Conversation Analysis and Second Language Pedagogy

A Guide for ESL/EFL Teachers

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Chapter 1

Interactional Practices and the Teaching of Conversation

Pre-reading Questions

1. How important are conversational skills in relation to other skills needed in language learning?
2. Think of someone easy to talk with and list 3–5 qualities of his/her way of speaking.
3. Think of someone difficult to communicate with and list 3–5 qualities of his/her way of speaking.
4. If you were asked to teach a conversation class, what would you include in your lesson plans?
5. Imagine that an alien from outer space will be living with you. Give this alien a name. As an extremely considerate, sensitive, and culturally attuned host, think about this alien's total well-being and answer these questions:

   (a) What will you tell the alien about how to interact in English?
   (b) What will you say about the ways in which speakers take turns?
   (c) What will you say about the ways in which speakers open and close conversations?
   (d) What kinds of sample utterances would you give, if any?
   (e) What will you tell the alien about our ways of correcting the talk that we produce in conversation?
   (f) What other aspects of talking and participating in a conversation would you teach your warm and fuzzy friend?
   (g) How will you know whether your alien is ready to interact with other human beings?

Chapter Overview

The importance of conversation as the foundation of all language learning cannot be overstated. As Clark (1996) writes, "face-to-face conversation is the cradle of language use" (p. 9). This chapter begins with a discussion of what is still lacking in the teaching of conversation and introduces conversation analysis (CA) as a unique and innovative tool for achieving this goal. Against the backdrop of communicative competence and interactional competence, a heuristic model of interactional practices is proposed. The model lays out a

range of practices for language learners to master in becoming interactionally competent. The chapter ends with an outline of the various chapters that comprise the rest of this volume.

Teaching Conversation

Learning to engage in ordinary conversation is one of the most difficult tasks for second language learners. As Hatch (1978) suggests, one learns how to "do" conversation, and out of conversation syntactic structures develop. In other words, conversation is the medium through which we do language learning. Clearly, then, knowing how to teach conversation is of critical importance for language teachers; this knowledge begins with a solid understanding of what constitutes conversation or **talk-in-interaction**.

> **Talk-in-interaction** refers to differing kinds of talk and their accompanying body language that occur in daily life across settings from casual to institutional contexts. One can have casual conversations in work settings, and vice versa.

Over the past three decades, discourse analysts have made great contributions to our understanding of interaction (e.g., Celce-Murcia & Olshtain, 2000; Hatch, 1992; McCarthy, 1991). In fact, resource books for teachers often emphasize that learners need instruction on features of conversation, and applied linguists have worked to describe those features in relation to pedagogy (Lazaraton, 2001). Thornbury and Slade (2006), for example, discuss the vocabulary, grammar, and discourse features of conversation. However, the descriptions of language or discourse may not yet sufficiently reflect language use. Consider the following from a widely used teacher-training textbook:

> In most oral language, our discourse is marked by exchanges with another person or several persons in which a few sentences spoken by one participant are followed and built upon by sentences spoken by another.
>
> (Brown, 2007, p. 224)

Although the examples that Brown provides in his teacher-training book (not shown here) illustrate that people don't actually talk by stringing sentences together, the general characterization of "sentences spoken" can be misleading (Schegloff, 1979a). As leading conversation analysts Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) have shown early on, the "sentence" is *not* the basic unit of conversation (cf. "real grammar" in Biber & Conrad, 2009; for a much broader definition of grammar, also see Purpura, 2004). Accurate understandings of how conversation works take hours of investigations into minute details of recorded interactions, a hallmark of conversation analysis (CA).

The suggestion that ESL/EFL textbook writers use authentic spoken language data for the design of language instructional materials is gaining increasing prominence (Burns, 1998; Carter & McCarthy, 1997; McCarthy, 1991; Scotton & Bernsten, 1988; Thornbury, 2005). Nonetheless, as Burns (1998) notes, even though communicative language teaching (CLT) has been promoted for a number of years now, there is always room for improvement in terms of instructional materials and teaching techniques. Applied linguists have recognized the contribution of CA over the years with an increasing interest in a merger between the two disciplines (Bowles & Seedhouse, 2007; Richards & Seedhouse, 2005; Schegloff, Koshik, Jacoby, & Olsher, 2002; Seedhouse, 2005a). The nod to CA, however, often lacks sufficient details to be of direct pedagogical usefulness for language teachers. For instance, the importance of turn-taking is frequently mentioned in various teacher training books, but instructors are given minimal, if any, information regarding how the turn-taking system operates. Just as a novelist has the ability to help readers zoom in on an aspect of daily life that they might not have noticed or thought about as important, a CA outlook on talk-in-interaction can help ESL/EFL teachers reach a similar kind of heightened awareness and understanding of oral language.

This book brings the core findings of conversation analysis to language teachers. It provides a comprehensive and systematic introduction to the basic features of conversation. It is designed to invigorate teachers' interest in the structures of interaction. Teachers can translate this awareness into pedagogy, using the suggested teaching activities provided in subsequent chapters as a guide. Our goal is to equip language teachers with a new kind of tool kit for teaching conversation.

> **Author's story (JW):** When I was training to become an ESL teacher at UCLA in the early 1980s, I first learned of conversation analysis (CA) in a discourse analysis course. The professor said, "There's a guy named Schegloff in the sociology department here who does this stuff called CA, which examines the details of conversation." I thought, "Gee, if I'm going to teach English, I should know how conversation works just as I should know how grammar works." So I sashayed across the campus to Schegloff's office. That was how I got into CA.

Conversation Analysis

Each of us engages in talk-in-interaction on a daily basis. Ordinary conversation is the most basic mode of interaction or "primordial site of sociality" (Schegloff, 1986, p. 112). It is the means by which we handle our daily lives and get things done, from mundane matters such as chatting with a friend to critical ones such as planning a wedding, a divorce, a business partnership, and so on.

Conversation analysis is a unique way of analyzing language and social interaction. It originated in sociology in the 1960s with the work of Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson. During the course of its forty-year history, CA has spread rapidly beyond the walls of sociology, shaping the work of scholars and practitioners in a variety of disciplines, including but not limited to: applied linguistics, anthropology, psychology, and communication studies.

One of CA's fundamental concerns is: what do people do in order to have a conversation? What are the commonsense practices by which we engage in conversation? Remember the times when someone was angry with you and gave the cold shoulder, not answering your *hello* or *how are you*? No matter how hard you tried, the other party did not say a word. If you think about those cold-shouldered moments in social interaction, you realize that it takes two people to do the talk. What does it mean to keep a conversation going? From a CA perspective, having a conversation is the product of much joint effort (Schegloff, 1997a).

CA researchers analyze actual instances of talk, ranging from casual conversation between friends, acquaintances, co-workers or strangers to talk in more formal settings such as classrooms, doctor–patient consultations, courtroom proceedings, radio talk programs, interviews, and so on. The latter falls within the domain of institutional talk (Drew & Heritage, 1992). Thus, an umbrella term for CA's research object is talk-in-interaction. In what follows, we introduce the principles of CA in three broad categories: (1) collecting data; (2) transcribing data; (3) analyzing data.

Collecting Data

CA requires **naturally occurring data** that has been recorded and transcribed.

> **Naturally occurring data** refers to actual occurrences of talk not gathered from interviewing techniques, observational methods, native intuitions, or experimental methodologies.

Artificial or contrived conversations in experimental settings (e.g., asking two strangers to talk and record their conversation) should not be taken as the representative of what goes on in naturally occurring talk.

The naturally occurring data must be audio- or video-recorded for the following reasons (Pomerantz and Fehr, 1997, p. 70):

(1) certain features are not recoverable in any other way;
(2) playing and replaying facilitates transcribing and developing an analysis;
(3) recording makes it possible to check a particular analysis against the materials;
(4) recording makes it possible to return to an interaction with new analytic interest.

Transcribing Data

The recorded data must be finely transcribed, using CA's transcription system (see complete key at the beginning of this volume). The symbols indicate speakers' pauses, sound stretches, stress, pitch, pace, volume, or the like, as illustrated in Figure 1.1.

Transcriptions are exacting in these minute ways because it is participants who are so exacting in talk-in-interaction. Inbreaths, outbreaths, silence, sound stretches, cut-offs, pitch rises and falls, and so on, are not extraneous elements of ordinary talk. For example, silence carries interactional meaning. If you wait too long before answering someone's invitation, the inviter may think you are not interested.

Analysts transcribe the talk as they hear it, not making any corrections or changes in relation to what speakers actually say (e.g., *gonna* for *going to*). For the sake of visual clarity, we have in subsequent chapters standardized some unconventional spellings in CA transcripts that readers might find distracting, such as *sistuh* for *sister, bedder* for *better, wz/wuz* for *was, t'* for *to, thet* for *that, yer* for *you're*, etc.

Aside from the above, we have left intact more commonly used spellings of spoken forms such as *gonna, wanna, gotta, cuz, y'know*, etc. Increasingly, we see these spelling forms in newspaper articles, advertising, and daily correspondence at least in American English, for example, an issue of *New York Times Sunday Magazine* had "fuhgitduhaboutit" ("forget about it") on its cover.

Unfortunately, what learners hear outside the classroom may not match the language taught inside the classroom. For instance, if students only learn to articulate greetings such as *How are you?* by fully pronouncing each word, they
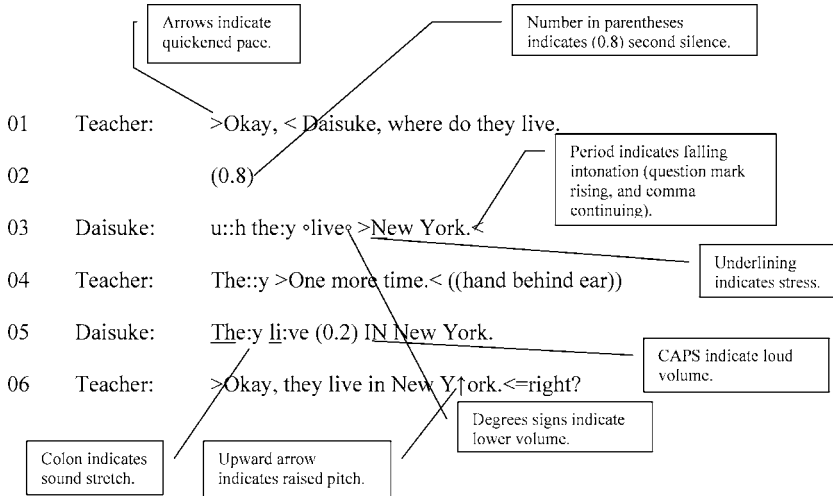

Figure 1.1 Transcription Illustrations.

may not have a clue when they hear *Hawaryuh?*, which many proficient speakers use frequently in face-to-face interaction, on the telephone, on the radio, on the television, and so on. The question of whether to excise all unconventional spellings from language instruction is more complex than meets the eye. Writing the utterance as it is heard helps one to access the very pronunciations that many proficient speakers use on a daily basis. This is the equivalent of using "invented spelling" as a resource for developing literacy skills in first language acquisition (Gambrell, Morrow, & Pressley, 2007).

Reading a CA transcript takes some getting accustomed to. To facilitate the reading of subsequent chapters, we suggest first studying the transcription symbols. They will become increasingly recognizable as one sees them repeated in data extracts. Depending on the level of their students, teachers may decide on whether to use CA transcriptions in their language classes. In fact, CA-type spellings will help learners access the actual sounds of oral language.

Analyzing Data

CA analysts approach the data from an **emic perspective** (Pike, 1967).

> **Emic perspective** is a way of looking at language and social interaction from an "insider's" perspective, i.e., stepping inside the shoes of participants to understand their talk and actions.

What distinguishes CA from other emic approaches (e.g., ethnography of speaking) is that, for CA, the insider's perspective is not obtained by interviewing the speakers, but by uncovering how the participants treat each other's talk in the details of interaction. More specifically, CA's emic procedures are unique in five ways:

(1) unmotivated looking;
(2) repeated listening and viewing;
(3) answering "why that now?";
(4) case-by-case analysis;
(5) deviant case analysis.

First, the analysis begins with unmotivated looking (Psathas, 1995), which involves initially examining the data without a set of hypotheses. In other words, an analyst remains open and curious about any potential discoveries. Unmotivated looking does not exclude having a general area of interest such as turn-taking at the outset of a project. Second, the analysis involves repeated listening and viewing to make initial observations. Third, making observations means writing everything that comes to mind when examining a piece of data in answering the question "Why that now?" (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, p. 299). That is, why a particular utterance is said in this particular way at

this particular moment. Asking this question may seem contradictory to the principle of unmotivated looking, except that it is a question that participants themselves ask. For example, if we hear *It's cold in here*, we need to figure out why someone is saying this at this particular moment: is it a statement, a complaint, or a request? In CA analysis, we would look at whether it is treated by the participants themselves as a statement, a complaint, or a request by examining the details of the interaction, i.e., how the current turn is constructed and what the co-participant makes of it. Fourth, when something of interest emerges that may be a regular interactional practice, the analyst examines other transcripts from other participants, i.e., developing an analysis or building an argument on a case-by-case basis. Finally, cases that do not fit into the general argument are not discarded as outliers but treated with special care (i.e., deviant case analysis) (ten Have, 2007), which may yield three outcomes: (1) the deviant case becomes a basis for reworking the existing argument; (2) the deviant case turns out to fit into the existing argument upon closer analysis; (3) the deviant case is an instance of a different interactional practice.

Interactional Competence and Interactional Practices

As Hymes (1974) writes, "[a] child from whom any and all of the grammatical sentences of a language might come with equal likelihood would be of course a social monster" (p. 75). Essential to one's language development is the ability to communicate functionally and interactively, i.e., communicative competence, the development of which is the goal of **communicative language teaching** (CLT) (Canale & Swain, 1980; Celce-Murcia, 2001).

> **Communicative language teaching (CLT)** is an approach to the teaching of a second or foreign language that emphasizes communication as both the goal and means of learning a language. Within this approach, learners regularly work in pairs and groups, authentic materials and tasks are used, and skills are integrated from the beginning.

In Celce-Murcia's (2007) revised model of communicative competence, she emphasizes the vital but often neglected role of **interactional competence** (see Kasper, 2006a; Young & Miller, 2004; Young, 2008).

> **Interactional competence (IC)** is the ability to use the various interactional resources, such as doing turn-taking or dealing with problems of understanding.

    Language learners need to develop interactional competence in conjunction with other components of communicative competence. Conversation analysis offers a wealth of knowledge that can make our understanding of interactional competence more specific, more systematic, and more pedagogically sound. Conversation analysis delivers the stuff that interactional competence is made of, i.e., **interactional practices**.

> **Interactional practices (IP)** are the systematic verbal and nonverbal methods participants use to engage in social interaction.

Just as applied linguists have spoken of language as a system (e.g., phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and discourse), various interactional practices combine to form conversation as a system:

(1) Turn-taking practices: Ways of constructing a turn and allocating a turn.
(2) Sequencing practices: Ways of initiating and responding to talk while performing actions such as requesting, inviting, story-telling, or topic initiation.
(3) Overall structuring practices: Ways of organizing a conversation as a whole as in openings and closings.
(4) Repair practices: Ways of addressing problems in speaking, hearing, or understanding of the talk.

These practices can be heuristically represented in a Model of Interactional Practices, as shown in Figure 1.2 below.
    Turn-taking practices lie at the base because the turn is the most elementary unit of conversation; two or more turns are connected in sequencing practices to accomplish social actions such as complimenting, complaining, or story-telling; sequences can then be brought together in overall structuring practices to organize a conversation, as in openings and closings; repair practices filter throughout the entire system by targeting problems of speaking, hearing, or understanding of the talk. That you are able to have a conversation with
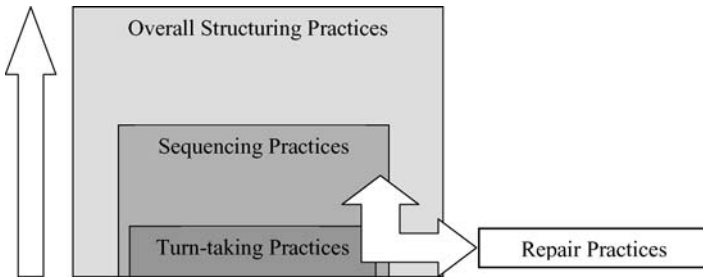

Figure 1.2 Model of Interactional Practices.

someone in the first place is evidence that you know about these interactional practices, although perhaps not at a conscious level, at least not until attention has been directed to them.

Turn-taking Practices

Without turns, there is no social interaction. This is why turn-taking practices appear at the base of our model. A turn is the basic unit of conversation. A fundamental question in conversation is: How do we figure out when to begin talking and when to stop? Do we announce each time we are about to start and stop, for example, saying, "It's my turn now," or "I'm finished, and it's your turn"? Do we speak in the order of our height, weight, age, or time of arrival into the conversation? Why don't we all talk at the same time and crash into each other all the time? How come there usually isn't a long gap of silence between one turn and another? It's almost as if some invisible traffic system were in place, giving us signals for when to go, when to stop, or when it's okay to cruise through the conversation but with caution. Important findings from conversation analysis can help teachers to unveil this traffic system so that they may in turn help second language learners to map out these invisible rules of behavior. (We don't want our second language learners driven nuts!)

Proficient speakers don't need to know these traffic rules, just as they don't need to know grammar to produce perfectly grammatical sentences. But for a second language learner, not knowing the turn-taking system might mean never getting a chance to speak or, at the other end of the spectrum, coming across as an insensitive bully! Knowing how to participate in turn-taking is the single most elemental "driving force" in learning how to "do" conversation. It is the axle in the wheel of social interaction, the main supporting shaft that undergirds interactional competence.

> **Author's story (HW):** As a nonnative speaker of English who came to the United States years ago, I quickly discovered that American education is a system where talk matters, and silence is not golden. Yet, for a very long time, I had trouble getting a word in edgewise. My "ah-hah" moment only arrived upon reading CA's classic turn-taking article. I learned that every turn has its possible completion, there is a way to predict that completion, and there is a very narrow window around that completion where the next person can start speaking. I now sit in weekly faculty meetings projecting my colleagues' turn completion points. The knowledge of turn-taking has not only made me a better listener, but I get to contribute as well!

Sequencing Practices

Getting a turn to talk does not mean people know what to do with that turn, that is, how to use the turn to get things done. Sequencing practices refer to participants' ways of connecting two or more turns, for example, in making and responding to a request, telling a story, or managing a topic. A cursory glance through ESL/EFL textbooks reveals units on giving advice, expressing agreement/disagreement or the like, and applied linguists have come a long way in advocating for authentic materials in language teaching (e.g., Boxer & Pickering, 1995). Despite all good intentions, textbook dialogs are not always an accurate representation of what people say (Wong, 2002, 2007). Part of the problem is that teachers sometimes rely on their intuitions of, for example, how to do an invitation to teach language learners about invitations. However, our intuitions often turn out to be incomplete or even misleading (Bernsten, 2002; Wolfson, 1989). As a result, even with the goal of teaching real language, instructors often do not know how to make that real language teachable because they do not have sufficient understanding of the interactional practices.

> **Author's story (HW):** Before coming to the United States, as an English major in a Chinese university, I took a course called "American Culture." I learned that the appropriate response to compliments is "Thank you." That, of course, is not always true, and it has perhaps made many learners of English sound unduly presumptuous. The rules of compliment responses turn out to be far from simplistic. Anita Pomerantz (1978) found that Americans are in fact torn between expressing self-deprecation and showing agreement. As such, the actual response often involves downgrading the compliment.

Overall Structuring Practices

Overall structuring practices refer to ways of organizing a conversation as a whole, as in openings and closings. Openings and closings are two kinds of segments found in all conversations. These segments are composed of sequences of two or more turns. For example, a telephone closing is regularly composed of a preclosing sequence (e.g., an exchange of *okay*, *alright*, or the like) and another sequence where speakers exchange *goodbye*, as shown in the example below (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973):

```
01    A:        O.K.
02    B:        O.K.
03    A:        Bye bye.
04    B:        Bye.
```

Proficient speakers of a language breeze through these sequences with the greatest of ease. In fact, we probably know some tricks to extend a conversation that is about to close. The phrase *by the way* is one such ploy. When this phrase is used at the end of a conversation, the closing stands vulnerable to opening up, perhaps for longer than someone might wish. Or, if a conversation were to close too abruptly, we might think there is something amiss. Nonetheless, ESL/EFL learners do not necessarily know how to get out of a conversation or how to extend it in a second language. They may not understand that closing a conversation is not always as simple as just saying *goodbye*.

> **Author's story (HW):** In an adult ESL class that I videotaped, a student had just finished giving her presentation in the front of the classroom. Before returning to her seat, she said "bye" to her classmates and they reciprocated with "bye." Since she was only returning to her seat, clearly it was unnecessary and inappropriate to say *goodbye*.

Repair Practices

Repair practices are the various ways of addressing problems in speaking, hearing or understanding of the talk (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977). The notion of repair includes but is not limited to error correction. The organization of repair is a complex system for doing "maintenance work" that avoids or averts miscommunication. Repair helps us clarify what we say, check our understanding of what another has said, correct something we just said, and so on.

For example, speakers can use *what?* because they did not hear clearly or did not understand what another has just said. As proficient speakers, we usually know how to interpret whether *what?* is targeting a problem of hearing or understanding. However, learners of a second language are not necessarily attuned to these subtleties.

> **Author's story (JW):** Once when my seven-year-old daughter Monica was speaking on the telephone with her grandmother, who was originally from China. I heard Monica repeating *What?* several times, and her grandmother's replies became increasingly louder. Finally, Monica lifted the phone receiver away from her ear and said in exasperation, "Popo [i.e., 'grandmother'], I can hear you. I just can't understand you!"

In sum, conversation analysis has the potential to play a key role in second language teaching (Barraja-Rohan & Pritchard, 1997; Houck & Tatsuki, forthcoming). While trained language teachers are armed with sophisticated knowledge of grammar, phonology, or sociolinguistics, the same level of sophistication is often lacking in their understanding of interactional practices.

Despite the emphasis on speaking as the most difficult and important skill in language learning, existing descriptions of what actually goes into the teaching of speaking can still be impoverished or partial either because they do not reflect the way people talk, or because they do not provide enough details that inform teachers about how spoken language works. Conversation analysis provides a "one of a kind" look into what makes conversation happen. It is a goldmine that we shall tap into in ensuing chapters, making what is otherwise intuitive and elusive explicit, teachable, and enriching for second language teachers and their learners.

Chapter Summary

An important goal of second language teaching is to develop learners' communicative competence, in which interactional competence figures prominently. Conversation analysis is a powerful tool for revealing the various interactional practices that constitute interactional competence: turn-taking, sequencing, overall structuring, and repair. Turn-taking practices are ways of constructing a turn and allocating a turn. Sequencing practices allow us to implement actions with the turns. Overall structuring practices organize a conversation into segments such as openings and closings. Repair practices ensure that participants understand one another. The sum total of these practices is represented in a heuristic model of interactional practices, which are introduced in detail in subsequent chapters. The final chapter focuses on CA insights into instructional practices in the classroom or tutorial settings. Understanding these practices is foundational to enhancing teachers' pedagogical knowledge of teaching conversation.

Key Concepts

- **Communicative language teaching (CLT)**: An approach to the teaching of a second or foreign language that emphasizes communication as both the goal and means of learning a language. Within this approach, learners regularly work in pairs and groups, authentic materials and tasks are used, and skills are integrated from the beginning.
- **Emic perspective:** A way of looking at language and social interaction from an "insider's" perspective, i.e., stepping inside the shoes of participants to understand their talk and actions.
- **Interactional competence (IC)**: The ability to use the various interactional resources, such as doing turn-taking or dealing with problems of understanding.
- **Interactional practices (IP)**: The systematic verbal or nonverbal methods participants use to engage in social interaction.
- **Naturally occurring data**: Actual occurrences of talk not gathered from interviewing techniques, observational methods, native intuitions, or experimental methodologies.

- **Talk-in-interaction:** Differing kinds of talk and their accompanying body language that occur in daily life across settings from casual to institutional contexts. One can have casual conversations in work settings, and vice versa.

Post-reading Questions

1. Having read the chapter, what, if anything, would you change about the way you would teach your resident alien (in the pre-reading question at the beginning of this chapter) so that this new arrival is able to participate in social interaction with ease and not stick out like a novice?
2. Do you have any anecdotes about language learners' misuse, misinterpretation, or misunderstanding of language that resemble the authors' stories in this chapter?
3. What are the features of conversation analysis as a methodology?
4. Why is conversation analysis useful as a resource in second language teaching?
5. What is interactional competence? How is it related to interactional practices?
6. What are the four sets of interactional practices? Give an example of each.
7. Having read the chapter, what questions or ideas do you have regarding the teaching of conversation to second language learners?

Suggested Readings

Barraja-Rohan, A.-M., & Pritchard, C.R. (1997). *Beyond talk: A course in communication and conversation for intermediate adult learners of English*. Melbourne, Australia: Western Melbourne Institute of TAFE (now Victoria University of Technology). http://eslandcateaching.wordpress.com/

Celce-Murcia, M. (2007). Rethinking the role of communicative competence in language teaching. In E. Alcon Soler & M. P. Safont Jorda (Eds.), *The intercultural language use and language learning* (pp. 41–58). Dordrecht: Springer.

Houck, N., & Tatsuki, D. (Eds.) (forthcoming). *Pragmatics from theory to practice*, (Volumes 1 and 2). Alexandria, VA: TESOL Publications.

Kasper, G. (2006). Beyond repair: Conversation analysis as an approach to SLA. *AILA Review*, *19*, 83–99.

ten Have, P. (2007). *Doing conversation analysis: A practical guide* (2nd edition). London: Sage.

Young, R. (2008). *Language and interaction: An advanced resource book*. New York: Routledge.

Chapter 3

Sequencing Practices and Language Teaching I

Basic Sequences

Pre-reading Questions

1. What are some routine tasks (e.g., request, apology, compliment, etc.) that second language learners need to perform as members of the target speech community?
2. What are some problems that ESL/EFL learners face in getting the routine tasks done in English?
3. How authentic are the textbook materials on teaching learners how to request or engage in any other activity in English?
4. If you were to design a course in speaking, what real-life tasks would you envision that your learners would need to accomplish with the newly acquired speaking skills?

Chapter Overview

This and the next chapter provide an overview of sequencing practices. In this chapter, we offer a conversation analytic account of how participants manage to foreshadow, initiate, respond to, and expand upon their own and others' talk while conducting a wide range of social actions such as announcing, complaining, complimenting, inviting, offering, and rejecting. How to do these social actions has been a consistent focus of ESL/EFL materials and classroom instruction for quite some time now. With a focus on the microanalyses of actual talk, CA findings can help to invigorate teachers' interest in achieving a nuanced sense of language and social interaction. In turn, teachers can offer learners a more specific, more situated, and more complex picture of how sequencing works. Transcripts of naturally occurring talk showcasing real-life sequencing practices are used for illustration. The pedagogical relevance of the various sequencing practices is considered throughout the chapter. We provide a range of awareness-raising and practicing activities for teaching sequencing at the end of the chapter.

Sequencing Practices

As discussed in Chapter 1, **sequencing practices** constitute another key component in our model of interactional practices.

> **Sequencing practices** are ways of initiating and responding to talk while performing actions such as requesting, inviting, story-telling or topic initiation.

In this chapter, we focus on the basic sequences within sequencing practices.

While turn-taking practices provide the essential platform for interaction, knowing how to get a turn and construct a turn is only the first step towards full participation in the target speech community. One still has to know what to do with the turn at hand. One has to know what actions to perform and how. Sequencing practices are the resources with which social actions such as announcing, inviting, complimenting, complaining, agreeing, or disagreeing are implemented and responded to, and mastering these resources is a central goal of ESL/EFL learners.

> **Author's story (JW):** One of my students from Turkey writes about her traumas of being shuffled from a canceled flight to a bus upon her first arrival in the United States: "I was still crying on the bus. The person next to me handed me a tissue. When I thanked him, he said, 'You're welcome.' I wondered why he was welcoming me until I heard others on the bus use the same expression in response to 'Thanks.' In Turkey, I was taught to say 'Not at all.' "

The practices of sequencing lie at the heart of Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) (Savignon, 2001). An important contribution to CLT has come from researchers in cross-cultural and interlanguage pragmatics, who showed how speech acts such as apologies, complaints, refusals, requests, compliments, and compliment responses are performed by native and non-native speakers of English (e.g., Beebe, Takahashi, & Uliss-Weltz, 1990; Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989; Boxer, 1996; Gass & Neu, 1999; Herbert, 1989, 1990; Kasper & Blum-Kulka, 1993; Trosborg, 1995). More recently, Kasper (2006b) has argued for a "discursive pragmatics" that studies speech acts from a conversation analytic perspective. Using CA-based materials to teach pragmatics can provide students with empirically researched rather than intuitively generated information, raise their awareness of pragmatic transfer, enhance their ability to understand and produce relevant next turns, and ultimately, help them prevent cross-cultural miscommunications (Huth, 2006, pp. 2045–2046; Huth & Taleghani-Nikazm, 2006). In what follows, we show what discursive pragmatics might look like by describing how sequencing is

done in interaction. We organize our account by (1) generic sequencing practices (i.e., adjacency pairs and preference organization); (2) type-specific sequencing practices (e.g., requests); (3) response tokens.

Generic Sequencing Practices

Generic sequencing practices are the practices that underpin all other type-specific sequences such as requests or offers. In this section, we introduce two concepts central to these generic practices: (1) adjacency pair; (2) preference.

Adjacency Pair

Just like a basic building block of a turn is a TCU (turn-constructional unit), a basic building block of a sequence is an **adjacency pair**. In the following extract, lines 01–02 are one adjacency pair, and lines 03–04 another (see complete transcription key at the beginning of this book):

(1)   [CA ASI 2004 data]
       01   ((ring))
       02   Nancy: H'llo:?
       03   Hyla: Hi:,
       04   Nancy: ↑HI::.

> **Adjacency pair (AP)** refers to a sequence of two turns produced by different speakers and ordered as first pair-part (FPP) and second pair-part (SPP), where a particular type of FPP requires a particular type of SPP.

Upon the production of a first pair-part, a second pair-part is made conditionally relevant (Schegloff, 1968). That is, a particular type of first pair-part calls for a particular type of second pair-part. For example, a question makes an answer conditionally relevant, a greeting makes a return greeting conditionally relevant, and an offer makes an acceptance or refusal conditionally relevant. Classic examples of adjacency pairs are the four core sequences in telephone openings: summons–answer, identification–recognition, greeting sequence, *how-are-you* sequence (see Chapter 5).

It is important to note that the pairs do not always occur adjacently. The adjacency pair organization is a normative framework, not an empirical generalization: it shapes the expectations, understandings, and actions of participants (cf. Conversational Maxims in Grice, 1975). In other words, it is not that a particular first pair-part is always followed by its second pair-part, but that the absence of that second pair-part (e.g., not saying *Hi* back to someone's greeting) becomes noticeable for the participants. In the following exchange

between Charlie Gibson of the *ABC News* and the vice presidential candidate Sarah Palin, Gibson's question (FPP) at line 01 does not receive an immediate answer at line 02, but an answer remains relevant over the next 12 lines. That Sarah Palin's second pair-part was not immediately forthcoming dominated the national news for at least a week or so. It became a basis for inferring her intelligence, competence, and readiness for the vice presidency:

(2)   [Bush Doctrine, ABC, September 2008]
```
    01    Charlie:    →    >Do you agree with the< Bush Doctrine?
    02                     (1.5)
    03    Sarah:           In what respect Charlie,
    04                     (0.8)
    05    Charlie:         Bush- wh- wh- what d'y- what d'y interpret it
    06                     to be.
    07                     (0.2)
    08    Sarah:           his wo:rld vie:w?
    09                     (0.2)
    10                     [( ° y' mean,° )    ]
    11    Charlie:         [>No.=the< Bush] doctrine. enunciated
                          September
    12                     (.) two thousand two. ° for the Iraq war.°
    13                     (0.8)
    14    Sarah:      →    I believe that ((continues))
```

Task 1

Consider the following telephone opening jotted down immediately after the call. Identify the adjacency pairs. Are there any missing first or second pair-parts?

```
    01                     ((phone rings))
    02    Hansun:    Hello?
    03    Charlie:   Hello?
    04                     ((silence))
    05    Hansun:    Who is this?
    06    Charlie:   Charlie.
    07                     ((silence))
    08    Hansun:    Oh, Michael's not home.
```

Nonnative speakers may have difficulty supplying the appropriate second pair-part of an adjacency pair, as shown in the following data taken from a language proficiency interview, where the ESL student answers a *wh*-question with "Yeah" twice:

(3)   [He, 1998, p. 106]
01   Interviewer: So what was your concentration=
02   Interviewee: →   =**Yeah.**
03   Interviewer: in China?
04   Interviewee: →   **Yeah.**
05   Interviewer: What con- what did you concentrate on=
06   Interviewee: =Physical chemistry.

An adjacency pair can be expanded, and such expansions can come before, between, and after the base adjacency pair as **pre-expansions**, insert-expansions, and post-expansions (see Schegloff, 2007 for a detailed account of these expansions).

> **Pre-expansion** is an adjacency pair positioned before the base adjacency pair designed to ensure its smooth running.

In the following segment, taken from a multi-party dinner conversation, Don's request for Jerry to pass the salt at line 04 is prefaced by the pre-expansion begun at line 01:

(4)   [Schegloff, 2007, p. 50]
01   Don: →   **Hey Jerry?**
02   Jerry: →   [((**looks to Don**))
03   Beth: [An' it- [he- he- it-]
04   Don: [Will you pass] that uh,
05   Jerry: Uh this?
06   Don: This one here,

> **Author's story (HW):** This used to be a typical scenario between my husband and me: I would ask a question, receive either a "huh?" or complete silence. I would then complain that he just didn't pay attention, and because this happened again and again, I would protest that he never listened. What was missing, of course, was the pre-expansion.

Some pre-expansions are specific to the kinds of sequences (e.g., invitation) they preface. These will be discussed along with the type-specific sequences later in the chapter.

Additional adjacency pairs can also come between the base adjacency pair.

> **Insert-expansion** is an adjacency pair that comes between the first and second pair-parts of the base adjacency pair to either clarify the first pair-part or seek preliminary information before doing the second pair-part.

In the following example, the first pair-part of the **insert-expansion** at line 02 points specifically backwards to the first pair-part of the base adjacency pair, seeking clarification of Debbie's "What is the deal.":

(5)   [CA ASI 2004 data—modified]
```
01      Debbie:              What is the dea::l.
02      Shelley:    →        What do you mea::n.
03      Debbie:     →        You're not gonna go::?
04                           (0.2)
05      Shelley:             well -hh now: my boss wants me to go: an:
06                           uhm finish this >stupid< trial thing, uhm
```

In the following example, before responding to the customer's request for a drink, the server checks the customer's drinking eligibility with the first pair-part of an insert-expansion:

(6)   [Schegloff, 2007, p. 109—modified]
```
01   Cus:               May I have a Budweiser?
02   Ser:      →        Are you twenty-one?
03   Cus:      →        No.
04   Ser:               No.
```

An adjacency pair may also be expanded beyond its second pair-part with a **post-expansion**.

> **Post-expansion** is a turn or an adjacency pair (AP) that comes after and is still tied to the base AP. Post-expansion can be minimal or non-minimal.

The minimal post-expansion is also referred to as **sequence-closing third** (**SCT**).

> **Sequence-closing third (SCT)** is an additional turn (e.g., *oh*, *okay*, or *great*) beyond the second pair-part designed to terminate the sequence.

(7)   [Schegloff, 2007, p. 283—modified]
   01   Ava: Where's he going.
   02   Bee: To Wa:shington.
   03   Ava: →   **Oh.**

Other examples of SCT are typically *Okay, Good*, or a combination such as *Oh okay great*.

The non-minimal post-expansion does exactly the opposite of the minimal post-expansion. Instead of closing down the sequence, it keeps the sequence open. It is typically done because the second pair-part of the base sequence is treated by the recipient as unsatisfactory in some way. In the tutoring interaction below, Heidi's advice at lines 01–02 is not immediately accepted by Lena (lines 03, 05, and 07–08):

(8)   [Waring tutoring data]
   01   Heidi: ((lines omitted)) Yeah you need to re(.)phrase the
   02   questions.
   03   (0.8)
   04   if that's what you (.) wanna do.
   05   Lena: I'll think about it. [((laugh)) cuz that-
   06   Heidi: [If- yeah yeah
   07   Lena: You don't know what it- <u>took</u> (.) for us to get to
   08   these=
   ((lines omitted))
   09   Heidi   →   **Yeah for <u>now</u>, if you can just do this. If you think**
   10   **that's (   ).=**
   11   Lena: →   **= >↓I ↑can do th↑at.<**
   12   Heidi: Yeah. Whatever order you want.

At lines 09–10, Heidi begins a post-expansion by making her initial advice more acceptable, which immediately receives a favorable response from Lena in the next turn (line 11).

Task 2

Identify all the relevant sequence types (e.g., base sequence and pre-, insert-, or post-expansion) in the following Skype chat exchange. Hansun and Michael are packing for their trip to Savannah, Georgia. Consider the timing in the brackets in your analysis.

[11:40:59 AM] Hansun says:
                01   Can you carry my boots in your backpack?
[11:41:33 AM] Michael says:
                02   What boots? and do we need boots?
[11:41:50 AM] Hansun says:
                03   To go with my outfit for dinner.

[11:43:40 AM] Hansun says:
<pre>   04   I'll carry all your reading materials.</pre>
[11:44:16 AM] Michael says:
<pre>   05   Okay.</pre>
[11:44:27 AM] Hansun says:
<pre>   06   Okay.</pre>

Preference Organization

Also generic to sequencing practices is an important organization called **preference** (Pomerantz, 1984; Sacks, 1987). In what follows, we first define preference, then discuss the criteria for deciding what is "preferred," and finally, address two sets of complications related to preference.

> **Preference** is a structural organization in which the alternatives that fit in a certain slot in a sequence are treated as nonequivalent (i.e., preferred vs. dispreferred).

Preferred actions are the "natural," "normal," or "expected" actions. Their absence is noticeable. The absence of a preferred action is a basis for inferring the presence of a dispreferred one. For example, after an invitation, acceptance is preferred and refusal dispreferred. The absence of acceptance is the basis for inferring refusal. To accurately understand the concept of preference, a few more specifications are in order:

(1) preference applies to both first and second pair-parts;
(2) preference is not a psychological concept;
(3) preferred actions minimize "face" threats;
(4) preference is context-dependent;
(5) not all adjacency pairs are subject to the preference organization.

First, preference applies to both first and second pair-parts. When we speak of preference, we often use this example: as second pair-parts in response to an invitation, acceptance is preferred over rejection. First pair-parts, however, can also be preferred or dispreferred. For instance, as first pair-parts, offers are preferred over requests. Requests are often withheld to maximize the possibility that someone will be the offering. Second, preference is not a psychological concept indicating one's personal desires. A refusal is dispreferred not because one hates rejecting an invitation (i.e., s/he might not want to go to the party in the first place). Third, preferred actions are designed to minimize face threats, maintain social solidarity, and avoid conflicts (Heritage, 1984a, p. 265). Fourth, what is preferred varies from context to context. After

self-deprecation (e.g., "My English is not very good"), what is preferred is disagreement, not agreement. In oral proficiency interviews, however, self-deprecation is not followed by disagreement (or agreement) (Lazaraton, 1997). Finally, not all adjacency pairs are subject to the preference organization. Preference becomes relevant when the first pair-part "makes conditionally relevant distinct alternative types of responding actions" (e.g., agree/disagree, accept/reject) (Schegloff & Lerner, 2009, p. 113). Many *wh*-questions, for example, do not seem to involve alternatives that can be "compellingly characterized" as preferred or dispreferred (Schegloff & Lerner, 2009, p. 113).

DECIDING WHAT IS PREFERRED

How do we decide, then, what is preferred (i.e., natural or expected) in a given context? Three criteria may be used:

(1) regularity of occurrence;
(2) potential for sequence-closing;
(3) unmarked turn shape.

First, what is preferred often refers to what is frequently done. For example, overwhelmingly, greetings are returned. Return greetings are thus preferred. Second, what is preferred is also what expedites the closing of a sequence. In the case of advising, advice is offered to be accepted, and acceptance of advice is the quickest way to close the sequence, and thus preferred. Third, preferred actions are regularly packaged in unmarked turn shapes: without any delay, mitigation (i.e., softening devices) or accounts (i.e., explanations). In the extract below, Priya's advice acceptance is done immediately and succinctly:

(09) [Waring tutoring data]
```
01   Liam:          Okay be↑fore I lose this, go through all of
02                  those. Periods. Double space.
03   Priya:   →     Oh yeah I will.
04   Liam:          Okay.
```

Dispreferred actions, on the other hand, are produced in marked formats with delay, mitigation, or accounts. In the next extract, Lena's advice rejection is produced with the delay (i.e., silence) at line 03, the further within-turn delay ("I'll think about it") and the mitigating laughter at line 05 as well as the account at lines 07, 09–11:

(10) [Waring tutoring data]
```
01   Heidi:     ((lines omitted)) Yeah you need to re(.)phrase the
02              questions.
03              (0.8)
04              if that's what you (.) wanna do.
```

```
05   Lena:    →   I'll think about it.  [((laughs)) cuz that-
06   Heidi:                             [If- yeah yeah
07   Lena:        You don't know what it-  [took (.) for us  [to get=
08   Heidi:                                [Yeah             [I kno:w.
09   Lena:        = to these three questions. u- u- you know. Over
10                a year of going back and
11                [forth of different things.
12   Heidi:       [O- O- O-
13                Okay.
```

Second language speakers may have a limited range of resources to conduct a dispreferred action (Gardner, 2004).

> **Author's story (HW):** The difficulties that Japanese speakers face in giving dispreferred responses became a salient topic of online discussion in my CA class. Some anecdotes that came up include: a Japanese woman said "I don't think so" and left when invited to lunch by her American co-worker, another replied with a curt "No!" when asked if she needed any help by a salesperson, and a Japanese businessman with low-level English expressed trouble saying "no" to someone asking for a cigarette in the street. In accounting for her experience working with a Japanese tutee, one student wrote: "she did not know how to say 'no' without being rude. We spent almost an hour talking about hedges, delays, accounts, pro-forma agreements, blocking responses, etc, and we re-recorded the role-play many times so that she could practice turning me down. She was very excited to learn how to refuse people!"

TWO COMPLICATIONS

Preference is not determined *a priori*. Participants play an important part in jointly shaping and reshaping whatever is normally taken to be preferred or dispreferred. More specifically, two complications enter the picture:

(1) preference may be manipulated via turn designs;
(2) any preferred action may be produced in a dispreferred format, and vice versa.

For example, *yes/no* questions generally prefer a *yes* answer. Hansun was recently visiting Jean, and as they were driving around, Hansun asks, "So do you have neighborhood barbecue and stuff like that?" "U:m, not that much," Jean answered. Note that Jean's *no* response to Hansun's *yes/no* question is done in a mitigated format. In other words, it treats Hansun's question as preferring a *yes* answer. In the extract below, however, this preference for *yes* is reversed to *no* with the use of the adverb "yet":

(11)   [Schegloff, 2007, p. 273]
    01   Bee: →   **Oh did they get rid of Kuhleznik yet hhh**
    02   Ava: No in fact I know somebody who ha:s her now.

Consider another example: the speaker redesigns his/her question at line 03 to reverse the preference so that the negative answer is preferred:

(12)   [Sacks, 1987, p. 64]
    01   A: →   **Good cook there?**
    02   ((pause))
    03   A: →   **Nothing special?**

   Aside from the fact that preference may be manipulated via turn designs, a normally preferred action may be done in a dispreferred format. The following is an example where the preferred action of granting permission is done as if it were dispreferred:

(13)   [Schegloff lecture CA ASI 2004]
    01   A: Can I go over to Doug's house?
    02   B: →   **Well, it's pretty close to dinner . . . well, okay.**

B's response sets A up for rejection but offers what is sought in the end, thereby creating the image of being extra nice. On the other hand, a dispreferred action may be done in a preferred format, which would incur the image of someone being extra difficult or the like. In the next example, Bee's *yes/no* inquiry, which prefers a *yes* response, receives the dispreferred *no*. Notably, the *no* is done immediately without any mitigation or accounts. It is, in other words, done as if it were a preferred response:

(14)   [Schegloff, 2007, p. 273]
    01   Bee: You have anybody that I would know
    02   from the English department?
    03   Ava: →   **>mm< I don't think so**

   Preference is a complex concept. Unfortunately, it is often understood in a dogmatic way. The urge to call any turn in conversation preferred or dispreferred without considering what kind of sequence that turn is in, whether preference is relevant to that sequence, what is treated as preferred or dispreferred by the participants in that sequence, and how that treatment is used to perform particular social actions, is common among beginning students of CA. Understanding the above complications would allow language teachers to steer clear of the simplistic route of mapping forms to functions and give their students the truly dynamic gift of using language as a resource. For example, it is important to understand that rejections are not always done with delay, mitigation, or accounts. If someone says a simple *no* to your invitation, it can

be meant as a joke or to be purposely nasty. ESL/EFL learners do not necessarily know these subtleties.

Task 3

Consider the following exchange, where line 01 is the first pair-part (FPP) of an adjacency pair: (a) What action does this FPP perform? (b) What kind of second pair-part (SPP) does it prefer? How do you know? (c) Where is its SPP in the transcript? (d) Is it the preferred or dispreferred option? How can you tell?

```
[CA ASI 2004 data—modified]
01   Bee:   You sound HA:PPY,
02   Ava:   uh- I sound ha:p [py?
03   Bee:                    [Ye::ah.
04          (0.3)
05   Ava:   No:.
```

Type-specific Sequencing Practices

Type-specific sequences are those addressed to particular actions such as requests or compliments. These are exactly the foci of many ESL/EFL textbooks and classroom instruction. In this section, we introduce these sequences alphabetically: agreement and disagreement, announcement, complaint, compliment response, invitation and offer, and request.

Agreement and Disagreement

As assessments, agreement and disagreement are not treated as equivalent by participants: agreement is preferred, and disagreement dispreferred. As a preferred action, agreement is typically done without delay, mitigation, or accounts (Pomerantz, 1984). The three ways of doing agreement are:

(1) upgrade;
(2) same;
(3) downgrade:

(15)   [Pomerantz, 1984, p. 65—modified]
      (upgrade)

01	A:		It's a beautiful day out isn't it?
02	B:	→	**Yeh it's just gorgeous . . .**

(16)   [Pomerantz, 1984, p. 67]
      (same)

| 01 | A: | | . . . She was a nice lady—I liked her. |
| 02 | B: | → | **I liked her too.** |

(17)   [Pomerantz, 1984, p. 68]
(downgrade)

| 01 | A: | | That's beautiful. |
| 02 | B: | → | **Isn't it pretty.** |

Disagreement, on the other hand, generally features delay and mitigation. As shown in the examples below, delay can be done through

(1) silence;
(2) questions;
(3) reluctance markers (e.g., "uh" or "well");
(4) agreement prefaces (e.g., "yeah but").

The first two features are seen in Extract (18) below and the third and fourth features in Extract (19):

(18)   [Pomerantz, 1984, p. 71—modified]

01	A:		. . . You sound very far a<u>wa</u>y.
02		→	**(0.7)**
03	B:	→	**I <u>do</u>?**
04	A:		Yeah.
05	B:		No <u>I</u>'m no:t,

(19)   [Pomerantz, 1984, p. 72—modified]

01	A:		We've got some pretty [(good schools.)
02	B:	→	[**Well, yeah but** where in
03			the heck am I gonna <u>live</u>.

Mitigation of disagreement is done with "qualifications, exceptions, additions, and the like" (Pomerantz, 1984, p. 74):

(20)   [Pomerantz, 1984, p. 75—modified]

01	A:		But you admit he is having fun and you think
02			it's funny.
03	B:	→	**I think it's funny, yeah. But it's a ridiculous**
04			**funny.**

(21)   [Pomerantz, 1984, p. 75—modified]

01	C:		. . . You've really both basically honestly gone
02			your own ways.
03	D:	→	**Essentially, except we've had a good**
04			**relationship at home.**

> **Author's story (HW):** In arguing for the importance of teaching preferred and dispreferred responses even at a lower level, one of my graduate students wrote: "Students find it mystifying that they should at first agree with a stranger's unprompted initiation (such as a complaint about how bad a class is, for example) even when they completely disagree . . . many students coming to America assume that we value directness."

Task 4

Consider the following textbook materials on teaching disagreement taken from *Speaking Naturally*. Given what you have just read about agreement/disagreement, in what ways do they reflect how disagreement is done in real life, and in what ways do they not? How would you modify these materials if necessary?

Direct
01   Mary: The show finishes at ten o'clock.
02   Chuck: No, it doesn't. They told me eleven.

Indirect
01   Mary: The show finishes at ten o'clock.
02   Chuck: Oh, really? That's strange. They told me it would be
03   around eleven.

In ESL/EFL texts, the teaching of disagreement typically does not include issues of timing, i.e., saying an utterance early versus late. Doing a disagreement without any hesitation can be seen as rude, aggressive, or uncooperative. For example, the direct utterance in the task above "No, it doesn't. They told me eleven." may be viewed by its recipient Mary as (somewhat) impolite precisely because it was delivered without any prefacing silence or uncertainty markers. The issue of timing is particularly difficult for ESL/EFL learners because they are still struggling to comprehend a message as well as respond to it.

Announcement

The announcement sequence consists minimally of the following adjacency pair:

(D = deliverer; R = receiver)
D: Announcement of News
R: Response to Announcement

This base adjacency pair can take on pre-, insert-, and post-expansions, resulting in the following expanded sequence (Maynard, 2003; Terasaki, 2004):

    D: Pre-announcement FPP ⎫
    R: Pre-announcement SPP ⎭
⎧ D: Announcement of News
⎩ R: Insert sequence FPP ⎫
    D: Insert sequence SPP ⎭
    R: Response to Announcement
    D: Elaboration of News (Post-announcement FPP) ⎫
    R: Assessment of News (Post-announcement SPP) ⎭

In the following example, the braces on the left mark the two base announcement sequences, and the three on the right mark respectively pre-, insert-, and post-expansions:

(22) [Terasaki, 2004, p. 176—modified]
    01 D: I forgot to tell you the two best things that ⎫ Pre-announcement
    02   happened to me today. ⎭ sequence
    03 R: Oh super-What were they.
    04 D: ⎧ I got a B plus on my math test.
    05 R: ⎩ On your final? ⎫ Insert sequence
    06 D: Uh h<u>u</u>h? ⎭
    07 R: Oh that's w<u>o</u>nderful!
    08 D: ⎧ hh And I got athl<u>e</u>tic award.
    09 R: ⎩ REALLY?!?
    10 D: Uh huh. From Sports Club. ⎫ Post-announcement
    11 R: Oh that's terrific Ronald. ⎭ sequence

PRE-ANNOUNCEMENT

In the first pair-part of the pre-announcement (henceforth "Pre-announcement First"), the speaker strives to project some news to come without actually delivering the news (Terasaki, 2004, p. 182). Pre-announcement First serves to gauge the potential news-worthiness of the announcement and give the recipient an opportunity to preempt the telling in case it is not news for him/her. The features of Pre-announcement First are:

(1) naming the projected sequence (e.g., "news");
(2) characterizing the news (e.g., "great" news);
(3) referring to its recency (e.g., "today");
(4) offering to tell (e.g., "You wanna know X?").

    These features are shown in the following two examples:

(23)   [Terasaki, 2004, p. 184—modified]
    01   D: →   **Did you hear the terrible news?**
    02   R: no, what.

(24)   [Terasaki, 2004, p. 184—modified]
    01   D: →   **Toni and Bill I have something to tell you.** You
    02   probably heard about it already but just in case you
    03   haven't.

The preferred second pair-part of the pre-announcement sequence (henceforth "Pre-announcement Second") is a solicitation of the news (henceforth "**Solicit**"), and such Solicits are routinely formulated as *wh*-questions:

(25)   [Terasaki, 2004, p. 193]
    01   D: Hey we got good news.
    02   R: →   **What's the good news.**

(26)   [Terasaki, 2004, p. 193]
    01   D: Y'wanna know who I got stoned with a
    02   few(h)weeks ago? hh!
    03   R: →   **Who.**

Solicit is the preferred second pair-part of the pre-announcement sequence, where one requests the news with a *wh*-question.

Task 5

Using what you have just read in the prior section, explain why the following exchange from *Everybody Loves Raymond* is funny.

01   Marie: Guess what?
02   Other family members: What?
03   Marie: Guess.
04   ((audience laughter))

ANNOUNCEMENT RESPONSE

In responding to an announcement, one can encourage elaboration, discourage elaboration, or remain ambivalent (Maynard, 2003, pp. 98–107). The three types of announcement responses are:

(1) newsmark (e.g., *Really?*);
(2) news receipt (e.g., *Oh*);
(3) standardized *oh*-prefaced assessment (e.g., *Oh good.*).

Newsmark is a type of announcement response that encourages elaboration in the following forms:

(1) *oh* + partial repeat (e.g., *oh do they?*)
(2) *really?*
(3) *yes/no* questions (e.g., *did she?*)

In the following extract, R encourages elaboration with "REALLY?!?":

(27) [Maynard, 2003, p. 102]
```
01   D:          ° hh And I got athletic award.
02   R:    →     REALLY?!?
03   D:          Uh huh. From Sports Club.
04   R:          Oh that's terrific Ronald.
```

News receipts, by contrast, may receive a confirmation with no elaboration in the next turn (Maynard, 2003, p. 101).

News receipt is a type of announcement response that discourages elaboration in the following forms:

(1) *oh*
(2) *oh really*
(3) uninverted *yes/no* question (*she did?*)
(4) *oh* + assessment (*oh great*)

---

(28) [Maynard, 2003, p. 101—modified]
```
01   Emma:       Hey that was the same spot we took off for
02               Honolulu. (0.4) where they put him on, at that
03               chartered place,
04   Nancy:  →   Oh really?
05   Emma:       Y:ea::h.
06   Nancy:      Oh:? For heaven sakes.
```

(29) [Maynard, 2003, p. 101—modified]
```
01   Ida:        .hhh Well there's a: few things arrived for you.
02   Jenny:  →   Oh goo:d  [.hhh
```

```
03   Ida:                    [Yes.
04   Jenny:        Oh cuz the boys were asking how long they'd been
05                       . . .
```

Finally, although *oh*-preface assessments usually function as news receipts that discourage elaboration, when *oh good* is used to respond to good news and *oh dear* to bad news, they are each designed to be ambivalent about encouraging or discouraging elaboration (Maynard, 2003, p. 103). According to Maynard (2003), both *oh good* and *oh dear* have an "abstract and laconic quality that endows them with a utility for responding to very diverse kinds of news" (p. 103). We show one case using *oh good*:

```
(30)   [Maynard, 2003, p. 104—modified]
       01   Mum:       Auntie Vi is he::re=
       02   Leslie:  →  =h- ↑Oh goo[d,
       03   Mum:                   [She's been here all [the wee:k ['n
       04   Leslie:                                     [° hhhh    [Oh:
       05             how nice.
       06             (.)
       07   Mum:      M[m:.
       08   Leslie:    [.hhhh Are you having her dinner? hh
```

Task 6

> Look for announcement sequences (e.g., giving or telling information/news and responding to information/news) in ESL/EFL textbooks. Compare them with the information given in the above section. Do you find pre-announcements, insert sequences, and post-announcements? Do you find newsmarks and news receipts? If there is a discrepancy between the textbook materials and what is presented here, how would you modify your instruction?

Teaching ESL/EFL students the subtle differences between newsmarks and news receipts can help them become better participants in conversation so that they do not look as if they were interested when they are not, or vice versa.

> **Author's story (HW):** My cousin from China who has a limited command of English visited us last summer. She would respond to everything my husband and I said with "Oh really?" regardless of whether it was anything newsworthy or surprising. I remember thinking it was a bit odd.

Complaint

Complaints may be launched directly against a co-participant or indirectly about a third party (e.g., Drew, 1998; Stokoe, 2009). In the conversation analytic literature, "complaint" is also used to characterize talk about oneself such as *I'm so tired* or *I have so much work* (Mandelbaum, 1991/1992). Our focus is on direct complaints. Schegloff (1988) offers an elaborate account of how Sherri's turn at line 05 below is produced and recognized as a complaint:

(31) [Schegloff, 1988a, pp. 119–120—modified]
```
01              ((door squeaks))
02   Sherri:    Hi Carol.=
03   Carol:     =[Hi::.    ]
04   Ruthie:     [CA:RO] L, HI::
05   Sherri:  → You didn't get an icecream sandwich,
06   Carol:     I kno:w, hh I decided that my body didn't need it.
07   Sherri:    Yes but ours di:d=
08              =hh heh heh heh [heh heh heh .hhih
```

At line 05, Sherri notices a negative event, and more specifically, a failure on the part of Carol to bring back an icecream sandwich. This specific type of noticing appears to be a practice for doing complaining (Schegloff, 1988a, pp. 120–121). In addition, line 05 is also treated as a complaint by Carol. While a simple noticing would get a response such as *oh* or agreement, a complaint makes conditionally relevant a range of responses such as accounts, apologies, or remedies. Carol provides an account at line 06, showing that she treats line 05 as a complaint. The sequence goes on to include multiple accounts and remedies from Carol and multiple rejections by Ruthie and Sherri, yielding further evidence for the participants' understanding of line 05 as a complaint. We only show part of the ensuing interaction below:

(32) [Schegloff, 1988a, p. 128—modified]
```
01   Carol:   → hh alright give me some money and you can
02                treat me to one and I'll buy you all some
03                [too.           ]
04   Sherri:    [I'm kidding,] I don't need it.
     ((lines omitted))
05   Carol:   → I know an icecream sandwich is better, but I don't
06                feel like going down to Parking Level and seeing
07                all those weird people and
08                have them st[a:re at me.
09   Ruthie:                  [in your slippers,
10                (0.3)
11   Carol:     Yeah.
12                (0.8)
13            → I don't want them to see me when I look this
```

14		**good.**
15		(0.4)
16	Ruthie:	Hhuh hhhh=
17	Carol:	**=no one deserves it.**

At lines 01–03, Carol offers a remedy which gets rejected by Sherrie at line 04. At lines 05–08, Carol gives another account for her unwillingness to go downstairs for the icecream sandwich, which is continued at lines 13 and 17.

The most comprehensive treatment of complaint sequences can be found in Dersley and Wootton (2000), where complaints of an acrimonious nature more akin to accusations are investigated with a focus on the first four positions: complaint, response to complaint, rebuttal to complaint response, and response to rebuttal. They show three types of responses to complaints and found that the most frequent response (85 percent) is (2) below:

(1) *didn't do it*;
(2) *not at fault* (i.e., excusable);
(3) alternative characterization of the offense.

The *didn't do it* option exhibits preferred turn features (i.e., without delay, mitigation, or accounts); whereas the *not at fault* option manifests dispreferred features (i.e., with delay, mitigation, or accounts). In the following segment, Clara responds to Milly's complaint immediately with a straightforward *didn't do it* denial:

(33) [Dersley & Wootton, 2000, p. 381—modified]

01	Milly:		people <u>don't</u> like <u>you</u> putting down <u>o</u>ther people
02			[to make yourself look g<u>oo</u>d.
03	Clara:	→	[**I did not** ((slow deliberate prosody through to 09))
04			(.)
05			**put**=
06	Milly:		=<u>yes you</u> [<u>did</u>
07	Clara:		[**<u>ANYONE</u>**
08			(.)
09	Clara:		**DOWN.**

By contrast, Dave's complaint that his wife is not making enough money is received with a delayed *not at fault* excuse that shifts the blame to the recession:

(34) [Dersley & Wootton, 2000, p. 384—modified]

01	Dave:	forty-five a <u>day</u>.
02	Gemma:	uh ° uh °
03		(0.7)
04	Dave:	That's what <u>you</u> yourself should be <u>ma</u>king (0.3)
05		profit

```
06                    (0.2)
07    Gemma:          ° uh °
08                    (2.6)
09    Wife:    →      there's a recession on at the moment
10                    [you don't do it all the ti::me?
11    Dave:           [I kno:w yeah.
```

The third type of initial response to complaints is an alternative characterization of the offense:

```
(35)    [Dersley & Wootton, 2000, p. 385—modified]
        01    Colin:          you were- just (0.2) y'know sort- of (.) blanking her
        02                    out I don't understand  [(you)
        03    Mum:     →                             [I'M NOT BLANKING
        04                    HER OUT I'M BUSY.
```

While the *didn't do it* option can jump-start a series of oppositional assertions, the *not at fault* option can receive more diverse responses from the complainer in the third position (i.e., rebuttal to complaint response), as seen in Table 3.1 below.

The third position can determine whether subsequent interaction becomes

Table 3.1 Complaint Sequence

Position	Participant		Activity	
1st position	Complainer		Complain	
2nd position	Complainee	*didn't do it* (5%)	*not at fault* (85%)	alternative characterization of "offense" (10%)
3rd position	Complainer	Successive oppositional assertions	(1) finds in defense warrant for furthering the complaint (2) ridicules defense (3) ignores defense (4) explicitly and directly dismisses defense (5) disputes defense without explicitly rejecting it	
4th position	Complainee		Some responses are more conciliatory (e.g., after (5) above) and some are less so (e.g., after (2) and (3) above).	

more or less conciliatory. If the complainer disputes the offense without explicitly rejecting it in the third position, the ensuing talk can become more conciliatory. Prior to the following, Kevin has complained about not having access to "the tape" in which an allegedly untoward action on the part of Kevin took place, and Rob launched a defense by saying that the transcript is sufficient. The segment begins with the third position in the complaint sequence, where Kevin preserves his complaining stance without denying the usefulness of the transcript:

```
(36)   [Dersley & Wootton, 2000, pp. 395–396—modified]
       01   Kevin:   →   =well- for example I might hear::d- uh s:o-
       02                 eh- you've got me saying resign resign I might
       03                 say (.) well that's somebody:: (.) that
       04                 that is the voice of somebody I kno:w.
       05   Rob:          but [ (     )
       06   Kevin:            [and this person is he:r:e toda::y.
       07                 (0.3)
       08                 you know to- to state that .hh but I'm not able to
       09                 say that [if I can't hear the tape in advance=
       11   Rob:                  [Well-
       12                 =well that's that's a point that you'll have to bring
       13                 to the meeting then.
```

As can be seen, in the next turn (lines 11–13), Rob takes a more conciliatory stance by implicitly acknowledging that Kevin's point might have some merit and is worth taking to the meeting.

By contrast, the options of "ridicule" or "ignore" in the third position can contribute to an acrimonious tone of the interaction:

```
(37)   [Dersley & Wootton, 2000, p. 397—modified]
       01   Wife:        so- you don't know what family life is.
       02                (0.3)
       03   Dave:        and you do?
       04   Wife:    →   I blame your ↑ p[a:rent-
       05   Dave:                       [((curse word))
```

Wife's turn in the third position essentially ignores Dave's counter at line 03, in response to which comes Dave's outburst in the fourth position at line 05. For a more detailed description of complaint sequences that take the acrimonious trajectory, see Dersley and Wootton (2000).

ESL/EFL texts aimed at teaching complaints tend to focus on the specific strategies of formulating a complaint such as "state the problem" (e.g., "There is a fly in my soup"). Competent participation in a complaint event, however, requires the ability not only to launch the initial complaint but also to manage the subsequent interactions such as responding to a complaint, reacting to the complaint response, and so on. Understanding, for example, that complaint

responses can come in three formats (i.e., *didn't do it, not at fault*, and alternative characterization of offense) makes it possible to specify this ability and thereby render it teachable.

Compliment Response

Task 7

> How do you think speakers of English respond to compliments? If you were to design a lesson teaching learners how to respond to compliments, what would that lesson look like? What are the specific wordings or strategies used by native speakers of English in their compliment responses?

Contrary to the misconception that native speakers of English always respond to compliments with *Thank you*, two competing preferences govern the production of compliment responses in American English (Pomerantz, 1978):

(1) preference for agreement;
(2) preference for avoiding self-praise.

Agreeing with the compliment would mean lacking modesty. Because of this tension, actual compliment responses seem a bit wishy-washy. The two main solution types to manage these competing preferences are (Pomerantz, 1978):

(1) praise downgrade;
(2) referent shift.

PRAISE DOWNGRADE

The responses that use the "praise downgrade" strategy typically contain both agreement and disagreement elements. By straddling these contrasting positions, the participant is able to accept or reject the compliment without fully committing to either:

(38)   [Pomerantz, 1978, p. 102]
       01   A: Oh it was just <u>beautiful</u>.
       02   B: →   **Well *thank* you uh I thought it was quite nice.**

(39)   [Pomerantz, 1978, p. 99]
       01   A: Good shot.
       02   B: →   **Not very solid though.**

> **Author's story (HW):** After reading a preliminary draft of this chapter, an MA student from China remarks in disbelief, "Do Americans really do 'praise downgrade'? I was taught the opposite, and I always upgrade any compliment I received!"

REFERENT SHIFT

Participants also attend to both preferences by shifting the target of the praise in two ways (Pomerantz, 1978, pp. 101–106):

(1) reassigning target of praise;
(2) returning praise.

(40) [Pomerantz, 1978, p. 102]
　　(reassign)
　　01　A:　　　　You're a good rower, honey.
　　02　B:　→　**These are very easy to row. Very light.**

(41) [Pomerantz, 1978, p. 102—modified]
　　(return)
　　01　A:　　　　You're looking good.
　　02　B:　→　**Great. So are <u>you</u>.**

Methods of compliment responses can vary cross-culturally. Germans, for example, tend to use a greater variety of strategies for agreement or acceptance (e.g., provide an assessment, offer confirmation, or give a stronger second assessment and elicit more) (Golato, 2002):

(42) [Golato, 2002, p. 557]
　　(provide assessment)
　　01　A:　　　but it was nice this evening here at your place.
　　　　　　　　Aber heute abend hier war's schoen bei euch
　　02　B:　→　**that's nice.**
　　　　　　　　schoen.

(43) [Golato, 2002, p. 557]
　　(offer confirmation)
　　01　A:　　　You have such a nice onion pattern here.
　　　　　　　　ihr habt ja so en schoenes zwiebelmuster hier,
　　02　B:　→　**Yes.**
　　　　　　　　joa:

(44) [Golato, 2002, p. 558]

(give stronger second assessment)

```
01  A:          by the way the meat was excel[lent.
                übrigens (.)da s fleisch exzel    [lent
02  B:                                [super, right?
                                      [super ne?
03  A:   →      excellent.
                exzellent
04  B:          Yeah.
                joa.
```

Because of these cross-cultural differences, Germans may sound to Americans as if they lacked modesty. According to Golato (2002), the reason why Germans appear more willing to accept compliments is that compared to Americans, who often compliment to maintain good social relationships, Germans only give compliments when they actually mean it. In other words, German compliments are more "truthful," which makes their acceptance easier or more warranted, so to speak. In fact, Germans are often puzzled by the "excessive" compliments Americans give. (For a sociolinguistic analysis of compliments, see Wolfson, 1981).

Invitation and Offer

Task 8

Imagine you are preparing a lesson on teaching ESL/EFL students how to give and respond to invitations in conversation. In groups of three or four, create two conversations that best model an invitation sequence for your students—one that involves acceptance and one rejection. Write down your conversations below:

Conversation 1:

A: _____
B: _____
A: _____
B: _____
A: _____
B: _____

    . . .

Conversation 2:

A: _____
B: _____
A: _____
B: _____

A: _____

B: _____

 . . .

Invitations and offers make conditionally relevant acceptance or rejection. Participants work hard to maximize acceptance and minimize rejection. In what follows, we describe how invitations and offers are foreshadowed and produced, and how rejections are responded to (for how rejections are done, consult our earlier section on dispreferred actions).

PRE-SEQUENCES TO INVITATION AND OFFER

Pre-invitation   In the following segment, the actual invitation at line 06 is preceded by a pre-invitation sequence at lines 04–05.

(45)   [Schegloff, 2007, p. 30—modified]
01	Clara:	Hello
02	Nelson:	Hi.
03	Clara:	Hi.
04	Nelson: →	**What are you doing.**
05	Clara: →	**Not much.**
06	Nelson:	You wanna drink?
07	Clara:	Yeah.
08	Nelson:	Okay.

Clara gives at line 05 a go-ahead, which facilitates the production of the actual invitation and foreshadows its acceptance. There are three types of responses to a pre-invitation or pre-offer (Schegloff, 2007):

(1) go-ahead;
(2) blocking;
(3) hedging.

Clara could have produced a blocking response such as "I'm studying for CA," which blocks the forthcoming invitation. Or she could also have produced a hedging response such as "why," which leaves room for her to do accept or reject based on the nature of the invitation. Thus, pre-invitation minimizes the possibility of an actual rejection.

In the pre-invitation, the inviter can gauge the possibility of acceptance or rejection from the invitee by giving or asking for a report (Drew, 1984):

(46)   [Drew, 1984, p. 133—modified]
01	J:	→	**So <u>who</u> are the <u>boyfriends</u> for the week.**
02			(0.2)

```
03   M:        hhhh- Oh: go::d you this one and that one y'know,
04             I just, y'know keep busy and go out when I wanna
05             go out John it's nothing .hhh I don' have anybody
06             serious on the string,
07   J:        So in other words you'd go out if I::: asked you out
08             one of these times.
09   M:        Yeah! Why not.
```

J solicits reporting at line 01, which M provides at lines 03–06. At lines 07–08, J formulates the upshot of M's reporting as her availability to go out with him, which M then confirms at line 09. An invitation and acceptance are thereby achieved at lines 07–09, preceded by the pre-invitation sequence. In cases where the reporting implies unavailability, the potential inviter may opt to treat the reporting as just that, thereby masking his/her intent to invite in the first place. The goal of minimizing rejection is also achieved by the inviter's own reporting:

```
(47)   [Drew, 1984, pp. 141–142—modified]
       01   M:         Ye:h I I wa:s, (.) and n:ow I'm take- I have taken a
       02              leave and I'm: uh (0.2) I'm doing drug counseling
       03              down in Venice:.
       04              (0.2)
       05   M:    →    which I really (0.6) am crazy abou:t and as a
       06              matter of fact (0.3) we have written a pla:y, and
       07              we are putting that on on the tenth of December.
       08   R:         Can I go see it?
       08   M:         Love to S:- Oh: that'd be great.
```

By simply reporting an upcoming event, M is able to secure R's self-invitation at line 07 without being intrusive and imposing the invitation on R.

Pre-offer   In the following segment, Gary's offer at line 06 is preceded by a pre-offer at line 04, which receives Cathy's go-ahead at line 05:

```
(48)   [Schegloff, 2007, p. 35—modified]
       01   Cat:       I'm gonna buy a thermometer though [because I=
       02   Les:                                          [But-
       03   Cat:       =think she's [got a temperature.
       04   Gar:   →                [We have a thermometer.
       05   Cat:   →   You do?
       06   Gar:       Want to use it?
       07   Cat:       Yeah.
```

Again, Cathy could have produced a blocking response such as "Oh we should have one in the house anyway." or a hedging response such as "What kind?"

By giving a pre-offer, Gary is able to gauge the likelihood in which Cathy may accept the offer and thereby pre-empts a rejection.

Note that pre-sequences are one resource for doing being indirect in inter-action. In the interlanguage pragmatics literature, indirectness is sometimes discussed in terms of learners' repertoire of internal or external modifiers within the turn (e.g., *I wonder if . . .* or *Can I ask you a favor?*) (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989). The notion that indirectness may be achieved sequentially has not yet received much attention within applied linguistics. In fact, a fair amount of pragmatic problems for ESL learners may be attributed to their lack of competence in using pre-sequences, but pre-sequences are rarely included in ESL/EFL textbook dialogs (Bernsten, 2002).

DOING INVITATION AND OFFER

The actual formulation of invitation such as *Would you like to do X?* or *Wanna do X?* has not received much attention in CA research. There is, however, some work on the formulation of offers. Curl (2006) describes the specific syntactic formats of the offers in telephone openings and closings. These offers function as solutions to problems.

Offers that occur in the opening segments are typically made with the con-ditional *if* (e.g., "If there's anything we can do, let us know."). In the follow-ing segment, Ilene's offer emerges at line 12:

(49) [Curl, 2006, p. 1264—modified]
```
01   Jane:              hello?
02   Ilene:             .h Jane?
03   Jane:              yes.
04   Ilene:             ah it's me .h uh:m .h look uhwh-uh-weh: Pat and I
05                      are just off to Newbury no:w.
06   Jane:              ah hah
07   Ilene:             uh: an oo-uh .hh uh a:n:d um:: (0.7) uh:::
08                      Edgerton's got to go over to: (.) Granny's because
09                      Molly is: u- ou:t,
10   Jane:              ah hah
11   Ilene:             so he's going to have a cup of soup with he:r the:re:
12            →         so if you come over I'll put the key un:derneath
13                      the ma:t.
```

In the closing segments of phone calls, offers can be made after a closing move, and these offers are always made with the *Do you want me to X?* format (Curl, 2006, p. 1259):

(50) [Curl, 2006, p. 1267—modified]
```
01   Emma:      . . . ALRIGHT HONEY WELL .hh good- I:'m SO
02              glad you had a wonderful ti:me=
03   Lottie:  →  =well listen (.) e-uh: do you want me uh come
```

```
04                          down and get you to  [morrow or] anyth]ing
05   Emma:                                       [n:   :o :   : ] d e a:r]
06                          no[:  I'm] fine   ]
07   Lottie:               [to the ] sto::]re or anyth[i:ng
08   Emma:                                            [.hh I've got everything
09                          bought dea:r.
```

Lottie's offer at lines 03–04 and 07 is not addressed to any overtly expressed problem from Emma but to a possibly covert problem. Emma has repeatedly referred earlier in the phone call to the Thanksgiving dinner she has to prepare, which may be construed as her need for help. By placing *Do you want me to X?* some distance from the original talk about trouble, offerers may be showing that they have come to an understanding later on in the talk that their co-participants were "angling for" their assistance (Curl, 2006, p. 1276).

Finally, participants use a variety of constructions other than the *Do you want X?* format when they respond to overt problems during the closing segments of the calls (Curl, 2006, p. 1259):

```
(51)  [Curl, 2006, p. 1271—modified]
      01   Emma:      .hh  [h but I: got ] to get my turkey=I'll go up to uh
      02   Lottie:         [a:nd y'know]
      03         →    I'll take you up Wednesday.

(52)  [Curl, 2006, p. 1271—modified]
      01   Emma:      a:nd uh: (0.2) cuz I: want to and let me know by
      02               tomorrow I've got some of the stuff but I haven't
      03               bought the turkey y'know I'd   [lo:ve]
      04   Bart:   →                                 [well ] what can I:
      05               bring down can bring some pie:s or
      06               something.
```

RESPONDING TO REJECTION

In the event of potential or actual rejections, the inviter or offerer can either go along with the rejection or further pursue acceptance (Davidson, 1984, 1990).

Accepting rejection   Acceptance of rejection is done with a **rejection finalizer** (Davidson, 1990, p. 163).

Rejection finalizer is a minimal response token (e.g., *oh, oh I see, okay*, or *alright*) designed to accept rejections.

In the following example, A accepts B's rejection with "O:kay" at line 04:

(53)   [Davidson, 1990, p. 162—modified]
    01   A: You want me to <u>bring</u> you anything?
    02   (0.4)
    03   B: No: no: nothing.
    04   A: →   **O:kay.**
    05   (.)
    06   B: <u>Th</u>ank you.
    07   (.)
    08   A: <u>O</u>kay bye bye:

Revising invitation and offer   To maximize acceptance, participants routinely revise their initial invitations or offers after potential or actual rejections (Davidson, 1984, 1990). In the instance below, the delay at line 02 foreshadows the dispreferred action, i.e., a potential rejection, after which A revises his/her invitation at line 03:

(54)   [Davidson, 1984, p. 105—modified]
    01   A: Come <u>on</u> down <u>h</u>e:re,=it's oka:y,
    02   (0.2)
    03   A: →   **I got a lot of stuff,=<u>I</u> got <u>be</u>:er and stuff.**

In the next instance, an actual rejection emerges at line 03, and the invitation is made more attractive at lines 04–05:

(55)   [Davidson, 1984, p. 108—modified]
    01   A: ° Gee I feel like a real nerd ° you can ah come up
                    <u>h</u>ere,
    02   (0.3)
    03   B: <u>N</u>ah that's alright <u>w</u>ill stay down he[re,
    04   A: →   [**We've got a**
    05   **color T. <u>V</u>:,**

   In the third instance, a weak acceptance occurs at line 04, and the inviter proceeds to revise his/her original version to provide a second chance for a response:

(56)   [Davidson, 1984, p. 113—modified]
    01   B: So I just want to tell you if you'd <u>c</u>ome <u>we</u>- we're
    02   inviting the kindergarten teachers <u>t</u>oo becuz <u>we</u>
    03   think it's a good chance to get to know the <u>m</u>others.
    04   A: Uh <u>h</u>uh. =
    05   B: →   **=.hh So <u>if</u> you're free:, (.) It's at the <u>y</u>outh ho:use.**

In the above cases, revised invitations are given after an actual rejection, a weak rejection, or a gap. There is an even earlier position for revised invitations called **monitor space** (Davidson, 1984, 1990).

Monitor space refers to a space around the first possible completion point of the invitation or offer during which potential acceptance or rejection may be detected. There are three types:

(1) tag-positioned components;
(2) sound stretch;
(3) sound stretch followed by either a micro-pause or a filled pause (e.g., inbreath, laughter).

The following three extracts are examples of (1)–(3) listed above:

(57) [Davidson, 1984, p. 117—modified]
(tag-positioned components)
01 P: → Oh I mean uh: you wanna go to the store **or**
02 **anything** over at the Market Basket or anything?

(58) [Davidson, 1984, p. 121—modified]
(sound stretch)
01 B: → .hh So if you're **free:, (.)**
02 It's at the youth ho:use.
03 (0.2)
04 A: We:ll? (.) as far as I kno:w, (0.8) I will be.

(59) [Davidson, 1984, pp. 122–123—modified]
(sound stretch plus inbreath)
01 B: I wanted to call to ask you if you'd come up (0.2)
02 → and have a piece of strawberry (stuffed) **pi:e,=.hh=**
03 =And A and W root beer, h=
04 A: =.h Susan (kih-)=.hh I was going to call you to see
05 if you wanted to go for a walk with me.

Note that what comes after the monitor space is the revised version of the original invitation or offer (Davidson, 1984, 1990). Just as inviters and offerers can revise their original proposals, rejectors may revise their rejections and do so after monitor spaces as well (see Davidson, 1990 for more examples).

Task 9

Consider this ESL textbook dialog taken from Bernsten (2002). Rewrite it to incorporate concepts such as pre-invitation, monitor space, and revised invitation.

01   A: Hello. Is Tomoko there?
02   B: This is Tomoko.
03   A: Hi! This is Sally. Can you come to my birthday party
04   tomorrow?
05   B: Sure.

ESL/EFL learners may not be able to hear or use utterances such as *What are you doing?* as a pre-invitation. They also may not be able to detect the subtle signs of potential rejection such as silence or weak acceptance. They are very unlikely to use strategies such as the monitor space to gauge possibilities of acceptance. They are probably rarely taught to revise their invitations to make them more attractive. In short, they need to learn the skill of building an invitation sequence to maximize its acceptance. Explicit instruction on the variety of ways of doing invitation would expand ESL/EFL learners' repertoire of interactional practices and help them navigate the target speech community with greater ease and confidence. (For a sociolinguistic approach to the study of invitations, see Wolfson, 1989.)

Request

Like invitations and offers, requests are also designed to be accepted. The granting of requests is typically done in a preferred format, and the rejection in a dispreferred one. Unlike invitations and offers which benefit the recipients, requests impose upon them. Requests tend to be delayed, mitigated, and accounted for. Although all requests are dispreferred in principle, different requests may be dispreferred to different degrees. The distinction between immediate and deferred requests, for example, reflects such a difference (Schegloff, 2007, p. 94). Requests that can be granted immediately such as *Can you pass the salt?* can receive an immediate response. A deferred request that requires compliance in some future time such as *Please rewrite the conclusion* would be more dispreferred.

The following is an extreme case where the request is delayed to the extent that it never gets articulated:

(60)   [Schegloff, 2007, p. 64—modified]
　　01   Donny: Guess what.hh
　　02   Marcia: What.
　　03   Donny: hh My ca:r is sta::lled.
　　04   (0.2)

```
05   Donny:           (and) I'm up here in the Glen?
06   Marcia:          Oh::.
07                    (0.4)
08   Donny:           hhh
09   Donny:           A:nd.hh
10                    (0.2)
11   Donny:     →     I don' know if it's po:ssible, but hhh (0.2) see I
12                    have to open up the ba:nk.hh
13                    (0.3)
14   Donny:           a:t uh: (.) in Brentwood?hh=
15   Marcia:          =Yeah: – and I know you want- (.) and I wou- (.)
16                    and I would, but- except I've gotta leave in about
17                    five min(h)utes. [(hheh)
18   Donny:                           [Okay then I gotta call somebody
19                    else.right away.
```

Donny hints at his need for help ("My car is stalled."), the potential feasibility of the help ("up here in the Glen?"), and the urgency of this need ("I have to open up the bank") before he even begins to edge towards launching the request at lines 11–12. The sequence is also littered with mitigation markers such as pauses, fillers, and the uncertainty preface "I don't know if it's possible but . . ."

Because a request is a dispreferred first pair-part, its pre-sequence works differently from, for example, those of invitations and offers. Recall that in pre-invitations and pre-offers, the preferred second pair-part is a go-ahead. If someone says, *Are you doing anything Saturday night?*, the preferred response is *Oh nothing*, which allows the inviter to go forward with his/her invitation. By contrast, the preferred second pair-part of a pre-request is not a go-ahead. If someone says, *Are you going to eat that banana?* as a pre-request to take the banana, the go-ahead "no." is less preferred than the offer *Please take it*. Ideally, the potential requester would not have to explicitly state the request at all.

> **Author's story (HW):** The students in my CA class frequently commented on learners' inability to request appropriately. In a role-play with a noisy neighbor, for example, one learner would begin with "Can you please be quiet?" In parent–teacher conferences, some Japanese parents would start with "Can you pay more attention to my son in class please?"

Thus, helping learners understand that a speech act such as a request is dispreferred and needs to be produced with delay, accounts, and mitigation would go a long way to enhancing their interactional competence.

In terms of the request format, Schegloff (1988b) cautions against the speech act approach of assigning the function of "request information" to a structure such as "Do you know who's going to that meeting?" In the following extract, Mother's question at line 01 is initially understood as a pre-announcement, to which Russ gives a go-ahead at line 02. Only after

line 03 does Russ come to understand Mother's question as an information request:

(61)　[Schegloff, 1988b, p. 57–58—modified]
```
01   Mother:    →   Do you know who's going to that meeting?
02   Russ:          Who.
03   Mother:        I don't kno:w.
04   Russ:          Oh::. Probably Mrs. McOwen and
05                  probably Mrs. Cadry and some of the teachers.
```

Based on ordinary telephone calls between family and friends and out-of-hours calls to the doctor, Curl and Drew (2008) consider the use of two different request formats: *Can/could/will/would you . . .* vs. *I wonder if.* They found that the modal format tends to occur in ordinary calls and *I wonder if* in calls to the doctors. However, rather than being constrained by the two different contexts, they found that by using the modal form of the request, speakers treat the request as unproblematic, and by using the *I wonder if* form, they display uncertainty as to whether the request can be granted (Curl & Drew, 2008, p. 147). In the following segment, the urgency of the situation as well as the patient's entitlement warrants the use of the *Could you* format:

(62)　[Curl & Drew, 2008, p. 139—modified]
```
01   Doc:           Hello:,
02   Client:        Hello, is that the- doctor?
03   Doc:           Yes, Doctor ((omitted)) speaki:ng,
04   Client:   →    i: i: Yeah could you just call and see my wife
05                  please,
06                  .h  [h
07   Doc:               [Yes:.
08   Client:        She's breathless. She can't .hh get her breath .hh
```

By contrast, Kat's cautiously formatted request (i.e., "Would it be possible . . .") suggests the difficulty of its granting. Although *Would it be possible . . .* is not exactly the same as *I wonder if . . .*, it displays a similar sentiment towards the possible impediments to granting the request:

(63)　[Curl & Drew, 2008, p. 146—modified]
```
01   Lesley:        Anyway when d'you think you'd like to come home
02                  ↓ love.
03                  (.)
04   Kat:           Uh:m (.) we:ll Brad's going down on Monday.
05                  (0.7)
06   Lesley:        Monday we:ll ah- :hh .hh w: ↑Monday we can't
07                  manage because (.) Granny's ↓coming Monday.
08                  (0.4)
09   Kat:           Oh:,
10                  (0.5)
```

```
11              Could- (0.3) Dad ↑couldn't pick me up from:: (.)
12              ee- even from Wesbury could be
13  Lesley:     .hh I ↑CAN'T HEAR you very well cuz of this darn
14              machine that's attached to this telephone ↑say it
15              again,
16  Kat:   →    Would it be possible: for Dad to pick me up from
17              Wesbury on [Monday.
18  Lesley:                [Ye:s yes ↑THAT would be ↓alright.
```

Task 10

The following information is taken from the ESL textbook *New Interchange*. Based on what you have read so far about requests, discuss the advantages and disadvantages of using this list to teach requests.

Less formal   Can I borrow your pencil?
     │   Could you please lend me a suit?
     │   It is okay if I use your phone?
     │   Do you mind if I use your CD player?
     │   Would it be okay if I borrowed your video camera?
     │   Would you mind if I borrowed your video camera?
     ↓   Would you mind letting me borrow your laptop?
              I wonder if I could borrow $100.
Formal   I was wondering if you'd mind lending me your car.

Response Tokens

Besides the generic and type-specific sequences, another important collection of practices central to sequencing is response tokens. These are lexical items used to perform a range of functions:

(1) acknowledge prior talk;
(2) invite continuation;
(3) offer assessments;
(4) indicate unnecessary persistence of prior speaker(s);
(5) signal incipient speakership.

Items (1)–(5) may be roughly viewed as a continuum that suggests increasing engagement: from simply receiving prior talk to taking up a position, and finally, to gearing up to speak. One of the functions of response tokens not listed here is also treating prior talk as news (see section on announcement response earlier).

Acknowledge Prior Talk

As a listener, the most basic activity is claiming "hearing-understanding" with acknowledgment tokens (Jefferson, 2002, p. 1353). *Okay* is a typical acknowledgment token, as shown below:

(64)   [C. Goodwin in Beach, 1993, p. 329]
    01   Don: I'll go get some more water. ((leaves with pitcher))
    02   John: →   **Okay.**

Although *mm hm* can be used as an acknowledgment token as well, *okay* is more likely to be used when prior talk is more complete, and *mm hm* when prior talk is more likely to continue (Guthrie, 1997).

Invite Continuation

In fact, tokens such as *mm, mm hm, uh huh* and *ah hah* delivered in a slightly rising intonation work as continuers, i.e., to invite continuation (Schegloff, 1982). In the following segment, Speaker A projects a multi-unit turn at line 04, and B the recipient utters continuers at possible completion points (lines 07 and 09) until the announced action is completed:.

(65)   [Schegloff, 1982, p. 82—modified]
    01   A: I've listened to all the things that you've said,
    02   and I agree with you <u>so</u> much.
    03   Now,
    04   I wanna ask you something.
    05   I wrote a letter.
    06   (pause)
    07   B: →   **Mh hm,**
    08   to the governor.
    09   →   **Mh hm::,**
    10   telling him what I thought about him!
    11   Will I get an answer d'you think,
    12   A: Ye:s

By not taking a full turn at the possible completion points, B shows the specific understanding that an extended unit of talk is under way, thereby inviting A to continue. Both *Yeah* and *Okay* can work as continuers as well:

(66)   [Drummond & Hopper, 1993, p. 205]
    01   M: So- the next day I was out playing tennis and oh my
    02   gosh we were out in the clu:b eating?
    03   E: →   **Yeah.**
    04   M: And I about hh (0.2) threw up all over the table
    05   because . . .

(67)   [Guthrie, 1997, p. 405]
    01   A: .hh so what we're talking about i::s (1.2)
    02   tch=removing (1.6) a minus?=ten point eight,
    03   S: →   ° **Okay,** °=
    04   A: =deficit, (1.0) .hh by::: spring ninety two, (0.4) by
    05   the end, (0.3) alright?=of spring ninety two. .h
    06   a:::nd (1.3) do not increase deficit.

Offer Assessments

An equally or even more engaged way of responding to prior talk is to offer assessments. Assessments can be brief or extended. Typical assessments are agreement or disagreement turns (see the section earlier). Here we limit our discussion to minimal assessments specifically designed as response tokens (e.g., *great*). Compared to continuers, assessments index one's heightened involvement in the ongoing activity (Goodwin, 1986). Nancy's turn at line 06 below is in fact a combination of a news receipt and an assessment:

(68)   [Goodwin, 1986, p. 206—modified]
    01   Hyla: One time I remember, .hh this girl wrote and
    02   her, .hh she was like (.) fifteen or six[teen and] her=
    03   Nancy: [Uh hu:h,]
    04   Hyla: =mother doesn't let her wear.hh nail polish or short
    05   skir:::ts or: [:: .hhhhhhh]=
    06   Nancy: →   **[Oh: wo(h)w]**
    07   Hyla: =O::h no I remember what yesterday was.

Assessments have a closing quality that is in keeping with their role as sequence-closing thirds (Schegloff, 2007):

(69)   [Schegloff, 2007, p. 125—modified]
    01   Don: I:s this ai:med accurate enou:gh?
    02   (0.5)
    03   John: Yes it's aimed at the table.
    04   Don: →   **Grea:t.**

Indicate Unnecessary Persistence of Prior Speaker(s)

One type of response tokens is multiple sayings (e.g., *no no no, alright alright alright*) (Stivers, 2004). Multiple sayings are used to suggest that the prior speaker has persisted unnecessarily. This may be illustrated in the following segment, which concerns a discussion on the meaning "collocations." At line 15, Libby moves to halt the group's repeated explanation despite her clearly claimed understanding at line 05:

(70)   [Waring, 2005b, p. 5]

```
01   Libby:        =What're collocations.
02   Prof:         What're collocations.
03   Ellen:        It's like- a tall building you will never say a high
04                 building?
05   Libby:        >Oh oh< O::H >okay thanks.<
06                 °(Very go[ o d.]°
07   Prof:              [It's- ] it's ways that [w o:::r d s] tend to=
08   Libby:                                     [>°Yeah.°<]
09   Prof:         =be used together.
10   Libby:        >°Ye[ah.]°<
11   Prof:             [C ]   O:::::llo:ca:tion.
12   Libby:        °Yeah.°=
13   Tamar:        =Rather than- s:et the table rather than arra::nge
14                 [°the table or something like that.°]
15   Libby:   →    [Y e  a  h.  y  e  a  h.      ] °yeah. yeah.°
16                 (°I know.°)
17   Prof:         and you know things like commit, where you
18                 commit (0.1)
```

Signal Incipient Speakership

Finally, compared to *mm hm* or *mm*, which tends to be used for passive recipiency, *yeah* is more likely to signal incipient speakership (i.e., readiness to take the floor) (Gardner, 2007b, p. 321; Jefferson, 1985, 1993). This distinction is elegantly showcased in the following segment:

(71)   [Jefferson, 1985, p. 7—modified]

```
01   Lottie:       I didn't have five minutes yesterday.
02   Emma:         I don't know how you do i:t.
03                 (0.3)
04   Lottie:       I don't kno:w. nh hnh
05   Emma:         You wor: work all day toda:y.
06                 (0.3)
07   Lottie:       Ye:ah.
08                 (0.2)
09                 Just get Well I'm (.) by myself I'm kind of cleaning
10                 up from yesterday.
11   Emma:    →    Mm: hm,
12                 (0.2)
13                 t hhh [hhh
14   Lottie:             [ ° A- and ° (.) ° I was just g- washing the
                         dishes, °
15   Emma:    →    Yeah we're just (.) cleaning up here too:.
```

Jefferson also speculates that in responding to an extended turn, the recipient

may move from *mm hmm* to *uh huh* and to *yeah* as s/he gets closer to becoming the next speaker. Similar to *yeah, okay* can also preface further talk:

(72)   [Beach, 1993, p. 340]
        01   C: I guess the ba:nd <u>st</u>arts at <u>ni</u>:ne.
        02   D: Oh really?
        03   C: Ya from what Jill told me.
        04   D: →   **Okay** when's Jill gonna go.
        05   C: Same time (0.2) we're gonna meet her there.

It is important to keep in mind that the use of response tokens may vary cross-culturally. An obvious variation is that different languages have different linguistic forms for the same function.

> **Author's story (HW):** As a newly arrived international student working as an assistant in my professor's office, I would frequently respond to her remarks with "<u>mm</u>," and she would ask "<u>mm</u> yes or <u>mm</u> no?" I was using the Chinese version of *mm hm?* to acknowledge, accept, and agree to what she said!

Different languages can also vary by the specific placement of response tokens. English speakers tend to use response tokens at points of grammatical completion with or without intonational completion, Mandarin speakers at points of *both* grammatical and intonational completion, and Japanese speakers at points lacking either grammatical or intonational completion (Clancy, Thompson, Suzuki, & Tao, 1996, p. 375). In other words, of the three languages, in Mandarin speakers would wait the longest to produce a response token, and in Japanese the shortest. In fact, Japanese speakers orient to smaller interactional units such as particular noun phrases to facilitate collaborative participation inside a TCU (Iwasaki, 2009; Morita, 2008). Korean speakers also tend to place response tokens at intra-turn units to offer overt support for an ongoing turn, and these tokens tend to have longer duration and can be elicited via sound stretch as well as continuing intonation by the prior speaker (Young & Lee, 2004). Not understanding these differences can lead to cross-cultural misunderstandings.

> **Author's story (HW):** After my Intercultural Communication class where we discussed Clancy et al.'s (1996) work on response tokens, a male American student came up to me and said, "When I first went to Japan and I was talking to these Japanese women, they made me feel as if I were the most interesting person to listen to [with all the response tokens]. I thought they were trying to seduce me!"

These tiny bits of language behavior such as *mm hm*, *okay*, or *yeah* are what we rely on in daily conversation to ensure ongoing mutual understanding. ESL/EFL students need to learn the importance of using response tokens to fully participate in a conversation. They also need to learn to place these tokens at the grammatical completion points of prior talk to avoid sounding overly interested or uninterested. For instance, Japanese learners can benefit from learning not to overuse response tokens. In addition, ESL/EFL learners need to be made aware that using the same token such as *mm hm* repeatedly can give the impression of boredom when they don't intend to. Being able to use a variety of tokens and do so for different purposes is an important part of one's interactional competence. Using *oh really?* regardless of the content of prior talk, for example, can be puzzling for others.

Teaching Sequencing Practices

In contrast to the lack of materials on teaching turn-taking, CA findings on sequencing practices have attracted a great deal more attention from language teaching professionals. In what follows, we introduce a few activities on teaching adjacency pairs, preference organization, invitation, and response tokens. Our intent is to provide some triggers for teachers to develop their own materials based on the CA findings we have introduced in this chapter.

Adjacency Pairs

<u>Awareness-raising Activity:</u> *Finding Responses*

(1) The following exchanges are based on the data from this chapter. Make cards for all the initiation turns or first pair-parts. Distribute them to pairs (or small groups): one for each pair. Note that depending on the specific level of your learners, you may choose to focus on a smaller number of exchanges or a specific action sequence (I = Initiation; R = Response).

(a)
I: Do you agree with the Bush Doctrine?
R: With respect to what, Charlie?
(b)
I: You can't bring the dog on the bus.
R: But I'm carrying him.
(c)
I: Go through all these. Add periods. Use double space.
R: Oh yeah I will.
(d)
I: You need to rephrase the questions.
     ((pause)) if that's what you want to do.
R: I'll think about it. ((laughs)) because . . .

(e)
I: It's a beautiful day out isn't it?
R: Yeah it's just gorgeous.
(f)
I: She was a nice lady. I liked her.
R: I liked her too.
(g)
I: She's stunning!
R: Yeah, she's a pretty girl.
(h)
I: But you admit you think he's funny.
R: I think it's funny, yeah. But it's ridiculous funny.
(i)
I: You've both basically gone your separate ways.
R: Essentially, except we've had a good relationship at home.
(j)
I: I forgot to tell you the two best things that happened to me today.
R: Oh super. What were they?
(k)
I: .hh And I got an athletic award.
R: REALLY?!?
(l)
I: Hey we've got good news.
R: What's the good news?
(m)
I: Hey that was the same spot we took off for Honolulu.
R: Oh really?
(n)
I: You didn't get an icecream sandwich.
R: I know. I decided that my body didn't need it.
(o)
I: Good shot.
R: Not very solid though.
(p)
I: You're looking good.
R: Great. So are you.

(2) Have the pairs go around the room to collect responses to the first pair-parts on their cards. Record the results:
Responses   Initiating Turn:_____

1   _____
2   _____
3   _____
4   _____

(3) The pairs decide which response is most likely to be said by a native speaker.

(4) Have each pair present to the class what responses they have received and what they have decided to be the most native-like response. Have them give reasons for their choices. Elicit opinions from other learners in the class.

(5) The teacher reveals the actual responses. Explain that these are not the only possible native speaker responses.

(6) Discuss possible cross-cultural variations.

Variations

(i)   Have pairs tape their response sheets to newsprints around the room, and every pair goes around to take their pick of the most native-like response by putting a check next to the response. The teacher calculates the number of checks and announces the "winner" response for each initiating turn. Return to item (5) above.

(ii) Make the same cards for both initiations and responses. Give half the class the initiation turns and the other half the response turns. Have everyone go around the room to find their matches. Display and discuss the matched pairs as a class.

(iii) Based on the results of Step (ii) above, along with the actual responses from the transcripts, develop a multiple choice exercise for pairs or groups to work on. Whichever pair or group gets the largest number of "correct" answers wins. Discuss the various choices in class.

Practicing Activity: *Initiating and Responding*

(1) Each learner gets a card for either the initiating or the responding turn listed above. Have everyone sit in a circle and take turns clockwise to reveal their cards one at a time.

(2) Each time a card is revealed, the one sitting to the right of the "revealer" is to think of and say an appropriate initiating or responding turn for that card.

(3) If the appropriate utterance (as decided by the teacher) is not provided, the responder keeps the revealed card. Whoever collects the most cards in the end loses. The teacher decides when the game is finished.

Variation

Have each learner write their own initiating turn and one response to that initiation on separate strips of paper. Collect all the strips in one bag. Ask learners to pick one strip each from the bag. The task is to go around the room and find their matches.

Preference Organization

Awareness-raising Activity: *Agree or Disagree I*

(1) Invite learners to consider the differences between the ways in which agreements and disagreements are done. Use the transcripts from this chapter and those from Pomerantz (1984) from the recommended readings if necessary.

(2) Ask the class to consider the following (adapted from an activity developed by Don Carroll):

(a)	Which uses more language?	*agreement*	*disagreement*
(b)	Which comes after a pause?	*agreement*	*disagreement*
(c)	Which uses delaying words like "well"?	*agreement*	*disagreement*
(d)	Which includes "excuses"?	*agreement*	*disagreement*
(e)	Which repeats words?	*agreement*	*disagreement*
(f)	Which uses "softening" words?	*agreement*	*disagreement*

(3) Introduce the concepts of preference and dispreference (but perhaps use alternative terms such as "expected" vs. "less expected") based on a discussion of the answers to the above exercise.

(4) Discuss how preferred and dispreferred responses are formulated in the learners' first languages.

(5) Brainstorm other activities (e.g., request) to which preference and dispreference may apply. Make a list of these activities.

(6) Have learners gather and transcribe naturally occurring responses to requests, invitations, and the like. Discuss the typical ways of producing a dispreferred response in class.

Practicing Activity: *Agree or Disagree II*

(1) The following utterances are adapted from Pomerantz (1984). Put them on individual strips of paper and distribute one strip to each learner.

(a) Judy is such a great girl.
(b) It's a beautiful day out, isn't it?
(c) Oh they sounded so good.
(d) You know he's a good-looking fellow.
(e) I'm so dumb I don't even know it.
(f) Isn't he cute?!
(g) She seems like a nice little lady.
(h) I like our teacher. S/he's terrific.
(i) We've got pretty good schools.
(j) I think Chris has a good sense of humor.
(k) Do you think she would fit in?
(l) I still think taking the subway would be quicker.
(m) You're not bored?

(2) Make stickers of the various dispreferred markers (e.g., pause, delaying words, excuses, softening words), and put one sticker on each person's forehead.

(3) Ask everyone to go around and initiate a conversation with the utterance on their strip and record the responses received. All responses should consist of disagreements. In formulating the responses, one should consult the sticker on the initiator's forehead and include the required feature (e.g., delaying words) in the response. For example, if someone says "Judy is such a great girl," your task is to disagree with this statement and to do so by consulting the sticker on his/her forehead. We give some examples below:

    (a) delaying words: *Judy?, Yeah but . . ., Well, uh, . . .*
    (b) excuses: *Oh I don't really know her that well.*
    (c) softening words: *I guess she's okay.*

(4) Each person is then to guess which dispreferred marker is taped on his/her forehead and discusses the reasons for the guess based on the responses s/he has collected.

(5) The teacher leads a discussion on the appropriateness of the responses.

Variations

    (i) Have learners generate statements that they have trouble disagreeing with in real life and use those in lieu of (a)–(m) above.

    (ii) Focus on an action sequence (e.g., request or complaint) other than agreement/disagreement. Consult the recommended readings for naturally occurring utterances.

Invitations

Awareness-raising Activity: *Invitation Script*

(1) Have learners write down a short script that involves an invitation scenario on newsprints around the classroom in the form below (They can have more or fewer lines):

    A: _____
    B: _____
    A: _____
    B: _____

(2) Conduct a class discussion about each script by focusing on the following two sets of questions:

    (a) How does the inviter begin his/her invitation? Does s/he invite directly or start with some prefacing words or questions?

(b) What does the inviter say upon hearing a rejection? Does s/he accept it (if so, how?) or revise his/her invitation?

(3) Show transcripts of actual interaction presented in this chapter as well as in the relevant articles listed in the suggested readings below. Discuss discrepancies between these and the learner scripts.

(4) Highlight the following three points about naturally occurring invitation sequences:

(a) Inviters often try to gauge the likelihood of their initiations being accepted by first querying the invitee's plans (e.g., "What are you doing tonight?") or announcing one's own future activities (e.g., "I'm doing a poetry reading in Soho this Friday."). These queries and announcement are called pre-invitations.

(b) Invitees have three choices when responding to pre-invitations: go-ahead, blocking, and hedging.

(c) Inviters can accept rejections with a rejection finalizer ("Okay.") or revise their invitations to make them sound more attractive.

(5) Learners revise their scripts on the newsprint.

(6) Have pairs go around the room commenting on each others' scripts on the newsprint.

(7) The teacher leads a class discussion to wrap up the activity.

Practicing Activity: *Getting your Invitation Accepted*

Have learners go around the room offering pre-invitations. The goal is to elicit the three types of responses listed in the chart below, strictly following the order from blocking to hedging and finally to go-ahead, as if they were climbing a ladder. As a way to record your progress, write down the name of the person who gives the desired response as you go. The first person who receives the go-ahead response and proceeds to get his/her invitation accepted wins. Write down what exactly you have invited the other person to do in the "Your Winning Invitation" cell in the chart.

Responses	Names	Your Winning Invitation
Go-ahead ↑	_____	_____
Hedging	_____	_____
Blocking	_____	_____

For example, if your pre-invitation is "What are you doing tonight?" the three types of responses you will receive could be "Nothing" (go-ahead), "Why?" (hedging), or "I'm having dinner with Craig." (blocking). The first name you can put down should be someone who gives you a blocking response, and the second name someone who gives you a hedging response, and the third name someone who gives you a go-ahead response.

Response Tokens

Awareness-raising Activity: *Responding with Little Words I*

(adapted from Olsher, forthcoming)

(1) Use the transcripts provided in this chapter that contain response tokens to design a fill-in-the-blank exercise for response tokens. Begin the activity with a class discussion on what they would say in those blanks.

(2) Show the actual transcripts. Highlight discrepancies between learner answers and the actual language use.

(3) For each response token in the actual transcripts, ask: (a) What is the token responding to? (b) How is the token delivered? (c) What does it mean? (d) Would any other tokens fit in this slot?

(4) Return to and redo the original fill-in-the-blank exercises (with multiple answers for each blank).

Practicing Activity: *Responding with Little Words II*

Have learners complete Step (4) above in pairs and role-play the dialogs.

Chapter Summary

While turn-taking practices afford the opportunities for speaking, sequencing practices solve the problems of what to say and how to say what needs to be said. The basic practice of sequencing is adjacency pair (AP), which consists of a first pair-part (FPP) and a second pair-part (SPP). A particular type of first pair-part calls for a particular type of second pair-part. This basic sequence may be built upon with pre-expansions, insert-expansions, and post-expansions. An important organization intrinsic to adjacency pairs is preference, where the alternatives that fit in a certain slot in a sequence are treated as nonequivalent. Preferred actions are often, though not necessarily, done without delay, mitigation, or accounts—characteristics of the production of dispreferred actions. Aside from adjacency pairs and preference organization that are generic to interaction, type-specific sequences (e.g., agreement and disagreement, announcement, complaint, compliment response, invitation and offer, and request) come with their own individual organizational features and linguistic resources. Finally, response tokens are integral to sequencing practices and perform a variety of functions. Taken together, sequencing practices provide learners with the tools to answer the critical question of how to do things with words in a second language. For the second language teacher, understanding the complexities of sequencing practices is an important component of one's pedagogical repertoire. Actual pedagogical decisions on what to teach or how to teach should be tailored to specific learner populations. Specific activities may be designed to target difficult areas such as formulating pre-expansions or producing dispreferred responses. Our suggestions are meant to provide an

initial template from which additional or alternative pedagogical visions may be generated.

Key Concepts

- **Adjacency pair (AP):** A sequence of two turns produced by different speakers and ordered as first pair-part (FPP) and second pair-part (SPP), where a particular type of FPP requires a particular type of SPP.
- **Insert-expansion:** An adjacency pair that comes between the first and second pair-parts of the base adjacency pair to either clarify the first pair-part or seek preliminary information before doing the second pair-part.
- **Monitor space:** A space around the first possible completion point of the invitation or offer during which potential acceptance or rejection may be detected. There are three types: (1) tag-positioned components; (2) sound stretch; (3) sound stretch followed by either a micro-pause or a filled pause (e.g., inbreath, laughter).
- **News receipt** is a type of announcement response that discourages elaboration in the following forms: (1) *oh*; (2) *oh really*; (3) uninverted *yes/no* question (*she did?*), or (4) *oh* + assessment.
- **Newsmark** is a type of announcement response that encourages elaboration in the following forms: (1) *oh* + partial repeat; (2) *really?*; (3) *yes/no* questions.
- **Post-expansion:** A turn or an adjacency pair (AP) that comes after and is still tied to the base AP. Post-expansion can be minimal or non-minimal.
- **Pre-expansion:** An adjacency pair positioned before the base adjacency pair designed to ensure its smooth running.
- **Preference:** A structural organization in which the alternatives that fit in a certain slot in a sequence are treated as nonequivalent (i.e., preferred vs. dispreferred).
- **Rejection finalizer:** A minimal response token (e.g., *oh, oh I see, okay*, or *alright*) designed to accept rejections.
- **Sequence-closing third (SCT):** An additional turn (e.g., *oh, okay*, or *great*) beyond the second pair-part designed to terminate the sequence.
- **Sequencing practices:** Ways of initiating and responding to talk while performing actions such as requesting, inviting, story-telling, or topic initiation.
- **Solicit:** The preferred second pair-part of the pre-announcement sequence, where one requests the news with a *wh*-question.

Post-reading Questions

1. What is the basic unit of sequencing in English?
2. What are the three ways of expanding an adjacency pair? Give examples.
3. What does the term "preference" mean in conversation analysis? How is it different from our everyday understanding of "preference"?

4. If you have read the literature on cross-cultural and interlanguage pragmatics, do you see any connections to the content of this chapter? How do the two approaches complement one another?
5. Did you learn anything from this chapter that you did not get from your intuition? Please explain.
6. Based on your experience in teaching or learning a language, could you relate to any of the Author's stories? If yes, please share.
7. Select one of the suggested readings listed below and present the article in class, summarizing the article's key points and offering your questions and concerns. Consider how the points raised in the article might be related to issues in language teaching especially if the article does not have a pedagogical orientation.
8. Having read the chapter, what questions or concerns do you still have about sequencing?

Suggested Readings

Curl, T. S., & Drew, P. (2008). Contingency and action: A comparison of two forms of requesting. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *41*(2), 129–153.

Davidson, J. (1990). Modifications of invitations, offers and rejections. In G. Psathas (Ed.), *Interaction competence* (pp. 149–179). Washington, DC: University Press of America.

Dersley, I., & Wootton, A. (2000). Complaint sequences within antagonistic argument. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, *33*(4), 375–406.

Drew, P. (1984). Speakers' reporting in invitation sequences. In J. M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis* (pp. 129–151). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gardner, R. (2007b). The *Right* connections: Acknowledging epistemic progression in talk. *Language in Society*, *36*(3), 319–341.

Golato, A. (2002). German compliment response. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *34*(5), 547–571.

Olsher, D. (forthcoming). Responders. In N. Houck & D. Tatsuki (Eds.), *Pragmatics from theory to practice: New directions*, Volume 2. Alexandria, VA: TESOL Publications.

Pomerantz, A. (1978). Compliment responses: Notes on the co-operation of multiple constraints. In J. Schenkein (Ed.), *Studies in the organization of conversational interaction* (pp. 79–112). New York: Academic Press.

Pomerantz, A. (1984). Agreeing and disagreeing with assessments: Some features of preferred/dispreferred turn shapes. In M. Akinson & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis* (pp. 57–101). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Terasaki, A. K. (2004). Pre-announcement sequences in conversation. In G. Lerner (Ed.), *Conversation analysis: Studies from the first generation* (pp. 171–224). Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins.