   +
  DOG ->+head upward+
  fig   + #fig.16   +
```

The dog approaches the owner with a sequence of seven steps (lines 3–4). At the end of line 4, the video shows that the dog is standing straight-legged in front of its owner. Then, the dog's head stretches upward as it watches its owner. The dog then takes a stationary step with its front left foot (line 5). Here, this embodied practice, *tapping a paw on the floor,* can be seen as a demand for attention, and signaling the fact that the dog has apprehended the strange situation. Figure 16 illustrates the situation after the step.



Figure 16.

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```
07      +  (0.5)  +  (1.5)  +   (0.2)    + (0.1) +
  DOG   +gaze camera-->
  DOG                        +vocalization+
  fig   + #fig.17 +          +  #fig.18(L)+
08      +     (.)    + (0.2) +   (0.1)    + (1.9) +
  DOG   +vocalization+        +vocalization+
  fig   +  #fig.18(C)+        +  #fig.18(R)+
```

Since the owner refuses to pay attention, the dog begins to gaze at the other humans in the indoor arena (line 7, Figure 17). Thus, the practice of gazing at other humans might be a resource also for this dog.



Figure 17.

Then, after a 1.5-second silence, the dog produces a sequence of high-pitch vocalizations, shown in lines 7–8. Figure 18 indicates that the intonation contour contains three intonation phrases, with each belonging to a high pitch register. The first vocalization (line 7, Figure 18: left-hand side) features two segments and one peak. The peak is divided by a micro-pause, and in terms of overall pitch movement, the pitch is rather flat, rising slightly at the beginning and end.

The second intonation phrase is extremely short (line 8, Figure 18: center). Moreover, the phrase is v-shaped: the pitch quickly falls and then rises rapidly. The dog's voice is audible against the background noise, but it is not shown by Praat, a computer program for analyzing sound files.[2] This indicates the need to modify the pitch analysis of the program, as pitch was only captured after the voicing threshold setting was changed to 0.25; ordinarily that setting is 0.45.

2. https://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/manual/FAQ__Pitch_analysis.html (accessed 2 December 2020)

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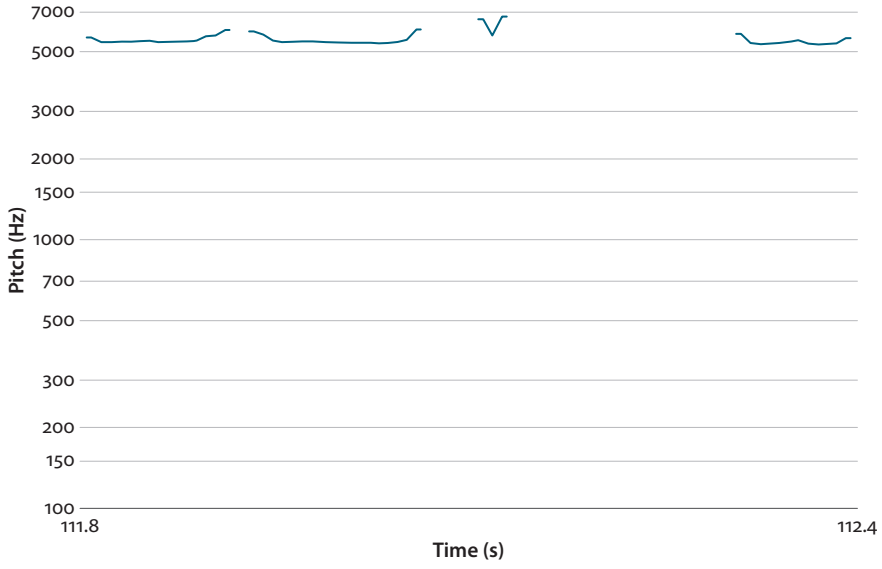


Figure 18.

The third intonation phrase (line 8, Figure 18: right-hand side) is delivered after a 200-millisecond silence. Here, the pitch movement of the third phase resembles a smaller version of the first; there is a peak in the middle of the phrase, and the pitch also rises at the borders.

The Saluki's vocalizations (shown in Figure 18) for the other humans differ from those of the Toller shown in the previous sections, since the Saluki uses only a high voice register rather than dual-pitch or tri-pitch communication. The pitch of the intonation contour moves between 5000 and 7000 Hz. After producing these vocalizations intended for the other humans in the arena rather than for the owner, the dog stands still and quietly looks at the camera crew for 1.9 seconds (the end of line 8).

```
09      +  (0.8)  +(0.2)+   (0.2)    + (0.2) +
  DOG   +head to R+     +head slowly to L-->
  DOG                   +vocalization+
  fig                   +  #fig.19   +
  fig                   +  #fig.20(L)+
```

Next, in line 9, the dog's head and gaze shift to the right (R) from the crew to the target of the owner's gaze. As the crew failed to respond to the dog's vocal actions, the dog treats the owner's gaze direction and her posture as better resources for interpreting the owner's intentions. These resources are, most likely, visibly available clues for the dog, which has first attempted to solve the peculiar situation by treating other humans as a social resource (Figure 17) and only after that by looking in the direction of the owner's gaze (Figure 19).

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Figure 19.

Prior studies have shown that dogs are capable of following gazes and establishing joint visual attention with humans (e.g., Itakura 2004). This is also evident in our extract when the dog *looks in the same direction as its owner* (i.e., the dog knows the owner is looking at something) (Tomasello 1995). As Figure 19 indicates, the dog seems to proceed to solve the strange situation by itself by focusing on the owner's gaze. Nonetheless, similar to its previous efforts, this alignment of gazes fails to help the dog comprehend the owner's intentions or the strange situation. Next, the dog rotates its head backward toward the owner.

Shortly after starting to turn its head slowly to the left (line 9), the dog initiates a sequence of high-pitch vocalizations (Figure 20). When the dog delivers the first intonation phrase (line 9, Figure 20: left), it is unlikely that its gaze has identified

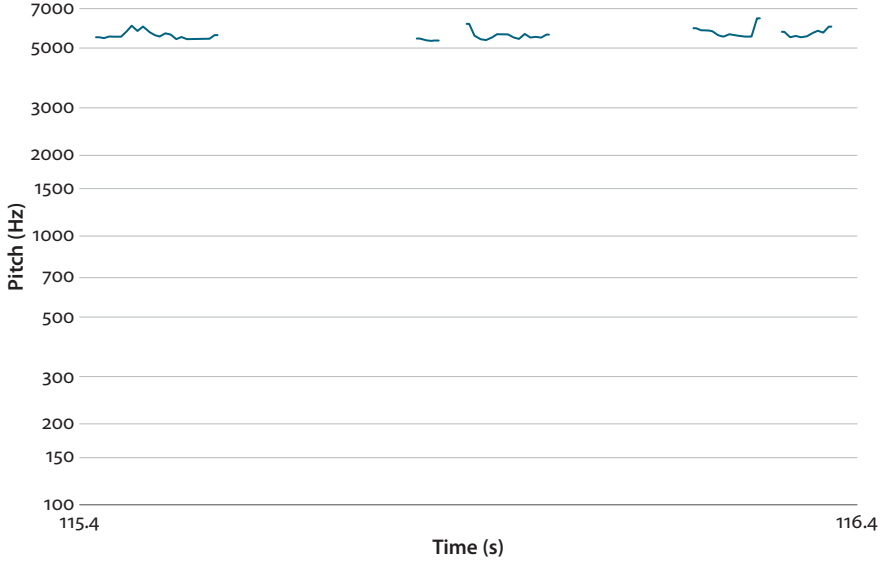


Figure 20.

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anything in that direction except the structures of the indoor arena (e.g., tables and walls). Concerning pitch movement, there are two peaks, but otherwise the pitch is rather flat.

The dog's head rotates slowly back toward the owner (line 10). While doing this, the dog elicits the second intonation phrase of this contour (Figure 20: center). The phrase contains two segments; if there is a peak, Praat captures only its fall (right-hand side).

```
10      +   (0.2)    + (0.2) +   (0.2)    +     (0.2)     +
  DOG ->+head slowly to left--------------+gazes the owner+
  DOG   +vocalization+       +vocalization+
  fig   +  #fig.20(C)+       + #fig.20 (R)+
```

Then, there occurs a 0.2-second silence, which ends when the dog launches the third phrase of the contour (line 10). The dog is now looking at its owner, who fixes her gaze firmly ahead. The vocalization, shown in the top right corner of Figure 20, again contains two segments. Contrary to the prior phrase, however, Praat has drawn only the rise (left-hand side) of a possible peak. Considering that the owner is the target of the dog's gaze, the third phrase is clearly intended for her.

In total, the intonation contour seen in Figure 20 contains three intonation phrases, each featuring one or two peaks and each connected to a different gaze focus. Moreover, these vocalizations from the Saluki belong to a high vocal register, at around 5000–6000 Hz.

After the third phrase of the intonation contour, the dog's head and, later on, its entire body orient to the left (line 11).

```
11      +   (0.3)    +      (0.6)        +
  DOG               +LFF stationary step+
  DOG   +head to left+reach to left      +
12      + (0.4)  + (0.3)  + (0.3)  + (0.3) +
  DOG   +RFF step+LFF step+RFF step--------+
  DOG           +RBF step---------+
  fig   +#fig.21 +
```

The dog performs a left-front-paw tap as a precursor to walking. Unlike the previous act of tapping (line 5), however, this effort can be considered a weaker demand for attention from its owner, as it is performed less rapidly (line 5: 0.3-seconds; line 11: 0.6-seconds). Then, the dog takes a step to the left with its right front foot (Figure 21). Next, the dog walks behind its owner, as occurred with the Toller. At this point, the time for the experiment unfortunately expires, and the test leader interrupts the walking dog. Consequently, we do not know how the dyad would have re-established their interactional reciprocity with mutual gazes and coordinated bodies, since they orient to the test leader. Finally, during the moments after separation, neither displays of aggression nor extensive gazing were observed from the video.

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Figure 21.

In summary, this section described how the Saluki looked at the other humans in the indoor arena and produced high-pitch vocalizations for them when the owner failed to respond or behave in an expected manner. This orientation to the other humans could be seen as indicating its own agency. Nonetheless, while the other humans were potential sources of help for the dog, as they were following the rules of the experiment, they denied the dog any support in this strange situation. Then, the dog shifted to an attempt to understand the owner's point of view by gazing in the same direction, which was as futile in securing attention from the owner as the previous attempt. In this extract, the dog did not use dual-pitch or tri-pitch vocalizations to seek attention; instead, the Saluki produced sequences of single-pitch vocalizations at 5000–7000 Hz. Lastly, the dog employed the practice of tapping a paw, which is yet another way to pursue the owner's attention.

4.3 Summary of the analysis

How did the dogs pursue missing feedback from their owners and other humans during a 2-minute exploration? During the breach, the dogs used the following practices: gazing at their owner, gazing at the other humans, gazing in the same direction as their owner (i.e., attempting to establish joint attention), using single-pitch, dual-pitch and tri-pitch vocalizations, touching the owner with their paw and snout, and tapping a paw on the floor.

How did the dyads coordinate their reunion after a 2-minute exploration? In the first dyad, with the Toller, the reunion after the separation was coordinated by embodied means: the members of the dyad moved closer together and shared mutual gaze. Then the dog's tail became active, and soon the dog presented its owner with an invitation to play. By contrast, in the second dyad, with the Saluki, the test leader ends the strange situation and draws the dyad's attention toward herself. Thus, the dyad's reunion is coordinated in a triadic interaction, which is not analyzed in this chapter.

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Nevertheless, both interspecies dyads are able to restore their interactional reciprocity by orienting to each other in interaction. Moreover, as the Saluki case suggests, a third person can participate in restoring the interactional reciprocity of interspecies dyads.

5. Conclusion

This study aimed to investigate the interactional reciprocal processes of human–dog dyads using videotaped materials analyzed with conversation analysis. The following conclusions can be drawn from the findings:

- Dogs' orientation to the lack of reciprocity during a breach demonstrates that interactional reciprocity exists in human–dog interactions, which not only can be breached but can also be restored.
- Dogs understand how their owners should behave in social interaction; thus, they possess implicit, non-lexical knowledge (Streeck 2013) of their owners' ordinary behavior.
- Dogs share a collection of practices for pursuing feedback from their owners and others, and they use those practices to repair a lack of interactional reciprocity. Their practices can be termed *primordial ethnomethods*.

The data for this study were gathered from a short 5-minute behavioral test organized for dogs and their owners. The present study aimed to reveal what occurs in the 2-minute exploration phase in terms of the owner–dog relationship. The findings of a prior study suggested that a breach in this relationship would reduce the dogs' interest in exploring the indoor arena and cause them to stare at their owner more (Tiira & Lohi 2014). However, our study demonstrated that the dogs explored the arena and then subsequently stared at their owner and other humans.

For the two dogs analyzed in this chapter, the nature of the 2-min exploration phase changed as soon as they realized the strangeness of their owners' behavior and attitude. In line with the instructions, the owners refrained from maintaining interactional reciprocity and distanced themselves from their dogs. The strange situation revealed the dogs' agency, as they chose different paths to pursue feedback from the owner and help from the other humans in the arena. Nonetheless, some other dogs in the collection were less interested in their owners and concentrated more on the exploration. Thus, for them, the situation was apparently not strange at all! Perhaps, then, it requires special qualities from a dog to understand that its owner is behaving strangely, and the dogs analyzed in this study certainly possessed that capacity. We suggest that those dogs possessed implicit knowledge of how their

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owners should behave, and they compared that knowledge to the situation they faced during the experiment.

As mentioned earlier, the notion of interactional reciprocity originally derives from research on mother–infant interactions. In this study, we investigated the notion in the context of the Still Face Paradigm (SFP) and the Strange Situation Paradigm (SSP). Based on our findings, two observations can be made that relate to the original mother–infant findings. The first concerns the Toller's initiation of play with the owner (Goode 2007). This finding is interesting because human infants are reported to transfer negative emotions from the Still-Face phase to the reunion phase. Thus, unlike the dogs in our study, infants do not usually play with their mothers in this phase. The second observation concerns separation from the owner. In the SSP, the infant/dog is left alone when the caretaker walks into another room; thus, walking away provides a clue for the infant/dog to understand the caretaker's intentions. Here, the caretakers remained in the indoor arena and merely behaved rather passively. Thus, following the rationale of the SFP, what occurred was not a physical absence but more of an interactional separation. Future mother–infant interaction and human–dog interaction studies could consider these findings and investigate the links between the paradigms.

It has been suggested that the notion of interactional reciprocity may contribute to our understanding of intersubjectivity. According to the SFP, infants learn the basics of social interaction primarily from their caregivers, after which they are able to adapt their social practices according to the situation, for instance, to being with other infants (Dixon et al. 1981). In addition, Garfinkel (1967) found adults share certain common sense beliefs during social interaction; moreover, those beliefs can be made visible experimentally. Consider the following example, where S is recounting what occurred on her way to work.

Excerpt 3. (Garfinkel 1967: 42)

S: I had a flat tire.
E: What do you mean, you had a flat tire?
She appeared momentarily stunned. Then she answered in a hostile way: "What do you mean, 'What do you mean?' A flat tire is a flat tire. That is what I meant. Nothing special. What a crazy question!"

In this dialogue, S is unaware that E is conducting an experiment, so her response to E's repair initiator indicates that E's turn was entirely unexpected. Thus, requesting clarification without a clear reason breaks the moral expectancies of ordinary conversation. Returning to our study, the dogs too were unaware of the experiment, and they found that their owners failed to behave as expected.

The dogs' implicit knowledge of their owners seems to have spurred the dogs to act again and again, as they attempted a range of different solutions to repair the ongoing breach. Our experiment underlines moral responsibility in caring

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relationships with dogs, as dogs recognize when their owners break the expectations of normal behavior (consider Drew 1998: footnote 8). This finding also resonates with the notion of sequential organization (e.g., Sacks et al. 1974; Schegloff 2007), as it seems clear that the dogs possessed a certain understanding of what should ordinarily happen *next* after their actions. Furthermore, as the experiment demonstrated, immediately after separation, sequences can be renewed in embodied ways (Figures 11–12).

Returning to the experiment, the dogs remained near their owners after realizing the lack of reciprocity. As the study demonstrated, the dogs deployed various initial actions but received no feedback. Since the dogs' actions failed to produce the expected responsive action (e.g., a show of attention from the owner), the dogs then changed their behavior. The Toller initiated a new project of approaching its owner, while the Saluki oriented to the other humans in the indoor arena. These, however, failed to produce the expected outcomes in a reasonable time. The Toller then decided to circle behind the owner and sat there observing its owner and the other humans. By contrast, the Saluki continued to attempt to establish joint attention with its owner. However, after noticing that this attempt was unfruitful, the Saluki too decided to circle behind its owner. These findings, where the provider of the initial action receives no response from the recipient, might correspond to human interactions in a similar situation. Due to the experiment protocol, it is unclear whether the dogs succeeded in increasing pressure on their owners through their actions (Stivers & Rossano 2010). However, it is clear that they recognized when an action was unsuccessful and then chose another in an attempt to make progress. For instance, the Toller revised the distance from which it gazed at its owner.

During the experiment, the dogs produced high pitch sounds. However, in contrast to the study mentioned earlier in this chapter (Volodina et al. 2006), where high pitch vocalizations were produced in response to the active frustration-provoking attempts of dog owners (e.g., refusing to open a door), the owners in this study merely remained passive, in accordance with the SFP. While the Toller produced vocalizations in a very high register, the frequency was not, however, high enough to be inaudible or ultrasonic (Sales & Pye 1974).

Finally, this study, as with many studies on human–dog interaction, focused on interactions between dogs and their owners. Our empirical evidence demonstrates dogs' implicit knowledge of their owners. Based on this knowledge, dogs have access to the principal ways in which human interaction is organized; thus, they expect that the principles that work with their owner work with any human. Using this knowledge, they can tentatively enlist help from any bystander. This implicit knowledge of humans could even grant dogs the status of canine members of human societies, due to their understanding of the ways in which human morals are structured. Intriguingly, primordial ethnomethods may indeed be based on

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the notion of moral accountability. Thus, if some facet of human interaction fails to conform to implicit knowledge of human behavior, the dog (or human) may be entitled to receive an explanation. Thus, the bystanders in our examples would have been morally accountable for the dogs' requests for aid. Such accounts, for dogs, are most likely indexical and non-lexical. Furthermore, it seems clear that humans and dogs share the fundamentals of procedural knowledge, allowing them to achieve practical accomplishments such as fastening a leash or walking in the park. Performing such practical accomplishments in human–dog interaction conveys moral obligations not only on dogs and their owners but also on the bystanders encountered on those occasions.

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APPENDIX

Transcription conventions and glossing symbols

1. Conventions for multimodal, multi-linear transcripts

Embodied actions are transcribed using the conventions developed by Lorenza Mondada (2019). For a full version (updated Nov. 2019) and a tutorial see: https://www.lorenzamondada.net/multimodal-transcription.

Overview of basic transcript elements:

`RIC:`	Speaker identification (pseudonym)
`ric`	Participant doing the embodied action (identified when (s)he is notthe speaker; for the speaker, the embodied annotation is placed on the line(s) immediately following the transcribed turn, without any identification in the margin.)
`???:`	Speaker identification unsure
`=>`	Target line (arrow in the left margin)
`->`	Additional lines in focus (arrow in the left margin)
`//`	Lines omitted for the purpose of presentation

Multi-linear transcripts:

- The first line of the transcript is dedicated to the original language and presented in **`bold black`**.
- The second line contains grammatical glosses and is presented in `normal`.
- The third line is dedicated to translation, if applicable, and is presented in *`italics`*.
- The forth and following lines describe embodied conduct. They are in **`bold grey`**.

Transcription ofembodied conduct:

`**`	Descriptions of embodied actions are delimited
`++`	between two identical symbols (one symbol per participant) and are synchronized with correspondent stretches of talk.
`*--->`	The action described continues across subsequent lines until
`--->*`	the same symbol is reached.
`>>`	The action described begins before the excerpt's beginning.

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`--->>`	The action described continues after the excerpt's end.		
`….··`	Action's preparation		
`----`	Action's apex (full extension of movement) is reached and maintained.		
`,,,,,`	Action's retraction		
`fig`	The exact moment at which a screen shot has been taken is	#	indicated with a specific sign showing its position within turn at talk and with a figure number on a separate line.

Further abbreviations used within this convention include:

`L`	Left
`R`	Right
`H`	Hand (LH = left hand, RH = right hand)
`twd`	Toward
`mic`	Microphone
`doc`	Document
`gest`	Gesture
`gz`	Gaze

2. Conventions for transcription of talk and other sound-related features

For CA transcription, see Jefferson (2004) and Thompson, Fox, and Couper-Kuhlen (2015). For detailed explanations, see Hepburn and Bolden (2013). For additions from GAT-2 transcription conventions, see Selting et al. (2009).

Temporal and sequential relationships, including tempo:

`wo[rds ]` `[word]s`	Onset and end of overlap (simultaneous talk), at the start of an utterance or later
`word=` `=word`	Latching (no intervening beat of silence) between TCUs or between turns by different speakers; or: continuation of aspeaker's turn across transcript lines containing talk by others
`(0.0)`	Elapsed time (pause or silence); Length is timed relative to the delivery of the surrounding talk or based on absolute measures.
`(.)`	Micro-pause (less than 2/10 of a second)
`no:, no::`	Lengthening/stretching of the sound before the colon (: = 0.1 sec)
`>word word<`	*Accelerando*/rushed/compressed talk: increase in tempo relative to surrounding talk
`<word word>`	*Rallentando*/stretched-out talk: slowing down in tempo relative to surrounding talk
`<word`	One pre-positioned left carat indicates an earlier than expected start of the following talk (a 'left push').

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word<	One post-positioned left carat indicates that a fully completed wordseems to stop suddenly.
wo- word	Hyphens mark an abrupt ending through oral or glottal cut-off (glottal closure) before a word is complete.

Speech delivery:

word.	Period: Pitch at the end of a prosodically determined unit is falling to low.
word;	Semicolon: Pitch at the end of a unit is falling to mid.
word,	Comma: Pitch at the end of a unit is level.
word?,	Question mark + comma: Pitch at end of a unit is rising to mid(=slightlyrising).
word?	Question mark: Pitch at end of a unit is rising to high.
word!	Exclamation point: Animated tone (wide pitch range on the preceding syllable), not necessarily an exclamation
before, in	Stress or accent prominence on the underlined syllable. For stronger prominence, volume or pitch marking is added.
WORD WOrd	Much higher volume relative to the surrounding talk
°word°	*Sotto voce*, low volume: Enclosed passage is quieter in delivery than the surrounding talk.
°°word°°	Particularly low volume/quiet voice
↓word	Marked step down in pitch on following syllable (which can be prominent or not) in relation to prior syllables
↑word	Marked step up in pitch on following syllable (which can be prominentor not) in relation to prior syllables
↑↓o:h	Rise-fall pitch on the following syllable
↓↑o:h	Fall-rise pitch on the following syllable
↑word word↑	If a word or passage is enclosed by arrows: the whole word
↓word word↓	or passage is (much) higher / (much) lower in pitch register than thesurrounding talk.
.word	Speech produced with ingressive airflow
£word word£	Smile voice, can be just one or more syllables
#word word#	Creaky voice, can be just one or more syllables
@word word@	Animated voice, can be just one or more syllables

Other descriptions of voice quality (incl. scope) are also provided in the following way:

<<whispery voice>word word word>	
<<falsetto voice>word word word>	
<<tremulous voice>word word word>	
<<dim> word word word>	((=diminuendo, becoming softer))

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Transcriptionist's uncertain hearings, comments, and added elements in the translation:

`(word)`	Transcriber's uncertain hearing
`(word)/(bird)`	Transcriber's alternative hearings
`( )`	Unintelligible stretch of talk
`((clears throat))`	Description, not transcription: Additional transcriber comments and descriptions are provided in double parentheses.
`((stylized))`	
`((word))`	Double parentheses are also used for elements needed in the English translation that are not present in the original, e.g., the object of a transitive verb or subject pronoun. In the following example, the original Finnish does not contain an object NP but English requires it. The object appears is double parenthesis. **heitä pois** throw.IMP away *throw ((them)) away*

Other audible features accompanying talk:

`h hh`	Audible outbreath; Longer aspiration is expressed with double/triple letters.
`.h .hh`	Audible inbreath; Longer aspiration is expressed with double/triple letters.
`ha heh hihi hu`	Laughter; Different vowels indicate the quality of laugh tokens, and additional aspiration and details regarding laughter onset may be added.
`hhuh khhh`	
`hn`	Nasal laughter
`.ihhh`	Ingressive laughter
`(h)`	Laugh pulse/particle within a word
`.pt`	Audible opening of mouth
`!t, !k, !p`	Click; The consonant following the exclamation point indicates the place of articulation (here: alveolar, velar, and bilabial).

3. Glossing of talk for English-language readers

Interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glossing is provided selectively for non-English data. Glossing symbols are based on the Leipzig glossing rules (Bickel, Comrie, and Haspelmath 2008). See https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php.

1	first person
1NAMEF	first name female
1NAMEM	first name male
2	second person
3	third person
4	passive person ending
ø	zero person
ABL	ablative case
ACC	accusative case
ADE	adessive case
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
ALL	allative case
ART	article

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ASP	aspect
ASSC	associative marker
ATTR	attributive
AUX	auxiliary
BA	pretransitive marker in the BA-construction
CLI	clitic
COM	comitative case
COMM	committal
COMP	complementizer
COMPA	comparative
CON/CONN	connective
COND	conditional
COP/CP	copula verb
CORREL	correlative
DAT	dative case
DEF	definite suffix
DECL	declarative suffix
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DM	discourse marker
DYN	dynamic
ELA	elative case
ESS	essive case
EX	existential
F	feminine
FIG	figure
FP	final particle
FRE	frequentative
FUT	future
GEN	genitive case
GER	gerund
HON	honorific
IE	informal ending
ILL	illative case
IMF	imperfect
IMP	imperative
IMPRS	impersonal
IND	indicative
INDF	indefinite
INE	inessive case
INF	infinitive
INSTR	instrumental case
IPFV	imperfective
ITJ	interjection
LOC	locative
M	masculine
MAN	manner
MOM	momentaneous verb suffix
N	neuter
NEG	negation, negator, negative
NML	nominalizer
NOM	nominative case/marker
NPST	nonpast
OBJ	object (particle)
PAR	partitive case
PASS	passive
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POL	polite speech level/polite suffix
PP	pragmatic particle
PPC	active past participle
PPPC	passive past participle
PPT	past participle
PR	propositive
PRS	present tense
PST	past tense (suffix)
PTC	particle
PTCP	participle
Q	question particle/marker
QT	quotative particle
RECP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
RL	relativizer suffix
RQ	request
SBJV	subjunctive
SCL	subject clitic
SE	sentence extender
SG	singular
SP	subject particle
SUP	superlative
TAG	question tag (question marker)
TE	verb *TE*-form
TOP	topic marker
TRA	translative case
TRANS	transferentive
VOL	volitional suffix

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Intersubjectivity is a precondition for human life – for social organization as well as for individual development and well-being. Through empirical examination of social interactions in everyday and institutional settings, the authors in this volume explore the achievement and maintenance of intersubjectivity. The contributions show how language codes and creates intersubjectivity, how interactants move towards shared understanding in interaction, how intersubjectivity is central to phenomena and experiences often considered merely individual, and how intersubjectivity evolves through learning. While the core methodology of the studies is Conversation Analysis, the volume highlights the advantages of using several methods to tackle intersubjectivity.

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