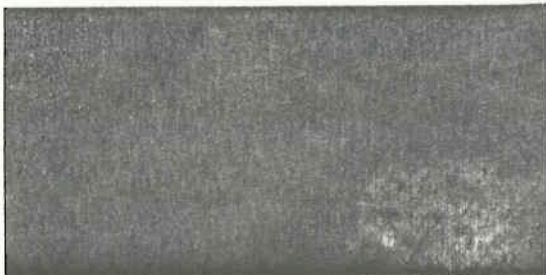


Editor: Peter Halfpenny
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Occasional Paper No. 6
THE ABOMINABLE "NE?": A WORKING PAPER
EXPLORING THE PHENOMENON OF POST-
RESPONSE PURSUIT OF RESPONSE

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April 1981

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ABSTRACT

An encounter with an unfamiliar interactional device in taperecorded transcribed German conversation led to a massive search through American materials which yielded a very few instances, and resulted in the collection of related devices. The phenomenon central to the various devices is a speaker's attempt to elicit revision of a problematic response by proposing, in effect, that the response did not occur, and response is due. It was a most blatant version of that device, the "Abominable 'Ne?'" , which was encountered as 'unfamiliar' in the German materials, but several of which did turn up in the American data. This consists in the intersecting of a response in progress with a request for response. A rather less noxious, and far more recurrent version, Prompting, consists in the following of a brief and minimal response with a request for response. These devices were found to be altogether unsuccessful or minimally and equivocally successful in eliciting revision of response. An alternative set of devices, Continuation and Recompletion, are at least occasionally successful and do not in the first place present themselves as attempts to elicit revised response. Rather, they propose that an utterance has, in effect, been 'interrupted' by the response, and is now lawfully proceeding to completion. At its completion, the utterance may be different than at its outset, and thus provide for a different order of response.

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Preface: Some Programmatic Statements by Harvey Sacks¹

I want to propose that a domain of research exists which is not part of any other established science. The domain is one which those who are pursuing it have come to call Ethnomethodology/Conversation Analysis. That domain seeks to describe methods persons use in doing social life. It is our claim that while the range of activities this domain describes may be as yet unknown, the mode of description, the way it is cast, is intrinsically stable. (1965a)

Following are some central findings of the researches in which I am engaged.

· The detailed ways in which actual, naturally occurring social activities occur, are subjectable to formal description.

· Social activities -- actual, singular sequences of them -- are methodical occurrences. That is, their description consists of the description of sets of formal procedures persons employ.

· The methods persons employ to produce their activities permit formal description of singular occurrences which are generalizable in intuitively non-apparent ways, and are highly reproducibly usable.

Such findings have very large significance for what it is that sociology can aim to do, and for how it can proceed. In brief, sociology can be a natural observational science. (1965b)

The important theories in the social sciences have tended to have a view that if you look at a society as a piece of machinery, then what you need to consider is that there are relatively few orderly products of it, and much of what else takes place is more or less random. Such

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1. This section consists in a series of programmatic/methodological considerations by Harvey Sacks, culled primarily from his transcribed lectures. I have occasionally edited the selected segments, and that procedure has undoubtedly resulted in some distortion.

a view suggests that there are a few places where, if you can find them, you will be able to attack the problem of order. If you don't find them, you won't. So one can have an image of a machine with a couple of holes in the front. It spews out some nice stuff from those holes, and out of the back it spews out garbage. There is then a concern for finding 'good problems'; i.e., to find that data generated by the machine which is orderly, and then to attempt to construct the apparatus necessary to give you those results.

Now, such a view tends to be heavily controlled by an overriding interest in what are in the first instance known to be 'big issues', and not that which is terribly mundane, occasional, local, and the like. It is perfectly possible, at least theoretically, to treat such a view as historically adventitious; a mere fact; an accident of the history of the way persons came to think about social problems, and to suppose, or discover, or propose to discover, that no such thing is the case, but that, wherever one happens to attack the phenomenon one is going to find (some would say "impose") detailed order.

That would have enormous consequences for what one intends to build. Where the search for 'good problems' by reference to known 'big issues' will have large scale, massive institutions as the apparatus by which order is generated and by a study of which order will be found, if, on the other hand, one figures, or guesses, or decides that whatever the human does, it's just another animal after all, maybe more complicated than others but perhaps not noticeably so, then whatever humans do can be examined to discover some way they do it, and that way would be stably describeable. That is, one may, alternatively, take it that there is order at all points.

That sort of order would be an important resource of a culture. Such that, for example, any member of the culture, encountering from his infancy a very small portion of it, and a random portion in a way (the parents he happens to have, the experiences he happens to have, the vocabulary that happens to be thrown at him in whatever utterances he happens to encounter) comes out in many ways pretty much like everybody else, and able to deal with pretty much anyone else. Were it important for nature that if persons are to be workable things in a society they have an adequate sampling setup, then a culture might well be so arranged. And then, of course, research might employ the same resources.

Tap into whomsoever, wheresoever, and you get pretty much the same things.

Furthermore, the fact of order at all points could be used to explain what are otherwise fairly strange facts. For example, that conventional sociological survey research, while it recurrently fails to satisfy constraints on proper statistical procedures, nevertheless gets orderly results. Or, for example, that the anthropologists' procedures, which tend to involve a very occasional tapping into a society, asking one or two people more or less extended questions, turn out to be often extremely generalizable. Now the orderly results and the generalizability could be treated as a warrant for such procedures, or as a tremendous puzzle. Or it could be seen as a consequence of the fact that, given the possibility that there is overwhelming order, it would be extremely hard not to find it, no matter how or where you looked.

If a culture and its members is constructed in that way, then the fact that orderly results are gotten from one informant, or from some sampling procedure, would not necessarily be a warrant for those things being good procedures on their own terms, but evidence for an arrangement of the world which could be seen to be usable. For one, you may well find that you get an enormous generalizability because things are so arranged that you could get them, given that for a member encountering a very limited environment he has to be able to do that, and things are so arranged as to permit him to. And if one figures that that's the way things are to some extent, then it really wouldn't matter very much what it is you look at, if you look at it carefully enough. (1966a)

Following are a couple of possibly relevant passages from some authorities. The first is from "Language" by Edward Sapir.

We're not in ordinary life so much concerned with concepts as such. . . . When I say, for instance, "I had a good breakfast this morning," it is clear that I am not in the throes of laborious thought; that what I have to transmit is hardly more than a pleasurable memory symbolically rendered in the grooves of habitual expression. . . . the sentence as a whole has no conceptual significance whatsoever.

It is somewhat as though a generator capable of generating enough power to run an elevator were operated almost exclusively to feed an electric doorbell. The parallel is more suggestive than it at first sight appears. Language may be looked upon as an instrument capable of running a gamut of psychic uses.

In the first instance, consider what, for him, is obvious; that what it is that could be said to be being done by use of language specifically is transparently obvious; statable by stating the sentence itself, and then to be seen to be using very little of what language really could do. The import for researchers of a statement like Sapir's could be small or large.

The second passage refers to this earlier one, and draws some consequences from it. This is from a paper, "The Semantic Structure of Language" by Weinreich, in Universals of Language, edited by Joseph Greenberg.

In a remarkable passage, Sapir likens language to a dynamo capable of powering an elevator but ordinarily operating to feed an electric doorbell. Language is used more often than not in ways that do not draw upon its full semantic capacity. In its 'phatic' functions, when speech is used merely to signify the presence of a sympathetic interlocutor, it easily becomes 'desemanticized' to a formidable extent. In its various ceremonial functions, language may come to be desemanticized by still another mechanism . . .

The more pressing task for linguistics, it seems to me, is to explain the elevator, not the doorbell; avoiding samples of excessively casual or ceremonial speech; to examine language under conditions of its full fledged utilization.

Now, one thing being proposed here is that we know, right off, where language is deep and interesting; that we can know that without an analysis of what it is that it might be doing. And one wants to see, for one, that the set of ways this statement "I had a good breakfast this morning" can be talked about, e.g., 'phatic', 'non-conceptual', 'desemanticized', etc., are given as a set of alternatives without it, or anything else, being studied very much. But a program is laid out. And among the important things about that program is what is not to be studied. And what is not to be studied is proposed by virtue of presumed results. Those are really quite extraordinary arguments. And if they don't proceed quite strictly from a notion that we can or must know what the aims of a discipline are before we begin, at least a good deal of that is involved in such formulations.

I mention these matters, for one, to notice that it is perhaps not incidental that people have not devoted their life to studying sentences like "I had a good breakfast this morning" or "How are you?" There are more or less defensible reasons for not studying such sentences. Not studying such sentences, however, may have real consequences. The question

of what language can do; what people can do with language; what the results of an analysis of "I had a good breakfast this morning" would involve; what kind of program it poses for a field; all these things remain absolutely open. (1966b)

It is possible that detailed study of small phenomena may give an enormous understanding of the way humans do things, and the kinds of objects they use to construct and order their affairs.

It may well be that things are very finely ordered; that there are collections of social objects (including "I had a good breakfast this morning" and "How are you?") which persons assemble to do their activities; that how they assemble them is describable with respect to any one of them they happen to do, and has to be seen by attempting to analyze particular objects.

We would want to name those objects and see how they work, as we know how verbs and adjectives and sentences work. Thereby we can come to see how an activity is assembled, as with a verb and a predicate, etc., a sentence is assembled. Ideally, of course, we would have a formally describable method, as the assembling of a sentence is formally describable. The description would not only handle sentences in general, but would handle particular sentences. What we would be doing, then, is developing another grammar. And grammar, of course, is the model of routinely observable, closely ordered social activities. (1964)

In that the kinds of observations I make involve catching some details of actual occurrences, then we can come to find a difference between the way I'll proceed and one characteristic way that social science proceeds, which is to use hypotheticalized, proposedly typicalized versions of the world as a base for theorizing about it. Often enough in, for example, sociological reports, somebody will say "Let us suppose that such and such happened" or "Typical things that happen are...". Now, a reader finds himself perfectly willing to grant that such things happen. On the basis of those assertions, suppositions, proposals as to what is typical, some explanation about the world is built.

I want to argue that however rich a researcher's imagination is, if he uses hypotheticalized or hypotheticalized-typicalized versions of the world he is constrained by reference to what an audience, an audience of professionals, can accept as reasonable. That might not appear to be a terrible constraint, except when we come to look at the kinds of things that actually occur. Many of the objects we work with would be hard to put into

such an imagined conversational fragment as one was going to use as a basis to theorize about conversation. Were I to say about such an object "Let us suppose that this happened, now I am going to consider it," then you might feel hesitant about what I would make of it by reference to whether such things happen. That is to say, there are materials which could not be successfully used as a base for theorizing if they were urged as imagined; we are debarred from using them unless they actually occurred. And that debarring of many things that actually occur presumably affects the character of social sciences very strongly.

Our business will be to proceed somewhat differently. We will be using observation as a basis for theorizing. Thus, we can start with things that are not imaginable, by reference to showing that they happened. We can then come to see that a base for using close looking at the world for theorizing about it is that from close looking at the world we can find things that we couldn't, by imagination, assert were there. One wouldn't know that they were 'typical'. One might not know that they ever happened. (1971)

Therefore, the kind of phenomena I deal with are always transcriptions of actual occurrences in their actual sequence. But my research is about conversation only in this incidental way, that conversation is something that we can get the actual happenings of on tape and transcribe them more or less; i.e., conversation is simply something to begin with. (1968)

When I started to do research in sociology I had this particular aim: I figured that sociology couldn't be an actual science unless it was able to handle the details of actual events; handle them formally, and in the first instance be informative about them in the direct ways that primitive sciences tend to be informative; i.e., anyone else can go and see whether what you said was so. And that is a tremendous control on seeing whether you're learning anything.

Having that interest in mind; i.e., could there be some way that sociology could hope to deal with the details of actual events, formally and informatively, I wanted to locate some set of materials that would permit a test. The results might be positive or negative. One might figure that certainly I needn't have begun that way, given that it had already been shown that it was perfectly do-able given the vast literature, or alternatively that it was perfectly obviously impossible to do given the literature. For whatever reasons, I figured it hadn't been shown either way, and I tried to find a body of material that would have the virtue of permitting

us to see whether it was possible, and, if it were possible, whether it was interesting.

So I started to work with tape recorded conversations, for the single virtue that I could replay them; that I could transcribe them somewhat and study them extendedly -- however long it might take. The tape recorded materials constituted a good enough record of what happened, to some extent. Other things, to be sure, happened, but at least what was on the tape had happened.

It wasn't from any large interest in language, or from some theoretical formulation of what should be studied, that I started with tape recorded conversation, but simply by virtue of that I could get my hands on it and I could study it again and again. And also, consequentially, that others could look at what I had studied and make of it what they could, if, for example, they wanted to be able to disagree with me.

So the work I'm doing is about talk. It's about the details of talk. In some sense it's about how conversation works. The specific aim is, in the first instance, to see whether actual single events are studyable and how they might be studyable, and then what an explanation of them would look like. (1967a)

Thus, it is not any particular conversation, as an object, that we are terribly interested in. Rather, our aim is to get into a position to transform, in what I figure is almost a literal, physical sense, our view of what happened in some particular interaction from a matter of that particular interaction done by those particular people with the interaction being the thing we're studying, to a matter of interactions as products of a machinery, it being the machinery that we're trying to find, and for which, in order to find it, we've got to get access to its products. At this point, it is conversation which provides us such access. (1970a)

Now, people often ask me why I choose the particular data I choose. Is it some problem that I have in mind that caused me to pick this corpus or this segment? And I am very insistent that I just happened to have it, it became fascinating, and I spent some time at it. Furthermore, it's not that I attack any piece of data I happen to have by virtue of some problems I bring to it. (1967c) When you start out with a piece of data, the question of what you're going to end up with, what kind of findings it will give you, should not be a consideration. One sits down with a piece of data, makes a bunch of observations and sees where they'll go. (1967b)

Treating some actual conversation in an unmotivated way; i.e., giving some consideration to whatever can be found in any particular conversation you happen to have your hands on, subjecting it to investigation in any direction that can be produced off of it, can have strong payoffs. (1970b) For one, recurrently what stands as a solution to some problem emerges from unmotivated examination of some piece of data, where, had you started out with a specific interest in that problem, it wouldn't have been supposed in the first instance that this piece of data would be a resource with which to consider, and come up with a solution for, that particular problem.

Thus, there can be some real gains in trying to fit what you can hope to do, to anything that happens to come up. I mean that not merely in the sense of pick any data and you'll find something, but pick any data, without bringing any problems to it, and you'll find something. And how interesting what you may come up with will be, is something you cannot in the first instance say. (1967a)

Section I: The Abominable "Ne?"

Post-Response (-Initiation) Response Solicitation

In 1978 Jörg Bergmann of the University of Konstanz came to study in California and brought with him some tapes and transcripts of German conversation. One of the tapes was an intake interview between a psychiatrist, a candidate patient, and her husband. We worked together on a segment of that tape. My initial interest was in transcribing a language which I do not speak. In the course of our working with the materials I noticed a phenomenon which struck me as very odd: A 'response solicitation', "Ne?", roughly translated as "Right?", (1) occurred well after completion of the utterance to which it 'belonged' as a 'tag question', and (2) started up in the course of a coparticipant's talk. Following is a fragment of my 'parasitic' transcript based on Bergmann's original,¹ and a translation.

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1. A 'parasitic' transcript is one for which another transcriber's version has been used as a guide, companion, antagonist, etc. All the transcripts, from Fragment (1.2) on, are rendered in standard orthography for relative ease of reading. If a fragment is marked 'S' (e.g., [NB: IV:2:8:S]) it has also been simplified, hopefully without prejudice to the phenomenon under consideration.

(1.1a) [Br.Pr.1.2.Para:CorVers:1-2:S]

John: dot hott see mit dem eigentleem glaub'n gar nish teh doon
ven ich den gans'n takh fon moriginss biss ahm auch noke
in de nakht ('hh) eh det ku neje und beyteh.
Mary: Ya:, ya [ikh habeh ()
Mary: und mach da shprre::nssgiss.=
John: =V'ss 'ass ik knee uu'n beyteh,
Mary: [Neh
John: e-Mei:n Gott is y'auch immuh bei miuh=
Mary: =e iss (y) auch nahts bei miuh.]
Mary: [Dass yeyit doch nish d'ot=
John: =e-ss doch n:nish mehr nehmah:l.]
Mary: [eh iss eh im bett auch mit ml:]uh.
Mary: Eh natchu:rli, ch.
John: [Neh=
Mary: =und eh liebt mich::.

(1.1b) [Free translation of (1.1a)]

John: It has nothing at all to do with real belief if all day
long from morning to evening and through the night ('hh)
[I kneel and pray.
Mary: (I kneel)
Mary: Yea:h, well [I have-
Mary: and make a nui::sance.=
John: =Whuddiyuh mean I kneel and pray.
Mary: [Right?
John: -
Mary: My God is always with me=
Mary: =He is [even with me through the night.]
John: [Y ou c a n ' t d o t h a t, t h a t=
John: =I's just not n o : : r m a l .]
Mary: [He even goes to bed with me]:.
Mary: Of cou:r-se.
John: [Right?=
Mary: =and he loves me::.

My intuitive sense of such an object as "Right?" was that it belongs directly appended to an utterance, as a 'tag question':

(1.2) [EC:IV:B:9]

B.C.: because he's too cotton picking lazy, to take advantage of
them. Right?
Caller: Right.

or, if it occurs at some distance from that utterance, then there has been a silence; i.e., a prior speaker is soliciting a response which has so far been slow in coming.

(1.3) [Agorio:126]

Lorenz: because (.) we are not going to be here untih- til ten
fifteen or something like that.
Mary: (1.3)
Lorenz: Right?
Mary: (0.4)
Vera: Right.

But in Fragment (1.1) the object occurs neither directly appended to its utterance, nor after some silence has elapsed. It appears to be soliciting a response when, in fact, recipient has started to respond -- in effect, ignoring recipient's talk.

The production of a response solicitation, post initiation of response struck me as a particularly nasty device whereby a prior speaker might attempt to counter, override, interrupt, an 'unfavorable' response. It struck me as not only nasty, but as alien; something we Americans simply do not do, and just the sort of thing the Aryan mentality would devise.

There was, of course, the possibility that this (ab)use of the response solicitation was a quirk of this particular speaker. Bergmann decided to go through his collection of conversations to see if he could find any other instances. As it turned out, he did not have very far to go. This same intake interview opens with an instance of a response solicitation (in this case, "Is'das zutreffend?", roughly translated as "Is that correct?") which occurs post initiation of response. Here it is used by the interviewing psychiatrist as a counter to an unfavorable response by the candidate patient. Following is Bergmann's original transcript, and a free translation.

(1.4a) [Br.Pr.1.2.1.r]

Dr. F.: () grad Nachricht, (0.8) (Ihnen) nich
 ganz gut gu:t geht
 Mary: Ja:: also das ist dann die Ansicht
 Dr. F.: - [Is'das zutreffend]d?
 Mary: dass Herrn Doktor Hollmann
 Dr. F.: A|ja
 Mary: also meine ist es nicht
 Dr. F.: Ihre isses nich|t
 Mary: Ne|in

(1.4b) [Free translation of (1.4a)]

Dr. F.: () I understand (0.8) () that you're
 not feeling very well.
 Mary: Yea:sh well that is [t h e opinion]
 Dr. F.: - [Is that corree|t?]
 Mary: of Doctor Hollmann
 Dr. F.: Uh|huh
 Mary: [but it isn't mine.
 Dr. F.: It isn't your|s
 Mary: [No:

And again, for this type of response solicitation, my intuition as to its proper placement was that it belonged either in 'tag' position or

post-gap position, both of which are instanced in the following fragment.

(1.5) [OU:45:2B:JPD]

Counsel: No:w (0.7) February fou:rtseenth of nineteen seventy five
 you were (0.3) you were down at th- in Boston. Is that (.)
 Is that right?
 Witness: Ye:s,
 Counsel: And you went to a:: uh (1.0) eh:: you went to a ba:r in
 Boston.
 - (0.4)
 Counsel: - Is that correct?
 (1.2)
 Witness: It's a club

The discovery of another instance of a post-response-initiation response solicitation, by a different speaker (i.e., Fragment 1.4), indicated that this device was not just a quirk of one particular speaker. Given that I was prepared to treat it as a quirk of an entire culture, it became incumbent upon me to see if, in fact, we Americans never do such a thing. This generated a search through some 5,000 pages of transcribed conversations, looking for response solicitations at a distance from their utterances, starting up in the course of a recipient's talk. The search turned up three strong candidate instances, one exquisitely ambiguous candidate instance, and a range of related phenomena. Following are the four American candidate instances of the Abominable "Ne?".

In Fragment (1.6), James is the superintendent of an apartment building where someone has damaged the front door. Apparently one of the tenants is responsible for the damage. Mike and Vic know who he is, but do not know his name. They are offering descriptions from which James is trying to identify the man. The fragment starts up at a point where James has just made an Nth attempt to identify the man.

(1.6) [Frankel:US:I:63]

Mike: It's the guy with the bicycles. Him and his wife they got
 two bicycles the grey haired fellow,
 James: [Well he musta got the
 [music shop there in the sto:re.
 Mike: - [Right?
 Vic: [And he's got a kid.
 (0.6)
 Vic: No.
 Mike: Nonono-not Frank-
 James: [That's not hi:m,

In Fragment (1.7) two men are reminiscing about time they spent in Naples. One of them, Tony, briefly visited Naples on a tour of duty in the marines. The other, Jay, lived there for a year or so. Jay is

describing the place he used to live. Tony is having difficulty locating it, and Jay has engaged in an attempt to pinpoint it.

(1.7) [Adato:VI:4-6]

Jay: you know where 1-La Galleria is,
 Tony: Yeah,
 Jay: and the San Carlo [Opera House,
 Tony: Yeah.
 Jay: Okay. (0.3) You know, right nearby there's- that church
 with the dome,
 (1.9)
 Jay: Piazza Treh- (T)iesta in Trento I think it was called-
 Tony: Well I don't really
 remember names,
 Jay: Okay.
 Tony: It's been years.
 Jay: Okay, I thought that- (1.3) (
 La Galleria, R:right across the street from the Galleria
 is the San Carlo Opera House. Correct?
 (1.4)
 Jay: Just a little bit away from the San Carlo Opera House,
 about a half a block, is- thê- thê pah- Pallazzo
 Rayaleh.
 Tony: Uh huh,
 Jay: The Royal Palace.
 Tony: The Royal Palace.
 Jay: Right?
 (0.4)
 Jay: Across the street, from the Royal Palace, is this big
 church. Right?
 (0.8)
 Tony: [()-
 Jay: [You remember now?

Fragment (1.8) occurs in the course of a storytelling. One of the recipients, Paul, produces a contribution-cum-heckle, which is met with the post-response-initiation response solicitation.

(1.8) [Goodwin:Meat:15]

Andy: and if I do something she's gonna scream. I get in trouble.
 Paul: hhheh-heh He:y-(he'll probably come) down with a-
 Andy: heh
 Paul: =shot gun and blow your head off.¹
 Andy: R i g h t? You know?
 (.)
 Andy: So I said . . .

Now we come to the ambiguous candidate Abominable. Specifically, it fulfills only one of the two prescriptive features. While the response solicitation does start up in the course of a recipient's talk, it does

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1. The equal-sign [=] indicates no break in continuity.

not occur at a distance from its utterance, but in the standard 'tag' position.

(1.9) [EC:I:0:96:r]

Caller: Because he could not understand, how a man who does things
 the like of which Powell did,
 B.C.: No dear he could understand and he was angry about it.=
 Caller: He was- [That's it.]
 B.C.: =[[The questions [were large]ly=
 B.C.: → =rhetoric a l. Were they not?
 Caller: Well that's what I mean
 Caller: =He couldn't understand.=
 B.C.: =Oh he could understand it he just didn't like it.

That is, the unbroken utterance, "The questions were largely rhetorical. Were they not?" stands as an instance of [statement + tag-positioned response solicitation] of. Fragment (1.2) "because he's too cotton picking lazy, to take advantage of them. Right?" and Fragment (1.5) "you were down at th- in Boston. Is that (.) Is that right?"

A feature that provides for the candidacy of Fragment (1.9) as an Abominable is that the response, "Well that's..." starts up prior to completion of the utterance in progress. Specifically, it starts up prior to the tag-positioned response solicitation. And, similarly to Fragment (1.4), it starts up with the component "Well..." which can, and recurrently does, initiate an unfavorable response, and is oriented to as such by a coparticipant.¹

The speaker-in-progress can have heard the overlapping response-initiation, and thus can have deployed the response solicitation as it is so clearly being deployed in Fragment (1.4); i.e., as an attempt to counter, override, interrupt, an unfavorable response-in-progress.

However, the fact that the response starts in such a position that the response solicitation can be directly appended to its utterance, permits this to be just another instance of a standard tag-positioned response solicitation; one which just happens to occur in overlap with an early-starting response. The possibility of sheer, happenstance co-occurrence can be seen in the following fragments, in which there is no issue of 'unfavorable' response, and thus the possible deployment of a tag-positioned response solicitation as a counter, override, etc., does not arise.

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1. For considerations of "Well" as an 'unfavorable' response, see, for example, H. Sacks (1967d:16) and A. Pomerantz (1976).

(1.10) [PB:3-4;JP:31]

Merle: So your biochemistry is not a part of the medical school
Royal: - it's part of the chemistry department right?
[M m h m :.]

(1.11) [CDHQ:I:147]

Maw: - But they are diminishing somewhat though aren't they?
Josh: - [O h y e s . Y e s .]

Thus, Fragment (1.9) is a systematically ambiguous candidate for the status of a post-response-initiation response solicitation. It is not clear whether the response solicitation is produced by reference to, or independently of, an early-starting unfavorable response. And, indeed, that ambiguity may be an achievement. The speaker-in-progress can be seizing upon an opportunity to override, interrupt, etc., an unfavorable response by deploying a response solicitation, producing that object soon enough to have it recognizable as a component of an utterance in progress rather than an unequivocal counter to an early-started unfavorable response.

So, a massive search has yielded three and perhaps four instances of the Abominable "Ne?" in American data. It does not occur frequently but it does occur. We do it, too. This confrontation and the search it entailed, generated an inquiry into a rather more general phenomenon; i.e., the occurrence of post-response pursuit of response. Following are some of the results of that inquiry.

Section II: The Barrage

A Form of 'Attack' Utilizing Response Solicitation

My reaction to the phenomenon of a response solicitation at a distance from its utterance and starting up in the course of a response was that it is "nasty". The search for the Abominable "Ne?" turned up a phenomenon which I am calling the Barrage, which is unlovely in its way, but which must be classified separately. Specifically, while in instances of the Barrage we find a range of devices, including the use of response solicitations and the placement of talk in the course of response, we do not find the crucial configuration [completed utterance - response initiation - 'tag' question]. Following are some instances of the Barrage.

(2.1) [SPC:IV:6:22-24] ((A suicide prevention agency))

Desk: That's my job to try to help.
Called: Alright then come on out here I've given you my address,
(0.4)

Desk: 'tch No well I can't do that.
(0.5)

Called: - Well then you're not very interested are you.
(0.5)

Desk: 'hhhhhhh Well I'd like to help as much as I can.
Called: [Alright=

then I told you what to do. If you can't do that you're not very interested are you. 'hhh You're not on your job twenty four hours a day are you?

Desk: No I'm not. That's the point.
Called: [You're leaving your office at what time.
(0.6)

Desk: 't uh I leave at the eh I'm finished here at five o'clock.
Called: =Alright then there is no reason why you can't get in your car, (0.5) and come to see us at our home.

Desk: 't Oh yes there is.

(2.2) [Frankel:US:I:123] ((A husband and wife dispute))

Carol: You did say before you were gonna finish your beer and come didn't you.
(1.0)

Carol: As- 'hh As a matter of fact you told me eh- an hour eh- two hours ago that you were gonna be home in a couple of minutes didn't you.
(1.0)

Vic: I didn't- [I didn't say that.=
Carol: - [Didn't you.

Carol: =Yes you did.
(0.5)

Carol: Oh yes you did.

(2.3) [EC:I:0:15] ((A radio call-in program))

B.C.: Haven't you bothered to check your facts on any of this,
Caller: Yes,
B.C.: Well then you should know, that a Congressman, or any member of the Congress of the United States, is immune to arrest under certain types of charges, during the time the Congress is sitting.

Caller: Mhm,
B.C.: - Didn't you know that?
Caller: But that's ()
B.C.: - [Didn't you know that,
Caller: I (unders-) I know that.
B.C.: If you knew that why did you ask me.

While Fragments (2.2) and (2.3) do have versions of a response solicitation starting up in the course of a response, they do not constitute 'tag' questions for a prior, completed utterance, but are repeats of a prior response solicitation; an altogether distinctive configuration.

Although preliminary considerations of the phenomena were based on materials collected in the United States and the German materials which

Jorg Bergmann contributed, two recent additions to this collection came out of British materials.¹

(2.4) [GT/S/6] ((Group therapy session prior to the therapist's arrival))

Angela: What did you come in for.
 Bev: He's never told us really,
 (Angela): N[O],
 (Kate): [T] (.).
 (Angela): Cause he doesn't know does he,
 David: [N o : ,]
 (David): (N)o hohoho,
 George: () cause I collapsed once or twice before I could find out what it was (you see)
 Angela: [Did- Have they found

out what it was,
(0.3)

George: Don't know.
 () hhhh
 () ahhh

Angela: → 't Don't you know? Haven't you bloody asked?
(.)

George: I've asked a few doctors.
Angela: → [AREN't you interested?
George: [They said they

can't find nothing wrong.
(Angela): *(Well)*

(1.9)

Angela: What does that suggest to you: (.) group, hh

(2.5) [SSC:HTH:JI:7] ((A Small Claims Court))

CF: What would you do: , you would be responsible for it for a hundred percent?=
T: =It depends entirely on M:ster

CF: [Tell me:] [What are you insuring a- uh a hired car for

T: It depends entirely upon the terms of the policy. 'hh eh-i-many insurance policies contain what is known as an excess clause.

(0.4)

T: → Did you know that.
(0.3)

CF: If somebody give you.
T: → [Do you know what an excess clause is:
(0.2)

CF: I beg your pardon,
T: Do you know what an excess clause is: en- in an

1. Doug Benson of Plymouth Polytechnic pointed out, as an instance of the Barrage, the materials shown in Fragment (2.4), and J.R.E. Lee of the University of Manchester brought to my attention the materials shown in Fragment (2.5). This latter fragment is excerpted from a corpus being examined by Maxwell Atkinson and Robert Dunstan at the Centre for Socio-Legal Studies, Wolfson College, Oxford, as is Fragment (1.5).

T: insurance policy.
(0.4)

CF: 't'hh'hhhh I do (know not)

T: Yes that- it means that the 'insured person will be responsible for the first so much of any claim.

CF: → 't'hh (.) Why didn't [TAPE ERASURE] explain it to me: =
T: =[[Because

CF: =[[that the comprehensive insured, I would have to pay fifty pound first before the damage would be repaired.

T: Because it [s a y s]
CF: → [why is i t]
T: Because it says so in the terms and conditions printed=
CF: → [why not.]

T: =on the back of the form which you signed.]
CF: [N o : .] [I m p o s s i b l e .]

T: 'hhh No. Well I hear what you say

There is an important difference between the Abominable and the Barrage, which can be glimpsed by juxtaposing instances of each. Here are two Barrages followed by two Abominables -- Fragments (2.2), (2.4), (1.4), and (1.7) respectively.

(2.2) [Frankel:US:I:123]

Carol: [1] As a matter of fact you told me eh- an hour eh- two hours ago that you were gonna be home in a couple of minutes

[1] didn't you.
(1.0)

Vic: [2] I didn't- [I didn't say that.
Carol: [3] [Didn't you.

(2.4) [GT/S/6]

Angela: [1] Don't you know? Haven't you bloody asked?
(.)

George: [2] I've asked a few doctors.
Angela: [3] [AREN't you interested?

(1.4) [Br.Pr.1.2.1.r]

Dr. F.: [1] I understand that you're not feeling very well.
Mary: [2] Yea:hh well that is t h e opinion]

Dr. F.: [3] [Is that correct?

(1.7) [Adato:VI:4-6]

Jay: [1] Just a little bit away from the San Carlo opera house, about a half a block, is- thē- thē pah- Pallazzo Raya [Uh huh,

Tony: [1] The Royal Palace.
Jay: [2] The Royal Pa lace.

Tony: [2] The Royal Pa lace.
Jay: [3] [Right?

Roughly, the Barrage lets its recipient know where he stands -- he is 'under attack'. But the Abominable, while it may be designed to impair, is

not recognizably 'attacking'. This difference may be specified in terms of two features; one sequential, the other syntactic.

In sequential terms, the Barrage's 'in-erruptive' component [3] occurs as an Nth move in a series of 'hostile' utterances. It is a 'next' to priors, such as the various components [1], which can have alerted recipient to an array of devices which his coparticipant may now start operating. In contrast, the Abominable's component [1] is pacific. It in no way predicts the [3], which comes out of nowhere, a sudden jerk of the bit.

In syntactic terms, the Barrage's component [3] is not a constituent component of its [1]. It is a 'new utterance', recognizably 'doing something about' the talk it intersects. But the Abominable's [3] is a class of object which routinely occurs as a last component of its [1], as a 'tag' question, and as such, it is not obviously doing something about the talk which it may overlap (see Fragments 1.10 and 1.11, and recall the 'ambiguity problem' for Fragment 1.9). That there is a space between 'components of a same utterance' may then be ascribable to such a non-motivated, speech-production issue as 'pace', rather than such a motivated interactional matter as 'interruption'.¹

Thus, while the Barrage's [3] is sequentially and syntactically made available by its speaker as 'an attack', the Abominable's [3] is sequentially and syntactically brought off as a 'non combatant'. And therein may lie its sensed "nastiness".

Section III: Prompting

Post-Response (-Completion) Response Solicitation

The search for the Abominable "Ne?" turned up another related phenomenon, which may be appropriately characterized as 'Prompting'. Unlike the Barrage, with its overt hostility, and the Abominable with its covert nastiness, Prompting seems to be relatively benign. As with the Barrage, this phenomenon does not have the configuration crucial to the Abominable; i.e., [completed utterance -> response initiation -> 'tag' question]. While it does have a response solicitation, in the form of a 'tag' question, at a distance from its utterance, and while there is a response intervening

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1. That a 'pause' between components of a 'same utterance' can occur without prejudice, is heavily exploited in the management of turn-taking. See Sacks, H., Schegloff, E., and Jefferson, G. (1974a:715-716, fns. 26 and 27, and 718), and Sacks, H. (1969:9-10, 1970d:8, 1971d:4-5, and 1972b:14-15).

between that token and its utterance, the token does not start up in the course of that response, but after it is completed; i.e., the configuration is [completed utterance -> completed response -> 'tag' question].

Following are some of the instances of Prompting turned up in the search for the Abominable "Ne?"

(3.1) [OTS:V:71-72]

Dan: Your only basic problem as far as direction: (0.6) as originally stated, was getting you into Art Center.
Roger: - Mm hm,
Dan: - Right?=
Roger: =That still is the thing.

(3.2) [Whitacre:902A:JPW:2]

Janet: Guess why I'm calling.
Larry: I: know cause I didn't do my math,
Janet: Well- how would I know. I wasn't at the school today. (0.7)
Larry: - Oh: (0.4)

Janet: - Right?
Larry: Right.=
Janet: =h h h But I am calling about math.

(3.3) [CDHQ:II:276:r] ((Coparticipants are working with a map))

Craig: Could you- um show- Do you know where we are right now,
Marty: n-Yeah? I'm gonna show you just where we are now let me see, we're right up here.
Craig: Yeah,
Marty: on: four six six two Parkin- Parkinson. Right around there.
Craig: - Yeah.
Marty: - Right?
Craig: Right.
Marty: Cause I was out- Cause I been ferrying back and forth between he::re an::d Dickson Barrack,

(3.4) [EC:II:R:144]

Caller: It was a good thing, it was a very great thing. It w- in fact the greatest thing the world has ever known, at its time.
B.C.: - Mm hm?
Caller: - Right?
B.C.: Mm hm

(3.5) [Frankel:TC:1:27:3]

Shirley: Look it's an apartment with a bedroom a kitche:n, a:nd, (.) a bathroom just like a hundred other apartments.
Geri: - Yeah.=
Shirley: - Right?h
Geri: Yeah

(3.6) [FD:III:52]

Caller: But the only thing now I wonder if it's- it's the best thing for me to do is to watch and see if there's any smoke comes out of any of th of the uh cracks.
 Desk: - Right.
 Caller: - Is that it?
 Desk: Right.

(3.7) [Rose:Fairmount:II:6]

Carol: She didn't look at it as Marvin being her friend.
 Lori: - r:Right.
 Carol: - Di:d she.
 Lori: Right.

While the Barrage (recurrently) and the Abominable (perhaps definitive-ly) have response solicitations intersecting a response in progress, Prompting has a response solicitation produced after a recipient has relinquished the floor. The object, then, occurs in a proper next turnspace rather than intruding upon a turn in progress.

Further, the responses are very short, and are of a type which can qualify as 'continuers'; objects with which a recipient acknowledges what has been said so far, and indicates that he sees that a prior speaker has more to say, inviting him to go on with it (such objects as "Yeah," "Right," "Uh huh," "Mm hm," "Oh," etc.).¹ Thus a most benign characterization of the post-response-completion response solicitation is that it is exhibiting that although the recipient may have taken it that prior speaker was not yet finished, he was indeed finished, and it is now recipient's turn to do some extended talk. That is, the post-response-completion response solicitation can be characterized as re-relinquishing the floor; technically, as being used as a 'turn-exit device' when turn-transfer has not been adequately accomplished.²

However, it appears that accompanying these turn-transfer negotiations are some interactional issues. Roughly, the fact that the recipient has, in the first place, produced no more than a 'continuer' can be problematic. The response solicitation, then, may be deployed to deal with the occurrence of mere acknowledgment when something else was sought and due; for example, some uptake of the point of the prior utterance. That is, the response solicitation may work as a prompting of some more elaborate

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1. For a consideration of 'continuers', see Sacks, H. (1971b:1-5)
2. For a consideration of 'turn-exit devices', see Sacks, H., Schegloff, E., and Jefferson, G. (1974b:718 section c).

response, not merely re-relinquishing the floor, but indicating to recipient the sort of talk he ought to be doing with the turn he had relinquished and is now being re-proffered.

We can begin to locate the sort of prompting work done by the post-response-completion response solicitation by noticing that such an object can occur in the course of a single turn at talk, as a 'pivot' between two utterance components, as in the following fragments.

(3.8) [Frankel:US:I:42]

James: - heh heh, 'hh 'It's a funny thing.° You know, (0.4) they did that while I was gone. RIGHT? I WASN'T EVEN IN THE BUILDING.

(3.9) [OTS:IV:7]

Roger: - Cause I like to set my- according to Mister Cheibel, set myself up, with the odds against me. Right? That's what you were getting to.

In these instances, the objects seem to be working retrospectively-prospectively; i.e., marking that a prior component was point-laden, and prefacing a next component which 'brings home the point'.

In the Bergmann materials, we find some Abominable usages of that format; i.e., the post-response-initiation deployment of one or another parts of the three-part 'single turn' instanced in Fragments (3.8) and (3.9). In a single short extract we find, first, a post-gap response-solicitation - post-response-initiation 'bringing home the point'; i.e., an Abominable usage of the third component (see the first set of arrows), and then a post-response-initiation response solicitation + 'bringing home the point'; i.e., an Abominable usage of the second plus third component (see the second set of arrows). Again, we start off with my parasitic transcript based on Bergmann's original, and then a free translation.

(3.10a) [Br.Pr.1.2.CorVers:1-2:JPB:S]

John: Mann derf dot nish ubah trraibn.
 (0.3)
 (): { e-hhh=
 John: (1) { =Neh?
 Mary: { Ioh a urtgrei:bah kein bee ssyen
 John: { D o r u m g e y t s.
 John: { =Do:oh veil du dets gahn_suh: valteech_ubertrraibst.
 Mary: { G a r nish:.
 (2) { (.)
 Mary: { Nein. ich eebuhtrreibeh nicht.
 John: { Ne:h dot hott see mit dem eigentleem glaub'n gar nish teh doon . . .

(3.10b) [Free translation of (3.10a)]

John: You shouldn't exaggerate it.
 (0.3)

(1) John: e-hhh=
 =Right?
 Mary: I'm not exaggerating at all.=
 John: That's the point.
 John: =Yes you do, you are exaggerating it tremendously.
 Mary: Not at all.
 (2) Mary: (.)
 No, I'm not exaggerating.
 John: Right? it has nothing at all to
 do with real belief . . .

We can also find instances of the milder, post-response-completion deployment of this 'pivotal' response solicitation. That is, following a mere token response, we find the response solicitation + bringing home the point, as in the following fragments.

(3.11) [OTS:V:52]

Roger: But it was never offered to you, or a field was never offered that interests you.
 (2.0)

Jim: - Yeh
 Roger: - Right? That's the basic problem.

(3.12) [EC:II:R:50:S]

B.C.: He was then tried, in Israel.
 Caller: - Right,
 B.C.: - Right? A country that did not even exist at the time the crimes were committed.

Given the possible retrospective-prospective character of the response solicitation, its use in the candidate instances of Prompting; i.e., in Fragments (3.1)-(3.7) may be marking the pointedness of a prior utterance which has been treated by its recipient as no more than something to be acknowledged. Further, having marked its pointedness, it may be projecting as a relevant and expectable next activity, 'bringing home the point'. But in these instances, it may be specifically left to the recipient to do that work; i.e., to now exhibit that he has taken the point.

That is, given an 'inadequate' initial response to a point-laden prior utterance, the post-response-completion response solicitation can be (1) marking that there is a point to be taken, and (2) offering the recipient a next opportunity to show that he has taken the point. And the recipient can show that he has taken the point by producing some appropriate talk in

his next turn.

Now, in the great bulk of interchanges in which this form of Prompting occurs, that a recipient has taken the point is demonstrated formally, by means of an unfolding series of activities. This issue is considered in detail in Section IV. But rarely is there an explicit uttering of what the initially 'missed' point of the prior utterance might have been, and thus of what, in particular, the post-response-completion response solicitation might have been pursuing.

It is only in Fragment (3.1) that we find a recipient explicating the point of a prior speaker's utterance. As it happens, the taking of that point by recipient is only part of a larger pursuit by prior speaker; that larger pursuit being explicitly available as pursued and 'brought home' in an expanded segment. The interchange occurs in the course of a group therapy session for teenagers. One of the patients complains that nothing has been accomplished. In the ensuing discussion the therapist attempts to bring the patient to acknowledge that something has, in fact, been accomplished.

(3.1) [OTS:V:71-72:Expanded Fragment]

Roger: Alright we've been here now how many weeks? (0.7) How long you been working on this problem, (0.4) I've opened my mouth so many times, and we haven't got nowhere.
 . ((approximately 38 lines omitted))
 .

Dan: Your only basic problem as far as direction: (0.6) as originally stated, was getting you into Art Center.

Roger: - Mm hm,
 Dan: - Ri:ght?=
 Roger: - =That still is the thing.
 Dan: Are we gonna get you through there, or no:t.
 Roger: [[() -
 Dan: Are you gonna get your self through there.
 Roger: Yes.
 Dan: Oka:y.
 (1.0)

Dan: - Then something has been accomplished. And maybe you understand some things that are functioning also, (0.6) at home.
 (1.0)

Dan: which may have contributed to some of the things that- that uh went on in- (0.3) that-that stopped you; from functioning as well as you could.

Roger: "Mm hm,"

The patient's Prompt-elicited uptake of the prior utterance is conten-

tious ("That still is the thing" disputing either a proposal that the patient is complaining about something other than the "basic problem", or an implication that that problem has been resolved; i.e., the past-tensing of "was getting you into Art Center"). And it is the therapist himself who eventually proposes the success of their enterprise (embedding the announcement in further talk, thus not providing a place in which confirmation by the patient is due, and if not offered then observably absent). In a range of ways, then, the therapist's pursuit of the patient's acknowledgment of success does not achieve its optimum outcome. Nevertheless, this interchange is transparent for the fact that a post-response-completion response solicitation can be engaged in pursuit of some specifiable outcome.

Such an understanding of the work of post-response-completion response solicitation can be turned to materials which are far less transparent. Following is an exercise in exploring that aspect of Prompting, attempted on two fragments shown earlier:

(3.2) [Whitacre:902A:JP:2]

Janet: Guess why I'm calling.
 Larry: I know cause I didn't do my math,
 Janet: → Well- how would I know. I wasn't at the school today.
 (0.7)
 Larry: → Oh.
 (0.4)
 Janet: → Right?
 Larry: → Right.=
 Janet: = "hhh But I am calling about math.

In this case, the initial response certainly looks adequate. "Oh:" can constitute a display of, say, having been 'informed'; of now knowing something one did not know until the prior utterance delivered a piece of information. It is thus far richer than such 'acknowledgment tokens' as "Uh huh," "Mm hm," etc. But it may be that in this case, the 'information receipt' is inappropriate. Specifically, the prior utterance, "Well- how would I know. I wasn't at the school today", while it might be an awfully belligerent way to propose that this speaker happened not to be somewhere at some time, might on the other hand be a way of marking that the occasion was not happenstance. The utterance may specifically be conveying that as a routine matter, known to recipient, the speaker is never at that place at that time, and that the recipient, in his response, has shown that he is not attending that fact. That is, the "How would I know" points to something that the recipient ought to know, and is complaining/reminding

in terms of recipient's responsibility for that knowledge. When, subsequent to the 'reminder', recipient produces an information receipt, "Oh:", in contrast to, say, a 'recognition display' (e.g., "Oh that's right"), prior speaker (a) provides an opportunity for recipient to supply the appropriate response (i.e., maintains silence), and when no recognition display occurs, (b) engages in prompting. In effect, then, the prompting in this case constitutes, not a second, but a third chance for recipient to display a proper tracking of his coparticipant's routine movements.¹

In the next fragment, the focal interchange takes place at a Civil Defense Headquarters during a hurricane. There has been a lull, and two of the people present -- Marty, a stranger to the area and a civilian, and Craig, the teenage son of the C.D. Commander -- get into conversation. They go through a range of topics, including some of Craig's problems in his English Literature course, Marty offering helpful hints. Eventually they turn to a wall map, and Craig puts Marty to a test.

(3.3) [CDHQ:II:276:r]

Craig: → Could you- um show- Do you know where we are right now,
 Marty: n-Ye:ah? I'm gonna show you just where we a:re now let me see, we're right up here.
 Craig: Yeah,
 Marty: on:: four six six two Parkin- Parkinson. Right around the re.
 Craig: → Yeah.
 Marty: → Right?
 Craig: → Right.
 Marty: Cause I was out- Cause I been ferrying back and forth between he::re an::d Dickson Barrack.

In finer detail, Craig has initiated and abandoned a pass/fail test question, "Could you show-", which he replaces with the more equitable "Do you know where we are...?" which has, as one of its appropriate responses something like "No, where are we?" (in contrast to the appropriate negative for the abandoned version, e.g., "No, I can't."). Marty, however, reinvokes the pass/fail status of the question by retrieving the initial wording, in his "I'm gonna show you...". That is, he exhibits that he is specifically 'taking a test'.

At the least, then, Craig's mere acknowledgment, while it indicates that the answer is not incorrect, in no way appreciates the fact that a test has been posed and successfully passed. Thus, the post-response-

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1. For a consideration of the proper tracking of a coparticipant's circumstances, see Sacks, H. (1970a:21-24).

completion response solicitation in this case may be providing a next opportunity for a proper appreciation of a successful passing of a test.

But there may be more to this pursuit. And it may bear on Marty's reinvoking the stronger, pass/fail version of the test. This civilian and stranger to the area has apparently been helping out by "ferrying" people around. He has been at least useful, perhaps courageous. (And apparently it was in the course of this activity that he became competent with the map.)

Now, such information as that he has been helping out, were it simply to be volunteered, might be recognizably self-congratulatory. And there are systematic constraints on such an activity as self-congratulation, as noted by Pomerantz (1978:88ff). A test situation, however, is one in which such information might be appropriately delivered; indeed, it might be specifically occasioned. That is, passing a test can be an occasion for praise by the tester, and praise by the tester can be an occasion for a display of modesty by the testee.¹ And in this case, the display of modesty could be of the "It's nothing, really" genre; i.e., an account of how the competence with the map is just a byproduct of some "ferrying back and forth".

Or, such information might specifically be requested; i.e., the one who posed the test, who can have expected failure and be surprised by success, may proceed to ask how the information was acquired. The fact that one had been "ferrying back and forth" could then be produced as a solicited account.

Thus, the post-response-completion response solicitation in this case, by referring its recipient back to the prior utterance with an indication that its point should be found and exhibited, may be pursuing, not only the appreciation due to the successful passing of a test, but the sequelae of such an appreciation, which could occasion the discharging of some otherwise transparently self-congratulatory information.

Notice that, in an activity analogous to that of Fragment (3.1), the pursuer eventually volunteers the critical item. Recall that were such information simply volunteered, it might be recognizably self-congratulatory. In this case, the information is not 'simply volunteered'. It is

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1. Pomerantz notes: "Recipients of praise are subject to self-praise avoidance, or modesty constraints." (1978:96) She goes on to exhibit instances of 'modesty' as "an achievement" (1978:110 footnote 13).

formatted as an account, with "Cause...", although as the sequence has run off, there has been no call for either a display of modesty or a solicited account.

In finer detail, we can notice the repetition of "Cause" across a revision; i.e., "Cause I was out- Cause I been ferrying back and forth...". My own data searches, and the work of colleagues focussing on the structure of self-repair, indicate that such turn-initial items as "Well," "Because," "So," etc., etc. tend massively to be dropped in the revised recycle.¹ The standard repair format applied to this revision would yield, "Cause I was out- I been ferrying back and forth...". The utterance as it actually occurs is thus systematically 'overbuilt' for its character as an account; i.e., may be actively defending against its recognizability as volunteered self-praise and emphasizing its status as a test-occasioned account.

Such exercises as the foregoing indicate that the post-response-completion response solicitation can be accomplice to some rich and intricate interactional negotiations. And in such materials we find recurrently that negotiations which can be expressed, and thus accounted for, in turntaking terms, as [completed turn - continuer - turn exit device] can be expressed in interactional terms as [point-laden utterance - mere acknowledgment - pursuit of the point].

That the negotiations can be sensibly expressed and accounted for in turntaking terms may bear on the sensed 'benignness' of Prompting in comparison to the sensed 'hostility' of the Barrage and the sensed 'nastiness' of the Abominable. In turntaking terms, the Abominable has a 'turn exit device' positioned 'interruptively' in the course of a response which is not in the first place relinquishing the floor to a prior speaker. The expression [completed turn - response-in-progress - turn exit device] is not a reasonable account. The turn has already been adequately exited. On its occurrence, then, such an interchange as is found in the Abominable, does not recommend itself to a turntaking-systematic account.

Thus, someone confronted with such a series of actions (be it recipient or analyst) is directed by it towards an interactional account as the relevant, sensible account; i.e., is directed to seek and find what one participant is recognizably 'doing to' another. In contrast, Prompting's

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1. Anthony Wootton and Paul Drew, University of York (private communication).

negotiations can be reasonably expressed and adequately accounted for in terms which do not lead to finding that something interactional is 'being done'. In this way, the sensed 'nastiness' of the Abominable and the relative 'benignness' of the Prompting may be a product of the design of the devices and the alternative accounts which they invoke.

Section IV: On the Effectiveness of Abominables and Promptings

Although the Abominables may be designedly, recognizably 'doing something to a coparticipant', a striking feature of these interchanges is that the device seems to be altogether ineffective. Specifically, the post-response-initiation response solicitation is positioned recognizably 'interruptively' in the course of a coparticipant's talk. It can then be observed that the coparticipant's talk is not interrupted, but continues at least to a first completion point. And, subsequently, there is nothing which might stand as 'the solicited response'. We can review the relevant fragments with that issue in mind.

(1.1b) [Br.Pr.1.2.JPB:S;Free Translation]

Mary: → Whuddiyuh mean I kneel and pray.
John: → ^[Right?]
Mary: → e-my God is always with me. He is even with me through the night.

(1.4b) [Br.Pr.1.2.1.r.;Free Translation]

Mary: → Yea:h well that is ^[the opinion]
Dr. F.: → ^[Is that correct?]
Mary: → of Doctor Hollmann
Dr. F.: → Uh,huh
Mary: → ^[But it isn't mine.]

(1.6) [Frankel:US;I:63]

James: → Well he musta got the ^[music shop there in the store.]
Mike: → ^[Right?]
Vic: → got a kid. ^[And he's]
(0.6)
Vic: → No.
Mike: → Nonono not Frank

(1.7) [Adato:VI;4-6]

Tony: → The Royal Palace.
Jay: → ^[Right?]
(0.4)
Jay: → Across the street . . .

With regard to Fragment (1.7) it can be noted that overlapped speakers can and do cut off immediately upon onset of overlap. For example:

(0.1) [JC:I:8:5]

Marge: → Now this is your private number Mister Hanson.
Hanson: → ^[No; that's . . .]

(0.2) [SBL:2:1:8:3]

Faye: → You know, depending on what you eat,
Bea: → Well, ^{[t-}
Faye: → ^[I don't like to get in a flap about it, but . . .]

Returning to the collection of relevant fragments vis-a-vis an 'interruptively' positioned response solicitation with no effective interruption of coparticipants' talk:

(1.8) [Goodwin:Meat:15]

Paul: → He'll probably come () down with a shot-gun and blow your head off.
Andy: → ^[R i g h t? You know?]
(.)
Andy: → So I said . . .

(1.9) [BC:I:0:96:r]

Caller: → Well that's what I mean; he couldn't understand.
B.C.: → ^[Were they not?]
B.C.: → =Oh he could understand it he just didn't like it.

The 'interruptively' positioned post-response-initiation response solicitation of the Abominables recurrently appears to have no relevant effect upon the utterance it intersects. We find neither 'interruption' nor the 'solicited response'. In contrast, the post-response-completion response solicitation of the Promptings appear to have some effect. Specifically, the response solicitation is followed by an utterance which can stand as 'the solicited response'. Again, we can review the relevant fragments with that issue in mind.

(3.1) [GTS:V:71-72]

Roger: → Mm hm,
Dan: → ^[Right?]
Roger: → =That still is the thing.

(3.2) [Whitacre:902A:JFW:2]

Larry: → Oh. ^(0.4)
Janet: → ^[Right?]
Larry: → ^[Right.]

(3.3) [CDHQ:II:276:r]

Craig: → Yeah.
Marty: → ^[Right?]
Craig: → ^[Right.]

(3.4) [EC:II:R:144]

B.C.: Mm hm?
Caller: Right?
B.C.: → Mm hm

(3.5) [Frankel:TC:1:27:8]

Geri: Yeah.=
Shirley: =Right?h
Geri: → Yeah

(3.6) [FD:III:52]

Desk: Right.
Caller: Is that it?
Desk: → Right.

(3.7) [Rose:Fairmount:II:6]

Lori: r:Right.
Carol: Did she.
Lori: → Right.

The Promptings can be seen to achieve a measure of success in that, by virtue of (1) the object's positioning and the turntaking-organizational account which is available for such a positioning (i.e., as a re-relinquishing of the floor to a recipient who had (mis)understood that more was to be said by a prior speaker), and (2) the retrospective-prospective work of such objects in general, which provides for the relevance of (3.a) explication (by speaker) or (3.b) uptake (by recipient), the talk which follows the post-response-completion response solicitation will, in principle, be talk which has been informed by (1), has been made relevant by (2), and is operating (3.b). Thus, in principle, the acknowledgment token which follows a response solicitation constitutes an 'informed uptake'; i.e., constitutes the response which has been pursued by the response solicitation.

However, it is only under this formulation of the sequence-context that the second acknowledgment token is constituted as an 'informed uptake'. It is otherwise no more recognizable as such than is the initial acknowledgment token (which, under this formulation of the sequence-context is constituted as a 'continuer'). That is, the job that each token can be characterized as doing is dependent upon a particular formulation of the sequence-context. Thus, if the context can be otherwise formulated, the observable work of the second acknowledgment token might be otherwise characterizable.

And the fact that, massively, these post-response-solicitation utterances are no more than an acknowledgment token, brings them into close convergence with an altogether contrasting type of activity. In this activity-

type, a second acknowledgment token does not constitute a solicited response, but a 'recycle' of what turned out to have been a 'premature' prior response.

Simply: A response which turns out to have occurred prior to completion of an ongoing utterance is recycled upon completion of that utterance. While a sizeable collection of instances was yielded by the search for the Abominable "No?", only a few are shown here, with a disproportionate number involving overlapped response solicitations in 'tag' position.

(4.1) [Agorio:2:141]

Martinez: He's you know becoming even more (0.4) more cautious than
be [fo:re.]
Rose: → [Mm-hm,]
Rose: → Mm-hm,

(4.2) [Schenkein:II:70]

Ellen: Just on the straight.(.) [of the fabric.
Lori: → [Yeah.
Lori: → Yeah.

(4.3) [Krakowski:D&R:10]

Leslie: Do you think it's gonna make any difference to me if you
said Friday or ne xt week or two weeks from now?
Steven: → [NO!
Steven: → NO!

(4.4) [IPD:ND:II:114]

Desk: Fortieth and Boulevard [right?
Caller: → [Uh huh,
Caller: → Uh huh,

(4.5) [P356:II:1]

Desk: Twenty one, forty four Argyle.(.) [Right?
Caller: → [Yes.
Caller: → Yes.

(4.6) [Reilly:16]

Dora: Oh she has a great big station wagon [doesn't she
Inez: → [Yeah.
Inez: → Yeah,

(4.7) [Goodwin:GR:35]

Ron: The supermarket is a- is a standard place to gossip though
[isn't it,]
Beth: → [Y e a h,
Beth: → Yeah.

Such a configuration repositions a 'premature' response such that it now occurs, properly, post completion of a current utterance. Specifically,

the repeated token can be exhibiting that the 'premature' response is deemed still adequate to the eventual utterance-in-toto; that such subsequent material as "...of the fabric", or "...or two weeks from now?", or "Right?" or "Doesn't she?" or "Isn't it," is inconsequential; is itself inadequate to a revised response, and simply requires some turntaking-organizational work which can be accomplished with a properly positioned repeat of the 'premature' response.

Indeed, it appears that a speaker who has started up early, who now wishes to be observably taking the appended materials into account, marks that some subsequent token is not a repositioned prior response but is a next-positioned, new response. And this is done, simply enough, by producing a recognizably different item. So, for example, in the following fragment, we find a particularly consequential response solicitation, marked for its consequence by its recipient.

(4.8) [OTS:I:1:48:r]

Dan: This was one of the reasons that A:l of course was so upset last week. I think. (0.7)
 Roger: Lost his identity? (1.4)
 Dan: He had certain viewpoints on things. (1.0)
 Dan: - And something ha: [p p e n e d] didn't it. [°M-hm°] °Yeah, °
 Al: - (0.3)
 Al: - Oh yah, (1.2)
 Dan: (I think) he's very hesitant to ta:lk about it,

In this case, a coparticipant is volunteering confirmation in the course of talk about him. That confirmation ("°Yeah, °" "°M-hm°" -- the degree-sign [°] indicates low amplitude) overlaps a tag-positioned response solicitation which is doing a specifiable job, redirecting the talk to him. And in this case we find, not a recognizable repositioned recycle of a prior, overlapped acknowledgment token, but a recognizable next-positioned response which takes into account the response solicitation and its work; i.e., we find, not another "°Yeah, °" or "M-hm°", but another class of activity, "Oh yah," which is not only a recognizable 'change', but may in itself constitute an acknowledgment of the touchy matters being raised, accomplice to declining to talk about them.

That is, "Oh yeah" or objects very similar to it, seem to have as one job they recurrently do, the marking of some issue as possibly touchy. And

these objects are recurrently deployed accomplice to declining to expand upon the marked-as-touchy issue. So, for example, in the following fragment, Joan had earlier announced that she brought Linda's children some doll-clothes. (See Fragment (0.19) page 63 below.)

(0.3) [TCI(b):16:59]

Linda: Where did you get the clothes at.
 Joan: At uh Toy City,
 Linda: - Were they on sale?
 Joan: - =Ah::, yeah.
 Linda: Ye:ah.

In the following fragment, Maggie and Gene occasionally "see" each other. The inquiry here is about Gene and his wife.

(0.4) [JG:II:2:5]

Maggie: - But you're all still together. (0.3)
 Gene: - Oh yah.
 Maggie: Yahm.

In the following fragment, two friends who attended high school together but are now going to different colleges and whose friendship is therefore beginning to suffer attrition, are both going up to San Francisco for the Christmas holidays. What may be 'in the air' here, but is never explicitly addressed, is whether the inquirer might travel up with her coparticipant.

(0.5) [Frankel:TC:I:1:17]

Shirley: - You guys are gonna drive up aren't you,
 Geri: - Oh yea:h.
 Shirley: That's what I figu[red.]_{y e}h,
 Geri:

And in the following fragment, an inquiry into a problematic dinner party is met with "Oh ye:h" plus a referred assessable.

(0.6) [NB:IV:13:1]

Emma: So they came do:wn and had dinner,hh
 Lottie: Uh hu:h,
 Emma: 'hh 'hh,hh
 Lottie: - [Was it ni:ce?] (0.6)
 Emma: - Oh ye:h the turkey was delicious.
 Lottie: [Oh goo:d.]

Throughout his lectures, Harvey Sacks stresses the powerful relevance of next-positionedness (1967d:4-11, 1967e:15-18, 1971a:5-8). He notes the particular relevance of next-positionedness for acknowledgment tokens, which are understood by reference to an immediately preceding unit (1967e:17). It appears, however, that at least in some specifiable circumstances,

the power of sheer next-positionedness becomes equivocal, and can be undercut or enhanced by means of repetition or change, respectively. Consider the following fragment, in which recognizable 'repetition' clearly defeats recognizable 'next positioning'; i.e., a possible 'next-positioned' response is clearly to be heard as a 'repositioned' recycle.

(4.9) [Core/BA;IV;32]

Ed: The only statement we really got in this respect was that unless you got the statistics you couldn't find any qualified people. This doesn't make sense.
Bart: - That isn't true.
Bart: - That isn't true.

That is, the second "That isn't true" is not denying that a statement "doesn't make any sense", but is repeating the initial denial that such a statement was made in the first place. The sheer fact of 'next-positioning' is overridden by achieved, recognizable 'repositioning'.

Again, with respect to this issue, consider the following two fragments in which a same speaker, in two different conversations, with two different coparticipants, is given a similar piece of news, in a similar format. The format can be expressed as [Good Fortune + Price Tag].

(4.10) [NB;IV;10;51]

Holly: and she gave me the most beautiful swimsuit you've ever seen in your life.
Emma: Gave it to you?
Holly: Yeah.
Emma: - Aw:::!!
Holly: - A twenty two dollar one.
Emma: - [Aw:::!!]

(0.6)

Emma: Well you've given her a lot in uh your day Holly,

(4.11) [NB;II;2;1]

Nancy: I got a raise.
Emma: - Goo::ud.
Nancy: - Yeh two dollars a week.
Emma: - Oh::wo:w.
Nancy: [Uh::!!] heh heh,heh!
Emma: [What are you gonna do with it all.]

In Fragment (4.10) the price-tag component is treated by its recipient as inadequate to revised response, with a repeat of the response to the good-fortune component. In Fragment (4.11) the price-tag component is marked as adequate to revised response, with a recognizably different item.

Subsequent talk in each fragment supports this analysis. In Fragment (4.10) the good-fortune component, "She gave me the most beautiful swimsuit" is adequately referred to by, and is adequate to, the subsequent "Well

you've given her a lot in your day", which does not specifically address the price-tag component. On the other hand, in Fragment (4.11) the good-fortune component, "I got a raise" is adequately referred to by, and is adequate to the subsequent "What are you gonna do with it", but is inadequate to "...with it all", which specifically addresses the price-tag component, "two dollars a week."

Thus, while in Fragment (4.10) the recipient constructs her consecutive utterances such that the price-tag component is (1) marked as, and (2) subsequently exhibited to be, inconsequential, in Fragment (4.11) she constructs her consecutive utterances such that the price-tag component is (1) marked as, and (2) subsequently exhibited to be, consequential.

In Fragments (4.1)-(4.11) it appears that there is a selective orientation to and management of a converging relevance of two alternative formulations of the sequence-context, one of which provides that an utterance is 'next-positioned'; i.e., a 'response to' an immediately prior utterance of a coparticipant, the other of which provides that an utterance is 'repositioned'; i.e., a 'recycle of' some earlier talk of this same speaker. In circumstances where there is some ambiguity as to which of these formulations might apply, such a device as 'recognizable sameness' can be used to undercut the relevance of 'next-positionedness'/'response' and promote the relevance of 'repositionedness'/'recycle', while such a device as 'recognizable change' can be used to undercut the latter and promote the former.

Now, Prompting appears to constitute a circumstance in which the sequence-context becomes ambiguous and the power and relevance of sheer next-positionedness becomes weakened. This is because there is acute convergence between the way the Promptings run off (see Fragments 3.2-3.7) and the way the overlap-occasioned repositioned recycles run off (see Fragments 4.1-4.7).

Specifically, it may become quite unclear as to whether the post-response-completion response solicitation is operating as a sheer turn-exit device, analogous to the tag-positioned response solicitation, or is pointing to the inadequacy of the initial response and attempting to occasion some revision. Equally, it may become unclear as to whether recipient's subsequent talk constitutes a next-positioned response, informed by the prior response solicitation, or merely a repositioned recycle, occasioned by, but marking the inconsequence of, some intervening talk.

It appears that this possible ambiguity is oriented to and managed by the relative shape of the two consecutive acknowledgment tokens. A coparticipant who wishes to be seen as having been informed by the post-response-completion response solicitation can produce a second acknowledgment token which is observably not the same as; i.e., not a possible recycle of, the earlier acknowledgment token. Further, he can produce it so that it is equally observably the same as; i.e., is specifically locating, the immediately prior response solicitation. This is the procedure used in Fragments (3.2) and (3.3).

(3.2) [Whitacre:902A:JPW:2]

L: Oh:.
 J: [-] Right? (0.4)
 L: [+]
 Right.

(3.3) [CDHQ:II:276:r]

C: Yeah.
 M: [-] Right?
 C: [+]
 Right.

Roughly, this [-]/[+] configuration orients to the weakness of sheer next-positionedness, and works to defend against the possible recognizability of the second acknowledgment token as a non-informed, repositioned recycle, and to enhance its status as an informed, next-positioned response.

I will make an observation which, at this point, stands as a possible mere curio; potentially no more than an artifact of the current corpus. The two instances in which a recipient produces this [-]/[+] configuration are those in which the recipient is an incumbent in the Membership Categorization Device category 'child', and the prior speaker an incumbent in the category 'adult'.¹ Further, in both cases, the categories 'student' and 'teacher' appear to be relevant. In Fragment (3.2) Janet is Larry's math tutor, and in Fragment (3.3) Marty has been offering advice about an English Literature course. That is, it just so happens that in both instances, the participants can be characterized in terms of a superordinate/subordinate relationship.

It is possible that with the use of the [-]/[+] format, the recipient is specifically invoking that relationship as the account of his behavior;

- - -

1. For a consideration of Membership Categorization Device categories, see Sacks, H. (1972a).

i.e., is recognizably saying what he sees that his superordinate wishes him to say, and no more than that.

In a consideration of another pair of superordinate/subordinate categories, Master/Slave, Harvey Sacks (1970e:21-22) points out that in the Pre-Civil War Southern United States, a slave was required to agree with any utterance made by a master. One consequence was that slaves were seen to be "evasive" and "deceitful". Further, Sacks notes that "there were some negative consequences for the masters, in that they could never find out what they wanted to know."

The [-]/[+] configuration manipulates sequence and tokens to achieve recognizable 'informed uptake' with no explicit demonstration of how the prior utterance was adequate to more than the initial response. Further, it may be invoking the superordinate/subordinate relationship as the account for the revised response. Literally, "Whatever you say, boss." If this constitutes a successful outcome of the pursuit engaged in by the post-response-completion response solicitation, it is a meagre one.

The remaining cases of Prompting, including those shown here, are even less 'successful'. A coparticipant who wishes to convey that the prior utterance was indeed inadequate to anything more than it initially got, but who does not wish to move into active dispute, can produce a second acknowledgment token which is not the same as; i.e., is specifically not locating, the immediately prior response solicitation. Further, he can produce it so that it is equally observably the same as; i.e., a possible recycle of, the first acknowledgment token. This is the procedure used in Fragments (3.4)-(3.7).

(3.4) [EC:II:R:144]

EC: Mm hm?
 C: [+]
 EC: [-] Right?
 Mm hm

(3.5) [Frankel:TC:I:27:8]

G: Yeah.=
 S: [+]
 G: [-] =Right?h
 Yeah

(3.6) [FD:III:52]

D: Right.
 C: [+]
 D: [-] Is that it?
 Right.

(3.7) [Rose:Fairmount:II:6]

L:		r:Right.
C:	[+]	Di:d she.
L:	[-]	Right.

Roughly, this [+]/[-] configuration relies upon the strength of next-positionedness to achieve that the second acknowledgment token is not, unequivocally, the repositioned recycle its sheer repetition would otherwise define it as. The work done in these cases tends to reaffirm the adequacy of an initial, no-uptake response, and the inadequacy of the prior utterance to a different order of response. In effect, it is observably declining to take issue with the post-response-completion response solicitation's proposal that the prior utterance warranted more than a mere acknowledgment, while exhibiting that did not.

Thus, while in comparison to the absolute zero effectiveness of the Abominables, Prompting can be seen as at least achieving some small measure of success, the foregoing considerations suggest that it is a drastically meagre one. Having noticed the absence or meagreness of success of the post-response (-initiation or -completion) response solicitations; i.e., of Abominables and Promptings, that very noticeability can be seen as a feature of the phenomenon. That is, these versions of a response solicitation are produced as objects to which their recipients ought to defer, and which, then, can observably fail at achieving deference, or can observably achieve only minimal deference.

At least in part, the observable success/failure derives from a characterizable activity performed by the post-response (-initiation or -completion) response solicitation. The response solicitation is fully occupied by marking the pointedness of a prior, completed utterance, and proposing that a recipient should now exhibit that he has taken the point of that prior utterance. But, crucially, the response solicitation does nothing whatsoever to explicate the point of that prior utterance.

Now this is a rather special sort of activity, given that a recipient has just committed himself to a response; i.e., is in the course of proffering, or has just proffered, the results of his analysis of that prior utterance. The response solicitation informs a recipient that his response is/was inadequate, but provides no further materials from which the recipient might construct an 'improved' analysis. The defect is specifically located as residing in the recipient's analysis, and not within the prior talk, which is re-offered as adequate, as it stands.

At best, the post-response (-initiation or -completion) response solicitation sets up a guessing-game or test. At worst it constitutes a complaint or rebuke; i.e., an insistence that a coparticipant behave differently, with virtually no grounds provide for revised behavior except that this speaker deems that revision is called for. Small wonder that the device is so massively unsuccessful.

Section V: An Alternative
Post-Response (-Initiation or -Completion) Continuation

It turns out that there is an alternative type of pursuit device, one which may or may not be 'successful' in the interactional terms of the response solicitations, but one which does not in the first place operate in those terms. This alternative type of pursuit device operates in terms of a turntaking organizational procedure which has as its first-order observable task the sheer completion of an utterance in progress. The pursuit device in this case is deployed upon the occurrence of an 'early' response, and constitutes a post-response (-initiation or -completion) appending of materials which are syntactically coherent with the utterance in progress. While a grossest paraphrase of the Abominable might be "Answer me properly!", and of the Prompting, "Try again," the alternative device might be grossly paraphrased as "Let me finish."

This device is grounded in a basic 'rule' for the production of conversation: Talk gets done in complete utterances/turns. This is not to say that a complete utterance always occurs. A current speaker can stop, trail off, etc., or a recipient can start up in the course of an ongoing utterance, whereupon the current speaker stops. For example:

(5.1) [Frankel:US:I:15]

Fred: → He doesn't know that he's been::

(1.0)

Vic: 'hhhhhhhh (0.7) unghhhhhhh (0.5) I think he has a, (0.5) idea, mmbut I think that the last ten dollars he gave me about a month ago, a month and a half ago he figured, covered it.

(5.2) [SEL:2:1:3]

Bea: → Okay, well I'm sorry that you

(0.3)

Bea: 'hh

Jean: Well so am I but ()

Bea: Maybe it's just as well you discovered it,
Jean: Well it is, cause I'd hate to be sliding backwards down that hill.

(5.3) [DA:2:4:8]

Jessie: → If you a-uh do anything definite on Thursday then uh:
 don't let me: uh::: [:::
 Goldie: [No it is t: it isn::: 't eh th:t,
 it is e-that I have a meetin_g

But frequently we can notice in such interchanges, an orientation to completeness. While a sentence/utterance in progress does not get completed, a candidate for 'the missing item' shows up as an embedded component of the response. In the following instances, the candidate 'missing items' are bracketted.

(5.4) [NB:IV:13:6]

Emma: I've never had such a healing. I have n(hh)o pro(hh)blems.
 hh 'hh
 Lottie: → Ay- How's that stuff on your_{uh}
 Emma: ['hh
 Emma: → Absolutely gorgeous do you put it on your [nails]?
 Lottie: Oh: yeah, every ni:ght.

(5.5) [Agorio:320-321:r]

Betty: Doctor Martinez,
 (0.3)
 Martinez: Yah,
 Betty: → Who were the couple who.=
 (): =unhh
 Martinez: Oh: they are some friends of Jerry Hallinan and and a:nd
 and Carla.
 (0.3)
 Betty: Oh:.
 (): °()°
 Martinez: → And Carla was going to babysit, because they were going
 out for the weeke:nd they [were killed].

(5.6) [TCI(e):12:18]

Linda: → How old was she when: she go:t mer
 Joan: [Fourteen.
 Linda: Ohhh.
 (0.5)

Joan: → And her folks didn't want her:, to [marry] him.

And recurrently, not only does a candidate for the 'missing item' show up in recipient's pre-completion response, but it is produced to be heard in those terms; i.e., as a continuation/completion of the prior utterance-in-progress.¹

1. This procedure converges with the phenomenon of 'collaborative utterances'. See Sacks, H. (1965d:2-7), (1967f:9-15), (1968a:1-9).

(5.7) [CDHQ:I:267]

Tim: ...because if we get a heavy rain now,
 Josh: → Mm hm. It's gonna clog up.

(5.8) [Frankel:HB:II:4]

Jan: Her whiskers are all sin:ged bu:t
 Penny: → ['hhh Oh: but she's ohhkhay.

(5.9) [GTS:III:61]

Dan: Maybe parents can never really think of their children in
 any other way than-
 Louise: → [Yeah. than little kids.

Crucially for our interests, however: When a sentence/utterance gets response initiated prior to its completion -- whether the response intersects an ongoing utterance, comes after a speaker has trailed off, stopped, initiated a 'word search'; whether the response is the start of an at-length reply or is an acknowledgment token -- massively that sentence/utterance is completed by the one who initiated it.

(5.10) [NB:II:3:5:r]

Lottie: Jeez there a lo:t of fish out in_{that-} in those waters,
 Emma: [Are the:re,
 Emma: I hate to go out today it's so crow::ded there be so many
 people you know and_{close-}
 Lottie: [Yeah that's what- the only trouble you
 → can't work tha:t uh::: [:::
 Emma: → [Mm:hm,
 Emma: [(Tuh-)
 Lottie: → [[jetty the:re, and (.) Sue uh: this friend of mi:ne we:ll
 'hhh we:ll ut- uh: she's I let her stay at the Hawaiian
 house: > over the week < So we're going uh::: (.) eh- eh
 tomorrow morning ou:t.
 Emma: Oh goo:d.

(5.11) [Core/BA:III:52]

Barton: You (would) admit that there is a difference between, 'hh
 let's have a particular meeting and see what- (0.3) the
 situation is at- w-one particular time, 'hh versus, having
 → a periodic (0.2) uh (0.3) discussion of:: a particular uh
 Ed: → Well Mister-
 Barton: → situation
 Marola: [I- I think-
 Ed: [Mister Barton may I- may I just say . . .

(5.12) [DA:2:21]

Jessie: Are you busy?
 (0.2)
 Goldie: Uh no my little granddaughter is here.=
 Jessie: → =Oh: oh. So it's hard for you to_{uh:::}
 Goldie: → [No it's alright.
 (.)
 Jessie: → to uh::: to listen then uh look enjoy your granddaughter,

(5.13) [Adato:3:24]

Stan: That's just it. That maturity factor is lacking and you are easily,
 Tony: Yeah.
 Stan: swayed. This is the point. A lot of people don't consider...
 Tony: (). Yeah.

(5.14) [Agorio:328-329:r:8]

Nora: You have to hear it again in order to really
 Donna: Yeah: h I know that,
 (0.2)
 Nora: [[accept it.
 Donna: [[I've sat in on group therapy sessions and I've gone to a psychiatrist and . . .

(5.15) [Core/BA:III:101]

Barton: And it uh is consonant with the idea of equal opportunity employment em-employment. if they could work downtown,
 Ed: uptown,
 Ed: Well, we-
 Barton: midtown, and- the whole (business).
 Ed: We have them in this building.

(5.16) [PB:3-4:JP:31]

Royal: Ev- eh- well you think about it the guy, one of the guys that lectured us for the biochem, is (a) co-author of the textbook that's used in ninety percent=
 Merle: Oh:: y e a h.
 Paul: I hate
 Royal: of the med schoo:ls-
 Paul: hate that.
 Royal: in the wohhrld.
 Paul: Is th-a t right?
 (Robin): Whh ow.
 Merle: Oh really?
 (0.9)
 Merle: Well you're lucky you got him as a lecturer.

(5.17) [NB:IV:5:3-4:r]

Martha: Well what about poor Marian she's looking forward to- 'hh
 Emma: L'hh- We:::ll=
 Martha: Thanks-
 Emma: I don't know I'm just not up t-
 Martha: Thanksgiving.
 Emma: I'll t-I'm gonna talk to her I just don't feel up to it really to cook a big dinner,
 (0.2)
 Emma: a:nd have'em
 Martha: Oh: I don't know I think it would do you good dear.
 (0.3)
 Martha: I really do:.
 Emma: Do you:?

Expanded versions of Fragments (5.7) and (5.9) dramatically instance the phenomenon of utterance completion by initiating speaker. In each case, although a coparticipant has finished the utterance for him, the initiating speaker goes on to complete it for himself, appropriating the coparticipant's contribution to do so.

(5.7) [CDHQ:I:267:Expanded Fragment]

Tim: ...because if we get a heavy rain now,
 Josh: Mm hm. It's gonna clog up.
 Tim: they're gonna clog up.

(5.9) [QTS:III:61:Expanded Fragment]

Dan: Maybe parents can never really think of their children in any other way than-
 Louise: Yeah. than li^{ttle} kids.
 Ken: than children. Yeah.
 Dan: than little kids?

So: Basically, and massively, incomplete sentences/utterances get completed, and get completed by their initiators. On occasion, this feature is put to work to elicit revised response from a coparticipant.

For example, most roughly, in Fragment (5.10) a speaker, commending the local fishing facilities, finds that it has occasioned a complaint about those facilities by recipient. Initial speaker produces a version of agreement with the complaint, but the 'continuation' of that utterance turns out to exhibit the problemativeness of further complaint; i.e., that she is going out again tomorrow. Recipient, who initially produced a complaint, now produces a positive assessment, "Oh good."

In Fragment (5.16) a speaker pursues revised response within the course of a single, syntactically coherent sentence, by adding components. In particular, an adequate complete sentence, "One of the guys that lectured us for the biochem, is (a) coauthor of the textbook that's used in ninety percent of the med schoo:ls", has been treated by two recipients as referring to a circumstance with which they are utterly familiar (i.e., Merle's "Oh: yeah." and Paul's "I...hate that."). To that adequate complete sentence is now added a canonical display of significance, "in the wohhrld." The utterance, which to that point had been treated as referring to something with which recipients are utterly familiar, now gets a radical shift in response-type; i.e., is received as 'news' (with Paul's "Is that right?" and Merle's "Oh really?").

By contrast to Fragments (5.10) and (5.16), Fragment (5.17) stands as

a delicate and equivocal instance of both a speaker's pursuit of revised response and a recipient's revising response by reference to a post-response (-initiation) continuation. I will focus first on the issue of the 'continuation' as a possible pursuit of revised response, and then turn to a consideration of recipient's subsequent talk as a possible revision. Following is the relevant segment for consideration of the 'continuation'.

(5.17) [NB:IV:5:3-4;r]

Martha: Well what about poor Marian she's looking foward to- 'hh
Emma: [hh- We:::ll=
Martha: =[[Thanks-
Emma: =[[I don't know I'm just not up t-
Martha: =[[Tha:nksgiving.]

To start off with, the post-response-initiation continuation component, "Thanksgiving", does not recommend itself as a 'pursuit item' in the way that Fragment (5.16)'s "...in the wohhrld" does. It is not a canonical significance marker. It is simply naming the occasion. However, the occasion being named is a particularly important Institution, with serious obligations attendant to it. And in the naming of it, as Sacks points out (1971a:4-5), a speaker may be "pointing up its relevance".

Further, in syntactic terms, Fragment (5.16) exhibits a possible pursuit-relevant design. The canonical display of significance follows an adequate complete utterance, and thus can have been specifically appended by reference to the coparticipants' activities (cf. the consideration of the problematic Abominable, Fragment (1.9), pages 12-13 above). Fragment (5.17) exhibits no such possibility for an item appended by reference to a coparticipant's activities. At the point of overlap, the unit is simply incomplete; "She's looking forward to-". However, coparticipant's activities are of a type which recurrently occasions 'counter' activities; i.e., the item by reference to which the utterance in progress is momentarily out of a standard initiator of 'unfavorable response', "We:::ll" (cf. Fragments (1.4) and (1.9) and the consideration on page 13 above). And while the utterance at this point does not permit of an item appended by reference to a coparticipant's activities, it does permit of an item in the first place selected by reference to the immediately current circumstances.

To get a glimpse of the possibility that "Thanksgiving" is specifically selected as a 'counter' to an initiation of an unfavorable response,

we can note that there are available alternative items which might follow "she's looking forward to-", and one which particularly recommends itself for use in the current circumstances; i.e., "it". In terms of sheer syntactic completion, "it" is as adequate as "Thanksgiving". With that alternative item, an operation could be performed upon the utterance at the point of overlap, an operation which would bring it to completion within a particle, permitting the pre-completion response to proceed unimpeded. That is, the utterance, whatever its initially projected course might have been, could, at the point of overlap, be 'foreshortened' to an adequately completed "she's looking forward to it."

Formally, abstractly, such a device as 'foreshortening' ought to exist. But it is enormously difficult to find candidate instances of its usage, in that 'foreshortening', when done properly, has as its specific achievement that the question of possibly intended alternative/additional materials revised/deleted by reference to overlap, does not arise. Occasionally, and by virtue of various breaches of the 'does not arise' provision, at least a glimpse of the possibility of such a device's usage can be found. Following is a single candidate instance of 'foreshortening' chosen for its brevity and simplicity.

(0.7) [SEL:1:1:4-5]

Bea: You know I worked Wednesday and Thursday, maybe that's when you tried to get me.
Hannah: Uhm, Wednesday morn- oh you mean [No-
Bea: In-in the after-noon and evening.
Hannah: → [Oh that's why.
Bea: → [Uh huh,
Hannah: → [[That's why I couldn't get you, it was probably Wednesday and I don't know if I tried yesterday or not but it was several times.

In the elaborated recycle of the overlapped, completed "Oh that's why." are candidate intended additional materials ("...I couldn't get you"), available as possibly deleted by reference to overlap. Whether it is a fact or not, this speaker is achieving just such a display; i.e., is informing her coparticipant that the initial version, although it may have seemed complete and response-adequate (see coparticipant's "Uh huh") was the product of an overlap-relevant deletion. That is, the question of intended completion is made to arise in the subsequent talk, the initial version retroactively exhibited as a possible 'foreshortening'. But the utterance itself, on its occurrence, does not raise the possibility.

It is one thing to posit such a device as 'foreshortening', and to be able to locate a candidate instance now and then, in the breach of the 'does not arise' provision. It is quite another thing to be able to develop an argument which would warrant proposing that a speaker (such as the one in Fragment 5.17) has not foreshortened when he might have; that he has thus observably done an overlap-relevant activity; i.e., has observably declined to use an available, alternative, non-overlap-intrusive, adequate utterance completer, and is thus observably in pursuit of something other than sheer lawful utterance completion.

Thus, while Fragment (5.16) exhibits both a recognizable 'pursuit-type item' (the canonical display of significance, "in the worlrd") and a possible 'pursuit design' (the 'appendor' status of the 'pursuit-type item' vis-a-vis an adequate complete utterance), Fragment (5.17), while it may be an analog, does not exhibit itself to be using a 'pursuit-type item' (the item in question being a mere naming of the relevant occasion, "Thanksgiving") or 'pursuit design' (the naming-item constituting nothing more than the lawful completion of a so-far uncompleted utterance). The 'pursuit' work, if it is being done, is embedded into a turntaking-accountable procedure, and thus is obscure for its interactional properties.

Turning now to the recipient's talk, it appears that prior speaker's post-response (-initiation) continuation has had some measure of success. Following is the relevant segment.

(5.17) [NB:IV:5:3-4:r:Detail]

Martha: Well what about poor Marian she's looking fo:ward t-o- 'hh
 Emma: ['hhh- [We:::ll=
 Martha: =[[Thanks-
 Emma: =[[I don't know I'm just not up t-
 Martha: [Thanks:ngiving.]
 Emma: I:'ll t-I'm gonna ta:lk to her I just don't feel up to it
 really to cook a big dinner;

The pre-completion response, "We:::ll I don't know I'm just not up t-" is posed in terms of recipient's own circumstances, rather than by reference to prior speaker's expressed concern with "poor Marian". Just post completion of prior speaker's sentence/utterance (i.e., just post the candidate pursuit of revised response, "Thanksgiving"), recipient cuts off her own utterance prior to its completion and produces talk which does take up the prior speaker's expressed concern with "poor Marian"; i.e., "I:'ll t-I'm gonna ta:lk to her".

Inasmuch as this talk follows directly upon completion of prior

speaker's utterance-in-toto, and inasmuch as there is recognizable change as between the pre-completion and post-completion talk, the latter may constitute a recognizable next-positioned response to overlapped talk which has been adequate to revision of a 'premature' response. And inasmuch as the overlapped talk has consisted entirely in a partial and then a complete version of "Thanksgiving", the object itself, and prior speaker's insistence upon its production, may be credited with the shift.

However, the revision is fleeting, and is embedded by an elaborated recycle of the description of recipient's own circumstances: "We:::ll I don't know I'm just not up t- I:'ll t-I'm gonna ta:lk to her I just don't feel up to it really...". In contrast to Fragment (5.16) in which the initial, 'premature' responses ("Oh:: yeah." and "I...haite that") are relinquished, and replaced by items appropriate to a next component (the 'news receipts' "Is that right?" and "Oh rea:lly?") with a followup which preserves the new character of the talk (i.e., the 'congratulations', "Well you're lucky you got him as a lecturer"), in Fragment (5.17) the character of the talk has not changed, and the followup, in this case by prior speaker, is addressed to recipient's circumstances ("I think it would do you goo:d dea:r."). The fleeting revision might well be characterized as a device for managing, for working around, a problematic bit of talk, rather than taking it up. In the following fragment we see a gross instance of 'working around' rather than 'taking up' a coparticipant's talk.

(0.8) [Owen:8B15(A):38-39]

Bette: But we're a bit low on stocks of wine at the moment
 (2.4)
 Bette: They've all turned out-
 Andrea: ↔ [The problem with
 Bette: [quite we:ll.
 Andrea: → Did they, ((nazalized))
 Bette: Mm:
 Andrea: → Cause I think, (0.3) if you can ma:ke (.) a wi:ne which
 is good it's- (0.2) very °very good,°
 (.)
 Bette: Mm:
 Andrea: → [[() I admit,°
 Bette: Mm:
 Andrea: ↔ The problem is a lot of (home made) wi:ne °(that it's)
 really:° (0.4) °horrible it's it's°=
 Bette: [toh
 Andrea: =just not really wo:rth it.

In contrast to Fragment (5.16) in which a 'news receipt' is followed

up by an utterance which preserves the new character of the talk, here, akin to Fragment (5.17), an incomplete utterance ("The problem with"), ostensibly abandoned by reference to a talk up of coparticipant's talk (i.e., with the 'news receipt' "Did they,") is reintroduced, and the utterance which follows up the 'news receipt' does not preserve the new character of the talk, but is moving towards the 'abandoned' utterance's reintroduction.

Examining Fragment (5.17) in a bit finer detail, we can notice that the revision by reference to coparticipant's talk is not only transitory, but within its very short span, the consequentiality of coparticipant's talk is downgraded with a repair from "I:'ll t[alk to her]" to "I'm gonna ta:lk to her." Specifically, such a proposal as "I:'ll t[alk to her]" conveys the 'interactionally generated' character of its plan,¹ i.e., as conceived in response to prior speaker's expressed concern for "her". On the other hand, the replacement item, "I'm gonna ta:lk to her," conveys a plan of action arrived at independently of prior speaker's talk. At this point, the work required to support this proposal is at a preliminary stage, and thus the proposal currently has the character of a sheer intuitive assertion.

In the following fragment we find a similar sense of an initial item conveying accommodation to a coparticipant, abandoned and replaced by an item conveying an already-formed, independently arrived at plan. The materials shown here occur subsequent to some elaborate negotiations about the possibility of these two coparticipants going somewhere together in the same car, it then being decided that they'll go separately. One of the participants may well be reorganizing her plans somewhat to bring them into line with her coparticipant's plans.

(0.9) [Rahman:C:1:(16):5]

Myra: What time will you be going up.

(1.0)

Gwen: - Ehm (.) Well I'll go up abou- I'll be going up about the same time? and-

Myra: =Oh!

Gwen: Can I arrange to see you somewhere.

In this interchange, which is being constructed in total independence

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1. I take the characterization 'interactionally generated' from Sacks. See his considerations of sequences in which 'interactionally generated' invitations figure (1968b:9-11, 1970f:17-18, 1972c:8-10). See also, Jefferson, G. and Lee, J. R. E. (1980:93-95).

of the prior negotiations for making the journey together, Gwen's accommodating "Well I'll go up abou-" may constitute a momentary relapse into the prior mode, in which each participant's circumstances was treated as consequential for the other's plans; i.e., in which they were talking in terms of doing something together, in contrast to the current mode, in which they are talking of independent activities.

In a range of ways, then, in terms of an observably revised response by reference to a post-response (-initiation) continuation, by comparison with Fragment (5.16) and its dramatic shift from treatment-as-familiar to treatment-as-news, Fragment (5.17) and its fleeting, downgraded revision constitutes a radically minimal success. However, the post-response (-initiation or -completion) continuation does not, in the first place, present itself as having as its project some shift in recipient's response. Its accountable task is the bringing of an utterance in progress to its lawful completion.

Section VI: A Related Alternative
Post-Response (-Initiation or -Completion) Recompletion

The considerations of Section V dealt with the workings of 'continuation' by reference to an utterance which was observably incomplete at the point of response-initiation. We now come to a very close relative, the 'recompletion' device, which operates for an utterance which had achieved completion prior to initiation of response, but which is retroactively exhibited to have been incomplete and thus potentially response-inadequate at the point that a response was initiated.

A principled basis for such a device can be found in the following, not uncommon sorts of occurrences, in which at a possible sentence/utterance completion, possible response-adequate point, response is delivered, and turns out to have been 'premature' and thereby specifically, potentially in error. In the following fragment, a gross instance of the phenomenon, a recipient 'prematurely' responds to the point of a story being told.

(6.1) [MC:I:16]

Wilbur: I said and-and-and- what ih- is her boyfriend a nice man
Joey? He says oh he's very nice, he's a colored man hhhhHHH
- HAH hah!
Lila: - Oh no::: the poor kid you're kidding. [I said-
Wilbur: [I said-
Wilbur: - No wait a second I said Joseph, that's, not your mother's
boyfriend. That colored man is the man () she-

Wilbur: eh he takes her to work every day.
 Lila: Uh huh.
 Wilbur: This colored man. (She goes to work-)
 Lila: Sure-what difference does it make, sure.

And in the following, rather more delicately assembled instance, a response addressed to an adequate complete sentence, "Is the delicatessen open[?]" (i.e., now/today), overlaps a next component which drastically alters what the sentence is to be understood to be asking; i.e., "Is the delicatessen open Sunday?"

(6.2) [GJ:FN]

Deli: Good afternoon, Angelos,
 Caller: → Uh:: is the delicatessen open Sunday,
 Deli: → Sure it is.=
 Caller: → =on Sunday,
 Deli: Mm hm?
 Caller: Thank you

In this case, Caller's solution to the overlapping of the utterance's last component by a 'premature' response, is to treat the utterance as not yet having been completed, and producing, thereafter, a completion component, "on Sunday."

It is in the following fragment that we see a prototype of the phenomenon to be considered. An utterance is brought to full completion with no problems in terms of overlapping response, whereupon response is initiated, and is intersected by a 'recompletion' component.

(6.3) [BA/Core:I:RD:32]

Marcus: Uh incidentally how many people, are in this A Program.
 Ed: Oh God I don't know I can uh
 Marcus: Well I mean is it a matter of, at any one time a few dozen, a few hundred,
 Ed: → I would say what. two or three hundred Bill?
 Bill: → Uh,
 Bill: → I would say,
 Ed: → statewide?
 Bill: I would say, statewide, app-between two fifty and three hundred.

In contrast to the Abominables and Promptings, and akin to Completions, the Recompletion specifically provides material via which the recipient might construct a revised analysis of the utterance in question. The potential defect is located within that prior utterance, which is now displayed to have been response-inadequate at the point at which response was initiated by prior speaker and initiated by recipient.

In this particular case, the post-recompletion response starts out

with a repeat of the initial response ("I would say,"); i.e., constitutes a repositioned recycle. At its onset, then, the utterance which follows the Recompletion appears to be marking its inadequacy to a revised response. After the repeat of his own prior utterance-component, however, the recipient specifically incorporates the Recompletion component into his response, thus strongly exhibiting its relevance. With this particular [+]/[-] → [+] configuration, the recipient may be displaying that he had initially been addressing just that aspect, independent of the post-response-initiation recompletion, while acknowledging the legitimacy, reasonableness, etc., of prior speaker's having 'interrupted' him to add that information.

Now, the legitimacy of such a procedure can be exploited in ways which strongly resemble both Abominables and Promptings, as in the following two fragments, respectively.

(6.4) [LC:1:LC trans] ((re. joining a coffee boycott))

Basil: → They've had their worst crop and they're making the most profit.
 Milt: → Yeah but I
 Basil: → than they've ever made before.
 Milt: I
 Milt: I think that coffee bothers me.

In this case, the uneasy fit between "they're making the most profit." and "than they've ever made before." provides access to the sheer 'interruptive' deployment of this recompletion component. Notice that this recompletion component is positioned post another form of 'unfavorable response' initiation, "Yeah but..." (again, cf. Fragments (1.4) and (1.9) and the consideration on page 13 above). Notice further that while "statewide?" is a substantive clarification or specification, "than they've ever made before" is at best a 'simulacrum'. It has the form, but not the substance of 'additional information'. Note, as well, that this Abominable use of the Recompletion device is as unsuccessful as is the Abominable Response Solicitation; i.e., the coparticipant simply goes on with his 'interrupted' utterance.

(6.5) [NB:II:4:4] ((Nancy has just met a man who lives in the north and who has entree to officer's clubs in the south, where Nancy lives.))

Nancy: And apparently he just simply hasn't, been, interested in,
 Emma: Mmmh,
 Nancy: doing, a lot of dating, and, he said now I might have a, a reason to, you know, get down there.
 Emma: Gee wouldn't that be nice?

Nancy: Yah he said they really treat you real nice.
 Emma: ~ Well goo::d.
 Nancy: ~ at those places.
 Emma: ~ Oh:: I'm glad.

In this case, the Prompt-like post-response-completion recompletion, "at those places" (again a 'simulacrum'), gets a revised response; i.e., there has been a shift from "Well goo::d," to "Oh:: I'm glad," (cf. e.g., Fragment (4.8) "Oh yah" and Fragment (4.11) "Oh wo:w." as the revised responses). However, the Recompletion-elicited response is utterly equivocal in terms of a taking of the point of the prior utterance. Following is a brief consideration of what a 'taking of the point' might involve for this interchange.

It appears that the Prompt-like Recompletion is in aid of some rather touchy disambiguation. Roughly, there are two converging alternatives. One is Circumstantial and 3rd-party assessable (i.e., how nice for him); that he might have a reason to "get down there" (to the locale of the officer's clubs). The other is Relational and 2nd-party assessable (i.e., how nice for you); that he might be asking Nancy out on dates. The former alternative is actualized in an utterance ("he said now I might have a, a reason to, you know, get down there"), but that utterance is overlapped by a response to what could well be a context-projected reference to the latter alternative. That is, "Gee wouldn't that be nice?" which overlaps the disambiguating component "get down there", might well be assessing a projection of the utterance-so-far as, e.g., "And apparently he just simply hasn't, been, interested in, doing, a lot of dating, and, he said now I might have a, a reason to, you know, [start dating again]." Thus, the assessment might constitute an over-candid and thus undesirable Relational how-nice-for-you, when what is being proposed is a prudent Circumstantial how-nice-for-him.

Thus, the post-response-completion recompletion "at those places" may be a second attempt to elicit a response which explicitly locates and addresses the Circumstantial, 3rd-party assessable overlapped alternative; e.g., perhaps something like "Oh he really should get down there."¹ While the Recompletion-elicited response charmingly resolves the for-him/for-you

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1. This invented utterance is not altogether a matter of intuition. A standard way in which a coparticipant to overlapping talk shows that he heard the overlapped utterance component is by producing an 'embedded repeat' of that component. See Jefferson, G. and Schegloff, E. (1975).

dilemma with how-nice-for-me; i.e., "Oh:: I'm glad", it no more explicitly takes the pursued point than do those acknowledgment tokens which follow Prompting's response solicitations.

A feature which distinguishes post-response recompletion from post-response response solicitation is that the syntactic structure with which the Recompletions are formatted is capable of carrying various types of information (as in Fragment 6.3) which can engender a revised response, or information simulacra (as in Fragments 6.4 and 6.5) which can at least occasion and warrant a revised response.

In either case, the Recompletion can provide that the revised response, should it occur, is not observably a repair of an inadequate prior response, but constitutes a next relevant activity; a response occasioned by some new information. Indeed, if anything, the 'fault' is located in the prior utterance, which, although it was response-inadequate, gave the appearance of response-readiness.

On occasion, we find a much more interesting task being undertaken by a post-response recompletion. Roughly, the prior utterance is not being 'clarified', but, under the auspices of 'additional materials', a drastic shift is achieved; that shift engendered by and responsive to information available in the response now underway.

That is, it appears that something is said in full expectation of a particular sort of response. The subsequent response is not what was expected. But it is not treated by a prior speaker as inadequate to the utterance. Rather, it is treated as informative. The result is a Recompletion component which may rather drastically alter the so-far thrust of the prior, completed utterance. That alteration is accomplished as a syntactically coherent next component of a still-ongoing utterance, such that the utterance-in-toto will have amounted to other than that which the recipient is currently responding to.

So, for example, in the following fragment, a post-response-initiation recompletion provides a recipient with material with which he can catch the problem and revise his talk before his initial response reaches completion and thus will itself require response.

(6.6) [SEL:2:17:7]

Bea: I'm reading a bu- some of our conversation made me think, I'm reading one of uh Harold Sherman's books.
 Maude: Mm hm,
 Bea: I think we read one, one time, about life after death or something.

Maude: Mm hm,
 Bea: And uh this is How To Make uh E.S.P Work For You.
 Maude: Mm hm,
 Bea: - And it's excellent.
 Maude: - Well, when you get through ^{w. ch it,}
 Bea: - _{and he talks about=}
 Maude: - =Is it your book?
 Bea: No, Eloise uh brought it by . . .

In this case, a recipient appears to be shortcutting a recognizable Offer Sequence in progress. Recurrently such a sequence is produced over a series of moves in which an object is introduced, promoted, and eventually explicitly offered. Here, in what may constitute a display of intimacy, and understanding of where the sequence is leading; i.e., a display of the between-us-dispensability of a formal 'offer' component, the recipient provides acceptance after 'introduction' and 'promotion' (i.e., in this case, after the book is named and then assessed as "excellent"), but in the absence of an explicit, formal, 'offer' component. The attempt at an intimate dispensing of the formalities turns out to be a misapprehension; i.e., this was not an Offer Sequence, but something like a Recommendation. As it happens, the speaker is not in a position to offer the book; it is not hers to lend in the first place.

And in this case, at the point where it becomes unequivocally clear that an acceptance-of-an-offer is underway (i.e., just post "Well, when you get through..."), a post-response-initiation recompletion is deployed; one which utterly disattends the acceptance-in-progress and 'simply goes on to describe the book'. No sooner is the Recompletion initiated, then the recipient moves to exhibit an understanding of its import, with "Is it your book?" The fact that the book is not speaker's (to lend to recipient) thus emerges in an altogether different and far less problematic way; i.e., as an 'answer to a question', than would be required by recipient's initial response; i.e., as a denial of recipient's expectation that the book would be passed along to her.

In this case, then, an utterance which might on first inspection be seen as a rather rude 'interruption', turns out to be deeply sensitive to, and informed by, a misguided display of intimacy via a misunderstanding of what the prior talk was doing. Further, this fragment shows us that co-participants can and do utilize such a procedure; specifically, that a recipient can catch and use the information provided by a post-response-initiation recompletion to revise their analysis of the prior talk.

With this transparent instance in hand, we can turn to a rather more delicate interchange.

(6.7) [SEL:2:1:5:9-10:r]

Gloria: And I said we'll, (0.3) n-go_sh I:- I'm not gonna leave them if I don't wa:nt to,
 Bea: Mm-hm hhhhh-hh
 Gloria: A:nd u- Bu:t. uh Bea: uh:: (0.2) uh gosh it'll- i:t (.) costs a fortune to get (.) those big things moved over there.
 Bea: I kno:w it would be:. ((smile voice))
 Gloria: Uhh hoh:.
 Gloria: (.)
 Bea: - And I had a note ^{from H a z e l.} _{["hhhh [You should u Lis] ten tha:t could be a}
 Gloria: - job for Terry:. _{["hhhh [hh (0.4) Uh:: we:ll, he seems to be- and his station wa: gon. yOh=}
 Bea: -
 Gloria: -
 Gloria: [=he couldn't get them i:n.
 Gloria: Oh he couldn't?=
 Bea: =Uh-ah:
 Gloria: °Uh-huh°
 Bea: Uh:- (.) I, h phoned to the um, h (.) 'toh (0.3) uh::m:
 Gloria: (1.5)
 Gloria: Oh I had a letter- note from p-Peh-e-Hazel.
 Bea: Oh did you?
 Gloria: 'hhh Uh hoh:
 Bea: _{What does she [sa:y. and uh We:ll u-she uh says she}
 Gloria: was in a rest home and she was try- u- making a battle to try: to get o-on her feet
 Bea: Mm hm,

My initial sense of this fragment was that the sheer lawfulness of 'completion of an utterance' is being exploited to override what is obviously on the way to a rejection of a prior, completed suggestion; i.e., an Abominable Recompletion akin to that in Fragment (6.4); a countering of an utterance initiated as 'unfavorable', as in Fragments (1.4), (1.9) and (6.4). Closer inspection yielded a rough, and then a more refined sense of the interchange as involving, not an attempted 'override', but a shift engendered by and sensitive to information available in the response now underway.

A rough sense of the interchange is as follows. A suggestion is made, which its speaker takes to be adequate as it stands. Specifically, why, of all people, this particular party is being recommended for the job is taken to be available in the sheer naming and no explicit account is deemed necessary. However, upon the occurrence of the (0.4) silence

followed by recipient's "Uh::", speaker discovers that recipient is having some sort of difficulty, and is able to locate a candidate account for that difficulty. So, for example, in the following fragment, the product of an analysis of a coparticipant's "Uh:" is displayed.

(0.10) [GJ:FN]

Angie: Are you feeling better?
Ray: Uh:::
Angie: [No(h)o(h)?

In the case under consideration, the difficulty is located as a fault of the suggestion in its current form; i.e., prior speaker discovers that the account was perhaps not, after all, available in the sheer naming, but ought to be stated. Whereupon, the account ("and his station wagon") is appended to the suggestion as a syntactically coherent next component, such that the utterance, at its (next) completion point, will have resolved the difficulty; i.e., will be response-adequate.

An analogous series of activities appears to be occurring in the following fragment.

(0.11) [W:FC:l:(1):41]

Katie: We went (.) to: uh:m: (0.2) 'tch 'hh (0.6) the: uh
- Schooner at (.) Newtonworth Sca:les.
(0.2)
Nan: - Eh:::m::
Katie: - Out the:re.
Nan: - 't'hh'h
Katie: - [Like the other si:de of Ki:rkh^ham.
(0.2)
Nan: yEh::m:: 't I'm just trying to pla:ce it.

Here, the 'search' item "Eh::m::" is understood by prior speaker as marking some difficulty in locating a named place, and is intersected by a post-response-initiation recompletion; first the simulacrum "Out the:re," an item which, in form if not in substance, attempts to aid in the search, and then by some possibly useful information, "Like the other si:de of Ki:rkh^ham." Similarly, in Fragment (6.7), the 'search' item "Uh::," may be understood by prior speaker as marking some difficulty, e.g., in locating why, of all people, this Terry is being recommended, and is followed by the post-response-initiation recompletion "and his station wagon", which could be useful. And immediately upon completion of the now-adequate recommendation, the recipient, with no indication of difficulty, produces a reply, "Oh he couldn't get them in", which specifically locates the recompletion component as relevant.

Now this sense of the interchange may, in fact, capture an achieved formulation of their activities. That is, the participants may have co-constructed a series of utterances which can and should be understood by reference to, say, an initially inadequately expressed, and then clarified suggestion. But under the auspices of that achieved formulation a rather different order of business may be underway. Following is a revised and refined understanding of the interchange.

Again, a suggestion is offered in what its speaker takes to be, as between these two participants, a perfectly adequate form, with the account available in the naming. The account consists of a combination of Relational and Circumstantial aspects; i.e., this fellow who happens to own a station wagon, stands in such a relationship to recipient that it is appropriate for her to enlist his aid.¹ In its current form, the suggestion may be 'weighted' towards the Relational aspect, with the Circumstantial aspect an adjunct to, and given in the naming of, this relationally appropriate third party.

And the suggestion, in its current form, may indeed be adequate. The problem may be that the suggestion has happened to stumble upon a Relational Trouble; that is, whatever the situation was that provided for the taken for granted enlistability of this third party's aid, some difficulties seem to have arisen. That such is the case may be discoverable in the structure of the response-so-far; i.e., in the (0.4) silence followed by "Uh:: we:[11]". This series constitutes a rich panoply of Trouble indicators. As it happens, talk about a range of Troubles is initiated with various 'delay' items including long inbreaths, 'search' tokens, pauses, etc., and "well". (See Jefferson, G. and Lee, J.R.E., 1979:32-34). Following is a single dramatic instance.

(0.12) [Frankel:TC:I:1:25]

Shirley: 'hhh Have you guys made plans to see each other ag[ain? 'hhhhh
Geri: [We:ll? (0.4) 't'hhhh (.) Uh::m, (.) 'k'hhhh As it looks
Geri: [no:w . . . ((there are obstacles))

And we have already seen that with very little to go on, coparticipants can discover what the issue is, and can present their analysis of it, as in Fragments (0.10) and (0.11) immediately above, and Fragment (6.6).

- - -

1. For a consideration of Relational categories vis-a-vis the enlistment of aid, see Sacks, H. (1967).

In the case under consideration; i.e., Fragment (6.7), prior speaker appears to be using the same device she uses in Fragment (6.6); i.e., given recipient's response-so-far she is able to discover that there is a problem, and what it might be, but rather than presenting her analysis of it, she moves to forestall its emergence.

While in Fragment (6.6) "and he talks about..." simply disattends that an acceptance of an offer is underway and goes on with a description of the book, in Fragment (6.7) "and his station wagon" reverses the weighting from Relational to Circumstantial. The Recompletion permits the recipient to reject the suggestion on a Circumstantial basis; i.e., "Oh he couldn't get them in", rather than the Relational basis of the initial response; i.e., "Uh:: well, he seems to be-". Further, the Recompletion accounts for the suggestion as in no way designed by reference to what has turned out to be a Relational Trouble (e.g., this speaker is not to be seen to be doing some delicate snooping via a suggestion which invokes and relies upon the relevance of a relationship between recipient and the recommended third party, thereby, e.g., checking out some information as to some disruption of that relationship which she had gotten elsewhere). In effect, the Recompletion, "and his station wagon" proposes that the stumbled-upon Relational Trouble was, indeed, inadvertently raised; it was not being inquired into, and it need not be told.

And in strong analogy to recipient's drastic shift in Fragment (6.6), this recipient, who has hesitantly embarked on a Relationally-based rejection of the suggestion, now seizes the opportunity to produce a Circumstantially-based rejection, aborting the incipient Troubles-Telling. That is, whatever "Uh:: well, he seems to be-" was developing into, is abandoned.

Again, then, an utterance which on first inspection might appear to be a rather rude 'interruption', turns out to be deeply sensitive to, and informed by, the shape of the response-so-far.

While the talk which follows the revised response is not directly implicated in the phenomenon under consideration, it bears upon the analysis of that interchange as involving enormously touchy issues, sensitively handled. The materials are also interesting and challenging in their own right. For these reasons, some of the exploration into the subsequent talk will be shown here. The focal utterances are the following.

(6.7) [SBL:2:1:5:9-10:r:Detail]

Gloria: yOh he couldn't get them in.
Bea: Oh he couldn't?=
Gloria: =Uh-ah:
Bea: °Uh-huh°

The talk is semantically sparse, to say the least. Analysis of this segment was undertaken under the view that it constituted a negotiation as to whether the fleeting occurrence of an inadvertently-elicited incipient telling of a Relational Trouble will or will not be taken up. Roughly, over a series of utterances, the one who made the problematic suggestion appears to be providing an opportunity for a telling of the Trouble, and is perhaps attempting to elicit such a telling, while the candidate troubles-teller appears to be declining to deliver.

To start off with, we can notice that although the Relationally-based rejection of the suggestion is hesitantly embarked upon, it is, nevertheless, embarked upon, with "Uh:: well, he seems to be-". And it is possible that the exhibited hesitance to talk about this matter is situationally based. That is, materials which are specifically formulated as 'not to be told now' recurrently get elaborately told almost immediately. The formulation 'not to be told now' appears to be one among a series of devices which deal with an uncomfortable relationship between forthcoming and prior talk. So, for example, in the following fragment, such a formulation is made vis-a-vis a happy story which is introduced following a long discussion of a coparticipant's troubles. The recipient of the troubles-talk at one point produces a long 'transitional' utterance out of which reference to the happy event emerges.

(0.13) [NB:II:4:10:r]

Emma: Ah::, (0.2) it's not worth it to be on my feet, you know
Nancy: Right. (.)
Nancy: Ah hah? (0.2)
Nancy: - 'hhhh Oh I was just out washing windows; e-and ah (.) my mother called so I came in I thought well while I'm in here and I looked at the clock and it was eleven thirty and I thought well: (.) they're 'hhhhh they're un-surely they're up. you know I knew it was a kind of a::=
Emma: 'Yeh
Emma: =[[()
Nancy: - [[sleep in da:y but uh I didn't get home til 'hhhh two last night I met a very, h very, n:nice guy.
Emma: Di(.)d you:::

Nancy: I really did through these friends of mine,
 Emma: [Goo::d.
 Nancy: *-> 'h h h h And it was real cute I'll have to tell you about it,
 Emma: [Oh:::d.
 Emma: [Oh goo::d.
 Nancy: [But uh, u(h)nfortunately he lives in Van Nuys, ehmmmmmm.
 Emma: [tah!
 Emma: [Is he unencumbered?
 Nancy: Works out there, yes, he's living, with his aunt, who is Laura's, dear friend, this- charming friend of mine over in Vista Park,
 Emma: [Oh:::d.
 Nancy: *-> And it just happened, last n- she had called me and asked me to come over . . . etc. etc. etc.

And in the following fragment, such a formulation is used for a miserable story which is introduced just after a discussion of a coparticipant's delightful vacation. In this case, it is the returned vacationer who initiates the troubles-talk, immediately after the candidate troubles-teller has indicated that her stay at home was equally delightful.

(0.14) [NB:IV:10:4]

Emma: God I haven't eaten home I've been invited out. I- this is the- this is the life down here. [() -
 Lottie: - [Did B- has Bud called you?
 Emma: *-> Yeah? I gah- Well, I won't- go into this bit uh hh-
 Lottie: Why.
 Emma: *-> 'h h h I called Marian.
 Lottie: [Yeah,
 Emma: [and I said uh that we'd had a problem here and he wasn't coming down, and so forth, I said will you please call him Marian . . . etc. etc. etc.

That is, a display of hesitance to talk about some matter may be produced by reference to the fact that it is, say, modally unsuited to the current sequential or topical context. A display of hesitance to talk about some matter may then be, in itself, not decisively analyzable as an unwillingness to tell.

Thus, in Fragment (6.7), the post-response-initiation recompletion which follows a display of hesitance, by retreating from a Relational aspect and shifting to a Circumstantial one, may have been 'over sensitive'. That is, it can have provided for a non-telling when such a provision need not have been made.

And indeed, willing troubles-tellers find themselves confronted with just such recipient 'over-sensitivity'. So, for example, in the following fragment, we find an explicitly 'sensitive' provision for the non-telling of a trouble (which, predictably, is followed by an elaborated telling).

(0.15) [Frankel:HB:II:3]

Penny: *-> 't'h h h I don't want to make you talk cause I don't want you to,
 Jan: mNo I f-I really do feel a l [better. I feel like
 Penny: - [u p s e t yourself]all
 Jan: *-> over again,
 h h h h h I-u-last night I was- all night, I was up all night you know . . . etc. etc. etc.

Here, a post-response-initiation continuation competes with a coparticipant's protestations of ability to talk (indeed, it appears that she is starting to say "I feel like [talking]"). The continuation component carries the information that speaker's provision for a non-telling is based upon a concern for her coparticipant. That this full and explicit accounting of speaker's provision for a non-telling is 'interruptively' pursued may have to do with the existence of alternative accounts for such a provision. That is, a prospective troubles-recipient may be 'sensitive' and 'concerned', but he may also be 'disinterested' and unwilling to take up a range of tasks imposed on someone who aligns himself as a 'troubles-recipient'.¹

So, for example, in the following fragment a trouble is made available for a possible telling, and is utterly disattended by the prospective troubles-recipient.

(0.16) [SEL:3:1:3-4] ((Marylou is organizing a cosmetics-buying party))

Karen: Every one of those officers you know darn well is gonna buy them Marylou.
 Marylou: [Mm hm,
 Karen: And uh, and I think most of them will and cause I like them real well just like I told Amy I said they're one of the best products that I've ever used and I'd be using it myself right now, if I hadn't had this face condition.
 Karen: ((cough))
 Marylou: Well, I don't know, but um
 Karen: ((cough "cough"))
 Marylou: I::, if we ()-
 Karen: [((cough)) Pardon me.
 Marylou: I:: thaw- I thought that I had brought it up early enough that we could get something going before Christmas but. . .

Again, then, in Fragment (6.7), that the reference to a Relational Trouble is produced in such a way as to exhibit hesitance, is not decisively analyzable as an unwillingness to talk about the trouble. The

1. For discussion of the work of a 'properly aligned troubles-recipient' see Jefferson, G. and Lee, J.R.E., (1979 and 1980).

accompanying the 'confirmation' component, as in the following fragment,

(0.21) [Rahman:B:1:(10):2]

Lorna: (1) Actually they're not going back today,
Owen: (2)→ Oh they're not.
Lorna: (3)→ No, uh he's been on to London this morning . . . etc.

or is solicited by the news-recipient/newsmark-deliverer in Slot (4), thus replacing the sequence-terminal 'assessment' component with pursuit of further talk vis-a-vis the news, as in the following fragments.

(0.22) [NB:IV:14:1]

Emma: (1) Well, we just got do:wn,hh
Lottie: (2)→ Oh you di:d?
Emma: (3)→ Yea:uh.
Lottie: (4)→ Oh how co:me.

(0.23) [Rahman:B:1:(13):4]

Owen: (1) I went round last night cause Myra'd got her fur:niture so she'd ring me up to say
Jean: (2)→ Oh has she.
Owen: (3)→ Mm[.].
Jean: (4)→ Does it look ni:ce.

(0.24) [NB:I:1:17]

Eddy: (1) They charge too much Guy,
Guy: (2)→ Oh do they?
Eddy: (3)→ Yeh I think so,
Guy: (4)→ What do they cha:rge.

And in Fragment (6.7), the topic shift via which the negotiation for a telling of the Relational Trouble is unequivocally terminated, is effected across this version of the 'news-announcement' sequence, with an ["Oh" + Partial Repeat] in Slot (2) and a solicitation of further talk in Slot (4).

(0.25) [SHL:2:1:5:9-10:r:Detail]

Gloria: (1) Oh I had a letter- note from p-Peh-e-Hazel.
Bea: (2)→ Oh did you?
Gloria: (3)→ hhh Uh ho:h;
Bea: (4)→ What does she say.

But in the segment of Fragment (6.7) under consideration, while we do find the ["Oh" + Partial Repeat] which is so recurrently associated with a pursuit of further talk, we find Slot (4) occupied, not by a solicitation of further talk, but by an acknowledgment token.

(6.7) [SHL:2:1:5:9-10:Detail]

Gloria: (1) yOh he couldn't get them in.
Bea: (2)→ Oh he couldn't?
Gloria: (3)→ =Uh-ah;
Bea: (4)→ °Uh-huh°

Now, sequences can be found in which Slot (4) is occupied by an acknowledgment token, in contrast to the terminal assessments of Fragments (0.17)-(0.20) and the solicitations of further talk in Fragments (0.22)-(0.25). And they tend to be followed by a voluntary production of more talk by reference to the news, now in Slot (5) -- whether that talk be a brief simulacrum, or something rather more elaborate, as in Fragments (0.26) and (0.27) below, respectively.

(0.26) [NB:III:2:3:S]

Ted: (1) The waves are about to wash us away ehh heh heh
[heh heh heh
Bert: (2)→ Is that right?
Ted: (3)→ Yeh,
Bert: (4)→ Yah,
Ted: (5)→ They're up again,

(0.27) [NB:IV:3:1]

Lottie: (1) I'm gonna take them up to Anthony's and dye them because they dye uhb- uhb, the- perfect ma:ch.
Emma: (2)→ Do they,
Lottie: (3)→ Yeah,
Emma: (4)→ Ah hah,
Lottie: (5)→ I mean sometimes you buy them at these places . . . etc.

But these sequences recurrently contain an alternative to the ["Oh" + Partial Repeat]. The newsmarks are 'free-standing'; i.e., are not prefixed by "Oh". Roughly, it appears that these 'free-standing' newsmarks permit the news-deliverer/newsmark-recipient to understand that the news-recipient/newsmark-deliverer is prepared to terminate the sequence with a Slot (4) terminal assessment. Note, for example, that in Fragment (0.13) pages 59-60 above, the announcement of happy news which follows talk about a trouble is receipted with a 'free-standing' newsmark in Slot (2), where, then, Slot (4) is occupied by a terminal assessment.

(0.13) [NB:II:4:10:r:Detail]

Nancy: (1) I met a very,h very, n:ni:ce gu:y.
Emma: (2)→ Di(.)d you::.
Nancy: (3)→ I really did [through these friends of mine,
Emma: (4)→ Goo::d.

In this case, it appears that the news-deliverer/newsmark-recipient is proceeding by reference to a version of the 'news-announcement' sequence in which ["Oh" + Partial Repeat] occupies Slot (2), accompanying her Slot (3) 'confirmation' component with voluntary further talk (cf. Fragment (0.21), page 64 above). That is, she may be inappropriately treating this 'free-standing' partial repeat as having an implicativeness for further talk equal to the ["Oh" + Partial Repeat]. The result is a collision between voluntary

further talk and a lawfully projected terminal assessment, lawfully positioned upon completion of the Slot (3) 'confirmation'. See also Fragment (0.8), page 47 above, in which a free-standing partial repeat, "Did they", occurs in an environment in which a bit of news is specifically being 'worked around' rather than 'taken up'; i.e., is being deployed accomplice to a closing off of further talk by reference to the news.

Conversely, in Fragments (0.26) and (0.27), it is the news-recipient/newsmark-deliverer who may be inappropriately treating a 'free-standing' newsmark as equal in implicativeness to the ["Oh" + Partial Repeat]; i.e., they are prepared to hear further talk, while the news-deliverer/newsmark-recipient lawfully occupies Slot (3) with the 'confirmation-and-no-more' projected by the Slot (2) 'free-standing' newsmark.

In Fragments (0.26) and (0.27), upon the occurrence of a Slot (3) 'confirmation-and-no-more', news-recipient/newsmark-deliverer engages in pursuit of further talk about the news. Slot (4) is occupied, not by the terminal assessment projected by the Slot (2) 'free-standing' newsmark and implicated by the Slot (3) 'confirmation', but by an acknowledgment token operating as a 'continuer' (see page 20 above, re. 'continuers'). The 'continuer' having proposed that more talk is expected, the news-deliverer/newsmark-recipient complies by volunteering further talk.

In the case under consideration; i.e., Fragment (6.7), this is the object deployed in Slot (4) when Slot (3) is occupied, not by the further talk projected by the Slot (2) ["Oh" + Partial Repeat], but by the 'confirmation-and-no-more' appropriate to the 'free-standing' partial repeat.

Thus, the participant who had (perhaps inadvertently) raised a Relational Trouble and is now recipient of a bit of news attendant to that matter, is specifically to be seen as in pursuit of further talk. First, she has deployed a newsmark which may project a Slot (3) volunteering of further talk, and, secondly, when it does not occur there, the non-occurrence of the projected further talk perhaps constituting a hesitance to expand on the matter (cf. pages 59-61 with respect to the obscure relationship between 'hesitance' and 'unwillingness'), she provides a next 'opportunity', with the Slot (4) 'continuer'.

Now, we have seen some preliminary indication that the object deployed initially; i.e., the ["Oh" + Partial Repeat], is implicative of further talk in such a way that, if that talk is not volunteered in Slot (3), then Slot (4) will be occupied by an object which explicitly solicits it, as in

Fragments (0.22)-(0.25) page 64. That is, she has selected a milder form of pursuit than her Slot (2) item would predict. This selection may be responsive to the rather special object which constitutes the Slot (3) 'confirmation-and-no-more' in this case; i.e., the object which has so far been characterized as possibly exhibiting hesitance to expand on the news, but may in this case be weighted toward 'refusal' (this issue will be addressed momentarily). On the other hand, it should be noted that an alternative Slot (4) item is available, and is perhaps particularly appropriate given a coparticipant's possible refusal to expand on the matter; i.e., the prototypical 'terminal assessment' as in Fragments (0.17)-(0.20) and (0.13), pages 62-63 and 65. That is, while the news-recipient/newsmark-deliverer may be deferring to her coparticipant by selecting not to solicit further talk, she has not altogether relinquished that pursuit. The deference then is rather problematic.

Turning now to the proposal that the news-deliverer/newsmark recipient has used a "special" object for her Slot (3) 'confirmation-and-no-more', let us start by reviewing the relevant data.

(6.7) [SEL;2:1:5:9-10:r:Detail]

Gloria: (1) yOh he couldn't get them i:n.
 Bea: (2) Oh he couldn't?=
 Gloria: (3) =Uh-ah:
 Bea: [4] °Uh-huh°
 Gloria: (5) Uh:- (.) I, h phoned to the um, h (.) 'tch (0.3) uh::m:
 (5) (1.5)
 Gloria: (5) Oh I had a letter- note from p-Peh-e-Hazel.

I was struck by the terseness of this particular Slot (3) object; by its sense of, say, immovable conviction rather than simple 'confirmation'. Roughly, it appears to be taking a position on the issue of confirmation itself, proposing that this matter is not in the first place subject to confirmation, but is, flatly, so. Its interactional character might be described as 'standing pat in the face of doubt'. Confrontation with this object generated a search for materials in which it, and objects like it, occurred. Following is a series of fragments drawn from a larger collection (including, e.g., "Nope", "Yep", "M-mm", "Yah", etc.) which I am provisionally calling Occluded Confirmations.

(0.28) [DN;1:2:18:r:S]

Meg: It came from England Loren,
 (0.4)
 Loren: → Ah-ah:::
 (1.0)
 Loren: → Ah-ah it's stamped on the botto:m.

Loren: India. (4.0)
 Loren: Maded in India. (4.0)
 Meg: *Ma;de. in India not maded,* (0.9)

(0.29) [Frankel;TC:I:1:13-15]

Shirley: You have five weeks left.
 Geri: ~ Uh-uh,
 Shirley: ~ [Mm-hm,
 Geri: [We have more than [fi::ve,
 Shirley: [hhh Oh no Geri five weeks. (0.7)
 Shirley: *t'hhh
 Geri: Well maybe we have six. But we don't have fi:ve.
 Shirley: [hh When do you
 get out. Christmas week or the week before Christmas. (0.5)
 Geri: Uh::m Two or three days before Christmas,
 Shirley: [Oh : ,]

((ca. 20 lines omitted))

Geri: The semester, theoretically ends the twenty third I think.=
 Shirley: =Ye:ah. *t'hhh Tell me you guys er gonna go to Frisco for Christmas::,

(0.30) [JG:I:24:1]

Marge: Well did he call you? (1.0)
 Laura: No:?
 Marge: *hhhhhh uh-Oh he didn't?
 Laura: ~ Uh-uh. (0.2)
 Marge: *hhh Well he told Ronald he did,
 Laura: Well he didn't. (0.2)
 Marge: *hhhh (0.3) Oh::: He::: certainly did tell a story then
 if that's the case,
 Laura: No he did not. I have not heard from him. (0.5)
 Marge: *hhhh Well I: know he said to: Ronald . . . etc. etc. etc.

(0.31) [M:CB(B):16:3]

Rick: I: 'm sorry I didn't call you last night.
 Linny: That's okay, (1.4)
 Rick: Did you get mad,
 Linny: No? (0.7)
 Rick: You didn't,
 Linny: ~ Nope,

Rick: How come. (1.2)
 Linny: Hm?
 Rick: Not even a little?
 Linny: ~ Nope, (4.0)
 Linny: I didn't. (1.8)
 Rick: You didn't.
 Linny: No,
 Rick: Okay, (fine). (0.7)
 Linny: It's a stupid thing to get mad over.
 Rick: Well I fell asleep. (0.8)
 Linny: I figured. (5.0)
 Linny: How come you're cancelling your arrangements . . .

(0.32) [SBL:1:1:12:38]

Maude: It's uh Schmidt.
 Bea: Uh huh,
 Maude: Schmitz, (0.3) or some thing,=
 Bea: [hehh!
 Maude: =I do(h)n't know Bea, but it's not just plain Smith.
 Bea: Oh it isn't. I thought-
 Maude: ~ Uh uh.
 Bea: I thought it was.
 Maude: ~ Uh uh. I don't think so.
 Bea: Uh huh.
 Maude: Uh:: in fact I think it's- uh S-c- I'm not (just sure) of
 the spelling of it, but I think it's just Missiz Schmidt.
 Bea: [Uh huh,
 Bea: Yeah. Mm hm, Well, I think I've kept you long enough but
 I was just thinking of you,
 Maude: [Yea(hh)h
 Bea: and I just f-finished seeing the cutest movie,

(0.33) [NB:III:1:2]

Fran: Well when did you guys go:::
 Sharon: Ah: Saturday?hh
 Fran: Oh: for, crying out loud. I thought it was the end of the
mo:nth you were go:::ing.
 Sharon: ~ [Mm-mm,hh
 Fran: *hhh Oh::: We:ll goodness sakes it's too
 bad she's no:t home cause she'd sure love to come do:::wn,

(0.34) [NB:IV:1:7]

Emma: YOU NEVER GET LONESOME do you.
 Lottie: ~ [Uh-uh.
 Emma: Isn't that wonderful,
 Lottie: ~ [Mm-mm. (0.6)
 Lottie: No I really don't.

Emma: I just-
 Lottie: WE:ILL, n-I-no, I really don't, it never bothers me,
 Emma: Mm hm,
 Lottie: I mean, it-hh
 Emma: YOU CAN TURN THE T.V. ON AND WATCH JEOPORDY AND ALL THE PROGRAMS, mhh-hunh hunh huh-huh
 Lottie: I enjoy that,
 Emma: I know it.
 (0.5)
 Lottie: Uh:: yesterday I- got out all my dresses, I'm making them a little bit shorter . . . etc.

A survey of these fragments yields a strong sense of the Occluded Confirmation as more, or other, than a sheer 'confirmation' token. It is being deployed in dispute (as in Fragments 0.28 and 0.29), as a response to interrogation (as in Fragments 0.30 and 0.31), in the environment of information-giving treated as problematic (as in Fragments 0.32 and 0.33) and in the consideration of a perhaps admirable, certainly exceptional, and therefore dubiously-possessed attribute (as in Fragment 0.34). Seen in these environments, the Occluded Confirmation emerges as transparently 'defensive'. And while in various of the fragments there is a subsequent weakening, on the occurrence of the Occluded Confirmation, it seems recurrently to be 'standing pat in the face of doubt (or dispute)' and to be proposing that this matter is not subject to such negotiation as is involved in producing a 'confirmation', but is simply so.

Several features emerge from this array, which bear on the sequence under consideration in Fragment (6.7). For one, not infrequently, the Occluded Confirmation follows a 'newsmark'. In Fragment (0.30) "Oh he didn't?" gets "Uh-uh." (where the prior "Well did he call you?" gets "No?"), in Fragment (0.31) "You didn't," gets "Nope," (where the prior "Did you get mad," gets "No?"), and in Fragment (0.32) "Oh it isn't" gets "Uh uh". Similarly, in Fragment (6.7) "Oh he couldn't?" gets "Uh-ah:". That is, an object which may, in some contexts, constitute a sheer 'newsmark' may, in other contexts, constitute a 'casting into doubt' of some prior proposal, and be met with an object which addresses and disputes the imposition of doubt with a marker of absolute so-ness. The interchange in Fragment (6.7), then, converges with interchanges found in environments of transparently 'defense-relevant' activities.

Secondly, there is some indication that 'continuers' may be pursuit-relevant in a particular way; i.e., may implicate subsequent talk which constitutes 'evidence in support of the doubted/disputed proposal'. So,

for example, in Fragment (0.32) the recipient of "Uh huh" offers "Uh:: in fact I think it's- uh S-c-", and in Fragment (0.34) a participant produces "Mm hm", and herself follows it up with son (thoroughly problematic) 'evidence in support of' the in-principle dubious proposal of her coparticipant's immunity to loneliness, "YOU CAN TURN THE T.V. ON AND WATCH JEOPORDY AND ALL THE PROGRAMS". Given the convergence with these 'defense-relevant' materials which is already in progress, it is possible that in Fragment (6.7) the 'continuer' "Uh-huh" may not merely be implicative of further talk, but specifically implicative of 'evidence in support of', in this case, a doubtful proposal that "he couldn't get them in." Where, evidence for such a proposal might take the "In fact..." form seen in Fragment (0.32), and might consist in, e.g., that a recent inspection of the station wagon yielded that it was not spacious enough. Such 'evidence' could be informative with regard to the possible Relational Trouble, and, indeed, the absence of such talk may be equally informative; e.g., may indicate the absence of recent contact.

Finally, in several of these fragments, the problematic, 'defense-relevant' interchanges are followed, and closed off, by such offerings as, in Fragment (0.29) "t'hhh Tell me you guys are gonna go to Frisco for Christmas:", in Fragment (0.31) "How come you're cancelling your arrangements...", in Fragment (0.32) "I just f-finished seeing the cutest movie", and in Fragment (0.34) "Uh:: yesterday I- got out all my dresses, I'm making them a little bit shorter...". That is, a radical shift to other matters is invited; often to matters which are transparently 'innocuous'. This device is deployed in Fragment (6.7), in news-deliverer/newsmark-recipient's "Oh I had a letter- note from p-Peh-e-Hazel" (as it happens, a re-introduction of a matter she had attempted to introduce earlier, which was overlapped by, and abandoned by reference to, the problematic suggestion).

Given these multiple points of convergence, the interchange in Fragment (6.7) may be characterized as follows. In Slot (1) a piece of news is delivered and/or a proposal is made, "Oh he couldn't get them in." This is followed by a Slot (2) object, "Oh he couldn't?" which may alternatively or combinedly constitute a 'newsmark' of a type which is especially implicative of further talk about the news (i.e., an ["Oh" + Partial Repeat] and/or a 'doubt marker' which proposes the dubiousness of a prior proposal. Slot (3) is then occupied by an object, "Uh-ah:", which

alternatively or combinedly operates to indicate some hesitance to expand on the news (see pages 66-67 above) and/or to dispute a prior proposal of dubiousness with a proposal that the matter is simply so, standing pat in the face of doubt.

In Slot (4) an object is produced, "°Uh-huh°", which alternatively or combinedly responds to a prior display of hesitance to expand, by encouraging expansion (again, see pages 66-67 above) and/or counters a proposal that the matter is simply so with an elicitation of evidence in support of the matter, where such evidence (or the lack of it) can be informative in regard to the Relational Trouble fleetingly glimpsed in the earlier talk.

In Slot (5), neither expansion of some news, nor evidence in support of a dubious proposal, is produced. Under either formulation of the sequence in progress ('news-announcement' or 'interrogation'), it may stand as 'uncompleted' at the point at which it is closed off; expansion and/or evidence being due but not forthcoming. Instead, a radical shift out of the sequence is invited with the introduction of a disjuncted and transparently innocuous topic, "Oh I had a letter- note from p-Peh-e-Hazel."

And finally it can be noted that not only does the news-recipient/newsmark-deliverer accept that invitation and thus agree to resolve the matter by abandoning it, but that she does so by producing an especially strong instance of an unequivocal 'news-announcement' sequence. That is, news of the note from Hazel is met with "Oh did you?", a case of the ["Oh" + Partial Repeat], which projects [Confirmation + Further Talk], and the subsequent 'confirmation' token, "hhh Uh hoh:" is intersected prior to completion (i.e., before it becomes available whether or not the projected expansion will be offered, and thus whether or not 'encouragement' will be needed) with a 'solicitation' "What does she sa:y."

Invited to abandon the problematic sequence, she collaborates with a special vigor, thus perhaps exhibiting the 'innocent' character of her prior activities; i.e., as constituting mere 'interest' in a bit of news, by treating as equally, if not more interesting, a next piece of news. And by producing a strong instance of the phenomenon at this point, she may be exhibiting-by-recognizable-repetition that the prior series of activities was 'also an instance' (as, for example, someone shifting their weight in a leather chair may produce a flatulant noise, and immediately and ostentatiously change position again, repeating the noise, but now making it patently available to coparticipants what the source of the noise is, and

thus was on the first occurrence). Thus, a sequence which in its course may be achievedly ambiguous, is retroactively disambiguated and is assigned the status of nothing more than a brief and inconsequential 'news-announcement' sequence.

This excursion, although it has not directly addressed the phenomenon under consideration; i.e., the post-response-initiation recompletion, does relate to the analysis of an alternative device; i.e., the post-response-completion response solicitation of the Promptings (see pages 29-38). In each case the materials may be semantically sparse, but sequential-interactional analysis shows them to be enormously rich. And in each case, the activities are so assembled as to require access to a range of other, apparently unrelated materials, to come to terms with their workings.

Section VII: The Systematically 'Alternative' Status of Response Solicitation versus Continuation or Recompletion

The foregoing considerations indicate that post-response (-initiation or -completion) continuations and recompletions are distinctive from post-response (-initiation or -completion) response solicitations in the capacity of the former to engender or occasion-and-warrant a revised response by providing additional information or simulaora thereof. Further, the continuations and recompletions can exhibit a sensitivity to, and respond to the import of, a problematic response-initiation. That is, not only can a prior utterance be 'clarified', but it can be thoroughly revised by reference to the character of the response.

It is this potential information-richness and flexibility which sharply distinguishes continuations and recompletions from the response solicitations. The latter are fully occupied by marking the pointedness of a prior utterance, neither 'clarifying' nor revising by reference to a problematic response, but rather, placing the burden of change fully on a marked-as-offending recipient.

In the considerations so far, these sharply differentiated methods for dealing with a problematic response have been treated as casual alternatives; i.e., it has been noted that where a response solicitation can be used, then 'alternatively' a continuation or recompletion might be used. But it appears that the two sets of devices stand in alternation to each other in stronger ways. Two different aspects of this alternation will be considered here. One is 'aggregate-distributional', the other, 'sequential'.

As to the 'aggregate-distributional' sense of 'alternation'; across the

current collection of taperecorded interactions, there is a skewed distribution, most dramatically with respect to the response solicitation "Right?" This item shows up repeatedly and in its various positions (i.e., in 'tag' position, in post-gap position, in the post-response-completion Promptings, and in the rare post-response-initiation Abominables) in several substantial sets of conversations. In other, equally substantial sets, this device is simply never used; whole corpuses of conversation manage perfectly well without it.

An overview of the materials in which the device is used and those in which it never occurs, yields a rough, utterly impressionistic but very strong sense of the former interactions, throughout, as 'aggressive' and the latter interactions, throughout, as 'pacific'. That is, the response solicitation "Right?" seems to serve as an index of interactional 'style', or of 'personality', or 'characteristic activities', or 'setting', or 'businesses', or 'relationships', etc. etc. And in one corpus consisting of many hours of formal negotiations over several days of meetings, a most dramatic instance of "Right?" as an index of the interaction is found. As the negotiations progress across the several days, there is absolutely no use of this device. And in a range of ways, the participants can be seen to be working to accommodate to each other. There is a single occasion on which "Right?" is brought into play, and that is in the final recorded session, just as the negotiations are beginning to break down and overtly belligerent talk emerges. Following is a condensed version of the relevant segment.

(0.28) [BA/Core:V:63-66:Condensed Not to be used for Analysis]

Ed: And the only thing that we have had, was this whole question of all the different kinds of statistics that uh [Name of Coparticipants' Organization] decided that we, damn well had to give them. Now, this is where we stand.

Marcus: [Alright now,

Marcus: Basically then, the three major things that uh we're concerned with is, good faith, on the part of each other.

Ed: - Right?

Marcus: - Right,

Marcus: The second thing that we're concerned with, there is an issue, on, (0.3) providing statistical data.

Ed: - Right,

Marcus: And the third thing, is the, acknowledgment, of an agreement.

(): ((sigh))

Marcus: - between the groups. Right?

(pause)

Ed: Let me point out that after the demonstrations up on Regent Street. There was no agreement signed.

Barton: -- LISTEN I'M SICK AND TIRED OF GOING THROUGH THIS SAME DISCUSSION, MEETING AFTER MEETING. . .

The review of "the three major things that uh we're concerned with" appears to constitute a pacific, and pacifying, response to the prior, belligerent "that uh [NAME] decided that we damn well had to give them." And as it plays out, the review can be seen to be designed in an interactionally accommodating fashion. That is, for example, once an initial 'tag'-positioned response solicitation gets a fitted confirmation (i.e., "...good faith, on the part of each other. Right?" gets "Right,") a 'checklist' format is established as between speaker and recipient, such that the "second thing" is completed and its speaker does not produce a 'tag'-positioned response solicitation, but provides opportunity for a voluntary confirmation, which is, indeed, offered (i.e., "...providing statistical data." gets "Right,"). Thus far, then, a procedure has been established in which the business is getting done not merely without belligerence, but with cooperation.

However, when the "third thing" is completed, and, as with the "second thing", an opportunity to provide a voluntary confirmation is given, but in the confirmation slot we find, not "Right" but "((sigh))", the observable cooperation by reference to the prior series has observably broken down. Thereupon, rather than producing a response solicitation which would mark the inappropriateness, or inadequacy, or absence of response, depending upon the status accordable to "((sigh))", the speaker first produces a recompletion (the information-simulacrum "between the groups") and then appends to it what now constitutes a 'tag'-positioned response solicitation. The retroactively achieved utterance is now "... of an agreement between the groups. Right?", a construction similar to that with which the review was initiated, "...good faith, on the part of each other. Right?" That is, an observable breakdown of cooperation by reference to the prior series is specifically obscured by a return to a device which does not, in the first place, expect that series' index of cooperation; i.e., does not expect unsolicited, voluntary confirmation.

In a range of ways, then, the deployment of the response solicitation is designedly mild. It appears that it was intended to be used only once, to establish a checklist format, whereafter unsolicited confirmation could occur. However, the fact that in all the prior hours of negotiations this device was not used even once, and that it occurs at just this point; i.e., just after the belligerent "...that we, damn well had to give them", is suggestive of its intrinsic 'aggressive' character. It is this device,

and not some other, which is used in the attempt to deal with the first sign of real trouble for the ongoing negotiations and to bring the rebellious coparticipant back into line.

This dramatic occurrence of a response solicitation, after hours of negotiation, just as breakdown is underway, deployed in an attempt to deal with a renegade coparticipant, not only is suggestive of its intrinsic 'aggressive' character in contrast to the more 'pacific' continuations and recompletions, but points to the other aspect of the alternation between the two types of devices; i.e., the sequential.

Specifically, the response solicitation may occur when, or upon its occurrence propose that, other methods have been tried and have failed, and now rather more drastic measures are warranted. That is, the device may be, in principle if not always in practice, a sequentially Nth event, deployed on the failure of, e.g., some first method; i.e., as a sequential alternative. And among the prior attempts, to which the response solicitation stands as a sequential alternative, can be found continuations and recompletions.

A review of three fragments, two displayed as Abominables and one as an instance of Prompting, yields a clearly serial relationship between the two types of pursuit; i.e., between response solicitation and continuation-recompletion. In each of the three fragments, just prior to the response solicitation (see arrows 3) its speaker has used the device of continuation or recompletion (see arrows 2).

(1.1b) [Br.Pr.1.2.JPB:Free Translation]

John: 1- if all day long from morning and through the night ('hh) I kneel and pray.

Mary: - Yea:h, well I have ()

John: 2- and make a nuisance.=

Mary: - =Whuddiyuh mean I kneel and pray.

John: 3- Right?

(1.7) [Adato:VI:4-6]

Jay: Just a little bit away from the San Carlo Opera house, about a half a block, is- thē- thē pah- Pallazzo

1- Raya leh,

Tony: - Un huh,

Jay: 2- The Royal Palace.

Tony: - The Royal Pa lace.

Jay: 3- Ri:ght?

(3.3) [CDHQ:II:276:r]

Marty: 1- we're right up here.

Craig: - Yeah,

Marty: 2- on:: four six six two Parkin Parkinson. Right around the re.

Craig: - Yeah.

Marty: 3- Right?

In each case an initial pursuit (arrows 1) is met with an unfavorable response, whereupon prior speaker produces a 'potentially useful' continuation or recompletion (in Fragment 1.1 "and make a nuisance" which brings home the practical consequences of the prior-named activities, in Fragment 1.7 the possibly useful-for-identification translation from Italian to English, and in Fragment 3.3 the information simulacra which become progressively less substantive). In each case the 'possibly useful' continuation or recompletion, which might engender or at least occasion and warrant a shift in response-type, is met, again, with unfavorable response (in Fragment 1.1 the belligerent "Whuddiyuh mean I kneel and pray", in Fragment 1.7 the obscure-for-recognition repetition of "The Royal Palace", and in Fragment 3.3 another mere acknowledgment token). It is then, and perhaps specifically, designedly-recognizably 'only then'; i.e., upon the failure of two prior attempts to elicit a favorable response, that the non-informative, recipient-blaming, 'more drastic measure' of the response solicitation is deployed.

In these fragments the use of the response solicitation emerges as a sequential alternative to continuation and recompletion. Although it may be a "nasty" device, it may be seen as systematically, observably warranted by reference to the immediately local context in which it occurs. And it is possible that in other cases, rather more extended materials would yield a similar if not so immediate warrant. In sum, it may be that with this device, whether in response to immediately local events or rather more extended encounter, a speaker may be operating to bring a problematic coparticipant into line. Under such a view, Fragment (1.4) becomes interesting. It consists of the opening moments of an intake interview at a psychiatric hospital.

(1.4b) [Br.Pr.1.2.1.r:Free Translation]

Dr. F.: 1- () I understand (0.8) () that you're not feeling very well.

Mary: - Yea:h well that is [t h e opinion]

Dr. F.: 2- [Is that corre]t?

Mary: of Doctor Hollmann.

For the purposes of this consideration I am assuming that these two participants are unacquainted; that this fragment catches the early moments of their coming into a state of interaction. In such a circumstance, the immediate deployment of what may recurrently constitute an Nth-and-alternative pursuit device (in this case, the psychiatrist's "Is that correct?") is of particular interest. Specifically, it may be characterized as warranted, not by some immediately local trials and failures, but by prediction.

One standard way in which predictions about behaviors are made, is by reference to the monitoring of activities via assignable 'membership categories'.¹ This procedure operates recurrently in, for example, interchanges between police personnel and Black civilians (data not shown). Roughly, each party, from the onset of the interaction, expects and is already dealing with the difficulty such-a-one is known to pose for such-another. In effect, they start out at some Nth move in an unfavorable series. And such a circumstance may hold as between a range of interacting categories, including psychiatric intake-interviewers and candidate psychiatric patients.

The monitorability of activities by reference to assignable 'membership categories' is not merely a matter of someone's acting on the basis of some preconceived notions, but of recognizing, sometimes in rather fine-grained detail, that 'the expected behavior is now occurring'. I offer an anecdotal instance. Maxwell Atkinson, of the Centre for Socio-Legal Studies at Oxford sent me a tape of a Small Claims Court in which an enormously troublesome and contentious plaintiff figured. Having transcribed the entire proceedings, I looked back to the very beginning and wondered if a minute bit of behavior might not predict the subsequent, utterly grossly available contentiousness. That behavior bit was the placement of acknowledgment tokens in the course of the arbitrator's introductory talk.

(0.29) [SCC:DGD:J:1]

Smythe: An:d, uh Morton Limited (.) deny: that the dama_ge was=
 Dickens: - mYeh,
 Smythe: =caused uh during the clean_ing process.
 Dickens: - Hm

About a year later, I received another Small Claims Court tape, with a note to the effect that here we had a male counterpart of Miss Dickens. Given such a 'program' via which to observe the talk, and given my specula-

1. For a consideration of the relationship of categories and activities, see Sacks, H. (1965c:6-16 and 1966).

tion about the earlier tape, I was now in a position to 'read' some bits of behavior as predicting subsequent troublesome-contentious activities; to react then and there with "Oh-oh here we go."

(0.30) [SCC:HTH:J:1]

Watkins: Mister Johnson my name is Watkins I'm the adjudicator that's=
 Johnson: - mYes.
 Watkins: = [been appointed to 'hh deal with this dispute,

These behavior bits do not occur in the Small Claims Court tapes I encountered in the interim between these two, in which the plaintiffs are not troublesome. And it seems to me that the then-and-there recognizability of a next occurrence of a possible phenomenon, guided by a first encounter and a written 'program' is analogous to the multiple encounters and self-developed and/or inherited programs of both lay and professional interactants. That is, such a one would be in a position to 'read' and to begin to respond to the import of such an activity as a mid-utterance-positioned acknowledgment token, at the very start of the interaction.¹

And in the brief consideration of Fragment (6.6) pages 53-54, it was noted that while some conventional sequences are recurrently permitted to play out fully, they can be cut short. That is, one needs only a 'part' to see the shape of the whole, and to respond then and there. And in the discussion of prior speaker's activities in that same fragment and in Fragment (6.7) it was noted that upon discovery of some emerging problem, moves can be made to forestall its development. Roughly, then, in Fragment (1.4) the unfavorable response ("Yea::h well...") may be then-and-there seen, not as an appropriate, locally-generated answer to the prior question, but as a fully adequate index and premonitor of predictable, chronic belligerence; i.e., as an informative 'part' of a specifiable whole.

Now, it is one thing to make such a formulation of a coparticipant's activities, and another to make such a move as has been done here. For one, the immediate move to an otherwise Nth-and-alternative device can inform this recipient that her activities are being monitored in just such terms; i.e., as an index of belligerence. And in that case, we have here an analogy of the sort of intimacy display mentioned by reference to Fragment (6.6); a display that such a situation holds that both parties can be taken

1. In that regard, it may not be incidental that in each of these fragments the arbitrator produces a slight 'hitch' ("...caused [uh] during the cleaning process" and "...appointed to ['hh] deal with this dispute") following the possibly predictive behavior bit.

to understand each other perfectly well, without need of such 'formalities' as the playing out of an elaborated sequence via which the status of some activity becomes formally explicated. Bergmann (1979) has some interesting considerations of the rapidity with which a decision to accept or reject a candidate patient is made. And in this case we might say that, in effect, a diagnosis has been achieved, and that it has been achieved has been conveyed to the candidate patient.

Further, the deployment of this post-response-initiation response solicitation may offer its recipient an opportunity to re-open negotiations by producing a display of extraordinary docility. That is, were she to do what, at least in the current corpus is never done; i.e., self-interrupt her response in progress and exhibit attention to the response solicitation, she could show that the import of the response solicitation has been understood, and that her behavior is modifiable by reference to such an understanding. As it happens, she does what everybody does; i.e., continues her response in progress, virtually uninterrupted. By doing what anybody would do, but doing it in these rather special circumstances, she may be seen to be confirming the diagnosis which may result in her being taken on as a patient.

Thus we have come full circle. A device which was initially characterized as gratuitously nasty turns out to be, at least in some materials, clearly available as an Nth resort, deployed upon the failure of a series of milder attempts to achieve the object of a pursuit, and its 'first resort' occurrence in Fragment 1.4 suggests an alternative warranted and non-gratuitous deployment; i.e., warranted as a response to a predictive behavior bit, non-gratuitous in that it constitutes an intimate dispensing with the 'formalities'.

And while in sheer turntaking terms the device appears to be utterly ineffective, it may warn a recipient that his activities are problematic. While recurrently such a warning may be the product of no more than a momentary pique and may be submerged in and palliated by subsequent talk, there can be occasions, such as those represented by Fragment (1.4), when it has enormous, if not immediately apparent consequence.

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Manchester Sociology Occasional Papers

No. 1 R. J. Anderson Rescuing Schutz from the role theorists

This paper seeks to demonstrate that the sociological implications of the work of Alfred Schutz have been largely misunderstood. The argument is substantiated by a detailed examination of one instance of a common view of Schutz's philosophy, namely Philip Pettit's 'The Life World and Role Theory', in which it is suggested that what Schutz has to say about social life is consonant with some version of role theory. This interpretation is rejected as inadequate (a) because it fails to specify precisely what is meant by role theory, and (b) because both of the more general usages of 'role' in sociological theorising are not isomorphic with a Schutzian analysis of social interaction. Both versions of role theory search for a decontextualised account of social life, whereas Schutz's view is predicated upon 'structures of relevance' which root it in the examination of contexts. In conclusion, a sketch of some of the ways that the sociological investigation of structures of relevance might proceed is given.

No. 2 B. Rawlings Two Practical Concerns for Therapists: the problems of 'real therapeutic communities' and 'success rates'

This paper lays out some of the reasoning behind ethnomethodological indifference to asking practical questions of organisations, and notes in particular that serious answers to such questions are constitutive of the world that they claim to describe. The research implications of these issues are illustrated by reference to an ethnographic study of a therapeutic community. One conventional approach to such questions as: 'Is it a real therapeutic community?' is to compare the researched organisation with a theoretical ideal. It is argued in this paper that such an enterprise is not only extraordinarily difficult, but that it is an inappropriate one for the ethnographer interested in examining members' organisational practices in their own right. It is noted that therapists routinely invoke the concept 'real therapeutic community' as a practical means of getting their work done, and some of the ways that they use the term are briefly described. The paper then goes on to examine the question of 'success rates', and outlines the ordinary and irremediable uncertainties that therapists encounter when evaluating success. It is shown how success is nevertheless an important feature of day to day therapeutic work, and some of the ways that it is routinely noted, described and constituted as an everyday feature of practical organisational life.