Accounting for Disaffiliations

Remedying (dis)affiliations in initial interactions between American and British speakers of English

Natalie Dawn Flint

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts by Research

York St John University

School of Languages and Linguistics

September 2017

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material. Any reuse must comply with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 and any license under which this copy is released.

© 2017 York St John University and Natalie Dawn Flint

The right of Natalie Dawn Flint to be identified as Author of this work has been asserted by her in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the various people who have supported me through the writing of this thesis. My completion of this thesis could not have been accomplished without the support I have received from the following people:

I would like to express my great appreciation to the participants of this study who kindly volunteered their time.

I thank my Mum, Dad and Sister for their endless love, support and encouragement. Thank you for always being there for me.
Without you, I could not have achieved what I have.

I am extremely grateful for my fellow graduate students at York St John University who have been helpful and supportive throughout. I would particularly like to mention Linda Walz who made me feel part of the graduate centre and postgraduate community at York St John.

Finally, I would like to thank my supervisors, Dr Andrew John Merrison and Dr Stephen Gibson.

I would like to thank Stephen for his constant encouragement throughout the process of writing this thesis, and always reminding me that the job was not as daunting as I feared!

I cannot express enough thanks for the support and encouragement I have received from Andrew over my four years at York St John. Andrew's teaching and support throughout my undergraduate degree inspired me to take on postgraduate study. Andrew has not only been a fantastic supervisor, but also a great friend. I have felt so fortunate to have been able to work with such a generous, inspiring and kind supervisor. I leave York St John knowing that I not only had a fantastic lecturer and supportive supervisor, but also an excellent co-author and friend for life.

-

Abstract

This thesis takes an inter-disciplinary approach to investigating how unacquainted individuals account for disaffiliations in initial interactions. This thesis provides a conversation analytically informed perspective on how disaffiliations are accounted for in British–American dyads. The conversation analytic methodology is fused with pragmatics to provide a fuller picture of *how* disaffiliations are accounted for, by considering not only the Sacksian structural order (Sacks 1995) but also the Goffmanian interaction order (Goffman 1967a, 1983b).

While much of the literature on (dis)affiliation has considered only how interactants *do* (dis)affiliation (such as, Stivers 2008; Clift 2016a), this thesis is concerned with the remedial work *following* disaffiliations and it will consider the process of 'doing accounting' as remedial work (Goffman 1971a) in initial interactions. This thesis defines *affiliation*, *disaffiliation* and *nonaffiliation* in relation to previous literature from conversation analysis, linguistics and stancetaking in order to better understand not only how (dis)affiliation is done, but also how disaffiliations are remedied by initial interactants. This research explores the nature of remedial work, demonstrating the collaborative and inter-active nature of doing accounts on at least four different levels of interactional engagement: SINGLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS, MULTIPLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS, ACCOUNT-FORS and ACCOUNT-WITHS.

Ultimately, this thesis reports on what appear to be two observable interpersonal preferences in initial interactions. The preference for agreeability and the preference for inter-activity are discussed in relation to the microanalysis of the initial interactions and also in terms of the interaction order. This thesis argues that these interpersonal preferences not only provide some explanation of how people do remedial work following disaffiliations in initial interactions, but has also how these interpersonal preferences contribute towards reciprocally sustaining interaction.

Keywords:

(DIS)AFFILIATION, ACCOUNTS, REMEDIAL WORK, CONVERSATION ANALYSIS, INTERPERSONAL PRAGMATICS, FACEWORK, INITIAL INTERACTIONS, COLLABORATION

Table of Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ..... **III**

ABSTRACT ..... **IV**

TABLE OF CONTENTS ..... **V**

FIGURES AND TABLES ..... **VII**

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS ..... **VIII**

GLOSSARY ..... **XI**

CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION **1**

1.1 Introduction to Themes 1

1.2 Research Questions and Aims 2

1.3 Organisation of the Thesis 3

CHAPTER 2 – REVIEW OF EXISTING LITERATURE **5**

2.1 Initial Interactions 5

2.1.1 CA-informed Studies on Initial Interactions *7*

2.2 (Dis)affiliation 8

2.2.1 Stancetaking *9*

2.2.2 Affiliation *11*

2.2.3 Disaffiliation *13*

2.2.4 Nonaffiliation *14*

2.3 Remedial Work 14

2.3.1 Facework *15*

2.3.2 Accounts *16*

2.3.3 Justifications *18*

2.3.4 Collaborative Accounts *20*

2.4 Summary of Review of Existing Literature 22

CHAPTER 3 – DATA AND METHODOLOGY **23**

3.1 Data Collection 23

3.2 Frameworks for the Thesis 25

3.2.1 Conversation Analysis *25*

3.2.2 A Goffmanian Approach to Interpersonal Interaction *26*

3.2.3 Summary of Frameworks *28*

CHAPTER 4 – DOING AFFILIATION, DISAFFILIATION AND NONAFFILIATION **29**

4.1 Doing Affiliation 29

4.2 Doing Disaffiliation 42

4.3 Doing Nonaffiliation 55
4.4 Summary of Operating Affiliative Work 59

CHAPTER 5 – COLLABORATIVELY OPERATING REMEDIAL WORK 60
5.1 Individual Accounts: Overview 60
5.1.1 Single-Individual Accounts 60
5.1.2 Multiple-Individual Accounts 75
5.2 Collaborative Accounts: Overview 84
5.2.1 Account-Fors 85
5.2.2 Account-Withs 89
5.3 Summary of Collaborative Remedial Work Sequences 104

CHAPTER 6 – INTERPERSONAL PREFERENCES IN INITIAL INTERACTIONS 106
6.1 Preference for Agreeability 106
6.2 Preference for Inter-Activity 111
6.3 Summary of Connections between Preference and the Interaction Order 114

CHAPTER 7 – CONCLUSION 120
7.1 Summary of the Thesis 120
7.2 Limitations, Future Research and Implications 121
7.3 Contribution to Knowledge 124
7.4 Concluding Remarks 126

REFERENCES 128

Figures and Tables

FIGURES

FIGURE 2-1 - SUBCATEGORIES OF ACCOUNT TYPES 19
FIGURE 4-1 - THREE COMPONENTS OF AFFILIATION 31
FIGURE 4-2 - GESTURAL DETAIL FOR EXTRACT 4.1 33
FIGURE 4-3 - GESTURAL DETAIL FOR EXTRACT 4.1 33
FIGURE 4-4 - A VIEW OF STANCETAKING 39
FIGURE 4-5 - THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN AGREEMENT AND AFFILIATION 40
FIGURE 4-6 - GESTURAL DETAIL FOR EXTRACT 4.9 47
FIGURE 4-7 - GESTURAL DETAIL FOR EXTRACT 4.9 47
FIGURE 4-8 - GESTURAL DETAIL FOR EXTRACT 4.11 51
FIGURE 4-9 - GESTURAL DETAIL FOR EXTRACT 4.11 51
FIGURE 5-1 - SINGLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNT SEQUENCE 61
FIGURE 5-2 - GESTURAL DETAIL FOR EXTRACT 5.1 74
FIGURE 5-3 - GESTURAL DETAIL FOR EXTRACT 5.1 74
FIGURE 5-4 - MULTIPLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNT SEQUENCE 76
FIGURE 5-5 - ACCOUNT-FOR SEQUENCE 86
FIGURE 5-6 - ACCOUNT-WITH SEQUENCE 90

TABLES

TABLE 2-1 - THE INITIAL INTERACTION MEMORY ORGANIZATION PACKET 6
TABLE 2-2 - GOFFMAN'S TYPOLOGY OF ACCOUNTS 17
TABLE 2-3 - SEMIN & MANSTEAD'S (1983) TYPOLOGY OF JUSTIFICATIONS 20

Transcription Conventions

This thesis uses Jeffersonian (Jefferson 2004) transcription symbols adapted from Merrison Bloomer, Griffiths and Hall (2014:24-27):

Overlapping turns

(1)	[	When there is already someone taking a turn, a single left bracket marks the onset of the overlapped turn. The transcripts are formatted so that when overlapped turns occur the overlapping contribution is arranged on the page directly below the relevant ongoing contribution (the same occurs for gesture, see (27)).
(2)	]	The offset of overlapped contributions is shown by a right bracket at the appropriate points in the turns of both participants.
(3)	[[	When there is no current speaker, onset of simultaneous contributions from both participants is marked using double left brackets.
(4)	[ ]^{1}	Superscript numbers are used to indicate what talk/action is in overlap with what other talk/action(s).

Latched contributions

(5)	=	Latching turns are indicated through the use of a "=" symbol to show an utterance that immediately follows the preceding utterance without any gap.

Pauses

(6)	(.)	A micro pause of less than 0.2 seconds.
(7)	(0.0)	Longer pauses are timed to the nearest tenth of a second and are put within parenthesis.

Characteristics of delivery

(8)	**> <**	Talk delivered at a faster rate than the surrounding talk is transcribed within angled brackets pointing inwards (or >> << for *much* faster talk).
(9)	**< >**	Talk delivered at a slower rate than surrounding talk is transcribed within angled brackets pointing outwards (or << >> for *much* slower talk).
(10)	**-**	Dashes indicate the utterance is cut off mid-flow.
(11)	**:**	Elongation of the preceding sound is signalled by a colon. The more colons, the longer the sound.
(12)	**?**	A question mark signals gradual rising intonation.
(13)	**.**	A full stop is used to show gradual falling intonation.
(14)	**,**	Fall-rise intonation is signalled by a comma.
(15)	**!**	More animated intonation (often rise-fall) is signalled by an exclamation mark.
(16)	…	Utterance 'trails off' is indicated by ellipsis.

Volume and pitch

(17)	° °	Text surrounded by degree signs is quieter than the surrounding talk.
(18)	**CAPITALS**	Capitals are used to show talk which is louder than surrounding talk.
(19)	↑ ↑	Notably higher shift in pitch for the talk between the upward pointing arrows.
(20)	↓ ↓	Notably lower shift in pitch for the talk between the upward pointing arrows.
(21)	**underlining**	Enhanced prosody/stress is underlined.

Non-verbal activity

(22)	**h**	Audible outbreath (number of hs corresponds to length of breath).
(23)	**.h**	Audible inbreath (number of hs corresponds to length of breath).

(24)	**ha/heh**	Syllable of laughter. (h) within words, represents laughter particles in speech.
(25)	**((cough))**	Representations of non-verbal behaviour are transcribed in double parentheses.

Transcription doubt

(26)	**( )**	Parentheses indicate talk that cannot be accurately transcribed. Any transcription within the parentheses indicates merely a *possible* hearing. (An X within the parentheses is used to represent a syllable.)

Gesture

(27)	**((gesture))**	Gesture is transcribed in double round brackets. Here, gesture is transcribed on a dedicated gesture line in order to see when a gesture starts and begins in relation to the talk.

Other conventions

(28)	**odd spelling**	Non-conventional spelling is often used to more closely represent the actual pronunciation of words.
(29)	**anonymity**	Personal details (such as names, addresses etc.) are anonymised with alternative words of a similar syllable structure.
(30)	**line numbers**	Transcript lines are numbered in the left hand margin.
(31)	**% %**	Talk which shows participant 'putting on a voice' is transcribed within percentage signs.
(32)	**~ ~**	Creaky voice is transcribed within tildes.

Glossary

Affective Stance – A display of mood, attitude or feeling towards a particular stance object (see §4.1; adapted from Ochs 1996).

Affiliation – The *alignment* with, *acceptance* of and *support* towards a producer's conveyed affective stance (see §4.1; adapted from Mitchell 2016; Stivers 2008).

Base Sequence – The base sequence is the core adjacency pair of a sequence. The base sequence can be preceded by a pre-sequence and can be followed by a post-expansion sequence.

Disaffiliation – The alignment with, but non-acceptance of and non-support towards an affective stance (see §4.2; cf. Clift 2016a; Mitchell 2016; Stivers 2008).

Emergent Stance – The non-explicit delivery of a stance via some other action.

Face – "*face* may be defined as the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact" (Goffman 1967b [1955]:5 emphasis in original).

First Pair Part (FPP) – The first part of an adjacency pair. First pair parts and second pair parts are composed of two turns (usually) by different speakers. They are normally adjacently placed and are pair-typed (such as greeting–greeting, request–grant/refuse, invitation–accept/refuse) (adapted from Clift 2016b).

Increment – A grammatically fitted continuation of a TCU.

Nonaffiliation – The lack of alignment, acceptance and support following an affective stance (see §4.3).

Noticeable Absence – An interactional absence. Although numerous things are not present at any point in a conversation, only some are relevant enough to be seen as "absent" when not present (Schegloff 1968).

Post-Expansion – A post-expansion can either be minimal or non-minimal. Minimal post-expansions are also called 'sequence closing thirds' as they are a single turn which occurs following an adjacency pair and which closes the sequence. Non-

minimal post-expansions occupy more than a turn, instead extending the sequence.

Pre-Sequence – A sequence which occurs before the base sequence in order to establish conditions for proceeding (adapted from Clift 2016b).

Preference – A structural notion relating to systematic bias observed in interaction towards the use of certain structures ('preferred'), over others ('dispreferred') (adapted from Clift 2016b; Levinson 1983).

Second Pair Part (SPP) – The second part of an adjacency pair. First pair parts and second pair parts are composed of two turns (usually) by different speakers. They are normally adjacently placed, relative to each other and are pair-typed (such as greeting–greeting, request–grant/refuse, invitation–accept/refuse). A SPP does not have to be a preferred SPP, simply a fitted next response (adapted from Clift 2016b).

Stance Movement – Stance movement refers to the ostensible change in stance, whether outright change or some more subtle 'movement' in stance towards a particular stance object (see Flint, Haugh & Merrsion under review)

Transition Relevant Place (TRP) – A transition relevance place (TRP) which is a place in the talk where the current speaker can shift (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974).

Turn Constructional Unit (TCU) – A TCU is a unit of constructed talk. Each unit must be complete on three levels: it must be semantically complete, prosodically and phonetically complete and complete in terms of action (adapted from Clift 2016b; Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974).

Chapter 1 – Introduction

Researching interactional conflict – even concerning apparently trivial topics – is important due to the potential for problematic talk to generate yet further problematic talk, and with that, more conflict. This thesis therefore considers the ways in which interactants orient to doing remedial work by, *inter alia*, providing mitigating circumstances, denying intent or agency or appealing to moral values (Antaki 1994; Semin & Manstead 1983). The interactional conflict explored in this thesis comes from initial interactions between British and American students studying at a British university. Initial interactions are an important locus for investigating interactional conflict due to the everyday nature of interacting with unacquainted individuals and the great regularity with which such interactions occur.

Throughout the exploration of remedying disaffiliations, two orders of interaction will be drawn upon: Sacks' (1995) *structural order* and Goffman's (1967a, 1983b) *interaction order*. Through exploring both the structural and interpersonal nature of doing remedial work, this thesis fuses a CA-informed methodology with core concepts in interpersonal pragmatics. Given the inter-disciplinary approach taken for this thesis, a range of literature will be drawn upon, including work in conversation analysis (henceforth referred to as CA), sociology, sociolinguistics, interpersonal pragmatics and social psychology. By fusing interpersonal pragmatics and CA approaches, this thesis provides a fuller understanding of the interactional work done by participants when remedying disaffiliations in initial interactions.

1.1 Introduction to Themes

The two main phenomena discussed in this thesis are (dis)affiliation and remedial work. Affiliation has previously been conceptualised by conversation analysts to refer to actions which support social solidarity (Heritage 1984a). More recently, however, the term '(dis)affiliation' has been adapted to describe responses that display support (or lack of) for the prior speaker's affective stance (Stivers 2008). While much of this existing research on affiliation in the CA literature has focused on how people *do* (dis)affiliation (e.g. Antaki 2012; Clayman 1992; Clift 2016a; Lindström & Sorjonen

2013; Stivers 2008), this thesis builds on that body of work by exploring interactional sequences *following* instances of disaffiliation. Specifically, here I explore how interactants remedy disaffiliations (see Flint 2016; Flint, Haugh & Merrison under review).

Remedial work and accounts are frequently discussed in both the CA and the socio-pragmatic literature. For example, in the very first of Sacks' Lectures on Conversation, Sacks proposed that some actions are "accountable actions" and that interactants are "committed" to an account. He also claimed that "Accounts are most extraordinary" (1995:4-5). More broadly, Goffman considered *remedial interchanges* (which include accounts as a sub-type) stating that "phenomenally speaking, remedial interchanges are of enormous importance" (1971a:172). Given the importance of accounts in both fields of study, this thesis attempts to fuse both analytic approaches in the exploration of how disaffiliation is remedied in initial interactions.

1.2 Research Questions and Aims

This thesis investigates the following research question:

> How are disaffiliations remedied in initial interactions between speakers of English in British–American dyads?

To answer this question, this thesis firstly reviews the relevant literature and operationalises key terms in the field of (dis)affiliation. Secondly, it applies a CA-informed methodology to investigate the ways in which British and American initial interactants remedy disaffiliations, particularly exploring the ways in which interactants collaborate and inter-actively provide accounts for opposing stances. Finally, this thesis discusses the analytic findings in relation to two observable preferences in the initial interactions data, the 'preference for agreeability' and the 'preference for inter-activity'.

Another objective of the research agenda for this thesis is to take seriously Levinson's inclusion of CA in his textbook on 'Pragmatics' (1983) and to attempt to fuse a CA-informed methodology with theory from pragmatics. This thesis argues that there is much for each discipline to gain from the other (not least in terms of a coordinated account of face and preference). It will therefore contribute to a currently small field of existing work (see for example, Attwood & Merrison 2017; Clift 2017;

Clift & Holt 2017; Flint 2016; Flint et al 2017, under review; Haugh 2011, 2012, 2015, 2016, 2017a, 2017b; Holt 2017; Lerner 1996) which pulls together the disciplines to provide a more detailed and enlightened discussion of interpersonal pragmatics in talk-in-interaction.

1.3 Organisation of the Thesis

The thesis begins with an overview of relevant literature taken from multiple disciplines, including pragmatics, linguistic (im)politeness, CA, discursive psychology and stancetaking (Chapter 2). Here, three main concepts from the literature are explored: initial interactions, (dis)affiliation and remedial work. Following this, in Chapter 3 the data collection and the initial interactions data set will be introduced and the analytic frameworks for the thesis will be discussed. Chapter 4 discusses, analyses and operationalises definitions of *affiliation*, *disaffiliation* and *nonaffiliation* in relation to the literature outlined in Chapter 2 and the initial interactions data. Chapter 5 analyses *how* the interactants do remedial work following instances of disaffiliation, particularly considering four account types: SINGLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS, MULTIPLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS, ACCOUNT-FORS and ACCOUNT-WITHS. Chapter 6 discusses the observations from the two analysis chapters in relation to CA and the interaction order. This discussion is largely based around two preferences (the preference for agreeability and the preference for inter-activity) and their relation to face and the interaction order. Finally, Chapter 7 concludes by providing a brief summary of the thesis, offering some reflection on the research and making some final remarks including introducing potential avenues for future research.

Prior to this introduction, transcription conventions and a glossary have been provided. Where necessary, relevant terminology will be defined on first mention throughout the thesis, with the glossary offering a brief reminder of these definitions. In the analysis chapters, some (fairly standard) CA-specific terms haven been used but not defined, so these have also been provided in the glossary. The transcription conventions provided are adapted from Jefferson (2004) with some additional conventions added. Conventions created for the purposes of transcriptions for this thesis are mentioned where relevant in the analysis.

Throughout the thesis, sections are cross-referenced, indicated by the § symbol. Extracts from the initial interactions data set are presented in order to operationalise definitions and exemplify phenomena. They are numbered by chapter number, then by the order of appearance (e.g. Extract 4.1 or E4.1). All data taken from the primary data set are marked 'BritAm' followed by the number of the conversation in the British–American initial interactions data set. All participants have been anonymised. American participants have pseudonyms beginning with "A" (e.g. Amy and Anna) and British participants have pseudonyms beginning with "B" (e.g. Becky and Bethan). Extracts from other data sets (taken from the literature) are presented with the relevant prefix and are attributed by way of a standard citation.

Chapter 2 – Review of Existing Literature

This chapter summarises and evaluates relevant literature in order to explore remedying disaffiliations in initial interactions. Firstly, studies of initial interactions will be explored (§2.1), with a focus on those that take a CA-informed approach. Following this, I turn to existing CA studies on (dis)affiliation, including considering relevant work on (dis)agreement (§2.2). Here, literature on stancetaking is also drawn upon to better understand (dis)affiliation (this is continued in Chapter 4). The final section of this chapter evaluates research on remedial work, accounts and justifications (§2.3).

2.1 Initial Interactions

Initial interactions have been the focus of studies across various disciplines. This subsection therefore considers literature from linguistics, sociology and social psychology. Much of the research on initial interactions in social psychology has been conducted using questionnaires and surveys (see Eastwick & Finkel 2008), whereas this thesis, along with other more recent CA-informed studies on initial interactions (see §2.1.1), applies a CA-informed method to investigate what *actually* occurs in talk-in-interaction, as opposed to commenting on events reported in questionnaires by research participants.

While some of the previous literature on initial interactions has considered only romantic relationships (see Sprecher et al 2008), particularly 'speed dates' (Eastwick & Finkel 2008; Joyce 2015; Sibthorpe 2008; Stokoe 2010), this thesis investigates initial interactions in a non-romantic context. Occasionally, 'initial interactions' and the activity of 'getting acquainted' are used synonymously in this literature, however Joyce (2015:14) noted that 'getting acquainted' is not a timed process as the activity of getting acquainted is frequently misunderstood to be an activity that occurs solely at the beginning of a social relationship. However, getting acquainted occurs *throughout* relationships, as to 'get acquainted' is simply to familiarise yourself with another person, and whilst this does indeed happen in initial interactions, people do not stop getting acquainted beyond the first interaction – people in social relationships continue to get acquainted with one another beyond their first encounter. It is for this reason that

I will not refer to the data set as 'getting acquainted' data. Instead, the data will be referred to as 'initial interactions'.

Although the participants are unacquainted, it is possible for individuals to obtain knowledge regarding the other participant as some information may be available within the observable setting (Clark 1996). Even though the participants are unacquainted, they may know, or be able to decipher, some membership category types of their fellow participant. For example, as the data were collected on a university campus, the participants may be able to assume that they will be interacting with a fellow university student.

Social psychologists, Kellerman & Lim (1989), observed a set of 'scenes' and 'phases' for initial conversations. These scenes and phases set out typical topics and actions completed in initial interactions. Their observations are presented in Table 2-1:

Table 2-1 *- The initial interaction memory organisation packet (Kellermann & Lim 1989:178)*

Initiation phase	Maintenance phase	Termination phase
Greeting	Where live	Discuss near-future meeting
Introduction	Hometown	Evaluation of encounter
Health	Persons known in common	Plan future meeting
Present situation	What do you do?	Positive evaluation of person
Reason for presence	Education	Until later
Weather	Occupation	Reason for terminating
	Social relations	Good byes
	Compliments	
	Interests	
	Family	
	Sports	

These scenes and phases were observed in social psychological work which did not consider the linguistic forms and social interactional methods employed however the scenes and phases can be observed in the analysis. Given that this thesis applies a CA-informed methodology (as opposed to social psychological methods), previous CA and CA-informed studies will be explored in §2.1.1.

2.1.1 CA-informed Studies on Initial Interactions

As this thesis is not particularly focused on the initial nature of the interactions, I simply provide a brief overview of CA-informed studies on such interactions in order to situate this research within the existing literature. These studies embark on investigating pragmatics and focus on initial interactions as "interpersonal communication events" (Haugh & Carbaugh 2015). Previous CA-informed studies on initial interactions have focused on phenomena such as getting acquainted activities (Svennevig 1999), self-presentation (Svennevig 1999), self-disclosure (Haugh & Carbaugh 2015), humour (Haugh 2011), jocular mockery (Haugh 2010, 2017a, 2017b), initial introductions (Pillet-Shore 2011), and most recently, (dis)affiliation (Flint 2016; Flint et al under review).

Pillet-Shore (2011) provides a CA perspective on how people produce, use, and understand introduction sequences when meeting someone new. Her study (on American English) is largely concerned with the first 10 seconds of the interaction. However, she more generally highlights the nature of uncertainty in initial interactions. She writes, "when confronted with a 'stranger' – a person one has never 'met' and thus a person with whom one has no mutually established personal acquaintanceship – one is confronted with a person lacking definition (Goffman 1963; Lofland 1973). A stranger, then, embodies a locus of uncertainty" (Pillet-Shore 2011:73-74). In her study, Pillet-Shore explores the role of co-present, 'known-in-common' persons when introducing unacquainted individuals in multi-party interactions. She concluded that it is the 'known-in-common' persons who serve as mediators in initial interactions, and it is these mediators who do the work of embodying a connection or a "social bridge" between acquainted persons. However, this thesis considers only two-party interactions where the participants are unacquainted without a 'known-in-common' person mediating the initial interaction, therefore in my data set the level of uncertainty is arguably higher.

Svennevig (1999) uses similar data to the data analysed in this thesis. In his study, five interactions between unacquainted individuals were collected. Some of the participants in the data set were students in Swedish universities (similar to the data for this thesis, see §3.1), other participants were volunteers working on a magazine editorial board. Svennevig's student data is much like the data collected here as there is some

potential for longevity beyond the initial encounter. However, the volunteers working for the magazine are far more likely to sustain the relationship beyond the initial interaction due to having a shared joint project (Clark 1996).

Haugh's work on initial interactions covers a range of themes including self-disclosure, humour and jocular mockery (see Haugh 2010, 2011, 2015, 2016, 2017a, 2017b; Haugh & Carbaugh 2015; Mitchell & Haugh 2015). Currently, this field of research is dominated by the initial interactions data collected by Haugh and colleagues focusing on Australian and American English, with some further American interactions collected by Pillet-Shore (2011) and a relatively small data set collected by Svennevig (1999) in Sweden. This thesis therefore begins to fill a gap in the literature by providing further exploration of initial interactions in a British context (cf. Flint, 2016; Flint et al under review). Given much of the previous research was conducted by Haugh and colleagues, the data collection for this thesis has replicated the methods of those studies (discussed further in §3.1).

2.2 (Dis)affiliation

This section discusses some of the existing literature on (dis)affiliation. Other related phenomena will also be discussed in order to better understand the workings of (dis)affiliation in talk-in-interaction. As a result, this section will briefly discuss stancetaking, agreement and alignment, before defining affiliation, disaffiliation and nonaffiliation. This section covers relevant existing literature in preparation for Chapter 4 where I reconsider the definitions of (dis)affiliation in further detail, providing analysis of relevant extracts. According to Mitchell (2016:37), affiliation can be defined as "the orientation to, acceptance of, and support of some prior producer's claims". Mitchell considers (dis)affiliation in relation to 'claims', whereas Clift (2016a), Stivers (2008) and Stivers, Mondada and Steensig (2011) discuss (dis)affiliation in relation to affective stance. For this reason, stancetaking will now be discussed in relation to (dis)affiliation.

2.2.1 Stancetaking

The literature on stancetaking draws upon multiple disciplines, predominantly linguistics and CA, but also anthropology, social psychology and other sub-disciplines of sociology (Englebretson 2007a). Given this range of perspectives, the definitions of stance are as "broad and varied as the individual backgrounds and interests of the researchers themselves" (Englebretson 2007a:1). Englebretson (2007a) notes that defining stance is a notoriously difficult task, and one that poses a great difficulty to those attempting to do so briefly. Given this, I will firstly address research covering some generic aspects of stancetaking before discussing specific stance types which are relevant for understanding (dis)affiliation. The types of stance discussed here are epistemic stances, assessments (or evaluative stances) and affective stances.

Mitchell (2016:37) highlights the problematic nature of the term '(dis)affiliation' in CA, noting that it can be difficult to discuss in terms of stance. Despite this difficulty, stance will nevertheless be considered in this thesis as (dis)affiliation is highly dependent on understanding affective stances. Consequently, this section will address stancetaking by drawing upon linguistic and CA literature regarding epistemic stances, assessments (also known as evaluative stances) and affective stances before further exploring the definitions of (dis)affiliation.

Firstly, epistemic stances will be discussed to provide a better understanding of the distinctions between the stance types. Ochs (1996:410) defines epistemic stances as "knowledge or belief vis-à-vis some focus of concern including degrees of certainty of knowledge, degrees of commitment, to truth of propositions, and sources of knowledge, among other epistemic qualities".

Arguably the most widely recognised stance type is what the stancetaking literature calls 'evaluative stance' (Du Bois 2007), however the CA literature refers to the same phenomenon as 'assessments' (Pomerantz 1984). Du Bois recognises that assessments are products of participation in social interaction and although they are evaluative based on the values of an individual, like epistemic stances, they are ultimately based on knowledge as a foundation (Pomerantz 1984). Pomerantz treats assessments as turns which contain a referent (also referred to as an 'object of stance' in the stancetaking literature (Du Bois 2007)) together with an overt assessment or

evaluation of that referent (Pomerantz 1984; Ogden 2006). An example of an assessment from Pomerantz' (1984) work is presented as E2.1:

Extract 2.1 – JS: II: 41

```
J:  [1] I -n then I tasted it [2] it w'z really horrible ...
```

The assessment is in the second TCU in the turn (marked by [2]). Here, the referent is simply "`it`" and this is followed by an evaluation of the thing J tasted, as being "really horrible".

Affective stances are 'positioned' in the same way as epistemic stances, with speakers positioning themselves along an affective scale (Du Bois 2007:143). Ochs (1996:410) defines affective stances as referring "to a mood, attitude, feeling, and disposition, as well as degrees of emotional intensity vis-à-vis some focus of concern". Du Bois (2007) provides the following example of an affective stance:

Extract 2.2 –SBC015: 187.025-188.070 – *Deadly Diseases*

```
KEN:     I would love to go:.
```

In E2.2, the affective nature of the turn is clear through the use of an affective stance predicate (`love`). Heritage and Raymond (2005:34) discuss epistemic rights to claiming stances and state that "all participants, as Sacks (1984) and Goffman (1983[a]) observed, have primary rights to know and describe their own thoughts and experiences" (2005:34). As affiliation is broadly concerned with the *affective* level of communication (Stivers 2008; Stivers et al 2011), it is affective stances which will be of most importance for this thesis, however both epistemic stances and assessments will be discussed throughout the thesis due to their presence in the disaffiliation-plus-account sequences analysed.

Finally, this subsection considers the interactional nature of doing stancetaking. Through providing stances, individuals assign value to objects, demonstrating like-mindedness and similarity between interactants and invoking systems of sociocultural value (Du Bois 2007). One reason why understanding stance is so vital when considering remedying interaction is that taking any stance potentially has social and interactional consequences for those involved (Englebretson 2007a; Du Bois 2007).

Throughout this thesis, stance will be treated as interactional by nature, jointly produced (Englebretson 2007a; Iwasaki 2015) and 'emergent' in discourse (Englebretson 2007b) or talk-in-interaction (Iwasaki 2015). Iwasaki (2015:104) notes that stancetaking is an interactive activity which is emergent in social interactional processes. The emergent nature of interaction will be discussed further in §4.1. Du Bois (2007:171) suggests that "stance is not something you have, not a property of interior psyche, but something you do – something you take". By considering stancetaking as an action ("taking a stance" rather than "having a stance"), stancetaking can be understood as being emergent in interaction. Stances can therefore be taken through actions, including explicit stancetaking actions, storytellings and nods. Stivers (2008) considers nods as aligning and affiliative actions in her study of self-initiated tellings in naturally occurring face-to-face American English interactions. Here, Stivers considers how people convey affective stances using gesture, ultimately doing affiliation. Similarly, Clift (2016a) explores laughter as a means for (dis)affiliation across audio and video recorded interactional data in British and American English. In her study, she uncovers how individuals (dis)affiliate with individuals using laughter as a means of conveying an affective stance. The work on stancetaking considered in this section will be applied further in Chapter 4, as affiliation, disaffiliation and nonaffiliation are discussed further.

2.2.2 Affiliation

Affiliation is a phenomenon which has gained attention over recent years in CA. Heritage (1984a:269) originally considered affiliation in relation to preference, noting that preferred actions are supportive of social solidarity, whereas dispreferred actions are destructive of it. Lindström and Sorjonen (2013) consider accepting invitations as affiliative and declining invitations as inherently disaffiliative. However, this notion of (dis)affiliation is very broad considering other, more recent work on (dis)affiliation (such as Clift 2016a; Mitchell 2016; Stivers 2008; Stivers et al 2011). As a result, this thesis considers definitions which refer to stance, and particularly the support of others' stances. Stivers (2008:35) defines the affiliating action as when a "hearer displays support of and endorses the teller's conveyed stance". Similarly, Mitchell (2016:37) discusses three contributing actions which must occur for an action to be described as

'affiliative', these being the *orientation to, acceptance of,* and *support of* a producer's stance. Building on this, I present a new model of these definitions in §4.1.

It is important to note that affiliative turns are necessarily responsive and are delivered in relation to another interlocutor's prior stance (Mitchell 2016:195). In the same way that agreements must be made relative to an initial assessment, affiliations must follow an (emergent) affective stance. Although this thesis does not investigate assessments in depth, the sequential nature of the phenomenon of (dis)affiliation resembles much of the work already done on (dis)agreeing with assessments (see Pomerantz 1984; Sacks 1987). For this reason, some previous literature investigating (dis)agreement will be explored, as a parallel to affiliation. Due to the blurry lines between agreement and affiliation by speakers in interaction, it is unsurprising that their structures are relatively similar. Following a first assessment, the relevant (or 'aligned') next turn is to agree or disagree with the assessment offered in the prior turn (Ogden 2006; Pomerantz 1984). However, due to the nature of affective stances referring to mood, attitude and feelings of an individual, affective stances cannot be agreed with. Nevertheless, a similar structural sequence occurs following affective stances: after an affective stance, a relevant next turn would provide some indication of (non)acceptance or (non)support.

'Alignment' is a phenomenon which is often associated with affiliation. Stivers (2008:32) provides critical distinctions between aligning and affiliative actions, noting that alignment is the "support of the progress" of the action (in Stivers' case, support of the progress of storytelling). In the storytelling context, aligning actions support the structural asymmetry of the storytelling activity, whereas disaligned actions undermine the ongoing action. Stivers et al suggest that the difference between alignment and affiliation comes down to cooperation at different levels. They conceptualise "*alignment* as the structural level of cooperation and *affiliation* as the affective level of cooperation" (2011:20, emphasis in original). In this thesis, I acknowledge that affiliative turns are aligning, and that some aligning turns can be affiliative, however, following Stivers (2008:32-36), I note that the terms should not be used as synonyms and, more importantly, that aligned responses are not necessarily affiliative.

2.2.3 Disaffiliation

Compared to the work on affiliation, there has been less investigating disaffiliation. In the existing literature, disaffiliation is generally defined by first defining affiliation and then considering the opposing, non-accepting, non-supportive, action as disaffiliation. For example, Mitchell (2016:37) describes disaffiliation as the non-acceptance of a prior stance. Similarly, Clift (2016a:74) notes that disaffiliative turns express "disapproval of, or distance from, another's perspective". These definitions fit Heritage's original, yet broad, definition of disaffiliation which suggests that disaffiliative turns are "destructive" of social solidarity (Heritage 1984a:269), however they contribute to the literature by further narrowing down the originally broad definition.

Mitchell (2016) notes that in disaffiliative turns the prior stance is oriented to, but it is not accepted or supported, instead, an opposing stance is presented. Cases where the prior stance is not oriented to will not be considered to be disaffiliative, instead they will be referred to in this thesis as 'nonaffiliations' (see §2.2.4 and §4.3).

Clift (2016a) explores laughter as a device for (dis)affiliation in British and American interactions. As laughter can be both affiliative and disaffiliative, it is crucial to consider where the laughter is situated. Clift discusses how a single action can be simultaneously both affiliative and disaffiliative between family members during family mealtime interactions. Haugh and Obana (2015) consider similar findings in their investigation of 'transformative continuations' in Japan where the second speaker collaboratively completes a turn, but grammatically transforms the action. Through investigating joint productions (or collaborative completions) of stance deliveries, they note that the collaborative efforts to deliver stances are vehicles for both affiliation and disaffiliations. In some cases, the collaboration between participants is accepted and considered supportive, however when a speaker wrongly pre-empts the collaborative completion, the speaker not only demonstrates an opposing stance, but also strips away the authority of their interactant. These two studies demonstrate the fine line between actions which are affiliative and those which are disaffiliative.

Connections can be made between disagreement and disaffiliation, for example the turn shapes identified by Pomerantz (1984) are also seen in disaffiliation sequences. Pomerantz (1984:74) notes the 'agreement-plus-disagreement' turn shape as a weak

form of disagreement, also observing that agreeing components in these turns are, similarly, typically weak. Pomerantz (1984:72) also discusses the typicality of delaying disagreeing components in a turn but pays attention to the agreement elements. Disaffiliation turn shapes will be discussed further, and illustrated with data in §4.2.

2.2.4 Nonaffiliation

In §2.2.2 and §2.2.3, affiliation and disaffiliation have been addressed. Here 'nonaffiliation' is our focus. While 'nonaffiliation' is not discussed in the existing literature, Mitchell (2016:37) and Du Bois (2007:172) do discuss instances of 'diverging alignment' (alignment here is used in stancetaking terms, meaning an orientation to a stance object). Mitchell suggests that any action which changes the course of the interaction and interrupts the progressivity of the ongoing action would be considered disaligning. Through disaligning with a stancetaking action, the necessary first (orientation/alignment) stage of the affiliative process is missing, and subsequently there can be no acceptance or support of the stance. In instances of nonaffiliation there is no evidence of an opposition to the prior stance, so such cases cannot be referred to as disaffiliative. Instead, I shall call these cases 'nonaffiliation'. This phenomenon will be discussed in further detail in §4.3.

2.3 Remedial Work

This section explores 'remedial work' (Goffman 1971a) with an ultimate focus on justifications. Remedial work is a term coined by Goffman (1971a) which is largely used in the fields of pragmatics and linguistic (im)politeness, whereas the CA literature does not typically use the term 'remedial work' in the discussion of accounts. However, given the nature of this thesis as a fusion of interpersonal pragmatics with a CA-informed methodology, I would argue that to not consider remedial work and facework as fundamental in understanding accounts would be to overlook the issue of *why* accounts are necessary in social interaction.

To begin understanding remedial work, the first question to ask is not 'what is remedial work?', but rather 'what action occurs in order for another to be classified as a

type of remedial work?'. According to Goffman (1971a), remedial work addresses an act which can be perceived as being possibly offensive; Goffman names these interpretations 'worst possible readings'. Worst possible readings are, in simple terms, interpretations of acts which maximise the offensiveness, and (despite the use of a superlative) for any given act, there may be one or more of these readings. When discussing apologies as a type of remedial work, Goffman (1971a:149) suggests that "whether one runs over another's sentence, time, dog, or body, one is more or less reduced to saying some variant of 'I'm sorry'". I would argue that rather than some variant of 'I'm sorry', some variant of *any* remedial work device can be employed, including justificatory-accounts.

Goffman defines remedial work in terms of its function: "the function of remedial work is to change the meaning that otherwise might be given to an act, transforming what could be seen as offensive into what can be seen as acceptable" (1971a:139). He further specifies that there are typically three devices used as forms of remedial work: accounts, apologies and requests. Because they do not feature in my data, apologies and requests will not be discussed in this thesis (for further detail, see Goffman 1971a). The focus here is on the accounting devices used to remedy disaffiliations and, more specifically, the collaborative process of *doing accounting*. Accounts will be explored in §2.3.2, and justifications in §2.3.3.

2.3.1 Facework

Heritage (1988) and Robinson (2016) have both noted that the function of accounts (and remedial work as a whole) is in order to 'save face'. Indeed, Goffman's (1971a) chapter on *Remedial Interchanges* draws upon and extends ideas first presented in his earlier paper, *On Face Work* (Goffman 1967b [1955]), therefore remedial work should not be discussed without considering facework. I thus begin by presenting Goffman's (1967b [1955]:5 emphasis in original) definition of face:

> *face* may be defined as the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact

While Goffman introduced face as a sociological concept, it has received much attention in linguistics (Matsumoto 2009) following Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) work on linguistic politeness. This thesis does not consider Brown and Levinson any further but it does discuss Goffman's sociology of everyday life and facework in greater depth in terms of the methodological framework (§3.2.2) and in relation to the preference for agreeability and the preference for inter-activity (Chapter 6).

2.3.2 Accounts

The study of accounts in the CA literature can be traced back to Sacks' first lecture of Fall 1964, when he comments that "Accounts are most extraordinary" (Sacks 1995:4). Similarly, Scott (1993) acknowledges that the term 'accounts' was first used by Sacks and a group of fellow Berkeley students writing doctoral dissertations under Goffman. According to Scott's report, Sacks referred to Scott's dissertation on 'restoration talk' as a type of 'accounting practice', and that "the study of such practices was the core concern of 'ethnomethodology'" (Scott 1993:x). Given that the study of accounts can be traced back to Sacks, the founder of CA, and to Goffman, the author of 'Remedial Interchanges' (1971a), it is unsurprising that accounts have a home within both CA and interpersonal pragmatics. In this section, I discuss Goffman's (1971a) description of accounts in relation to remedial work before going on to consider the work of Scott and Lyman (1968) and their impact on subsequent literature exploring accounts. It is worth noting that much of the accounts literature considers classifications and taxonomies (see Benoit 1995; Schönbach 1980, 1990; Scott & Lyman 1968; Semin & Manstead 1983; Tedeshi & Riess 1981) as opposed to addressing accounts as they occur in real talk (Antaki 1994; Heritage 1988; Robinson 2016). This section therefore takes an inter-disciplinary approach to explore how accounts work in talk-in-interaction.

Goffman (1971a) regards accounts as a device for doing remedial work and describes them in detail according to five distinguishable factors. For the purposes of this thesis, they are summarised briefly in Table 2-2. This ranked typology will be drawn upon in Chapter 5.

***Table 2-2** - Goffman's (1971a:139–142) typology of accounts*

Accounts
A1: Accounting for something which didn't occur or when the wrong person has been accused
A2: Acts that the individual admits to doing
Admitting to foreseeing consequences
A3: Agreeing that an act has occurred however mitigating for the act
Could not reasonably have been asked to act in any other way
Claim not to have facilitated the action
A4: Claiming reduced responsibility for the accused act
Claim mitigation based on sleepiness, drunkenness, youthfulness, druggedness, lack of training, mental deficiency and so forth
A5: Fully competent
Able to desist from performing the action
Unmindful or ignorant of consequences

A1 is the strongest of the pleas available to an offender and A5 the weakest, however all can be used to argue mitigating circumstances for a virtual offence. Goffman notes that the more an actor of a virtual offence can argue mitigating circumstances, the more it can be established that the act is not to be taken as an expression of the actor's moral character, thereby saving the face of the actor. Goffman considers 'good' accounts and 'bad' accounts. While 'good' accounts are successful in reducing the fault of the speaker, truthfulness doesn't necessarily have any impact on the success of an account, as Goffman (1971a:143) states: "True accounts are often good, but false accounts are sometimes better". In this thesis, the 'truth' of accounts will not be examined. Instead, the focus of analysis will be the ways in which initial interactants provide accounts.

Scott and Lyman's (1968) influential paper was the first to explore accounts in detail. They define an account as "a linguistic device employed whenever an action is subjected to valuative inquiry. Such devices are a crucial element in the social order since they prevent conflicts from arising by verbally bridging the gap between action and expectation" (Scott & Lyman 1968:46). Similarly, Robinson (2016:12) notes that accounts are employed in order to repair the gaps created by breaching expectations, but recognises that providing an account "rarely ever completely or quickly erases the moral transgression". So, despite the inability to totally erase a virtual offence, providing an account demonstrates recognition that an offence may have occurred due to the breaching of expectations, and aims to remedy the social relationship through the use of "a statement made by a social actor to explain unanticipated or untoward behavior"

(Scott & Lyman 1968:46). Another influential outcome of Scott and Lyman's (1968) paper is the separation of accounts into two subordinate categories – *excuses* and *justifications*. Since the publication of their paper, accounts have subsequently been broken down further with the addition of six more subordinate categories. As justifications were the most common account type found in the data set, justifications will now be explored in further detail.

2.3.3 Justifications

Thus far, the focus of §2.3 has been relatively broad, focusing on remedial work and accounts. Now the focus narrows to examine justifications. Firstly, the eight subordinate categories of accounts will be explored briefly to better understand the characteristics of justifications. Scott and Lyman (1968) separated the term 'accounts' into two subordinate terms: excuses and justifications.

One distinction that can be made between justifications and other forms of accounts is the temporal positioning of the account in relation to the potentially offensive action. By the nature of justifications, individuals manage their social breaches by accounting for their behaviour *after* the act has occurred. Nichols (1990) divides account types into eight subcategories and organises them into four that precede the offence (*disclaimers*, *pretexts*, *explanations* and *neutralizations*) and four that come after it (*admissions*, *excuses*, *justifications* and *denials*). It is worth noting that the terms referring to 'admissions' and 'denials' (in Nichols' terms) can also be referred to as 'concessions' and 'refusals' (Schönbach 1990). Given this difference in terminology, both terms are included in Figure 2-1 which provides a visual representation of the subcategories of account types as seen in the literature. The diagram shows bold lines, to emphasise the two main category types discussed throughout the accounts literature with the focus of this thesis (justifications) highlighted in red.

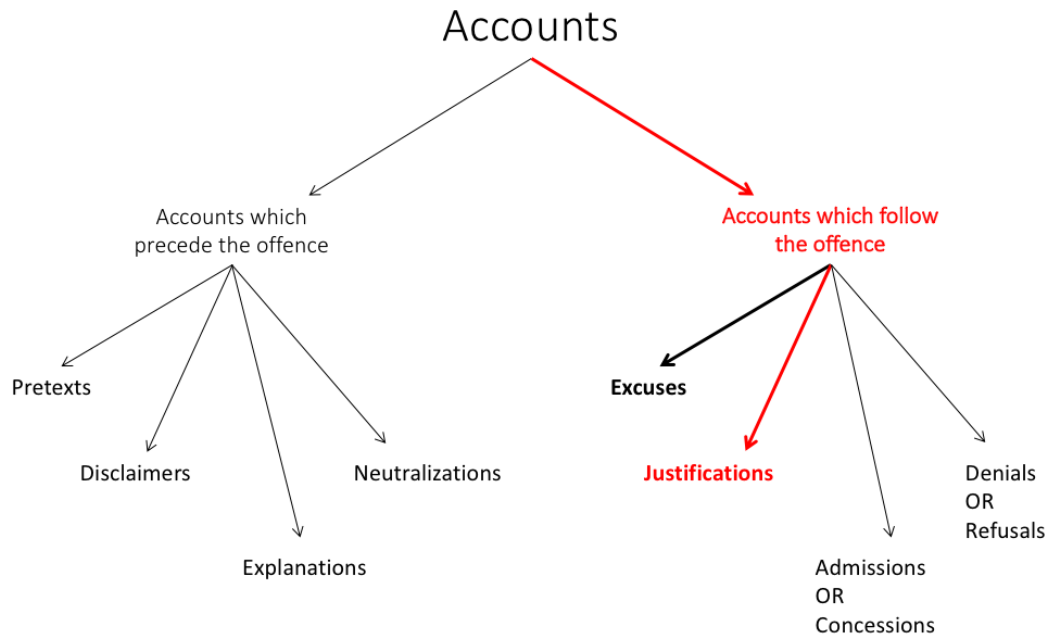


Figure 2-1 *- Subtypes of account (adapted from Antaki (1994), Nichols (1990) and Schönbach (1990))*[1]

Despite later additions of concessions[2] and refusals[3] (Schönbach 1990), it is the distinction between justifications and excuses which is the most significant within the literature (Schönbach 1980, 1990; Semin & Manstead 1983; Tedeshi & Riess 1981). Semin and Manstead (1983) provide specific and systematic details for the labels of justification and excuses which were updated from earlier studies (Schönbach 1980; Tedeshi & Riess 1981). Once again, the contents of this table will be used where relevant in Chapter 5.

[1] Although, these categories are numbered in a similar way to the accounts in Table 2-2, the justifications in Table 2-3 are not ranked.
[2] A concession refers to the admission of a violation of normative expectations held by others. This account structure acknowledges the negative aspect of an offensive event but without expressing any involvement (Schönbach 1990).
[3] Refusals refer to the outright denial of an action and may involve the denial of the event occurring at all, or the responsibility of the speaker (Schönbach 1990).

***Table 2-3** - Semin & Manstead's (1983) typology of justifications (simplified in Antaki 1994:50)*

Justifications
J1: Claim that effect has been misrepresented
Denial or minimization
J2: Appeal to principle of retribution
Reciprocity of harm
Derogation of victim
J3: Social comparison
J4: Appeal to higher authority
Powerful person(s) commanded
Institutional rules stipulated
J5: Self-fulfilment
Self-maintenance or self-development
Conscience
J6: Appeal to principle of utilitarianism
Law and order or self-defence
Benefits outweigh harm
J7: Appeal to values
Political, moral or religious
J8: Appeal to need for facework
Face maintenance
Reputation building

Justifications can be defined as exonerations which accept responsibility for the act but give permissible reasons (Antaki 1994:47). Similarly, Scott and Lyman (1968:47) define justifications as "accounts in which one accepts responsibility for the act in question, but denies the pejorative quality associated with it". Justifications differ from excuses in the respect that they accept the responsibility or blame for an action, whereas excuses deny responsibility.

2.3.4 Collaborative Accounts

There does not appear to be much existing literature considering collaboratively providing accounts. However, some definitions suggest that one participant could account on behalf of another as, for example, in the definition considered previously (§2.3.2) from Scott and Lyman (1968:46, emphasis in original): "by an account, then, we mean a statement made by a social actor to explain unanticipated or untoward

behavior – whether that behavior is his *own* or that of others, and whether the proximate cause for the statement arises from the actor himself or from someone else".

Similarly, Goffman (1971a:138, emphasis added) also suggests that "when an interactional offence occurs, *everyone* directly involved may be ready to assume guilt and to offer reparation". Goffman indicates that the responsibility of a virtual offence belongs to more than just the single agent of the offence. However, his wording of "everyone directly involved" is ambiguous – it could refer to everyone directly involved in the interaction, or everyone directly involved in committing the virtual offence (if the virtual offence were 'committed' in coalition with another interactant). Therefore, it could be read that Goffman has hinted towards a possibility for the 'offended' interactant (as a participant involved in the interaction) to provide an account on behalf of the actor of the virtual offence. Condor, Figgou, Abell, Gibson and Stevenson (2006) discuss the joint responsibility of participants when policing, correcting and managing charges of prejudiced talk. In their discussion of multi-party interaction, they suggest that the overwhelming focus on speakers accounting on their own behalf may be a result of the fact that a lot of research explores contexts in which only two people are interacting. However, in their instances of accounting on behalf of another, the individual doing the accounting is somehow 'attached to' or 'responsible for' the individual who caused the potentially offensive act, such as a spouse, family member or even a host on a TV chat show.

Robinson (2016) has argued that there is a preference for self-accounting, akin to the preference for self-correction (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977). He suggests that there is support for this due to the work on the soliciting of accounts when an account is 'missing'. These solicitations include waiting for an account to be provided, initiating a repair sequence, providing an opportunity for the 'initial speaker' to provide an account (Robinson 2009) or for the actor of the accountable action to provide an account (Couper-Kuhlen 2012) and only upon failure of these, explicitly asking for an account to be provided with why-interrogatives (Bolden & Robinson 2011) and disaffiliative account solicitations (Robinson & Bolden 2010).

There thus appears to be a current gap in the literature as there does not seem to be any existing literature considering other types of collaborative account. This thesis

begins to fill that gap with the introduction of two collaborative account types: ACCOUNT-FORS (§5.2.1) and ACCOUNT-WITHS (§5.2.2).

2.4 Summary of Review of Existing Literature

The literature discussed in this chapter will be referred to throughout the thesis. The literature on initial interactions (§2.1) is relevant for any discussion of the data collected for this thesis. The literature on (dis)affiliation (§2.2) will largely be referred to in Chapter 4 where (dis)affiliation is discussed in greater depth. Finally, the accounts literature (§2.3) will be put to use in Chapter 5 in the analysis of collaborative remedial work. In Chapter 6, the key areas of the thesis and previous literature will be discussed together in order to discuss the preference for agreeability and the preference for inter-activity in relation to both CA and the interaction order.

Chapter 3 – Data and Methodology

3.1 Data Collection

The data for this study comprises a set of initial interactions between unacquainted Brits and Americans. The data collection was designed based on Haugh's Australian corpus of initial interactions, between Australian and American initial interactants. The data set for this thesis also forms part of a larger intercultural corpus of initial interactions data across varieties of English (for other studies using the initial interactions data sets see: Flint 2016; Flint et al under review; Haugh 2010, 2011, 2015, 2016, 2017a, 2017b; Haugh & Carbaugh, 2015; Mitchell & Haugh 2015). Therefore, the data collection method was replicated to create a parallel British data set. All participants volunteered to take part in the research and were informed that the interactions would be video and audio recorded. Participants were presented with an information sheet and completed an extensive consent form before taking part in the study.[4] The data collection was advertised across a variety of platforms including university e-mails, announcements on virtual learning environments, flyers and through social media. American students were also approached at various welcome events for study abroad and international students, including orientation sessions. None of the volunteers were informed of the purpose of the study beyond an initial brief which introduced the topic in very general terms as a linguistic study investigating initial interactions between unacquainted individuals. All participants were instructed to have a conversation with someone they were unacquainted with. In this initial briefing, it was explained that the interaction could be of any length and on any topic(s). Due to this deliberately vague briefing, the lengths of the interactions vary from 18 minutes to 73 minutes. All interactions were both audio and video recorded to be able to undertake a multimodal analysis.[5] One participant did not consent for video data to be shown to anyone outwith the research team working on

[4] Full ethics approval has been granted for this study from York St John University (Ethical Approval Gained - 160919_Merrison_000000203_BS).

[5] Immediately after the interactions, all participants also took part in a post-conversation interview consisting of six questions designed to canvass opinions on the success of the interaction. Although the interviews are not referred to within the current study, they make up part of a larger data set for future projects.

the initial interactions data set, the video data is not presented here. The transcription of gesture has been included, however.

Participants were paired based on their availability. The only other contributing factor which affected the pairing of participants was whether the participants were previously acquainted. Because of this, there is an imbalance in the number of same/mixed gender dyads (four women–women interactions and two men–women interactions).

Ten participants took part in the six interactions: six Americans (participating in just one interaction each), and four Brits (with two of the Brits taking part in two different interactions and two taking part in one interaction each). All participants were undergraduate students at the time of participation and were of a similar age (between 18–21). All of the American participants were undertaking a study abroad semester in the UK and at the time of the recording were very new to the UK. None had any intentions of staying in the UK beyond the semester. The American participants were studying at different home universities across the U.S. All the British participants were undergraduate students from the same institution. The participants were studying different courses and were from various years of study.

One main benefit of using initial interactions is that the entire history of the social relationship between participants is available to analysts. Although the conversational data collected for this thesis is not 'naturally occurring', I argue that it provides legitimate data of unacquainted individuals doing getting acquainted for the purposes of research. Similarly, Wolfson (1976:202, emphasis added) writes that:

> The important point to be made here is that there is no single, absolute entity answering to the notion of natural/casual speech. If speech is felt to be appropriate to a situation and the goal, then it is *natural in that context*.

Therefore, since the talk is appropriate for the context of initial interactions in a university research setting, then the talk can be considered natural and authentic data for the purposes of this study.

3.2 Frameworks for the Thesis

This section provides a brief insight into the methodological choices taken for this thesis. First, this section discusses CA as a sociological methodology. Then, a Goffmanian approach to the interaction order will be briefly introduced, before completing this chapter with a brief overview of the fusion between these two methodologies to investigate remedial work in initial interactions.

3.2.1 Conversation Analysis

CA as a methodology is not statistical nor motivational in its design. Instead the CA framework is structural and is achieved through investigating the sequential patterns of spoken interaction. The microanalysis of the organisation of talk began when sociologist, Harvey Sacks, began exploring talk enabled by recording technology that was not previously available. The roots of CA stem from Garfinkel's ethnomethodology and Goffman's interaction order (see §3.2.2).

The main focus of early CA considered the structure of talk, analysing features such as turn-taking (Jefferson 1972; Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974), sequence organisation (Schegloff 1968; Schegloff & Sacks 1973), repair (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977; Jefferson 1987), and word selection (Sacks & Schegloff 1979; Schegloff 1996a, 2007b, 2007c). However, over recent years there has been a shift from the machinery of talk to the situatedness of talk. Applications of CA have recently been applied to various institutional and social-problem oriented studies (see Antaki 2011). For example, CA has been applied in studies exploring feminist social theory (e.g. Kitzinger & Frith 1999), interacting with adults with intellectual disabilities (e.g. Antaki et al 2008) and medial interactions (e.g. Heritage & Robinson 2011). This shift has also allowed the fields of CA and interpersonal pragmatics to be applied to see a fuller picture of interaction and interactants. This thesis applies a data-driven microanalysis to explore social issues leading to macro-social impact and to provide empirical evidence to Goffman's interaction order.

Sequence organisation is perhaps the most useful of the four pillars of CA to this study of accounts as Antaki (1994:69) notes that "to respond to what has just been said, people have to have understood its significance, and must be aware – at some level –

that the different responses available to them will take them in different directions". Another important concept for this study is the CA notion of preference – the structural notion relating to the systematic bias of certain structures (preferred) over others (dispreferred) (adapted from Clift 2016b; Levinson 1983).

This thesis has used the classic CA method of building a collection of instances of phenomena in order to construct the analysis (see Schegloff 1996b). This involves systematically collecting instances of the phenomenon in question and analysing all of the instances in order to make observations on the ways that each is systematically built. For this thesis, three sub-collections were built, one each for *affiliation, disaffiliation* and *nonaffiliation*. These collections will be discussed in Chapter 4. The focus of Chapter 5 will be firmly on the collection of 15 disaffiliations across the data set. The extracts collected show an entire sequence from the initial affective stance (plus any relevant background information or pre-sequences to the initial affective stance) through to the end of the account sequence (whether this ends in affiliation, topic shift or stepwise topic transition).

Ultimately, the CA method is concerned with the interactional consequences of turns upon talk-in-interaction. To complement this, the second framework for this thesis builds upon the consequences of turns, to become concerned with how these consequences affect not only structural aspects of subsequent turns, but also interpersonal aspects of social relationships. It is to this interpersonal framework that we turn in the next section.

3.2.2 A Goffmanian Approach to Interpersonal Interaction

Following the CA-informed analyses of Chapters 4 and 5, the main framework invoked in Chapter 6, will be Goffman's notion of facework, remedial work and the interaction order. Lemert (1997) described Goffman as undoubtedly one from the most influential sociologists of the 20th century, as is made evident by his influence on various disciplines outwith sociology. Goffman's work is referred to as the sociology of everyday life (Lemert 1997). Given his focus on the sociology of the 'ordinary' and the 'mundane', his ideas align perfectly with the microanalysis of mundane conversational

interaction which is the focus of many CA studies. Goffman's influence on disciplines outwith sociology has been recognised by Hymes (1984:630), who argued that:

> In a period in which linguistics was stumbling from syntax into semantics and discourse, and sociology was reeling from renewed zeal for qualitative analysis of interaction, he [Goffman] saw clearly from the beginning what the meeting point would have to be, and that for all the charm and fascination of linguistics, the ground in which the linguistics of social life could flower would have to be sociological ground.

According to Hymes, Goffman's sociological ideas not only made an impact within linguistics, but they also saw the meeting point between sociology and linguistics and lay the groundwork to fuse linguistics with the sociology of everyday life. Some have criticised Goffman, suggesting that "he had no replicable method" (Lemert 1997:x). This is an understandable critique of Goffman's work, however, his ideas can be applied to CA. Goffman's interaction order is a theme of importance in this thesis. Summarising his own work, Goffman (1983b:2, emphasis in original) stated the following:

> My concern over the years has been to promote acceptance of this face-to-face domain as an analytically viable one – a domain which might be titled, for want of any happy name, the *interaction order* – a domain whose preferred method of study is microanalysis

The notion of the interaction order plays a crucial part of the discussion of preference in Chapter 6. Drew and Wootton (1988) have said that the interaction order was not merely a technical order made up of rules of mechanisms for interaction, such as those typically seen in CA, instead, these technical mechanisms are of significance when they are used as vehicles for participants' 'moral enterprises'. Goffman argued that the study of interaction is a legitimate concern as a branch of sociology, and that it can contribute to other sub-fields of that discipline (Drew & Wootton 1988; Goffman 1983b). There are two other highly influential concepts from Goffman that will be considered in great depth in this thesis: *remedial work* and *facework* (see §2.3).

3.2.3 Summary of Frameworks

It is evident from reading Goffman's work that he recognised the layers of functions of individual acts (Lemert 1997) and that he "understood, at some basic level, that social relations were […] organized" (Lemert 1997:xxxiii). Through recognising layers of function and the organisation of social relationships, Goffman began conceptualising the microanalysis which is fundamental to CA. Heritage (1998:2) noted in his work on CA in institutional settings that Goffman's influence allows conversation analysts to begin with the notion that "interactional rights and obligations are linked not only to personal face and identity, but also to macro-social institutions". Although Heritage is concerned with institutional interactions here, the notion of actions linking to face and identity, and then to wider society is something which is only occasionally considered in the CA canon. Given that various methodologies are applied to the study of interpersonal pragmatics, the merging of microanalysis with macro-social impact is one which can surely provide further insight into the pragmatics of everyday life. The discussion of the CA and pragmatics fusion will be continued in §6.3.

Chapter 4 – Doing Affiliation, Disaffiliation and Nonaffiliation

In this chapter, the terms *affiliation*, *disaffiliation* and *nonaffiliation* will be defined and explored in relation to the literature discussed in §2.2 and the initial interactions data set discussed in §3.1. Through the development of new definitions, this thesis presents a fresh understanding of how interactants *do* (dis)affiliation. Throughout this chapter, extracts will be provided to operationalise the definitions and to demonstrate the complex nature of (dis)affiliation.

This chapter considers stancetaking as an emergent feature of interaction and presents the complexity of identifying stances. It also makes connections between (dis)affiliation and (dis)agreement. Most of the themes relating to (dis)affiliation as a whole will first be addressed in §4.1 in order to fully define affiliation before exploring disaffiliation in §4.2 and nonaffiliation in §4.3. The analysis in this chapter provides the necessary groundwork for investigating the justificatory-accounts which follow disaffiliations (see Chapter 5).

4.1 Doing Affiliation

Before discussing the remedial work done following disaffiliations, it is necessary to have a comprehensive definition of disaffiliation. And to fully understand how people *do dis*affiliation, 'affiliation' must first be explored. Here, key areas of doing affiliation will be addressed, including turn design and sequence organisation (in particular, preference in conversational sequencing), stancetaking, and multimodality.

Stivers (2008:35) discusses affiliation in relation to the displayed support and endorsement of a teller's conveyed stance. Although this provides the foundation of the discussion of affiliation, it does not fully capture affiliation due to some problematic issues. These definitions come from Stivers' work on nodding as a means of doing affiliation in storytelling. Given the storytelling context of Stivers' work, it is unsurprising that her definitions of affiliation largely refer to storytelling interactions; as Stivers was considering the stance of a *teller*, her definition is suitable for a storytelling context. However, Stivers' definition is not broad enough to capture other types of interaction.

The importance of *displaying* support for a stance is made clear in Stivers' work. In this thesis *displayed* or *ostensible* support is of great significance when considering the affiliative and disaffiliative sequences in initial interactions. Mitchell writes that "affiliation is the *orientation* to, *acceptance* of, and *support* of some prior producer's claims" (2016:37, emphasis added). Prior to providing his definition, Mitchell notes the problematic nature of considering affiliation in terms of stancetaking, and, as a result of this, the terms *stance* or *affective stance* do not feature in his definition. Instead Mitchell uses the term 'claims' in his definition and avoids the potential issue. He does not include what I argue is an essential element of affiliation, namely, that the stancetaking element of affiliation is fundamental and therefore *must* be considered. Mitchell's definition also contributes towards creating a foundation for this discussion, as it is clear from detailed analysis that there are three levels leading to the action of affiliating. However, Mitchell's definition will be adapted to better describe the affiliating action.

Rather than considering the *orientation* to a claim, instead I will discuss *alignment* towards a stance. There are several reasons for this. First, alignment refers to the structural level of cooperation (Stivers et al 2011:20), whereas orientation merely involves some awareness of the delivery of a stance. The definition I offer here differs from previous definitions (such as Stivers 2008, Stivers et al 2011) as I argue that affiliation (and disaffiliation) requires more than mere orientation; it should enable the progressivity of the stancetaking action though a structurally fitted next turn, which, in the case of affiliation, is a similar stancetaking action. A next turn without aligning towards the stancetaking action should be termed a *nonaffiliation* (see §4.3). Furthermore, *alignment* is frequently discussed in the CA literature on sequence organisation (see Mitchell 2016; Schegloff 2007a; Stivers 2008; Stivers et al 2011) in comparison to the lack of definitions regarding the term *orientation*, thus making alignment a more fitting term. 'Alignment' here implies the structural level of co-operation in relation to an ongoing action, however here I recognise that actions are often embedded and that stancetaking actions are often emergent from other actions. For this reason identifying aligning actions can be troublesome, as many actions may look as if they are alignment so some action in the talk (e.g. stancetaking and storytelling, orienting to stancetaking may be to affiliate or disaffiliate, but to align with the storytelling providing minimal response tokens would be considered to be aligning). Therefore, for the purposes of this thesis 'alignment' refers to the action category

conforming response (Mitchell 2016:37), and in instance of affiliation the action that is being responded to is a stancetaking action.

Given these potentially problematic issues in Stivers' (2008) and Mitchell's (2016) definitions, this thesis presents a further developed understanding of affiliation as being the *alignment* with, *acceptance* of and *support* towards a prior producer's conveyed affective stance. These components of affiliation are represented in Figure 4-1 as a process of steps.

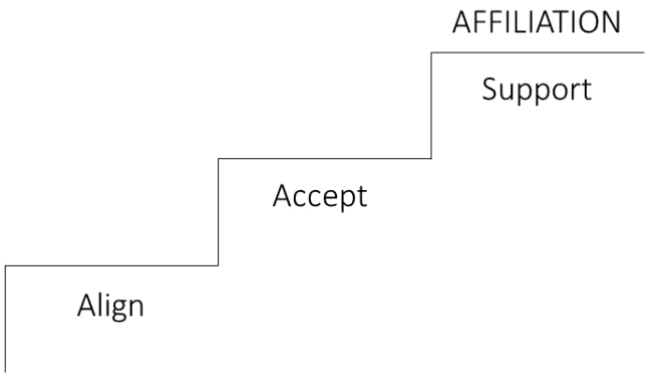


Figure 4-1 *- Three components of affiliation*

The components are presented in this format as the first component, *alignment*, must necessarily be achieved before *acceptance* or *support* can be done. Similarly, *acceptance* must be present to be able to demonstrate *support* of a stance. Put simply, I argue that all three components must be present to categorise an action as 'affiliation'. Although Figure 4.1 displays the steps towards affiliation as three separate components, the steps can be achieved in one single leap. For example, showing support necessarily also displays acceptance and alignment. This is demonstrated in E4.1, as Al (a Professional Writing student) and Bridget (a Linguistics student) affiliate on their shared appreciation of the author, Tolkien and his novel, *The Hobbit*.

Extract 4.1 – BritAm01: 23:20

```
1   Bri:   >so I'm like< a <hu:ge> Tolkien n[erd                ]1=
2   Al:                                      [((nods and smiles))]1=
3          =[>yeah<  ]2
4          =[((nods))]2 [((continues nodding))]3
5   Bri:                [like my dad raised me]3 on Tolkien and then
6          (.) like [I have an illustrated copy]4
7                   [((nods slowly))           ]4
8          of The Hobbit that is [what-]5
9   Al:                          [    I]5 KNEW
10         [I liked you           ]6=
11         [((puts hands palm up))]6=
12  Bri:   =((raises arms in the air))=
13         =YAAA[↑::Y↑]7=
14  Al:          [XXXXX]7=
15  Bri:   =<CON[Nectio:n>                                      ]8
16               [((makes fist pumping gesture with both hands))]8
17         hhh.
```



E4.1 demonstrates all three components of affiliation in just two actions. The first is accepting (and therefore also aligning) at lines 2-4, where Al nods as Bridget approaches a TRP. Al's nodding at line 2 echoes the observations by Stivers who notes that in storytellings nods are frequently used in mid-telling position or at points before a participant should display their stance (Stivers 2008: 33). After Bridget completes her TCU (at the end of line 1), Al latches his turn "`>yeah<`" whilst continuing to nod. Al's actions from lines 2-4 not only *align* with Bridget's emergent stance of liking Tolkien (emergent stances are discussed below), but also *accept* Bridget's stance on Tolkien,

and demonstrate the early signs of a *supportive* action. Despite uttering only one word, Al completes two of the necessary components for affiliation. Of course, affiliation is not only achieved linguistically, but also through nodding, as Stivers (2008:31) suggests that a nod claims epistemic access to a teller's stance. Al's nod performs some measure of access to and understanding of Bridget's liking of Tolkien, but he also displays endorsement of this stance, which Stivers considers to be affiliative.

At lines 9-11, Al exclaims "I KNEW I liked you". Through claiming this, Al explicitly displays support towards Bridget's stance by positively assessing her. Whilst uttering this turn, Al raises his hands, palms up towards Bridget (Figure 4-2). Following this, Bridget uses a similar gesture as she raises her arms in the air (Figure 4-3) before explicitly recognising the "<CONNectio:n>" between herself and Al.



Figure 4-2 *- Al's gesture whilst explicitly demonstrating support of Bridget's stance*



Figure 4-3 *- Bridget's gesture following affiliation*

The observation of repetition in affiliation sequences is one which is limited in the literature on affiliation (see Flint at al under review), however it is a pattern frequently observed throughout this collection of affiliation in initial interactions. (I do not claim, however, that it is a necessary feature of affiliation sequences.) Figure 4-2 and Figure 4-3 demonstrate gestural repetition, however repeated linguistic elements can also be found in doing affiliation.

One issue arising from the analysis of E4.1 and existing work on (dis)affiliation in the existing literature, is the understanding of affective stances. Ochs (1996:410) defines affective stance as "a mood, attitude, feeling, and disposition, as well as degrees of emotional intensity vis-à-vis some focus of concern". Ochs' definition highlights that the key components of affective stances are *mood, attitude, feeling* and *disposition.* Although this definition provides relevant components of an affective stance, it does not give any indication of *how* these stances are delivered in interaction.

One possible way to approach the analysis of affiliation sequences is simply to observe all affective stances uttered by a speaker. However, identifying affective stances in conversational data is a complex issue. Du Bois (2007) provides the following clear example of an affective stance (previously shown as E2.2).

Extract 4.2 –SBC015: 187.025-188.070 – *Deadly Diseases*

KEN: I would love to go:.

Often affective stances are not so easy to identify. In E4.2, there is an explicit affective predicate (love). As the affective predicate is clearly observable here, identifying the affective stance is a relatively simple task. However, in E4.3, the affective stance comes about through some other action. This I will be calling an 'emergent affective stance'.

Extract 4.3 – BritAm06: 44:30

1 Aid: [do you ever listen to cla:ssical music?][1]
2 **[((shakes head))** **]**[1]
3 Bri: ye↑a:h↑ I do: my erm .pt (0.3) I'm a huge fan of
4 Fantasia? °ya know the° Disney (.) films they did kind of
5 um (0.9) >they're ↑re:a↑lly good actually< they (.) did
6 like >animated sequences to pieces of classical music<
7 so Rhapsody in Blue's on [there][2]
8 Aid: [OH:][2]
9 [I lo:ve Rhapsody in Bl[ue][3]][4]
10 **[((nods head))** **]**[4]
11 Bri: [it'][3]s am(h)a:zing!
12 (0.5)
13 Aid: >I learned it on piano [a few years a[go<][5]][6]
14 **[((nods head and smiles))]**[6]
15 Bri: [oh][5] ↑WOW↑
16 Aid: °°yea[h°°][7]
17 Bri: [<o:h][7] my go:d> >I'm s:o jealous [right now<<][8]
18 Aid: [ha hh hhh ha][8]
19 Bri: I don't have the hand eye °coordination to play piano°
20 °°I really wish I did°°



E4.3 contains two 'emergent' affective stances. The first is emergent from Aiden's information solicit at line 1. The second emerges through an explaining action, as Bridget explains Disney's Fantasia to Aiden. In both cases the interactants are doing actions which are not explicitly affective stancetaking actions, however affective stances *emerge* from these actions and are understood as such by the other participant. The extract has been split into the two emergent affective stances. E4.3a shows the first of these emergent affective stances.

Extract 4.3a – BritAm06: 44:30

1	Aid: →	[do you ever listen to cla:ssical music?][1]
2		**[((shakes head))** **]**[1]
3	Bri:	ye↑a:h↑ I do: my erm .pt (0.3) I'm a huge fan of
4		Fantasia?



E4.3a presents the display of an emergent affective stance in a question.[6] It is worth noting that the question is not asking for Bridget to provide an affective stance, instead it asks for the epistemic information regarding whether or not Bridget listens to classical music. Aiden's FPP is designed with a preferred 'yes' response. Given this turn design, an epistemic stance is displayed that Aiden does listen to classical music. As Aiden suggests that he listens to classical music, an affective stance can emerge from this, namely that Aiden likes classical music. Following this question, Bridget provides a preferred SPP at line 3 ("ye↑a:h↑"), followed by the information that she is a fan of Disney's Fantasia providing evidence for her claim. Following this, Bridget provides an emergent affective stance which is presented in E4.3b.

Extract 4.3b – BritAm06: 44:30

3 Bri: → ye↑a:h↑ I do: my erm .pt (0.3) I'm a huge fan of
4 Fantasia? °ya know the° Disney (.) films they did kind of
5 um (0.9) >they're ↑re:a↑lly good actually< they (.) did
6 like >animated sequences to pieces of classical music<
7 so Rhapsody in Blue's on [there]²
8 Aid: [OH:]²
9 [I lo:ve Rhapsody in Bl[ue]³]⁴
10 **[((nods head))**]⁴
11 Bri: [it']³s am(h)a:zing!
12 (0.5)



[6] Although the headshaking at line 2 could be analysed as being a significant action in displaying Aiden's own stance, this headshaking action is something which Aiden does frequently throughout the data. It will therefore not be treated as interactionally significant here.

At line 5, Bridget assesses Fantasia as being "↑re:a↑lly good" before going on to provide further information regarding the content of the film. An increment is added at line 7, stating that "Rhapsody in Blue's on there" which functions not only as a telling but also as an emergent affective stance. Following this, Aiden provides a clear, explicit affective stance on lines 8-10 saying "OH:I lo:ve Rhapsody in Blue" and nods. Bridget's turn at line 7 can be understood as an emergent affective stance as she explains an element of a film which she has already provided a positive assessment towards. Given this understanding, and the evidence that Aiden orients to this as an affective stance, it will be treated as an emergent affective stance.

In the collection of (dis)affiliation sequences, affective stances have emerged through the following actions: self-disclosure, storytelling, information solicits, questions, epistemic stances and assessments. (While this list represents the observations in the data set, it does not claim to provide and exhaustive list). A sample of these sequences are presented (though not discussed in any further detail) here[7].

Extract 4.4 – BritAm01: 23:20 – *Epistemic Self-Disclosure*

1 Bri: >so I'm like< a <hu:ge> Tolkien n[erd][1]=



[7] Audio data only for E4.5.

Extract 4.5 – BritAm04: 05:42 – *Epistemic Storytelling*

5 Amy: → I'd been to Germany but that was=
6 Bec: =[ooh][3] I love Germany
7 =**[((claps hands))]**[3]



Extract 4.6 – BritAm06: 55:54 – *Information Solicit*

1 Bri: → are you going to ↑the↑ lake district at any point?



These extracts begin to provide some further examples of when affective stances can be emergent through other non-stancetaking actions. In some cases, the affective stance is emergent through other stancetaking actions. Three stance types are illustrated in Figure 4-4 along with appropriate definitions taken from the literature.

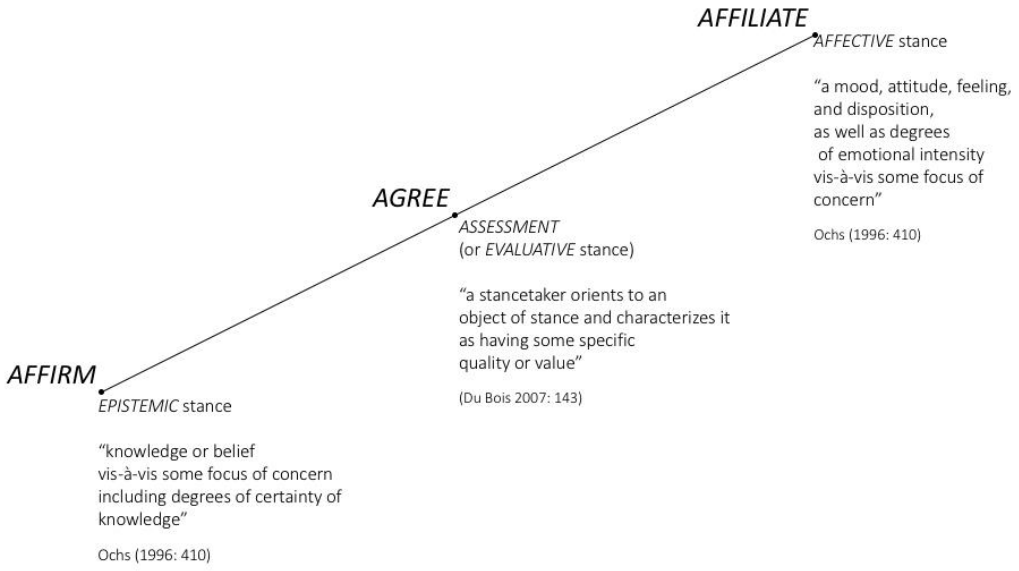


Figure 4-4 *- A view of stancetaking (adapted from Du Bois (2007) and Ochs (1996))*

Figure 4-4 represents the cline from objectivity to subjectivity of the three key stances for this thesis. Epistemic stance sits at the bottom of this diagram due to its objective nature as epistemic stances concern facts, knowledge and certainty. Figure 4-4 also presents the preferred SPP for each stance (above the line). In the case of epistemic stances, the preferred SPP is an 'affirmation'. Assessments occupy the middle of this cline as they are neither purely objective nor subjective by nature. They are more objective than affective stances as they evaluate a stance object, however an evaluation can sometimes be subjective (e.g. describing the weather as 'rainy' is an assessment which is objective, whereas describing the weather as 'horrible' is an assessment which is subjective). Du Bois (2007) characterises assessments (evaluative stances) as the evaluation or characterisation of a stance object regarding some specific quality or value. The preferred SPP in the case of an assessment is an agreement – a phenomenon which has been explored at great length both in CA (see Pomerantz 1984; Sacks 1987) as well as pragmatics (the dispreferred SPP, disagreement, was the subject of Angouri & Locher's 2012 special issue of the *Journal of Pragmatics*). Finally, affective stances are placed at the top of this diagram given the purely subjective nature of referring to mood, attitude or feeling.

An important observation that has come out of investigating the literature is that (dis)affiliation sequences have often been misidentified as (dis)agreement sequences.

Figure 4-5 demonstrates the differences between (dis)agreement and (dis)affiliation, considering both the CA and stancetaking literature.

$$\left(\begin{bmatrix} Evaluative\ Stance\ 1 \\ Assessment\ 1 \end{bmatrix} \cong \begin{bmatrix} Evaluative\ Stance\ 2 \\ Assessment\ 2 \end{bmatrix}\right) \rightarrow AGREEMENT$$

$$(\{Affective\ Stance\ 1\} \cong \{Affective\ Stance\ 2\}) \rightarrow \text{"}\sout{agreement}\text{"}$$

$$(\{Affective\ Stance\ 1\} \cong \{Affective\ Stance\ 2\}) \rightarrow AFFILIATION$$

$$AGREEMENT \not\equiv AFFILIATION$$

Figure 4-5 *- The distinction between agreement and affiliation (Flint et al under review)*

Flint et al (under review) discuss the difference between affiliation sequences and agreement sequences. They suggest that an affective stance followed by a similar affective stance should not be called agreement (as it is often referred to in lay terms) but rather *affiliation*. Flint et al (under review:6) note that "it is crucial for participants (and thus analysts) to recognise these different types of stances [(affective and evaluative)] as they arise in interaction in order to fit responses that are either affiliative or agreeing". Figure 4-5 thus attempts to represent the structure of affiliation sequences in comparison to agreement sequences.

Finally, this section considers 'the preference for affiliation' (Clift 2016a; Flint 2016; Flint et al under review; Stivers 2008). Affiliation and disaffiliation sequences will be presented to show the preferred nature of doing affiliation over disaffiliation (E4.7 demonstrates the preference for affiliation, E4.9 and E4.10 demonstrate the dispreferred nature of disaffiliation). The preferred nature of affiliation is presented in E4.7 which features Becky asking Amy whether she has visited England prior to studying abroad.[8]

[8] Audio data only.

Extract 4.7 – BritAm04: 05:42

1 Bec: ever [been ta England before?][1]
2 **[((gestures palm down to table))]**[1]
3 Amy: [hm][2]
4 **[((head shake))]**[2]
5 → I'd been to Germany but that was=
6 Bec: → =[ooh][3] I love Germany
7 → =**[((claps hands))]**[3]
8 Amy: ↑YA↑ really?
9 Bec: Germany is my sort of the place that we go as a holiday as
10 a fa[mily][4]
11 Amy: [rea][4]lly where?



In E4.7, Becky asks Amy whether she has visited England. From lines 3-5, Amy says that she has not, but that she has visited Germany. At lines 5-6 there is latching between Amy's answer and Becky's affiliative response "ooh", followed by an explicit affective stance as Becky says, "I love Germany". Alongside this explicit affiliation, Becky claps her hands as she produces her response token. Becky produces her explicit affective stance so quickly after Amy's emergent affective stance. This provides further evidence to demonstrate that there is a clear preferred nature of producing an affiliative turn (see Clift 2016a; Flint 2016). This drastically contrasts with the disaffiliation sequences analysed in §4.2.

Through the analysis of extracts taken from the initial interactions data set and discussing the existing literature, this section has addressed several issues in analysing

affiliation. However, the main purpose for this in-depth analysis of how people *do* affiliation is to better understand how people *do dis*affiliation. This I do next.

4.2 Doing Disaffiliation

This section explores disaffiliation as an interactional phenomenon. As many of the fundamental issues regarding *affective stances*, *emergent stancetaking* and the relationship between *agreement* and *affiliation* have been explored in §4.1, this section will build upon these fundamental notions and further explore the definitions, preference structure and turn design of *disaffiliations*.

In §2.2.3, previous definitions of disaffiliation were discussed; here, some of those definitions will be considered further and in relation to the definitions of affiliation discussed in §4.1. Heritage's original, yet broad, definition of disaffiliation suggests that disaffiliative turns are "destructive" of social solidarity (Heritage 1984a:269). The destructive nature of disaffiliation is rarely argued against, however it does not fully capture the nature of the phenomenon. What is missing from Heritage's definition is the inclusion of stance, which later definitions have included. Clift (2016a) and Mitchell (2016) provide richer definitions of disaffiliation, for example Clift (2016a:74) notes that disaffiliative turns express "disapproval of, or distance from, another's perspective". Although stance is not mentioned here, Clift considers it in some detail, noting that affiliation endorses a stance, whereas disaffiliation expresses disapproval of, or distance from, a 'perspective' or 'stance'. Disaffiliations are necessarily collaborative due to the need for two (or more) stances in order to disaffiliate, therefore both stances will be discussed throughout this analysis, not just the second (disaffiliative) stance.

Similarly, Mitchell (2016:37) describes disaffiliation as the non-acceptance of a prior stance. Although this would fit with the definition of affiliation operationalised in this thesis, Mitchell's definition does not consider the aligning components of disaffiliation. Therefore, I propose the approach of the stepwise structure as in §4.1. Disaffiliation is the *non-acceptance* and *non-support* of the stance, however in order to disaffiliate, I argue that the affective stance must still be *aligned* with. Only one of the three steps towards affiliation is completed. Without aligning with the stance, there is a

noticeable absence of a fitted next turn; this I will refer to as *nonaffiliation* (see §4.3). In E4.8 the alignment component of the disaffiliation will be explored, as well as the lack of acceptance and support. The emergent nature of stancetaking will also be discussed further, as the initial affective stance is delivered in the form of an assessment. In this extract, Bethan is telling Abby of her plans to travel during the university break.

Extract 4.8 – BritAm02: 06:44

1 Bet: I think me and my friend are going to Ireland [feh]1
2 Abb: [mm hm]1
3 **[((nods))]1**
4 (.)
5 Bet: Easter [˚spring break˚]2
6 **[((air quotes))]2**
7 Abb: **[((nods and smiles))]2**
8 Bet: her:her:hehhh.
9 (.)
10 Bet: I think I think I'm gonna drive tah Ireland we're gonna go
11 to:: the Guinness factory=
12 Abb: =mm:=
13 Bet: =becos (.)beer is nice [hehhhehhehheh]3
14 Abb: [hahahaa]3 (.) you see I can't
15 drink beer at all and that's what everyone drinks here
16 [and I'm just like]4
17 Bet: [yea:h]4
18 Abb: [˚<~eew~>˚]5
19 **[((slight head shake))]5**



In E4.8, Bethan tells Abby about her travel plans. Abby aligns with the telling action through minimal response tokens such as "mm hm" and "mm:", as well as non-verbal

alignment tokens as Abby nods in a mid-telling position at line 3 (see Stivers 2008). At lines 10-11, Bethan says that she and her friend are planning on going to Ireland to visit the Guinness factory. Abby aligns with this, but displays neither acceptance nor support. At line 13, Bethan provides an assessment of beer. This assessment evaluates beer as stance object according to the value of taste, and from this assessment, an affective stance that Bethan likes beer is emergent. According to Pomerantz (1984), the aligning next turn would be a second assessment. However, Bethan's assessment is responded to with an epistemic telling, ultimately ending with an affective stance. Clark writes that "*Uptake is evidence of understanding*" (1996:200 emphasis in original), and here we see the assessment is responded to with an epistemic telling and an affective stance rather than a typically more fitted second assessment (Pomerantz 1984). Abby's uptake thus displays this understanding of an emergent affective stance from Bethan as Abby provides an affective stance at lines 14-19. This SPP begins as an epistemic stance as Abby claims that she "`can't drink beer at all`". Following this, Abby states that everybody '`here`' drinks beer. This TCU is designed from the outset to go past the point of possible completion to offer preliminary information before providing the final increment of the TCU which delivers the affective stance concerning Abby's dislike of the taste of beer. Abby's affective stance aligns with the emergent affective stance at line 13, however it neither accepts nor supports Bethan's beer-drinking stance and so, is disaffiliative. Instead, Abby makes a comment on the popularity of beer-drinking and her inability to join in with beer-drinking activities, as she "`can't drink beer`", and her reason for this inability to drink beer is due to the taste being "`°<~eew~>°`", unequivocally displaying her lack of support for beer-drinking.

E4.8 also demonstrates the dispreferred nature of disaffiliations, compared to affiliations (discussed in §4.1). It has been observed that affiliative SPPs are delivered very quickly following a TRP, or sometimes in overlap with the affective FPP, and these affiliative SPPs are often indicated through the aligning turns in mid-telling position (see Stivers 2008). Similar to E4.8, the following extract demonstrates the delays and markers of an upcoming disaffiliative turn. Prior to this extract, the pair have learned that they are both novel writers and that Bridget writes fantasy novels. In E4.9 Bridget and Al are discussing Al's current writing project.

Extract 4.9 – BritAm01: 33:03

1 Bri: what are you writing (.) what's er: (.)
2 [>if you don't mind<][1]
3 **[((raises hand))** **]**[1]
4 Al: er yeah=
5 Bri: =°saying?°
6 Al: er it's also fa:nasy? [actually][2]
7 Bri: [°oh °>okay<°°][2]
8 Al: um and li[ke I like to write other][3] things as we[ll][4]
9 **[((moves hands to his right))]**[3]
10 Bri: [yeah][4]
11 Al: but fantasy is my main: (0.3) intrest [so,][5]
12 Bri: [it's][5] more fun?
13 Al: h. ye[ah hh.][6]
14 Bri: [less][6] rules. more drag[ons hehheh hehh][7]
15 Al: [haHAH <ye(h)a(h)h>][7]
16 ↑act↑[ually,(.)][8]=
17 **[((grimace))]**[8]=
18 =[unfortunately like (.) I love dragons][9]
19 =**[((open palm gesture and looks down))** **]**[9]
20 but (0.4) I- I >feel like I could never put a dra↓gon↓ in
21 anything I write because [[it's (just)][10] < so. overdone][11]
22 **[((slight head shake))** **]**[11]
23 Bri: [°very ha:rd°][10]



In this extract, Bridget asks Al about his writing. Al aligns with this and says that he also writes fantasy. Bridget has previously stated that she writes fantasy, so the pair have revealed that they share a common interest in writing the same genre of fiction. Al says that he also likes to write other genres, but reiterates his preference towards fantasy writing. At line 12, Bridget evaluates writing fantasy as being "more fun", which, given that she has already self-disclosed that she is a fantasy writer and Al has just stated that fantasy is his "main: (0.3) intrest", appears to be a relatively safe assessment. At line 14, Bridget says "less rules. more dragons". This turn is not built as an affective stance, however, as with E4.8, an affective stance is emergent here: that Bridget has a negative affective stance concerning rules and a positive affective stance towards dragons, given that she has previously stated that fantasy writing is "fun". Following this, Al laughs in overlap with Bridget's laughter before saying "<ye(h)a(h)h>" with interpolated laughter particles which demonstrates initial weak affiliation with Bridget's stance. This indexes the beginning of the markers of an upcoming dispreferred turn. Al's next turn begins with a TCU-initial "↑act↑ually" and a micropause (see Clift 2001). Clift recognises that 'actually' in a TCU-initial position in informings generally implies that "something has just occurred to the speaker" (2001:288). She also considers the interactional consequences of when "actually" is placed in a TCU-initial position, noting that it may be heard as confrontational, interruptive and indicates that the upcoming material is "at odds" with the previous talk (2001:288).

At this point, as per much of the CA work on preference and sequence organisation (see Pomerantz 1984; Pomerantz & Heritage 2013), it is clear to see that there is an upcoming dispreferred turn. Following this, there are further markers and delaying devices. Altogether there are 12 markers of the upcoming dispreferred turn. These markers include pauses functioning as delays, gestures such as a grimaced face (Figure 4-6) and open palms and looking down (Figure 4-7).



Figure 4-6 *- Al's grimace immediately prior to providing a disaffiliative affective stance*



Figure 4-7 *- Al's gesture immediately prior to providing a disaffiliative affective stance*

As well as pauses and gestures, various lexical units function as delays including "like" used as a hesitancy marker and "I-" used as a restart of the dispreferred affective stance. Other lexical units also function as markers of the dispreferred nature of the upcoming turn – items such as "unfortunately", "I love dragons" and "but".

The next extract (E4.10) similarly demonstrates the dispreferred nature of disaffiliations where markers indicate the dispreferred nature of disaffiliating, a phenomenon which has occasionally been discussed in the literature on disaffiliation (Clift 2016a; Flint 2016; Flint et al under review) and elsewhere suggesting there is a preference for a 'matched stance' (Pomerantz 1984; Stivers et al 2011). In E4.10, Bridget and Al continue to talk about writing fantasy and fiction, focusing largely on writing styles.

Extract 4.10 – BritAm01: 38:58

1	Bri:	an- but people re reading fantasy or fiction anyway LIKE
2		[long sentences to get lost in.][1]
3		**[((moves arms in waving motion))]**[1]
4		(0.6)
5	Al:	oh. ri[ght?][2]
6	Bri:	[or at][2] least I do.
7		(.)
8	Al:	↑hu↑h.
9		(0.3)
10	Bri:	but I think like (0.4) because I was saying you can't have
11		a sentence more than three lines long
12		(0.5)
13	Al:	[mmm][3]
14	Bri:	[when][3] you are <writin:g> (0.6) <<acaDEMic>> (0.5) <like
15		as in an ana- an analytical or whatev[er][4]
16	Al:	[°mh][4][mm°][5]

17 Bri: [>but<][5] (0.8)
18 you've got a bit more of a freedom (.) <in terms of what
19 you write> (0.5) when you >yuh know< when you've got (0.6)
20 when you're >>taking people< on
21 [a journey<][6]
22 **[((moves hand a circular motion))]**[6]
23 because as long as the sentence has a point.
24 (0.4)
25 Al: mhmm=
26 Bri: =that's the main thing?
27 Al: maintaining the flow is the important thing? (0.5) but like
28 hh (0.8) like conciseness is a maj(h)or hehu hhh (.)
29 [lik(he)e][7]
30 Bri: [yeah][7]
31 Al: r(he)u(he)le of
32 (0.6)
33 Bri: yea[h][8]
34 Al: [of][8] writing. (.) °but yeah I (0.3) unders[tand.°][9]
35 **[((nods))]**[9]
36 (0.5)



In this extract, the markers of an upcoming disaffiliative stance take place over a larger time frame than those in E4.9. The extract begins with an epistemic stance as Bridget claims that people reading fantasy like long sentences. Here, the first marker of an upcoming disaffiliative turn from Al is in the form of a silence at line 4, however the disaffiliation is not delivered until line 27. Following the first marker, Bridget reformulates her turn from being an epistemic stance to an affective stance using an increment at line 6. Over the sequence, 15 markers of the upcoming dispreferred turn are displayed prior to the ultimate disaffiliation. While this sequence presents the most

extreme case within the collection, it does represent the highly dispreferred nature of disaffiliating (the preference for affiliation will be discussed in relation to E4.9, E4.10 and E5.1a-d). Over the course of this sequence there are silences and various lexical items which display an upcoming disaffiliation. The first of these, "oh. right?" (at line 5), is delivered as an aligning response to a telling action however it is uttered in the place of a (dis)affiliative turn, therefore delaying the (dis)affiliative action. Similar units that align with an already completed action come later at line 16 "°mh mm°" and line 25 "mhmm=". These responses align with the action but do not explicitly display acceptance or support with the stance. However, at this point, they also do not show *non*-acceptance or *non*-support. The open-class repair initiator "↑hu↑h." is used at line 8, indicating a trouble source. Enfield et al (2013) and Robinson (2006) have noted that 'huh', along with other open-class repair initiators (e.g. 'I'm sorry'), are often used to display issues in hearing and understanding but are less likely to be found in issues regarding alignment, agreement and affiliation compared to "what?" repair initiators. In this instance, "↑hu↑h." is used to indicate a trouble source. Following a silence, Bridget provides further explanation of the affective stance taken at line 6, which she does at lines 10-11. As well as the silences and aligning turns as displays of an upcoming dispreferred, there are also markers of the disaffiliative stance immediately before it is uttered at line 27. This is done using a 'preferred-plus-dispreferred' turn shape ("maintaining the flow is the important thing? (0.5) but like hh (0.8) like conciseness is a maj(h)or [...] r(he)u(he)le of [...] [of][8] writing."). The first part of this turn is preferred as Al summarises and repeats Bridget's prior turn, however this is then followed by "but" and a dispreferred unit. This sequence will be examined in further detail in E4.13. Along with the turn shape, other delaying features are used, such as pauses mid-TCU and hesitancy markers such as "like". Pomerantz (1984) initially identified these turn shapes in relation to dispreferred disagreeing assessments, however the same principle is applicable to disaffiliation sequences. It is also possible that this pattern obtains even more generally in other dispreferred action sequences. It is for this reason, therefore, that I put forward that we should more generally be talking of 'preferred-plus-dispreferred' turn shapes rather than the much more restrictive 'agreement-plus-disagreement' turn shape.

E4.9 and E4.10 demonstrate the dispreferred nature of disaffiliating in sequences where the interactant providing the disaffiliative stance already knows that it will be

disaffiliative. However, not all disaffiliation sequences play out in this way. E4.11 shows a disaffiliation sequence that occurs following an information solicit and when a response is given here, it is not known whether that stance will affiliate or disaffiliate with the unspoken stance of the participant soliciting the information. In E4.11, Bethan is completing a telling with an affective stance and Anna affiliates with this stance. Following this Bethan solicits information from Anna in line 9.

Extract 4.11 – BritAm03: 09:28

1	Bet:	and they give ya free tea and ( ) I love tea I mean
2		[I'm British][1]
3		**[((shrugs shoulders))]**[1]
4	Ann:	I mean I love tea too so [so][2]
5	Bet:	[goo::d][2] see you'll be fine
6		here then
7	Ann:	and I've [been putting milk in my tea][3] every morning
8		**[((puts hand in front of her))]**[3]
9	Bet:	↑yeah↑ how many sugars are you on at the moment though?
10	Ann:	[I don't put any in [my tea][4]][5]
11		**[((waves finger))]**[5]
12	Bet:	[no sugar?][4]
13	Ann:	**((nods))**
14	Bet:	**((holds hand to face then palm out to Anna))**
15		°okay° (.) we'll allow it because you've only been here for
16		a week
17	Ann:	I- I normally put sugar in it I just didn't get any today



E4.11 begins with a clear affiliation sequence as Bethan offers a positive affective stance on tea and Anna responds with the same affective stance demonstrating very

clear alignment, acceptance and support. Here, the stances are similarly structured ("I love tea" from each), demonstrating the use of repetition in affiliation (cf. §4.1). Following this affiliation sequence, Anna explains that she has "been putting milk in my tea every mornin", which perhaps refers to Bethan's prior turn noting that tea-drinking is a predicate activity for the membership category of being "British" (Sacks 1972, 1995). Anna's explanation demonstrates that she is taking part in an activity which is assumed to be assigned to the British category, and further affiliates with Bethan's stance and, ultimately, with her British culture. At line 9, Bethan asks Anna how many sugars she has in her tea. This information solicit is promptly responded to epistemically as Anna asserts that she does not put sugar in her tea. This turn is delivered as a preferred turn due to the form of the sequence as it aligns with the information soliciting action, however it is not until line 12 that there is any indication that this turn was in fact (unknowingly) a dispreferred turn, due to Bethan's own affective stance on liking sugar in tea (cf. Merrison 1998 on 'mutations'). Bethan's stance is taken through jocular mocking of imitating being hurt by Anna's opposing stance (see Haugh 2010, 2017a, 2017b; Haugh & Bousfield 2012). She indicates this through holding her hand up to Anna (see Figures 4-8 and 4-9).



Figure 4-8 *- Bethan holds her hand to her face*



Figure 4-9 *- Bethan holds her hand up to Anna*

As shown in Figure 4-8, Bethan initially holds her hand up to her mouth after hearing Anna's stance on not putting sugar in her tea. This mock offence continues as Bethan holds her hand out to Anna (Figure 4-9). Following these gestures, Bethan mockingly indicates that Anna's 'offence' is allowed as she is new to the UK. This extract varies from many of the disaffiliations in the collection due to the mocking nature of this sequence. Despite their infrequency, it is equally important to consider disaffiliation sequences which do not follow the standard structure. This is particularly important given the small size of the collection of initial interactions, as a low frequency in a small collection may not be entirely representative of all talk-in-interaction.

E4.9 and E4.10 are more representative of the disaffiliation sequences in the initial interactions disaffiliation collection and both have a 'preferred-plus-dispreferred' turn shape. E4.12 and E4.13 also demonstrate this turn shape.

Extract 4.12 – BritAm01: 33:03

```
16  Al:   ↑act↑[ually,(.)  ][8]=
17              [((grimace))][8]=
18    →   =[unfortunately like (.) I love dragons][9]
19        =[((open palm gesture and looks down)) ][9]
20        but (0.4) I- I >feel like I could never put a dra↓gon↓ in
21        anything I write
```



E4.12 displays the 'preferred-plus-dispreferred' turn shape in the delivery of a disaffiliative stance. The affiliative unit of this turn at line 18 displays a clear affective stance as Al says, "I love dragons", immediately followed by an emphasised "but", indicating an upcoming connected yet contrastive second unit. This is followed by a 0.4 second pause which is not at a TRP as this TCU was designed from the outset to complete the disaffiliative action which is done at lines 20-21. However, it is worth noting that the initial preferred unit also follows some markers of a dispreferred turn ("↑act↑[ually,", "**[((grimace))]**", "unfortunately like"), however this is an incomplete and abandoned TCU. Therefore the 'preferred-plus-dispreferred' TCU begins with the preferred element, but follows an abandoned TCU which may have already given some indication of an upcoming dispreferred turn.

E4.13 is built with a similar shape, even using some of the same key lexical items to build the turn.

Extract 4.13 – BritAm01: 38:58

```
27  Al: →  maintaining the flow is the important thing? (0.5) but like
28         hh (0.8) like conciseness is a maj(h)or hehu hhh (.)
29         [lik(he)e]7
30  Bri:   [yeah    ]7
31  Al:    r(he)u(he)le of
32         (0.6)
33  Bri:   yea[h ]8
34  Al:       [of]8 writing. (.) °but yeah I (0.3) unders[tand.°  ]9
35                                                      [((nods))]9
36         (0.5)
```



At line 27, Al rephrases Bridget's prior turn at talk, however he does this very loosely, and says "maintaining the flow is the important thing?", which is followed by 0.5 seconds of silence. Although this TCU is possibly syntactically complete here, the intonation suggests that the turn was designed from the outset to go past this point of possible completion. As with the prior extract, 'but' is used to introduce the dispreferred unit of the 'preferred-plus-dispreferred' turn shape. During the production of the disaffiliative stance, Al displays hesitancy in delivering the dispreferred turn as he pauses, repeats "like" and laughs during his turn at talk. Bridget does not laugh with Al in this instance, therefore indicating that this may be an example of Al 'laughing at' Bridget (Glenn 2003). Clift notes that laughter in disaffiliative sequences may be used to treat the prior turn as laughable (Clift 2016a). Similarly, Clayman (1992) considers laughter (as well as other audience behaviours, such as booing) in relation to political speaker–audience interactions. He suggests that audience laughter is produced to display a perspective on a stance, such as expressing disapproval of or disassociation

from the speaker. Here, Al laughs while delivering a disaffiliative stance. Here a similar usage of laughter has been identified in speaker–audience political interaction (Clayman 1992) and mundane interaction. Bridget does not respond to the laughter, but instead aligns with Al's action, "effectively sequentially deleting" the laughter (Clift 2016a:76). Following the full production of the disaffiliative stance, Al refers to the affiliative action by claiming that he understands Bridget's stance.

E4.14 (previously discussed as E4.11) shows a disaffiliation built without this 'preferred-plus-dispreferred' turn shape. This is explainable due to the sequential environment prior to the 'disaffiliative' action as the responsive turn was produced before knowing that the stance would be disaffiliative.

Extract 4.14 – BritAm03: 09:28

```
9   Bet:   ↑yeah↑ how many sugars are you on at the moment though?
10  Ann:   [I don't put any in [my tea   ]4]5
11         [((waves finger))               ]5
12  Bet:                       [no sugar?]4
```



At line 10, Anna does not know that her stance could be interpreted as disaffiliative and so, in terms of functioning as a response to an information solicit, the turn is delivered in the preferred format. However, when considering this as a disaffiliation sequence, the delivery of this stance is unlike most others within the collection.

Many of the issues discussed in this section, along with relevant themes from §4.1 on affiliation, will be discussed further in Chapter 5. In the next section, nonaffiliation is explored as the noticeable absence of affiliation and disaffiliation.

4.3 Doing Nonaffiliation

The final section of this chapter is concerned with a particular type of noticeable absence. The importance of observing noticeable absences regarding any phenomenon is to demonstrate what other actions could occur in their place. In this section, then, I consider *nonaffiliation*, a term I use to refer to the noticeable absence of responsive affective stancetaking actions. Although this thesis is not primarily concerned with nonaffiliation, I argue that we should be interested in the absence of (dis)affiliation to better understand the phenomenon of disaffiliation. Here, then, nonaffiliations are explored due to the creation of a collection of (dis)affiliation sequences. Besides the two sub-collections of affiliation and disaffiliation sequences, a smaller sub-collection was observed. This collection presents sequences displaying a noticeable absence of affiliation. These cases will be referred to as 'nonaffiliations'. Referring to Figure 4-1 presented in §4.1, the discussion will now briefly focus on when all three components of affiliation are not present.

Nonaffiliation refers to the lack of alignment, acceptance and support following an affective stance. It concerns not an observation of a phenomenon, but rather the observation of a lack of affiliation or disaffiliation. I argue that these absences should be noticed and investigated. Analysing nonaffiliation in conversational sequences presents difficulties as we are observing the lack of a phenomenon. Consequently, often long extracts must be presented in order to observe and demonstrate the noticeable absence of (dis)affiliation. Nonaffiliation can be seen in E4.15 as Becky tells Amy about her emotional and distressing experience of learning to drive at the age of 17.[9]

[9] Audio data only.

Extract 4.15 – BritAm04: 15:31

1 Amy: what about you
2 Bec: I got my provisional license [on my seventeenth birthday][1]=
3 **[((flicks both hands down))]**[1]=
4 =[it arrived][2]=
5 **=[((flicks both hands down))]**[2]=
6 =and I had my first driving lesson [on my seven][3]=
7 **[((chopping action))]**[3]=
8 =teenth birthday=
9 Amy: wo[::w][4]
10 Bec: [erm][4] (1.0) didn't ever (0.3) I drove for months didn't
11 like it because I got so stressed out [I don't know why][5]
12 Amy: [(haaahaaahuuu)][5]
13 Bec: but [it was stressing me out so much I thought][6]
14 **[((moves hands from head to table))]**[6]
15 (0.7) not worth it=
16 Amy: =[hahaha][7]=
17 Bec: =[hahuh][7]=
18 Amy: =did you get a [normal license][8]
19 **[((puts hands on table pointing at Becky))]**[8]
20 at >what is it< like at eighteen here
21 (0.8)
22 Bec: er:m: [you:][9]
23 Amy: [>or is it seventeen<][9]
24 Bec: you can get a (.) [full driving][10]
25 **[((draws circle))]**[10]
26 license at seventeen



From lines 2-15, Becky tells Amy about her experience. During this telling Amy aligns with the storytelling action (Stivers 2008) and laughs. However, despite the aligning action during mid-telling, demonstrating cooperation at the structural level, Amy does not affiliate, and so does not establish cooperation at the affective level (Stivers et al 2011). At line 18, at the end of Becky's telling, an opportunity to offer an affective stance arises, but instead of offering either an affiliative or disaffiliative stance, Amy asks about the required age for gaining a full driving license. As Amy embarks on a new sequence, the (dis)affiliation sequence is abandoned, resulting in what I refer to as a 'nonaffiliation'. As can be seen from Becky's response at lines 24-26, Becky aligns with Amy's new action and provides the epistemic information Amy has asked for. A similar pattern is seen in E4.16, as Abby and Bethan talk about British and American buildings.

Extract 4.16– BritAm02: 20:25

1	Abb:	I like the architecture here >it's really nice<=
2	Bet:	=[m[m][1]][2]
3		=**[((nods))]**[2]
4	Abb:	[li][1]ke everything >no offence< looks really o:ld on the
5		outside but really modern on the inside like=
6	Bet:	=yeah.
7		(0.4)
8	Abb:	like when you (.) go places >at least in New York °for me°<
9		if it looks old on the outside it's going to look old on
10		the inside if it looks new on the outside it's going to
11		look new on the inside and there really is no:
12		[you know (.) in between][3]
13		**[((makes chopping gesture))]**[3]
14	Bet:	have you been in the minster
15		(0.3)
16	Abb:	no not yet=



In line 1 of E4.16, Abby provides her affective stance towards the buildings in the UK ("I like the architecture here >it's really nice<"). Bethan aligns with this through a nod and minimal response token "mm". As Abby's turn is a complete TCU and appears to be a completed action, at line 2 Bethan could have presented an affiliative or disaffiliative stance, however she does not give a stance of any sort. Instead, she only aligns qua recipient and Abby continues to explain her reasoning for her initial affective stance – possibly in pursuit of an affiliation. At line 14, Bethan introduces a topic transition and elicits information from Abby regarding visiting a local landmark. As with E4.15, multiple opportunities for displaying an affective stance are available (e.g. line 2, line 6, line 14), but there is a noticeable absence of affiliation or disaffiliation; instead there are relevant topic transitions.

In the extracts of nonaffiliation presented here, some initial observations have been noted (a larger data set would be required to consider whether these observations are in fact traceable across other interactions). First, from these extracts, there appears to be a pattern of relevant topic transitions, and in the case of the two extracts presented above, that topic transition has been done through an information solicit. A second point worth considering is whether the initial affective stance in a nonaffiliation *can* be affiliated with. For example, if a person has no epistemic access to a stance object, they would be unable to offer a stance, and so nonaffiliation would be expected. This, I argue, could relate to face: an individual may, understandably, not want to demonstrate their ignorance of a particular topic, so rather than displaying that they have no epistemic access, a topic transition can instead be offered to move the talk forward (see Chapter 6). However, in E4.15, Amy *does* have epistemic access to the experience of

learning to drive and in E4.16, Bethan *does* have epistemic access to knowing the architecture in the town she lives in. These extracts therefore clearly demonstrate noticeable absences of *disaffiliation*. Failing to do affiliation, interactants may seek epistemic information as a means of shifting the talk and displaying interest in the other participant. A possible explanation for nonaffiliations could be a preference for nonaffiliation over disaffiliation, and the layperson's notion of "if you have nothing nice to say, don't say anything at all", however, in the initial interactions data set alone, there is not enough evidence to make this claim. Although patterns have been observed, further research into nonaffiliations is much needed. Nevertheless, the avoidance of possible disaffiliation potentially offers yet further evidence in support of a *preference for affiliation*.

4.4 Summary of Operating Affiliative Work

This chapter has defined affiliation, disaffiliation and nonaffiliation in relation to existing CA, stancetaking and linguistic research discussed in §2.2. Chapter 5 will now operationalise these definitions in considering the remedial work sequences following the disaffiliations explored in §4.2.

Chapter 5 – Collaboratively Operating Remedial Work

This chapter concerns the ways in which initial interactants do remedial work. Here, I introduce four account types: SINGLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS, MULTIPLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS, ACCOUNT-FORS and ACCOUNT-WITHS. For each of the first three account types, one example of an extended disaffiliation-plus-account sequence will be presented and analysed in terms of remedial work. As there are three sub-types of ACCOUNT-WITH, one of each will be presented in order to demonstrate the full characteristics of that account type. The analysis will be supplemented with shorter extracts taken from the collection of disaffiliation-plus-account sequences from the initial interactions.

5.1 Individual Accounts: Overview

INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS are instances of remedial work where an individual provides an account for their own stance/behaviour/action which may have been construed as (potentially) offensive. They can be further subcategorised into two related types: SINGLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS and MULTIPLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS. Each will be discussed in turn. In simple terms, a SINGLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNT is an account which is provided by one interactant on their own behalf, accounting for their own offensive act. These are discussed in §5.1.1. MULTIPLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS are accounts where multiple interactants account on their own behalf, each accounting for their own offensive act. MULTIPLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS are discussed in §5.1.2.

5.1.1 Single-Individual Accounts

SINGLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS are the most frequent account type in the collection. It is this type that is discussed most in the existing accounts literature. However in this literature, SINGLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS are not given this name to distinguish them from other account types, presumably due to the lack of recognition of other account types. In the collection of 15 instances of disaffiliations followed by remedial work, 9 (60%) involve the use of SINGLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS.

SINGLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS are where an interactant accounts for their own stance/behaviour/action. The SINGLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNT sequences identified in the initial interactions data all consist of only one account, therefore these will be referred to as SIMPLE SINGLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS. However, the possibility of instances where one individual provides several accounts for their own stance could occur and these would then be referred to as COMPLEX SINGLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS. Although these figures are based on the account sequences following disaffiliations, the typical SINGLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNT sequence in Figure 5-1a-d represents the pattern of the sequence without using terms specific to the context of disaffiliation in order to be applied to other account sequences (besides disaffiliation).

Single-Individual Account

1. X commits a (potentially) offensive act
2. X accounts for X's (potentially) offensive act

Figure 5-1 - Single-Individual Account Sequence

Here, one extended SINGLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNT sequence will be analysed in depth, drawing upon observations from this extract and other SINGLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNT sequences in the initial interactions data set. E5.1a-d demonstrates the dispreferred nature of disaffiliating. The full disaffiliation-plus-account sequence is presented through the analysis of shorter sequences. E5.1a shows the sequence leading to the disaffiliation sequence, including Bethan's affective FPP and the relevant context.

Extract 5.1a – BritAm02: 34:41

1 Abb: [>˚shopping is a deadly habit˚< hmhu:h][1]
2 **[((slight head shake))** **]**[1]
3 Bet: [I jus][2]
4 **[((slight head shake))]**[2]
5 (.)
6 I've- (.) I've- I never onl[ine shopp][3]ed bef[ore][4]=
7 Abb: **[((nods))** **]**[3] [˚mm hm˚][4]=
8 Bet: =and then (.) I came to uni (.) an an my flatmate
9 >WHO's also called Bethan< **((holds out hand towards Abby))**
10 was like %>ah:: I've just bought this dress off Boohoo<% an
11 %ah: it's so nice% and %oh it doesn't fit me >>do you want
12 to try it on<<% and I was like **((holds hands palms up))**
13 >yeah ˚ah-˚ I'll try it o-on er< and we ju[st][5]=
14 **[((shrugs))]**[5]=
15 Abb: **[((nods))** **]**[5]=
16 Bet: =and she was like %aww look at [this site][6]
17 **[((points to table))]**[6]
18 on oh [you can you can buy this and this][7]
19 **[((points to table))** **]**[7]
20 and >I was like< %it's FREE DELI<V(h)ERY::>% (and) she's
21 like [%ye↑a::h↑%][8]
22 **[((exaggerated nodding))]**[8]
23 and I was like [%WHY WOULD YOU LEAVE THE HOU:S:E!%][9]
24 **[((raised eyebrows))** **]**[9]
25 hahuuh
26 Abb: [t'huhuh][10]
27 **[((holds head down laughing))]**[10]
28 Bet: it's jus (.)
29 [I- I've got all the apps on my phone][11]
30 **[((holds head in both hands))** **]**[11]
31 Abb: **((slight nod))**
32 Bet: [I've got about (.) ei:ght apps][12]=
33 **[((head still in hands))** **]**[12]=
34 Abb: =[hmm][13]=
35 =**[((nods))]**[13]=
36 Bet: =[and now I'm just like ˚↑uh↑˚][14]
37 =**[((hands in front of face))** **]**[14]
38 (.) >it's what I do with ma n[ight<][15]=
39 Abb: [hmm][15]=
40 Bet: =while everyone's [watching TV][16]
41 **[((stretches hand in front her face))]**[16]

42 I'm just there like
43 [>flick flick flick flick flick flick flick flick flick]^{17}=
44 **[((imitates swiping on a phone))** **]**^{17}=
45 =[flick flick<]^{18}=
46 =**[((continued imitated swiping on a phone))]**^{18}=
47 =[OOOO:::H? (0.3)]^{19}
48 =**[((points to hand))]**^{19}
49 [>buy< (.) °>flick flick flick° buy buy >°buy°<<]^{20}
50 **[((continued imitated swiping on a phone))** **]**^{20}
51 [it's j[us]^{21}]^{22}=
52 **[((shakes head))** **]**^{22}=
53 Abb: [mh hmm]^{21} =
54 Bet: =it's not g[ood]^{23}



The extract begins with Abby assessing shopping (the previous topic) as a "deadly habit" with a headshake. Bethan begins her telling of an experience of shopping as "deadly", which Abby aligns with at a possible TRP at lines 6-7. Bethan tells Abby of her introduction to online shopping from a flatmate (who experiences issues with ordering clothes that fit). This telling is done using reported speech (Holt & Clift 2007) and the use of 'putting on a voice' (indicated by % signs). This reported speech is introduced by a 'be-like' quotative, a typical framing device recognised in doing enactments in various varieties of English including American English (see Romaine & Lange 1991) and British English (see Holt 2007; Macaulay 2001; Tagliamonte 2009). The quotative 'be-like' at line 10 introduces the reported talk where Bethan 'shifts footing' to recount the words of her flatmate (Holt 2007). As the telling continues, Bethan 'enacts' both her flatmate and herself (see Holt 2007). Following the completion

of this telling, Bethan begins to laugh inviting Abby to laugh too, which she does at lines 26-27, bringing the sequence to a close (Holt 2010).

Bethan then introduces further evidence of her experience of shopping as "deadly", as she explains she has "all" of the apps on her phone, before attaching a quantifiable number (8) to this, demonstrating the extreme nature of her habit. This is intensified as Bethan claims that online shopping is what she spends her nights doing. The telling continues to demonstrate the extreme and "deadly" nature of doing online shopping as Bethan enacts the experience of searching through online shopping applications, before providing an assessment of "it's not good" at line 54. And, given that the stance object of this assessment is the anaphoric "it", it can be assumed that this refers to Bethan's habit of spending her night buying items online. In the next short extract (E5.1b), the disaffiliation and beginning of the account sequence is presented.

Extract 5.1b – BritAm02: 34:41

```
54  Bet:   =it's not g[ood ][23]
55  Abb:              [yeah][23] >I had to pull myself away from online
56         shopping< because I realised (0.6)
57         [I'm like really disproportionate?][24]
58         [((waves hands in front of body)) ][24]
59         (0.3)
```



In E5.1b, Bethan's assesses her online shopping habit (it's not good), which Abby agrees with. In this instance, there is therefore a clash of preference structures. Given that the prior turn form is an assessment, the preferred second is an agreement with that

assessment (Pomerantz 1984), but by agreeing with the negative assessment of the stance object (which Bethan has previously shown a positive affective stance towards) Abby disaffiliates through her emergent affective stance, through the lexical TCU at line 55 (`yeah`). On occasions such as this, the two preference structures clash and, based on the following remedial work sequence, I argue that the *preference for affiliation* outweighs the *preference for agreement*. This account sequence is initiated by Abby (the disaffiliator) as she explains that she "`had to pull`" herself away from online shopping. Abby thus demonstrates that she was previously an online shopper, but she forcibly stopped herself from partaking in the habit. Abby discloses a reason for her stopping online shopping following the "`because`" signalling an upcoming account. Throughout the collection, 'because' or 'cos' occurs in 13 out of the 15 instances of disaffiliation followed by a justification. Some of these instances are shown below.

Extract 5.2 – BritAm02: 32:12

```
20  Bet:    it (.) makes (.) no sense
21  Abb:    =mh[m ]⁶
22  Bet: →     [wh]⁶atsoever=>we skied< (0.6) er cos my family love
23          skiing
24  Abb:    °mhm°
25  Bet:    er:m we skied in BANFF: in near Calgary
26  Abb:    °mhm°
```



Extract 5.3 – BritAm06: 42:08

27 Bri: and so >I I do like some of their st[uff<][6]
28 Aid: **[((nods))]**[6]
29 (0.6)
30 Bri: → they're not exactly my thing because they're quite I find
31 them quite quite (clemeral) (.) >quite esoteric< kind of
32 very vacant
33 (0.3)
34 but I do like them



Extract 5.4 – BritAm06: 21:34

28 Bri: I like the horror where the blood's really obvious
29 [and fake][10]
30 Aid: [really?][10] haHUH
31 Bri: → yeah just because I can't handle suspense because I don't
32 like not kn- I don't like not knowing <what's going on> I
33 watched erm ALIen my dad's a huge Alien fan



In E5.1b, Abby frames her account as being an issue of her own body shape rather than attributing the blame elsewhere (e.g. online shopping companies). By potentially attributing blame to herself, Abby neatly shifts any offence away from Bethan and others associated with online shopping, thereby saving Bethan's face (Goffman 1967b [1955]). Noticeably, Abby does not attribute blame to online shopping brands, perhaps due to Bethan's prior positive affective stance towards online shopping. Instead of threatening the face of another, Abby potentially damages her own face by self-deprecating and calling herself "`really disproportionate`".

Following this there is a gap – a noticeable absence of affiliation – at line 59. This is perhaps attributable to the lack of options for Bethan to take at this moment; she cannot agree with the self-deprecation without being impolite, nor can she affiliate as she has previously clearly expressed that she enjoys online shopping (whereas Abby has claimed that her disproportionate body stops her from enjoying online shopping). These noticeable absences (in the form of silences) are frequently observed in the collection prior to the disaffiliative action. At the time of production these appear to be very similar to nonaffiliations, however as analysts we can see that they are followed by disaffiliations. Further examples of noticeable absences prior to disaffiliations can be seen in the short extracts below (the disaffiliations themselves are not shown in these extracts due to the length of the sequences).

Extract 5.5 – BritAm06: 07:35

10 Aid: =um (0.3) so that was one of the reasons >there were many<
11 that I came on the trip but (0.5) that was one of the ones
12 cos (.) I'm kind of addicted to the premier league so
13 → (0.3)
14 Bri: ah ↑right↑



Extract 5.6 – BritAm06: 02:28

3 Aid: er back (.) in the states I study [math.][1]
4 **[((eyebrow raise))]**[1]
5 → (0.4)
6 Bri: oh right >okay<



Extract 5.7 – BritAm05: 07:40

20 Ava: all these big car companies were there so like Detroit was
21 built you know to be based around everybody having
22 [their own CAR?][6]
23 **[nods][6]**
24 → (0.5)
25 Ava: and so it's very like [sprawled out][7]=
26 **[((hands spread further apart))][7]=**



E5.5, E5.6 and E5.7 are short extracts taken from disaffiliation-plus-account sequences. Throughout the collection of disaffiliation-plus-account sequences, the next turns following a noticeable absence of affiliation (prior to an upcoming disaffiliation) are generally split into two categories. The first type is represented in E5.5 and E5.6, as the other speaker provides a minimal response token such as "oh right". Typically, these minimal responses have a turn initial change of state token "oh" or "ah" (Heritage 1984b). The second subset shows a continued turn from the original speaker of the stance in the pursuit of affiliation. This is the case for both E5.1b and E5.7. In E5.7 this is achieved using an increment at line 24. Following the noticeable absence at line 59 of E5.1b, Abby also uses an increment to extend her turn. Her increment continues her account regarding sizing, as can be seen in E5.1c.

Extract 5.1c – BritAm02: 34:41

60 Abb: and everything I wear can be in different sizes (.) like
61 e:ven American sizes=
62 Bet: =˚˚mmm hm˚˚=
63 Abb: =[like my FEET][25]
64 **=[((points beneath the table to her feet))]**[25]
65 (0.4)
66 can fit in size nines=
67 Bet: =[WOA:H:][26]
68 **=[((eyebrow raise))]**[26]
69 Abb: or:: they fit in size >eight and a halfs<
70 Bet: **((quick nod))**
71 Abb: and it's never the sa[me][27]=
72 Bet: [yeah][27]=
73 **[((eyebrow raise))]**[27]=
74 Abb: =and it's normally the shoes that I would need a nine in
75 (.) that eight and a halfs [<DON'T fit>][28]
76 **[((taps table with hands))]**[28]
77 >like it's not even squishing in there<
78 (0.5)
79 Abb: so I can't buy shoes onli:ne
80 (0.6)



Abby extends her account further throughout E5.1c, however it ventures away from her initial framing of the trouble regarding online shopping. In E5.1b, Abby accounts for her disaffiliation because she is "disproportionate", however throughout E5.1c, the trouble appears to relate to inconsistencies in sizes across stores. Abby makes a case for the extreme nature of this problem at line 61, noting that this is not an issue of adapting

to a new sizing system in the UK, but "e:ven" American sizes are an issue. Abby goes on to provide an example of this from line 60 (shoe sizes). Bethan aligns with the telling action (lines 62, 70, 72), however at line 67, the minimal response action is misaligned as Bethan exclaims "WOA:H:" accompanied by an eyebrow raise. This is because Bethan has not taken into account the different sizing systems in the U.S. and UK – a UK size 9 is considered large (for women) whereas a U.S. size 9 is in fact a UK size 6.5. By line 70, Bethan's alignment token is far more minimal than her previous turn (which was misaligned due to lack of common ground regarding shoe sizing). Stivers (2008) notes that aligning actions were common actions during storytellings, and here it appears aligning actions are also common in remedial account sequences. This is further illustrated in E5.8, E5.9 and E5.10.

Extract 5.8 – BritAm02: 32:12

38	Bet:	.hh I've [(0.4) >never]10=
39		**[((puts hand over arm and puts hand down again]**10=
40		=been so cold in my entire life<=
41	Abb: →	=°mhm°=



Extract 5.9 – BritAm06: 07:35

35 Bri: [it doesn't matTA <it means the same thing>][10]
36 **[((holds hands out palms up))** **]**[10]
37 (0.3)
38 Aid: → <yeah>=



Extract 5.10 – BritAm06: 21:34

41 Bri: HAHUH (.h) erm: I mean >that's obviously in cinemas >but
42 like ya know<< (0.4) your parents should know better °than
43 to show you it when you were thi[rteen°][11]
44 Aid: → [hahaha][11] y[eah][12]
45 Bri: [.h][12] °my dad
46 did not°=
47 Aid: → =ye[ah][13]
48 Bri: [.h][13] heh



At line 75 of E5.1c, Abby states again that it is the fitting that is the trouble (rather than the initial framing of being disproportionate) stressing that the issue is that the shoes "DON'T fit", and closing the account sequence with an epistemic statement that she "can't" buy shoes online. Once again, this is followed by a noticeable absence, demonstrating a lack of stance movement on Bethan's part (cf. Flint et al under review). In E5.1d, the same issues regarding the source of the trouble regarding online shopping become relevant, before there is a topic transition regarding clothing sizes in the U.S.

Extract 5.1d – BritAm02: 34:41

81 Abb: [my pants[10]][29]
82 **[((gestures to thighs))]**[29]
83 (0.7)
84 I (0.4) er (.) I don't know how the sizing works
85 [here][30]=
86 **[((points right))]**[30]=
87 Bet: =hmm=
88 Abb: =[but in American sizing][31]
89 =**[((taps the table to her left))]**[31]
90 I can range from a [size thr↑ee↑][32]
91 **[((taps table her left hand))]**[32]
92 (0.5)
93 to a [size ↓ni:ne↓][33]
94 **[((taps table with her finger to her right))]**[33]
95 (0.5)
96 Bet: °hmm°
97 Abb: [and that entire spectrum][34]
98 **[((slides fingers across table))]**[34]
99 just depends on the store I go to >like Hollister< I'm a
100 size nine °like° and I think it's American Eagle
101 [>which is another American [brand][35]][36]
102 **[((holds hand out palm up))** **]**[36]
103 Bet: [>YEAH I've hear][35]d of them
104 yeah<=
105 Abb: =>>that does a lot of jeans<< and >I'm a size three and I'm
106 just like<

[10] When Abby says "pants" at line 81, she is referring to 'trousers' in British English, this may explain her gesture as she points to her legs as she is speaker to a British participant.

107 **((shrugs holding both palms up – lots of shoulder shrugging**
108 **for 2.0 seconds))**
109 %oh oka(hh)y.%
110 Bet: [[˚haha ˚][37]
111 Abb: [[hahaheh][37]



From line 88, Abby demonstrates her issue with online shopping as the extreme variability in size. She presents her potential sizes as a scale with the use of a timeline gesture, illustrated in Figures 5-2 and 5-3 (Flint et al under review) going from a size three, uttered with rising intonation, all the way to a size nine, which she utters with lower intonation, elongation and emphasis, stressing the extreme nature of the issue with clothes stores.



Figure 5-2 *- Abby begins scale moving her left hand towards the left of the table*



Figure 5-3 *- Abby finishes scale, moving her right hand further to her right*

At line 99, the issue of the attribution of blame arises again. Abby had previously attributed blame to her "disproportionate" body, however here, she claims that it "just depends on the store". This re-attribution of blame therefore displays that the initial framing may not have been true to the rest of the account. While the

phenomenon of reattributing blame is observed in this extract, as it does not occur frequently in the collection it will not be discussed at any further length in this thesis.

Abby concludes her account with gestures conveying confusion at stores followed by a disappointed "%oh oka(hh)y.%" said in a voice imitating herself. This is responded to with laughter from both Abby and Bethan. Following this there is a stepwise topic transition (Button & Casey 1985) as the pair talk about the clothes sizing system in the U.S., particularly discussing size zero. Holt (2010) has explored laughter and topic termination, noting that laughter is often used to close a topic, and following the laughter a topic transition or topic shift can occur. Many of the SINGLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNT sequences end in topic transition of some sort, as opposed to clear affiliation on the current topic, possibly in pursuit of the preference for inter-activity (see §6.3). In the next section, MULTIPLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS will be explored, providing a fuller picture of the nature of INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS before moving on to consider collaborative forms of remedial work.

5.1.2 Multiple-Individual Accounts

In this section, MULTIPLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS will be explored. To do this, one MULTIPLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNT will be presented and analysed in detail. MULTIPLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS are less frequent in the initial interactions data set than SINGLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS. Although less frequent, they still make up 3 of the 15 cases (20%) of disaffiliation in the collection, so they are certainly worth consideration. MULTIPLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS involve the provision of two (or possibly more in multi-party interaction) accounts in parallel with each other, as illustrated in Figure 5-4.

Multiple-Individual Account

1. X commits a (potentially) offensive act
2. X accounts for X's (potentially)offensive act
3. Y accounts for Y's (potentially) offensive act

Figure 5-4 *- Multiple-Individual Account Sequence*

In a typical MULTIPLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNT, participant X commits an offensive act – in the case of the disaffiliation sequences, X disaffiliates with Y's stance. However, as disaffiliations are necessarily collaborative due to the need for two (or more) stances in order to disaffiliate, both interactants can be considered responsible for the disaffiliation (see Iwasaki 2015). E5.11 is a case where Bridget and Al are each accounting for their own stance regarding their preferred writing style. Due to the extended nature of the account sequences, the extract will be broken up into five subsections. Each subsection is a SINGLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNT sequence, as MULTIPLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS are made up of sequences where each participant takes a turn to provide an account, giving an XYXYX structure to the interaction.

Extract 5.11a – BritAm01: 38:58

1	Bri:	an- but people re reading fantasy or fiction anyway LIKE
2		[long sentences to get lost in.][1]
3		**[((moves arms in waving motion))]**[1]
4		(0.6)
5	Al:	oh. ri[ght?][2]
6	Bri:	[or at][2] least I do.
7		(.)
8	Al:	↑hu↑h.
9		(0.3)
10	Bri:	but I think like (0.4) because I was saying you can't have
11		a sentence more than three lines long
12		(0.5)
13	Al:	[mmm][3]
14	Bri:	[when][3] you are <writin:g> (0.6) <<acaDEMic>> (0.5) <like
15		as in an ana- an analytical or whatev[er][4]
16	Al:	[°mh][4][mm°][5]

17 Bri: [>but<][5] (0.8)
18 you've got a bit more of a freedom (.) <in terms of what
19 you write> (0.5) when you >yuh know< when you've got (0.6)
20 when you're >>taking people< on
21 [a journey<][6]
22 **[((moves hand a circular motion))]**[6]
23 because as long as the sentence has a point.
24 (0.4)
25 Al: mhmm=
26 Bri: =that's the main thing?



E5.11a presents Bridget's initial stancetaking sequence (that she likes long sentences in fantasy writing) and, following markers of an upcoming dispreferred (noticeable absence, delay, minimal response), the first SINGLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNT also provided by Bridget. This sequence was previously analysed in relation to disaffiliation in §4.2 (see E4.11). However, here the sequence will be analysed for a different purpose, as the disaffiliation is followed by a MULTIPLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNT sequence. It begins with Bridget providing an epistemic stance that people reading fantasy like long sentences. Within this epistemic stance is an emergent affective stance, namely that Bridget is including herself in the category of people who read fantasy or fiction, and through claiming what these 'people' like, she provides an affective stance of her own liking for long sentences in fantasy writing. Following this there is a noticeable absence at line 4 (see §5.1.1). This is followed by Al saying "oh. right?" with upward rising intonation. This serves as the first marker of an upcoming dispreferred, as Al uses "oh." as a change of state token (Heritage 1984b), suggesting that he may have thought otherwise. The rising intonation suggests that Al may be questioning the legitimacy of

this claim. Bridget reformulates her assertion with an increment to change the action from an epistemic claim of the generic affective stance of a specific category to just her own affective stance (line 6). Instances of 'oh right', and other news receipt tokens are present in all of the MULTIPLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS collected from the initial interactions data. It is worth noting however, that this feature is not specifically tied to the MULTIPLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNT phenomenon as 'oh right' also appears in other account types.

The account sequence begins from line 10, introduced with "because" (see §5.1.1). Following this, Bridget presents her knowledge about writing styles and contexts, stating at lines 10-11 that "you can't have a sentence more than three lines long when you are <writin:g> (0.6) <<acaDEMic>>", and similarly at lines 17-21 "you've got a bit more of a freedom (.) <in terms of what you write> (0.5) when you >yuh know< when you've got (0.6) when you're >>taking people< on a journey<". By supporting her affective stance with epistemic claims regarding the rules of writing, Bridget positions herself as having the authority to form her affective stance. She summarises her account by stating the main rule of writing: "as long as the sentence has a point that's the main thing?" (lines 23-26). Despite presenting an affective stance, Bridget uses epistemic claims to account for her stance. By presenting herself as having knowledge regarding what it is to be a writer, she presents her affective stance as if it were epistemic. Given this, it is perhaps unsurprising that Al does not affiliate during this sequence, instead he minimally responds to Bridget's turns. These markers continue in E5.11b.

Extract 5.11b – BritAm01: 38:58

27 Al: maintaining the flow is the important thing? (0.5) but like
28 hh (0.8) like conciseness is a maj(h)or hehu hhh (.)
29 [lik(he)e][7]
30 Bri: [yeah][7]
31 Al: r(he)u(he)le of
32 (0.6)
33 Bri: yea[h][8]
34 Al: [of][8] writing. (.) °but yeah I (0.3) unders[tand.°][9]
35 **[((nods))]**[9]
36 (0.5)
37 °°I understand what you're say[ing°°][10]



Al's turn at line 27 rephrases Bridget's previous point as a method of delivering a preferred-plus-dispreferred turn. Arguably, Al's rewording of Bridget's turn is not true to Bridget's initial phrasing. Al encapsulates Bridget's account as "maintaining the flow is the important thing", however her account was in fact, "you've got a bit more of a freedom (.) <in terms of what you write>". The rewording of the account could be to present a clear argument in a preferred-plus-dispreferred turn shape, as he continues to say, "conciseness is a maj(h)or hehu hhh (.)r(he)u(he)le of writing".

Al ostensibly accepts Bridget's stance from line 34. However, he does this following a disaffiliation. As disaffiliating is a dispreferred SPP which is therefore potentially face threatening, he then attempts to do facework by ostensibly (and repeatedly) claiming his understanding of Bridget's stance. Following this turn, it would

be expected that as there is some potential acceptance, that a topic transition or further affiliative talk following the acceptance could occur in this position, but instead Bridget continues to remedy her stance despite the account appearing to have been sufficiently acceptable to Al. This is presented in E5.11c.

Extract 5.11c – BritAm01: 38:58

38 Bri: [yeah][10] um think (.) I think
39 there's likeness to them? (.) I mean (0.3) to be honest
40 (0.3) Tolkien isn't concise?=
41 Al: =no he's ↑n[ot,↑][11]
42 Bri: [he][11] [he can't go like this is a sentence][12]
43 **[((makes brackets with both hands))][12]**
44 that I could write but I'm gunna write (.) a ch-
45 [chapter pfuhe[he][13]][14]
46 **[((moves left hand dramatically))][14]**
47 Al: [[Y][13]EAH][15]
48 **[((nods))][15]**
49 Bri: and then >huh< a chapter's gone and you're like wow you're
50 still not ↑finished.↑ (.) you've got [that chapt][16]er t' do
51 **[((points))][16]**
52 (0.4)



In E5.11c, Bridget refers to Tolkien as an authoritative figure in fantasy writing (J4 in Table 2-3). As the pair have previously affiliated on their admiration of Tolkien, referring to him as an authoritative person is arguably a safe option. Bridget appropriates Tolkien as an example for her stance and presents his writing in support of her preference for long sentences. By presenting epistemic evidence via an authority

figure, Al cannot disaffiliate with Bridget, instead he affirms Bridget's epistemic claims. However, at line 53 he presents a counter-account, as seen in E5.11d.

Extract 5.11d – BritAm01: 38:58

```
53  Al:   he isn't concise but a ↑part of that↑ is also a change
54        in: style between [like (0.4) his time  ][17]=
55                          [((hands to his left))][17]=
56        =[and ou:rs                 ][18]
57        =[((hands to his right))]    [18]
58        like (0.4) UM: (0.3) eve[n peop][19]le
59  Bri:                           [yeah  ][19]
60  Al:   who [love the ↑story↑ of The Lord of the Rings?][20]
61            [((hands to his left))                    ][20]
62        often have trouble [like gettin' through them?      ][21]
63                           [((draws arch from left to right))][21]
64        (0.4)
65  Al:   an[d     ][22]=
66  Bri:     [°yeah°][22]=
67  Al:   =like li-I think like a large [part of that          ][23]=
68                                      [((both hands in front))][23]=
69        =is just his °his° writing style is definitely not
70        sim[ple it's][24]=
71  Bri:      [ye:ah  ][24]=
72  Al:   =really complex >so like<=
```



Al's next turn once again is in preferred-plus-dispreferred format. On this occasion, he provides affirmation of Bridget's previous epistemic claim, followed by a "but". Here, "but" signals the upcoming dispreferred, following the preferred unit of the turn forming the preferred-plus-dispreferred format. As would be expected following an

epistemic FPP, the aligning next turn is also epistemic as Al notes that there has been a change in time and a change in style since the work of Tolkien. He goes further and "`gettin' through`" that even people who "`love`" the story of *The Lord of the Rings* have trouble reading Tolkien's work. Through this turn, Al affirms Bridget's claim, but also disputes it by producing a counter-account. In Al's second account he uses the same justification strategy as Bridget's prior account, therefore suggesting that one account strategy is met by an account using the same strategy, or more generically, X begets X (Merrison personal communication). Al then brings his account back to affective stancetaking, noting that he thinks that the epistemic claim that *The Lord of the Rings* fans have trouble reading the books is due to Tolkien's writing style.

The final sequence of this MULTIPLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNT is much longer than the previous sequences. As the sequence contains many of the same phenomena already discussed in this chapter, it will not be analysed in further depth. However, it is presented in full to demonstrate the extended nature of these MULTIPLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNT sequences.

Extract 5.11e – BritAm01: 38:58

73 Bri: =he's kinda 'f like (0.7) sat between them cos like even
74 Eddings is long °in some respects °so[me peop][25]le=
75 Al: [°mm°][25]
76 **[((nods))]**[25]
77 Bri: =consider him long↓°°
78 (0.5)
79 Bri: I [mean][26]=
80 Al: [°yeah°][26]=
81 Bri: =(Charles) Belgarath is a (.) long book
82 Al: °mm°=
83 Bri: =compared to some of his other ones=
84 Al: =°mm°=
85 Bri: =it's like [that thick][27] isn't it=
86 **[((hands about six inches apart))]**[27]
87 Al: =[°okay°][28]
88 =**[(nods))]**[28]
89 Bri: I think what's (.) well it's pre(h)tty thick I know
90 that BUT LIKE (0.7) I mean (1.7) cus I think it wuz just
91 th- (0.5) the idea like if you wrote a book (0.5)
92 [<that long>][29]
93 **[((hands about an inch apart))]**[29]
94 Al: °°mm hm°°
95 (0.4)
96 Bri: in Tolkien's time (0.4) it had to be either
97 [<fa:nTAS[tic>][30]][31]
98 **[((moves hands forwards))]**[31]
99 Al: [°mm°][30]
100 (0.5)
101 Bri: an a complete like ya know [ripping to shreds][32]
102 **[((pulls hands away))]**[32]
103 'f modern society=
104 Al: =°mm°=
105 Bri: =OR it had to be like (0.6) ya know a review=
106 Al: =°mm:°
107 (0.3)
108 Bri: =ya know
109 (0.4)
110 Bri: >if you were writing a book it had to be
111 [like that< °or it wasn't worth publishing° huhuhh][33]
112 **[((hands really far apart))]**[33]
113 Al: [°hm:°][34]

114 **[((nods))]**[34]
115 (0.4)
116 Al: ~yeah~
117 (0.4)
118 Al: they're definitely different ru:les for different genres
119 like (0.3) how lon- how long is the: manuscript you're
120 working on?



Once again, the account sequence presented in E5.11e uses an appeal to a higher authority (J4 in Table 2-3), on this occasion not Tolkien but another fantasy writer, Eddings, specifically naming one book. Eddings is referred to in making the epistemic claim, as he is the writer of a "long book". Al aligns with these tellings ("°mm°", lines 82 and 84). The telling continues, however the specifics of this telling and the following transition will not be explored in any further detail here.

Other cases of MULTIPLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS have also been observed and although some of the aspects considered in this extract do not happen across the collection, the general pattern observed in Figure 5-4 fits the initial interactions collection. Another instance of a MULTIPLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNT will be discussed in §5.2.2 as it becomes an ACCOUNT-WITH.

5.2 Collaborative Accounts: Overview

In this section, COLLABORATIVE ACCOUNTS will be explored. This category contains two subtypes: ACCOUNT-FORS and ACCOUNT-WITHS. Both will be discussed here. Although the type of collaboration is different in each of the phenomena, both involve the

collaboration of the interactants. In short, an ACCOUNT-FOR is an account on behalf of another participant, whereas an ACCOUNT-WITH requires the collaboration of two or more participants each contributing to the same account.

5.2.1 Account-Fors

An ACCOUNT-FOR is when an individual provides an account on behalf of another. ACCOUNT-FORS appear not to have been discussed at any length in the literature besides Condor et al's (2006) study focusing on joint responsibility when policing, correcting and managing charges of prejudiced talk in which they consider interactants speaking up on behalf of absent and co-present others, and taking responsibility for the behaviour or reputation of another (2006:51). One significant difference between this thesis and Condor et al's (2006) study is the participants, as their study considers multi-party interactions when instances of prejudice and racism are policed and managed by a participant who is well acquainted with the individual committing the offensive act – often they are friends, family, or spouses. On other occasions the person who polices the interaction is responsible in some way for the progressivity and topic management of the interaction, such as a presenter of a television show. This thesis considers unacquainted participants who have no commitment to other co-present interactants and where neither is responsible for 'interviewing' the other or 'leading' the interaction. Therefore, the observations regarding ACCOUNT-FORS in this thesis are not based on any responsibility or commitment, but instead reflect the conversational preferences and the politeness strategies of (previously unacquainted) two-party interaction.

The schema for the typical ACCOUNT-FOR sequence is presented in Figure 5-5. The third point is a potentially expected feature of an ACCOUNT-FOR sequence, however it is not crucial (and thus appears in parentheses). Those instances where the final stage is absent are often followed by stepwise topic transitions (Button & Casey 1985). For this reason, the final stage has been included but only as a potential part of an ACCOUNT-FOR sequence.

Account-For

1. X commits a (potentially) offensive act
2. Y accounts for X's (potentially) offensive act
3. (X accepts/refuses Y's account)

Figure 5-5 *- Account-For Sequence*

In E5.12 an ACCOUNT-FOR sequence will be presented. The extract contains two shorter sequences. As the first of these has previously been analysed in Chapter 4 (E4.11) the data will be re-presented including the following ACCOUNT-FOR sequence but the first 19 lines will not be analysed in any greater detail.

Extract 5.12 – BritAm02: 06:44

```
1   Bet:   I think me and my friend are going to Ireland [feh     ]1
2   Abb:                                                [mm hm   ]1
3                                                       [((nods))]1
4          (.)
5   Bet:   Easter [˚spring break˚     ]2
6                 [((air quotes))     ]2
7   Abb:          [((nods and smiles))]2
8   Bet:   her:her:hehhh.
9          (.)
10  Bet:   I think I think I'm gonna drive tah Ireland we're gonna go
11         to:: the Guinness factory=
12  Abb:   =mm:=
13  Bet:   =becos (.)beer is nice [hehhhehhehheh]3
14  Abb:                          [hahahaa      ]3 (.) you see I can't
15         drink beer at all and that's what everyone drinks here
16         [and I'm just like]4
17  Bet:   [yea:h            ]4
18  Abb:   [˚<~eew~>˚            ]5
19         [((slight head shake))]5
20  Bet:   >have you been [to the SU yet<              ]6
21                        [((points over her shoulder))]6
22  Abb:   [yes     ]7 >yeah<
23         [((nods))]7
24  Bet:   er- what- er- [on-                ]8
```

25 **[((points to table))]**[8]
26 what have you been on a Sat- (.) oh no wh-
27 [was it open last Satur↑day↑?]9
28 **[((uses thumb to gesture behind her))]**[9]
29 Abb: it wa:s >but it was really dead<.
30 Bet: yea::h well next- [this Saturday]10
31 **[((points to table))]**[10]
32 they do pound a pint
33 Abb: [mmm]11
34 Bet: [and]11 [they do karaoke at the same time]12=
35 **[((points to table))]**12=
36 Abb: =>hahaha:<=
37 Bet: =it's the [best night of the week]13
38 **[((moves hand across table))]**[13]
39 Abb: hmm
40 (0.8)
41 Bet: [guarantee]14
42 **[((nods and leans forward))]**[14]
43 (0.3)
44 it's so good
45 (.)
46 have you been out (0.3) much [like (here)]15
47 Abb: [↑no↑ er]15



The sequence beginning at line 20, following the disaffiliation sequence, starts with what could be understood to be a topic transition, however this information solicit becomes the beginning of an ACCOUNT-FOR sequence. Bethan begins two pre-sequences

before embarking on the base sequence of providing an ACCOUNT-FOR. The first of these begins at line 20 as Bethan asks "`>have you been to the SU yet<`".[11] This FPP is responded to at lines 22-23 with a preferred SPP regarding shared epistemic knowledge which functions as a go-ahead. However, the base sequence does not immediately follow the initial pre-sequence as a second pre-sequence follows.

The second pre-sequence occurs at lines 24-27, as Bethan asks another question. Bethan's information solicit ("`was it open last Satur↑day↑?`") is responded to with epistemic information. Following this Abby provides an assessment evaluating the SU as being "`really dead`". This provides Bethan with the opportunity to begin the base sequence, as she begins to explain that there is a beer-drinking event taking place "`this Saturday`". Bethan explains the beer-drinking activity as "`pound a pint`". This assumes some common ground of SU events, student drinking culture and prices which, given her minimal response at line 33, Abby may or may not have. As the pints being described refer to beer, and the beer is priced at a relatively low £1, compared to regular prices (approximately £3.15), Bethan is highlighting the positives of this beer-drinking as being an inexpensive event.

Bethan begins to provide increments on her FPP of the base sequence, possibly as a result of the lack of a preferred SPP from Abby. Bethan's increments demonstrate what she considers to be positive features about the beer-drinking event. She begins at line 34 saying "`and they do karaoke at the same time`". From this we can presume that Bethan has a positive (emergent) affective stance towards karaoke events, however there is a noticeable absence of affiliation at line 36 as Abby laughs. Bethan's next turn is an assessment of the event as "`the best night of the week`". Once again this is met with a minimal response from Abby, followed by 0.8 seconds of silence. According to the literature on agreeing with assessments (see Pomerantz 1984), the preferred next turn would be a second (and upgraded) assessment, however as Abby has no access to the stance object, she is unable to make any assessment (see §4.3). Following noticeable absences, increments are often added, and this we see at line 41. Bethan's increment transforms the prior turn from being an assessment to being an epistemic stance as Bethan 'guarantees' that the beer-drinking event she is describing is

[11] SU refers to the on-campus Students' Union bar.

the best night of the week. At line 44, Bethan offers a final assessment of the stance object describing the event as "so good".

Bethan's explanation and subsequent increments function as an ACCOUNT-FOR in this extract. Bethan accounts on behalf of Abby as she provides circumstances for occasions when Abby would like beer-drinking, and would therefore affiliate. Bethan provides epistemic information, assessments and further details regarding the beer-drinking event. By saying that if Abby went to the SU bar, went to pound-a-pint and did karaoke, then she would be in the right environment to be able to enjoy beer-drinking, and as this is an environment Abby has not yet been exposed to, it is understandable that she does not (yet) like beer. Although the ACCOUNT-FOR is not delivered in the way of a SINGLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNT explored in §5.1, Bethan's account still functions as a justification according to Goffman's (1971a) and Tedeshi and Riess' (1981) typologies of accounts presented in §2.3. Bethan reduces responsibility for Abby's disaffiliation (A4 in Table 2-2) and provides a social comparison (J3 in Table 2-3). By comparing her own beer-drinking experience with Abby's, Bethan makes a comparison which can justify Abby's disaffiliative stance, and suggests that if Abby were to have the same experience of beer-drinking as Bethan that Abby's stance towards the stance object may not be disaffiliative.

The extract, like many other disaffiliation-plus-account sequences, finishes with a stepwise topic transition (Button & Casey 1985) as Bethan asks Abby whether she has been out much 'here' (meaning in the UK). Bethan's information solicit is a pre-sequence to talk concerning drinking and clubbing in the UK and the U.S. Another ACCOUNT-FOR similarly followed by a topic transition will be presented in the next section as a type of ACCOUNT-WITH.

5.2.2 Account-Withs

ACCOUNT-WITHS are collaborative accounts where two interactants (or more in multi-party talk) jointly provide an account for a stance/behaviour/action, which may have been construed as potentially offensive. Three types of ACCOUNT-WITH sequences have been identified, each developing from one of the three account types already explored. All three types of ACCOUNT-WITH sequences will be presented. The schema for the

typical sequence pattern is shown in Figure 5-6, demonstrating where each of the other accounts fits in to the sequence.

Account-With

1. X commits a (potentially) offensive act
2. Single-Individual Account *or*
   Multiple-Individual Account *or*
   Account-For
3. Next speaker builds on the prior account

Figure 5-6 *- Account-With Sequence*

The first ACCOUNT-WITH sequence to be presented involves a SINGLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNT. The extract contains two shorter sequences. As the first of these has previously been analysed in Chapter 4 (E4.12), the data will be re-presented including the following ACCOUNT-WITH sequence but the first 20 lines will not be analysed in any greater detail. Following this a MULTIPLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNT and an ACCOUNT-FOR sequence will be presented and analysed. Although E5.13a is presented for the purposes of contextual information and to situate the account sequence in the interaction, it will not be analysed.

Extract 5.13a – BritAm01: 33:03

1 Bri: what are you writing (.) what's er: (.)
2 [>if you don't mind<][1]
3 **[((raises hand))]**[1]
4 Al: er yeah=
5 Bri: =°saying?°
6 Al: er it's also fa:nasy? [actually][2]
7 Bri: [°oh °>okay<°°][2]
8 Al: um and li[ke I like to write other][3] things as we[ll][4]
9 **[((moves hands to his right))]**[3]
10 Bri: [yeah][4]
11 Al: but fantasy is my main: (0.3) intrest [so,][5]
12 Bri: [it's][5] more fun?
13 Al: h. ye[ah hh.][6]
14 Bri: [less][6] rules. more drag[ons hehheh hehh][7]
15 Al: [haHAH <ye(h)a(h)h>][7]



Extract 5.13b – BritAm01: 33:03

16 ↑act↑[ually,(.)][8]=
17 **[((grimace))]**[8]=
18 =[unfortunately like (.) I love dragons][9]
19 =**[((open palm gesture and looks down))**][9]
20 but (0.4) I- I >feel like I could never put a dra↓gon↓ in
21 anything I write because [[it's (just)][10] < so. overdone][11]
22 **[((slight head shake))** **]**[11]
23 Bri: [°very ha:rd°][10]
24 (0.4)



E5.13b follows an information solicit sequence and an assessment. The extract shows many markers of an upcoming dispreferred turn, as discussed in Chapter 4. At line 20, the disaffiliative turn begins as Al says that he feels he could never put a dragon in his writing. This turn is an emergent affective stance, as it displays how Al feels. Following this, Al demonstrates the extreme and definitive nature of his affective stance, as he says, "I could never". The definitive nature of this feeling intensifies the disaffiliation. This is emphasised further as Al becomes more specific, saying that he could never put a dragon "in anything" he writes. This extreme and definitive stance is followed by a marker of an upcoming account "because" (discussed in §5.1.1). Following this, Al begins a SINGLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNT and Bridget also begins an ACCOUNT-FOR. The two accounts are uttered in overlap at lines 21-23, however Bridget's turn is uttered quietly in comparison to Al's SINGLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNT. The two accounts are different: Bridget's ACCOUNT-FOR is that writing dragons into a story is "°very ha:rd°", whereas Al's SINGLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNT is that dragons in fantasy are "so. overdone". What is unusual in this account sequence compared to

those ACCOUNT-FOR sequences previously explored is that Bridget attempts to provide an account on Al's behalf before he provides a SINGLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNT, and perhaps more strangely, not at a TRP but during the production of his account, and following an explicit marker of an upcoming account ("because"). It appears that this attempt to collaboratively complete Al's turn is unsuccessful as Al goes ahead and completes his turn, providing his own (and different from Bridget's) account. Following this there is 0.4 seconds of silence before Bridget takes her next turn.

Extract 5.13c – BritAm01: 33:03

```
25  Bri:   yea::h, and ulso because dragons <have a cer.tain> (0.4)
26         like YA HAVE to put someone on a dragon you can't just have
27         a dragon ina story [↑he↑heh][12]
28  Al:                       [↑OH↑ NO][12]
29         (.)
30  Al:    if I=if I (0.3) if I e-ever(.) put (.) a >s-↓dragon in the
31         story< it'll be: (0.3) like h. (0.3) a proper: like (0.4)
32         fire-breathing:(0.2) S:MAUG. (0.3) dragon it w[on't][13]
33  Bri:                                                 [yeah][13]
34  Al:    be [like a          ][14]
35            [((waving hands))][14]
36         (0.3)
37  Al:    a p-[pet yeah heh  ][15]
38  Bri:       [a pet YEAH heh][15]
39  Al:    hh. yeah
40  Bri:   >it's like<= it's either got to burn. something do:wn.
41         (0.3)
42         or:, it's got to be the hero or someone on its back and
43         out. there
44  Al:    yeah: [yeah][16]
45  Bri:         [we- ][16] weaving the swo::rd [huhhehuhuh][17]
46  Al:                                         [haheh yeah][17](.)yeah
47  Bri:   yeah?=
48  Al:    =[ both >of those<     ][18] are [co:ol.  ][19]
49         =[((open palm gesture))][18]     [((nods))][19]
50  Bri:   YEAH
51  Al:    <um: so::>
```



At line 25, Bridget's "yea::h" ostensibly accepts Al's account. Following this, she adds as an increment, "and ulso", followed by "because" marking an upcoming account, before beginning an account which builds upon the prior accounts regarding how to write dragons into a story. This account condenses both prior accounts – Al's account regarding the overdone nature of dragons in fantasy (as dragons in fiction *have* to be done in a particular way), and also capturing the difficulty which Bridget mentions in her account, as she says, "you can't just have a dragon ina story". Al affiliates with this at line 28, saying "OH↑ NO" to demonstrate the same stance regarding Bridget's prior turn. Al then demonstrates some stance movement regarding writing about dragons as he ostensibly moves from "I could never" to "if I e-ever" (Flint et al under review). Although at line 30 Al uses a conditional, the extreme and definitive nature of "I could never" discussed in the analysis of E5.13b is no longer as extreme as it previously was before the employment of remedial work.

From line 30 there is a collaborative completion sequence. On this occasion, the collaborative completion occurs in the format of a word searching repair (see Schegloff 2013 on word searching repairs and other repair operations) as Al pauses mid-TCU before going on to complete his turn. However, he stutters in doing so, providing Bridget with the first sound of the word, and so she provides "pet" as a candidate in overlap as Al utters this word himself. This joint production is treated by both participants as a vehicle for building affiliation (Ferrara 1992; Flint et al under review; Haugh & Obana 2015; Hayashi 2013, Lerner 1996). This collaborative feature of interaction demonstrates the ongoing preference for agreeability (Flint et al under review; Haugh 2015; see §6.1). Following the offering and acceptance of the candidate,

Bridget continues to provide possible options at either end of an extreme spectrum of how to write dragons into stories as either burning something down, or being the hero, characterising either good *or* evil. Al and Bridget affiliate, once again using "yeah" turns from lines 44-47. Al then assesses Bridget's summary of options as both being "co:ol". After this extended account sequence, there is a stepwise topic transition to other aspects of writing.

In the next extract, an example of a MULTIPLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNT will be analysed to demonstrate the transition from each of the account types discussed throughout this section into an ACCOUNT-WITH. As with the MULTIPLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNT sequence discussed in §5.1.2, the following sequence below will be divided into shorter extracts. The first of these includes context prior to the stancetaking, the markers of an upcoming dispreferred and the disaffiliation.

Extract 5.14a – BritAm01: 36:26

```
1   Bri:   [a(h)haha]1
2   Al:    [there's-]1 there's like [the other drafts    ]2=
3                                   [((sweeping gesture))]2=
4          =[s'you just find so many things]3=
5          =[((large sweeping gesture))    ]3=
6          =[that ]4
7   Bri:   =[yah::]4 n [I have(.) like paper]5=
8                      [((writing gesture)) ]5=
9          =[then I type it up.             ]6
10         =[((lowers hand and points down))]6
11  Al:     mmhm[m    ]7
12  Bri:         [cos I]7 just find it (.) do you find that you write
13         mor:e if you [      write on pap ]8er
14                      [((writing gesture))]8
15         o[r:      ]9
16  Al:    [[>you me<]9 an            ]10 handwri[te, ]11
17         [((small writing gesture))]10
18  Bri:                                      [[YEAH]11 han[wri-]12 ]13
19                                            [((writing gesture))]13
20  Al:                                                 [ahri]12ght
21         (0.5)
22  Al:    it >it varies< because: (.) like I >try ta< write an hour
23         evryday at least an:d um (0.7) >like so there's a time when
24         I was like< (0.6) <hav[ing> like            ]14
```

25 **[((puts hands on head))]**[14]
26 (0.3)
27 Al: [getting really stuck][15]
28 **[((points outwards))]**[15]
29 every time I tried to write (.) hh. >so I decided to
30 [experiment writing<][16]
31 **[((writing gesture))]**[16]
32 (0.5)
33 like on paper?
34 (0.4)
35 and so: [I would write for forty five minutes or][17]
36 **[((writing gesture))]**[17]
37 fifty minutes n take the last [ten tu fifteen minutes tu][18]
38 **[((thumb and finger apart))]**[18]
39 hh. transcribe it inta tha compuder (.) ↑AND I found that I
40 was writing (0.5) MORE: (0.3) [that wa[y][20]][19]=
41 **[((gesture left))]**[19]=
42 Bri: [yah][20]=
43 Al: =[even with taking out the time to][21]
44 **=[((gestures left and right))]**[21]
45 transcribe [it][22]
46 Bri: [it's][22] really [organic][23]=
47 Al: [°and so°][23]=
48 Bri: =and like cos I used t' jus type buh (0.3) >it would be so
49 sho[r(t),][24]
50 Al: **[((nods))]**[24]
51 (0.5)
52 Bri: n I'd be like I'm tryna get to this word count °and° get
53 like (0.3) a third of thu way the[re][25]
54 Al: [°mm:°][25]
55 **[((small nod))]**[25]
56 Bri: and >I'd be I-< (0.5) and cos you I think ya brain kina
57 short cuts it (0.4) I'm n:ot sure why >I think it's cos I
58 is:< (0.3) it's not [exhausting][26]
59 **[((stretches left hand))]**[26]
60 [>but it is< qui straining your hands to type][27]
61 **[((holds palm of left hand with right hand))]**[27]
62 Al: [mm][28]
63 Bri: [you][28] do find [that li[ke][30]after a while][29]
64 **[((stretches both hands out))]**[29]
65 Al: [uhah][30]
66 Bri: =[if you're kinda like tha][31]
67 =**[((points to hand))]**[31]

68 (0.5)
69 yuh (0.6) [tha area kinda hurts a lo[t][33]][32]
70 **[((signals to hand))** **]**[32]
71 Al: [I][33] find it
72 [more straining to hand write][34] [ba][35]
73 **[((writing gesture))** **]**[34]
74 Bri: [°yh°][35]



In E5.14a, Bridget self-discloses about her method of writing, as she prefers to handwrite and then type up her work. Al says that his way of writing varies, as he experimented handwriting in the same way as Bridget and found it a useful method. Following this ostensible affiliation sequence, the pair disaffiliate at lines 60-74. Bridget claims in the form of an epistemic stance that it is straining on the hands to type, however this is responded to with markers of an upcoming dispreferred and a disaffiliative turn at lines 71-74 as Al claims that he finds it more straining to handwrite. Following this disaffiliation sequence an account sequence begins.

E5.14b presents the account sequence, beginning as a MULTIPLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNT before transitioning into an ACCOUNT-WITH. As with the MULTIPLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNT previously discussed in this chapter, each participant takes a turn at providing an account on their own behalf, before collaboratively building one ACCOUNT-WITH.

Extract 5.14b – BritAm01: 36:26

75 Al: [I also press down °really° hard [but][37]][36]
76 **[((writing gesture))** **]**[36]
77 Bri: [tch][37] yeah I tend to >be
78 quite light with writing< [but I tend (.) ta kinda like][38]
79 **[((gesture typing on keyboard))]**[38]
80 [thump t[he][40] (.h)][39]=
81 **[((continued))** **]**[39]=
82 Al: [°mm°][40]
83 Bri: =keyboa(.h)[rd][41]
84 Al: [°mmhmm°][41]
85 Bri: like I get told off for it °like° your thumping↑ the
86 keyboard. a[gain][42]=
87 Al: [uhuhu][42]=
88 Bri: =you do NOT BUY that computer to break [it][43]
89 Al: [huh HUH][43]
90 **[((nods))]**[43]

((13 lines omitted[12]))



E5.14b begins with a SINGLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNT from Al. As the speaker who delivers the disaffiliative stance, he is the first to have an opportunity to provide an account on his own behalf, he then takes this opportunity and provides a SINGLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS (cf. preference for self-correction (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks

[12] Lines omitted due to a complex self-initiated self-repair sequence which temporarily halts the interaction.

1977)). Given this, and the several other cases of SINGLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS and MULTIPLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS, it appears that there is a preference for self-accounting, as first noticed by Robinson (2016:28) as a phenomenon akin to the preference for self-correction (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977). Al's account accepts the blame for the disaffiliation and says that he presses down "°really° hard". Bridget begins her turn in overlap with Al, but at a possible TRP, and immediately provides her account for her part in the disaffiliation. More frequently only one party accounts for their action, but here both are doing some remedial work, each on their own account. Bridget says that she is quite light when handwriting but thumps the keyboard when typing. By each attributing the blame of the disaffiliation to their own actions, each person justifies and takes responsibility for their own part in the disaffiliation thereby saving the face of the other just as Anna does in E5.1 when she attributes blame to herself and her disproportionate body, rather than to online shopping and Bethan.

Although Al accounts first, it is Bridget's account which is the more extended of the two. Bridget continues to frame her account as more extreme as she gets told off for thumping the keyboard too hard, to the extent of possibly breaking it. (Following this first extension of the account, there is a repair sequence which has been omitted for the purposes of this analysis of remedial work.) The following sequence demonstrates the extended nature of doing remedial work, but also shows the collaborative nature of combining two INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS into one ACCOUNT-WITH.

Extract 5.14c – BritAm01: 36:26

104 Bri: BUT UM:M (0.5) >I think it wz Anthony Horowitz [tht said<][47]
105 Al: **[((nods))]**[47]
106 Bri: like <he writes> (0.5) in: (1.1) pen.
107 (0.4)
108 because ay >lots of people did that before< erm who didn't
109 [have][48]
110 Al: **[((nods))]**[48]
111 (0.5)
112 Bri: like (.) >you know before printing press<
113 [peo][49]ple were doing that for years and
114 Al: [umm hmm][49]
115 **[((small nod))]**[49]
116 Bri: it's (.) a tradition
117 (0.5)

118 Bri: but also because he feels like he's writing
119 [from his heart?][50]
120 **[((points to self))]**[50]
121 wherea[s if][51]
122 Al: [ummm.][51]
123 Bri: you're writ[ing][52]
124 Al: **[((nods))]**[52]
125 (0.8)
126 Bri: if you (0.7) [type you're editing][53]
127 **[((claw gesture))]**[53]
128 (0.3)
129 already.=
130 Al: =↑ye::ah. I can see th[at.↑][54]
131 Bri: [cos][54] you see (0.3) like when you
132 [write down][55]
133 **[((writing gesture))]**[55]
134 there are no [red lines and no ↑green lines↑][56]
135 **[((draws line with index finger))]**[56]
136 (0.5)
137 Bri: [so just write and then][57]
138 **[((continues drawing lines))]**[57]
139 (0.7)
140 like (0.4) >microsoft word sez< (0.5) %>you've not ↑written
141 it↑ very well.<%
142 (0.4)
143 Al: yeah::h. and when you're (.) writing on a key (0.3) o:n
144 <a computer> you're constantly [going back][58]
145 **[((points to his left))]**[58]
146 and like (0.5) [>changing sentences around five times][59]
147 **[((moving left hand around))]**[59]
148 [before moving onto the next][60] [one][61]<
149 **[((moves left hand to his right))]**[60]
150 Bri: [ye][61]ah
151 Al: rather than: (.) like just writing [and getting the flow][62]
152 **[((waves left hand))]**[62]
153 out <there>
154 Bri: yea::h
156 Al: °yeah°



Following the omitted repair sequence, Bridget further extends her account. She does so by appealing to higher authorities (J4 in Table 2-3) in line 104, saying that her writing style aligns with that of a famous novelist in their shared field of interest. Bridget continues explaining her writing process where she is not only informing Al about the positive benefits and the process of her favoured writing style, but also demonstrating her own knowledge of the author, and appealing to other professional and esteemed authors to justify her own stance in relation to a preference of writing styles. Bridget also appeals to universally respected values (J7 in Table 2-3), as she considers the "tradition" that people have used this method "for years". Bridget extends her account in a similar way further by adding that Anthony Horowitz considers handwriting to be writing from the heart, which is assumed to be a positive strength for a novelist. Bridget compares this to typing, as she claims that when you type, you are already editing, which is an activity which slows down the progress of the first stages of fiction writing. Following this there is a noticeable absence of affiliation, followed by an increment "already" at line 129. After this absence and increment, Al ostensibly affiliates with Bridget's account, latching onto her turn saying "↑ye::ah. I can see that.↑".

Following an ostensible affiliation, a topic transition could have occurred, as it does in many disaffiliation remedial work sequences, however, in this instance Bridget further extends her account sequence regarding editing as a negative consequence of typing when writing fiction. One possible reason for this could be an underlying *preference for agreeability* (Haugh 2015; Flint et al under review), as Bridget continues to talk about a 'safe' topic which the pair have affiliated on rather than transition to a

potentially disagreeable topic (see §6.1). Another is perhaps a *preference for inter-activity* (see §6.2), as Al has not collaborated or interacted with her previous attempts at an account (typing styles, appeals to authority figures or appeals to values), however he does interact when the account shifts to editing as a negative consequence of typing. Bridget then considers the impact of not seeing issues of spelling and grammar when writing drafts – and the best way to do that is not to type, but to handwrite.

Following a short silence, Al contributes to Bridget's account regarding editing, saying that when writing on a computer "you're constantly going back and like >changing sentences around five times before moving onto the next one". At this point, Bridget's INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNT, as part of a MULTIPLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNT sequence, becomes an ACCOUNT-WITH as Al contributes to this account. The ACCOUNT-WITH section of the sequence is very short in comparison to the full account sequence as the pair now ostensibly affiliate on the same stance, to the point of contributing to the same account. At line 154, Bridget accepts Al's contribution to her account and ostensibly affiliates with his prior turn. Her turn, "yea::h", also sequentially functions as a minimal post-expansion as it closes the current sequence. This is responded to with a repeated, but audibly quieter "°yeah°" turn from Al. Following this there is a stepwise topic transition (Button & Casey 1985) as the pair talk about writing methods for academic work, as both interactants are also university students as well as aspiring fantasy writers.

The next extract (E5.15) is an ACCOUNT-FOR which develops into an ACCOUNT-WITH as the account sequence is expanded. Unlike the other sequences, this account sequence is short. This may be due to the trivial nature of the topic as the interactants are discussing their love of tea, which differs from prior extracts where interactants who identify as writers talk about writing styles and young women discuss clothes sizing and body shapes.

Extract 5.15 – BritAm03: 09:28

1	Bet:	and they give ya free tea and ( ) I love tea I mean
2		[I'm British][1]
3		**[((shrugs shoulders))]**[1]
4	Ann:	I mean I love tea too so [so][2]
5	Bet:	[goo::d][2] see you'll be fine here
6		then
7	Ann:	and I've [been putting milk in my tea][3] every morning
8		**[((puts hand in front of her))]**[3]
9	Bet:	↑yeah↑ how many sugars are you on at the moment though?
10	Ann:	[I don't put any in [my tea][4]][5]
11		**[((waves finger))]**[5]
12	Bet:	[no sugar?][4]
13	Ann:	**((nods))**
14	Bet:	**((holds hand to face then palm out to Anna))**
15		°okay° (.) we'll allow it because you've only been here for
16		a week
17	Ann:	I- I normally put sugar in it I just didn't get any today



This is an ACCOUNT-FOR remedial work sequence following a disaffiliation, which briefly develops into an ACCOUNT-WITH. The extract has previously been presented and explored in terms of the disaffiliation sequence in Chapter 4 (E4.14) and will be discussed in more detail regarding the preference for agreeability and the preference for inter-activity in Chapter 6. The full account sequence is much shorter than those previously discussed lasting only two turns (lines 15-17) before a topic transition. Although this sequence is not extended like most remedial account sequences observed in initial interactions (see Flint et al under review), it does demonstrate the collaborative

nature of doing remedial work. The sequence begins with clear affiliation as Bethan provides a positive affective stance towards tea. This is quickly responded to by Anna, as she also claims a positive affective stance towards tea. Following the affiliation, Anna states that she has been putting milk in her tea, demonstrating her love of the British culture of tea-drinking. At line 9, Bethan asks Anna how many sugars she has in her tea. As Anna does not know at this point whether her answer will affiliate or disaffiliate, the turn is delivered in preferred format. However, at line 12 Bethan's (emergent) affective stance on liking sugar in tea makes it apparent that Anna's stance at line 10 was dispreferred. At line 14, Bethan shows mock offence as she holds her hand out to Anna before jokingly offering an ACCOUNT-FOR saying that "`we'll allow it`". This is followed by "`because`" and then a candidate account, "`you've only been here for a week`". Bethan's account attributes the blame of the offensive act to Anna having only lived in Britain for a short length of time. Following this, Anna builds upon this account, adding that she normally puts sugar in her tea, and further adding an excuse as she attributes the blame to another as she says that she "`just didn't get any today`". Unlike the prior example, Anna builds on this account in a way which does not necessarily accept the previous account (as seen in E5.14) but instead does more than simply accept or decline the prior account and contributes her own remedial work to the same sequence. Following the extract the pair continue to talk about British brands of tea and affiliate on their preference for tea-drinking over coffee-drinking.

5.3 Summary of Collaborative Remedial Work Sequences

Goffman (1971a:138) suggested that "when an interactional offence occurs, everyone directly involved may be ready to assume guilt and to offer reparation". The account types discussed in this section not only provide empirical evidence for Goffman's claims, but also allow for some amendments.

The first amendment I suggest is the following editorial addition:

> when an interactional offence occurs, everyone directly involved
> [in the interaction] may be ready to assume guilt and to offer reparation

By not stating what is meant by 'involved', Goffman's claim is ambiguous. I therefore suggest a clarification of "everyone directly involved [*in the interaction*]" (as opposed to 'in the cause of the offence'), as is demonstrated through the evidence of ACCOUNT-FORS and ACCOUNT-WITHS.

The second amendment I would suggest is that to offer reparation, an individual does not need to assume guilt. Instead I argue that remedial work is done by anyone able to provide the remedial work to pursue agreeability (agreeability will be discussed further in §6.1). Hence, my slightly reworked version of Goffman:

> when an interactional offence occurs, everyone directly involved
> [in the interaction] may be ready to assume guilt and
> [anyone who is able to do so may attempt] to offer reparation

This chapter has provided definitions and observations of four new collaborative account types, beginning with the least collaborative (SINGLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS) and finishing with the most collaborative of the account types (ACCOUNTS-WITHS). As the account sequences have been taken from initial interactions, it is somewhat surprising that these individuals collaborate so frequently to remedy potentially offensive stances and actions. Previous work considering interactional management of offensive talk on behalf of another has considered only friends, family or other persons responsible for the smooth progressivity of the talk who have taken on collaborative roles in managing situations such as this. In the next chapter, some ideas about why this may be taking place will be explored as remedial work is discussed in terms of facework, socio-pragmatics and the interaction order, with a specific focus on the collaborative nature of remedial work sequences.

Chapter 6 – Interpersonal Preferences in Initial Interactions

This chapter discusses two observable preferences from the analysis of the initial interactions data set. Levinson defined preference as the systematic bias observed in interaction towards the use of certain conversational structures (1983:307). In this chapter, 'preference' will be used in relation to not only *structural* expectations but also the systematic bias of *interpersonal* expectations. This chapter also considers the Goffmanian notion of 'face'. Previously defined in §2.3.1, the definition of face that will be used in this chapter is "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact" (Goffman 1967b [1955]:5).

Firstly, §6.1 addresses the *preference for agreeability* in relation to the remedial work that follows disaffiliations about trivial topics and in mundane situations where there would be no expected lasting consequences of the interaction. Thereafter, §6.2 introduces the *preference for inter-activity* in these initial interactions. Both preferences will be discussed further in §6.3 in relation to Goffman's work on the interaction order, more specifically exploring the workings of 'reciprocally sustained involvement' between initial interactants, together with further observations on the similarities between the CA term, 'preference', and Goffman's notions of 'face' and 'line'.

6.1 Preference for Agreeability

The 'preference for agreeability' is an interactional preference which has been previously discussed by Haugh (2015) and Flint et al (under review) and for which this thesis offers further evidence. The preference was highlighted by Haugh (2015) in his research on taking offence when doing getting acquainted. He describes this preference as the "ongoing orientation towards interactionally achieving 'agreeability'" (Haugh 2015:38). Prior to these studies on the preference for agreeability, McLaughlin, Cody and Rosenstein (1983:107) claimed that account sequences were employed as a basis for "reinterpreting disagreeables". Flint et al (under review) concluded that the interactional work involved in the extended remedial account sequences between initial interactants reflects an underlying preference for agreeability. This thesis provides further empirical

evidence demonstrating that the preference which was initially observed in Australian–Australian and British–British initial interactions, is also present in British–American interactions.

Defining the term 'agreeability' is a difficult task which has previously been approached using evidence from interactional data (Haugh 2015), as opposed to providing dictionary-style definitions. This thesis aims to contribute to the existing literature on the topic and begins to provide some of the groundwork for talking about 'agreeability'. By agreeability, I refer to the interactional behaviour of participants which is done for the purposes of 'doing being agreeable'. In the case of the data analysed for this thesis, doing 'agreeability' includes (ostensibly) affiliating, accounting for disaffiliations, and (ostensible) stance movement, but could more generally include actions that respect the progressivity of the interaction, avoid conflict and ostensibly display agreeability. Another possible 'agreeable' action is nonaffiliation. As nonaffiliation has not played a significant part in the current thesis, it will not be explored in this discussion of the preference for agreeability, however, it is noted that through the lack of disaffiliation, there is an absence of disagreeability.

The preference for affiliation (see Clift 2016a; Flint 2016; Flint et al under review; Stivers 2008) along with other structural CA preferences, such as the preference for agreement (Pomerantz 1984) and the preference for self-repair (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks 1977), all arguably demonstrate the preference for agreeability, through avoiding conflict, or other potential actions which may lead to conflict. Following an (emergent) affective stance there are several ways of 'doing agreeability', the first being to do the structurally preferred next turn of providing an aligned and affiliative affective stance (see §4.1). The disaffiliation-plus-account sequences that I have discussed here and elsewhere (Flint 2016, Flint et al under review), provide empirical evidence that when initial interactants disaffiliate, they provide remedial work for the disaffiliation – typically in the form of justifications. In particular, this thesis examines collaborative account types and the effect of collaboration (or lack thereof) on 'doing agreeability'. As 'agreeability' is generally to avoid conflict, one way of demonstrating 'agreeability' is to collaborate. Flint et al (under review) discuss doing agreeability in relation to extended remedial account sequences in general, however, they do not consider the *types* of collaborative account. In MULTIPLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNT sequences, both interactants assume some guilt and provide remedial work for their part in the offence.

When both participants assume guilt, neither party attributes blame to the other. When both participants provide remedial work for their own actions, they do facework by accounting for their actions. This not only boosts face for the individual providing the account, but it also saves the face of the other participant by not blaming them. When two INDIVIDUAL-ACCOUNTS are done in parallel, both participants thus boost their own face and save the face of the other. This level of interactional effort not only demonstrates facework, but also, with each participant playing their part in the remedial work sequence, each demonstrates their ostensible orientation towards 'doing agreeability'.

ACCOUNT-FORS demonstrate the preference for doing agreeability as the interactants do interactional work on behalf of another unacquainted participant. Similarly, ACCOUNT-WITHS show interactants doing agreeability as the interactants ostensibly show support and demonstrate co-labour as both interactants do remedial work together to pursue agreeability as an interactional goal.

The accounts often end in (ostensible) stance movement (see Flint et al under review). This ostensible stance movement can be understood as 'doing agreeability' as interactants demonstrate a (sometimes dramatic) movement in stance following an account sequence. One example of an ACCOUNT-WITH (designed initially as an ACCOUNT-FOR) is illustrated in E6.1 (previously shown as E5.15 in §5.2.2):

Extract 6.1 – BritAm03: 09:28

1	Bet:	and they give ya free tea and ( ) I love tea I mean
2		[I'm British][1]
3		**[((shrugs shoulders))]**[1]
4	Ann:	I mean I love tea too so [so][2]
5	Bet:	[goo::d][2] see you'll be fine here
6		then
7	Ann:	and I've [been putting milk in my tea][3] every morning
8		**[((puts hand in front of her))]**[3]
9	Bet:	↑yeah↑ how many sugars are you on at the moment though?
10	Ann:	[I don't put any in [my tea][4]][5]
11		**[((waves finger))]**[5]
12	Bet:	[no sugar?][4]
13	Ann:	**((nods))**
14	Bet:	**((holds hand to face then palm out to Anna))**
15		°okay° (.) we'll allow it because you've only been here for
16		a week
17	Ann:	I- I normally put sugar in it I just didn't get any today



In E6.1, Anna's stance regarding putting sugar in tea shifts dramatically. At line 10, when asked how many sugars she takes, with no clear indication of Bethan's stance on the matter, she says that she doesn't take any sugar in her tea. At line 13, this is confirmed following Bethan's check. Following Bethan's ACCOUNT-FOR sequence, Anna provides dramatic stance movement and then provides further remedial work. From line 10 to line 17, Anna appears to dramatically change her stance as a result of Bethan's disaffiliative turn and account. Surprisingly, this dramatic stance movement is not oriented to immediately after this sequence, nor for the rest of the interaction.

Instead the huge ostensible stance movement is treated as quite ordinary by both participants. I argue that this demonstrates the participants 'doing agreeability', as this extreme stance movement happens so quickly after a moment of potential interactional conflict.

In E6.1 and many of the other data extracts, the interactants discuss trivial topics which rarely stray from the 'scenes' and 'phases' recognised by Kellerman and Lim (1989) (see Table 2-1 in §2.1). Due to this triviality, there would appear to be few (or no) lasting consequences for the participants, especially when compared to other interactional settings (e.g. family interactions, workplace interactions etc.). Therefore, given the inconsequential nature of these initial interactions, the observation of remedial work demonstrates the importance of understanding not only the structural order of talk-in-interaction but also the interaction order. As participants provide extended accounts for relatively trivial affective stances, we must assume there is some reason for these actions. Although most initial interactions are considered 'safe' (Goffman 1971b) with no lasting consequences, it appears from this data set that the progressivity and agreeability of the conversation is indeed consequential *in the moment*. I argue that the remedial work is being done in order to *do* facework; by demonstrating responsibility and providing legitimate reasons for disaffiliative stances, the interactants are working to save face.

Although this thesis strays from the typical CA approach of collecting naturally occurring data, instead using 'naturalistic' data of organised initial interactions, the data set shows that even in interactions where the social consequences are few – partly down to the nature of initial interactions, but also as a result of the organised nature of the data set –extended, and often collaborative account sequences are nevertheless employed to do remedial work and facework. This thesis therefore presents an argument for warranting organised data collection: if what has been found in these materials is oriented to as consequential by the participants then in less trivial environments those consequences are surely likely to be even more significant.

6.2 Preference for Inter-Activity

The second preference observed in the disaffiliation-plus-account sequences in initial interactions is the 'preference for inter-activity'. This preference has arisen specifically from the analysis of initial interactions. Although this thesis does not consider other scenarios, the same preference is arguably less likely to occur in other relationships, such as between families or married couples. In 'Alienation from Interaction', Goffman writes of *reciprocally sustaining involvement*, claiming that there is an interactional obligation of *all* interactants to maintain involvement and act in a way to ensure that others also maintain their own involvement (Goffman 1967c [1957]:116). The observation of the 'preference for inter-activity' supports Goffman's interaction order (briefly discussed in §3.2.2).

Goffman suggests that each participant in an interaction should be "sympathetically aware of the kinds of things in which the others present can become spontaneously and properly involved, and then attempt to modulate his expression of attitudes, feelings, and opinions according to the company" (1967c [1957]:116). Assuming this reciprocally sustained interaction by participants, the warrant for extended account sequences amongst initial interactants may not be down to the *need* for remedial work due to the cause of offence, but rather it may be a result of a preference for inter-activity (and the preference for agreeability) due to the obligation of somehow (*any*how) sustaining the interaction.

Goffman claims that to sustain an interaction, participants must be 'properly' and 'reciprocally' involved. When a disaffiliative stance is offered, *all* parties must therefore do their 'proper' part in sustaining the interaction following the potentially offensive or conflictual unit of talk – and the method for doing this remedial work observed in the initial interactions data is through account sequences.

Many of the instances of disaffiliation in the initial interactions data set are so very trivial and clearly do not *require* the extensive remedial work they receive. Nevertheless, they do occur. My argument for this is the preference for inter-activity. As the account sequences observed are often collaborative, and are never argued against nor rejected, the preference for inter-activity could explain the provision of accounts.

The observation of the various account types (see Chapter 5) also supports the preference for inter-activity. Generally, doing remedial work does the interactional work required to 'do agreeability', however the observation of the collaborative account types demonstrates the preference for *inter*-actively 'doing agreeability'. In SINGLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNT sequences, the person who assumes guilt and offers the remediation they think necessary plays their 'proper' part in the interaction. MULTIPLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS go one step further, as both participants assume (some) guilt and each individually provides remedial work. However, *inter*-activity can most clearly be seen in the collaborative account extracts. For example, the ACCOUNT-WITH (designed initially as an ACCOUNT-FOR) in E6.2 previously discussed as E6.1 when considering initial interactants 'doing agreeability', can also be considered in relation to the preference for inter-activity.

Extract 6.2 – BritAm03: 09:28

1	Bet:	and they give ya free tea and ( ) I love tea I mean
2		[I'm British][1]
3		**[((shrugs shoulders))]**[1]
4	Ann:	I mean I love tea too so [so][2]
5	Bet:	[goo::d][2] see you'll be fine here
6		then
7	Ann:	and I've [been putting milk in my tea][3] every morning
8		**[((puts hand in front of her))]**[3]
9	Bet:	↑yeah↑ how many sugars are you on at the moment though?
10	Ann:	[I don't put any in [my tea][4]][5]
11		**[((waves finger))]**[5]
12	Bet:	[no sugar?][4]
13	Ann:	**((nods))**
14	Bet:	**((holds hand to face then palm out to Anna))**
15		°okay° (.) we'll allow it because you've only been here for
16		a week
17	Ann:	I- I normally put sugar in it I just didn't get any today



The first inter-active component of E6.2 to be discussed is the information solicit at line 9 (prior to the disaffiliation and the account sequence), as Bethan, following an affiliation sequence regarding tea-drinking, asks Anna how many sugars she has in her tea. Bethan asks Anna about her sugar-taking habits despite this being of little importance to Bethan – Bethan does not need to know in order to make Anna a cup of tea, nor can she have any future intentions of making use of this information. Instead, I argue that Bethan is asking in order to 'do inter-activity' and to 'do getting acquainted' and possibly even to attempt to 'do agreeability' by demonstrating similarity and initiating the potential for another affiliation sequence (though ultimately this turns out to not be the case here as the pair disaffiliate). At lines 10-11, Anna provides an affective stance which opposes Bethan's, however this is unknown by Anna at this moment. Following the disaffiliative stance, Bethan 'checks' Anna's response (or at least, Anna orients to this turn as a check) and Anna confirms her stance with a head nod at line 13 before Bethan begins her mock offence-taking turn. Bethan mockingly treats the disaffiliation as if it were consequential using gesture, before mockingly 'accepting' the opposing stance and offering justification on behalf of Anna for her stance (see §5.2.2 for further analysis).

The mock behaviour employed by Bethan is arguably indicative of the preference for inter-activity, as there are other potential actions that could have taken place instead of the mock offence-taking. For example, if Anna had affiliated at line 10 then a classic affiliation sequence would most likely have occurred, and the interactants could have displayed solidarity and agreeability through affiliation. However, given that the interactants do not affiliate, an alternative next turn might have been to sequentially delete the dispreferred turn and to initiate a topic transition. However, a topic transition

would seem odd in this case, as Bethan has explicitly solicited information from Anna, and Anna has played her 'proper' part by providing the information, so to then show no interest in the response would appear odd in terms of sequential ordering. Instead, Bethan employs mock behaviour as a means of sustaining the interaction, before providing an ACCOUNT-FOR on Anna's behalf. Haugh (2010:2116) discusses jocular mockery as an action which does relational work in evolving relationships, in particular considering the relational "connectedness and separateness" of interactants (Arundale 2006). Given that teasing can be both face-supportive and face-threatening depending on the context and relationship between interactants (Haugh 2010), to do teasing is a potentially risky action whilst getting acquainted, and yet it is surprisingly frequent according to research conducted by Haugh (2017a, 2017b). However, irrespective of whether the tease is considered face-supporting or face-threatening, it will *sustain* the interaction, be that through further jocular behaviour or displays of support or through remedial work following a face-threating interpretation.[13]

The remedial work following disaffiliative stances therefore not only 'do agreeability', but they also sustain inter-activity as each of the participants play their proper part in remedying dispreferred turns (which may or may not have actually caused offence), therefore, the *interactants successfully sustain the interaction*.

6.3 Summary of Connections between Preference and the Interaction Order

The final section of this chapter discusses the preference for agreeability and the preference for inter-activity in relation to key concepts in CA and socio-pragmatics, drawing upon the analysis of the disaffiliation-plus-account sequences. We start with the CA notion of 'preference'.

Preference can be defined as the systematic bias observed in interaction towards the use of certain structures (i.e. 'preferred' turns over 'dispreferred' turns) (Levinson 1983; Clift 2016b). I argue that alongside the systematic biases for structures there are

[13] As it happens, in this case, Bethan pre-empts the possibility of Anna taking the jocular behaviour as a serious face-threat and begins to provide an account for the differences between herself and Anna, saying that Anna has only been 'here' (in the UK) for a week.

also preferences for interpersonal behaviours and here I suggest that such interpersonal preferences include at least the preference for agreeability and the preference for inter-activity.

Although the preference for inter-activity has been introduced in this thesis and the preference for agreeability has been discussed in CA and pragmatics over more recent years (see Haugh 2015; Flint et al under review), the roots of both preferences can be found in Goffman's (1967c [1957]:116-117) chapter, 'Alienation from Interaction', originally written 60 years ago. The following excerpt discusses reciprocally sustaining interaction. For the purposes of this chapter it will be discussed in relation to agreeability, inter-activity and the fusion of a CA-informed method in doing work on the interaction order.

Goffman (1967c [1957]) discusses similar issues of interaction as this thesis, however he provides no conversational data, instead theorising ideas of the interaction order. Providing data to apply Goffman's abstract concepts to mundane talk is what this chapter aims to achieve. First though, a fairly extensive quotation from Goffman (1967c [1957]:116-117):

> The individual [...] must be sympathetically aware of the kinds of things in which the others present can become spontaneously and properly involved, and then attempt to modulate his expression of attitudes, feelings, and opinions according to the company. [...] the individual must phrase his own concerns and feelings and interests in such a way as to make these maximally usable by the others as a source of appropriate involvement; and this major obligation of the individual qua interactant is balanced by his right to expect that others present will make some effort to stir up their sympathies and place them at his command. These two tendencies, that of the speaker to scale down his expressions and that of the listeners to scale up their interests, each in the light of the other's capacities and demands, form the bridge that people build to one another, allowing them to meet for a moment of talk in a communion of reciprocally sustained involvement. It is this spark, not the more obvious kinds of love, that lights up the world.

Firstly, this excerpt will be explored in relation to the preference for agreeability, before then considering the preference for inter-activity and a CA–Pragmatics fusion.

To ‘be agreeable’ is to be non-conflictual with other interactants, so in avoiding conflict participants make themselves “maximally usable by others”. In this sense, being “maximally usable” is to be agreeable (or non-conflictual), so interpersonal behaviours such as affiliating, providing accounts (of any type, whether on your own behalf, on behalf of another or as a collaborative “with” (Goffman 1971c)) and stance movement demonstrate usability and subsequently ‘do agreeability’. Goffman considers usability in terms of the phrasing of concerns, feelings and interests – in other words, *affect*. Goffman’s observations thus appear to fit perfectly with the analysis of disaffiliations with affective stances discussed in this thesis. Goffman also mentions the tendencies of speakers to scale down expressions, and of listeners to scale up interests, in order to form a bridge to one another. This scaling up/down can be seen in the phenomenon of stance movement. Although Goffman talks of speakers scaling down and listeners similarly scaling up, the evidence from the current data has shown that stance movement from both participants is not necessarily required to do agreeability (see Flint et al under review).

The preference for inter-activity is likewise present in Goffman’s ‘Alienation from Interaction’, particularly the notion of interactants reciprocally sustaining involvement. Goffman considers ‘proper’ and ‘appropriate’ involvement, which are each dependent on the type of interaction taking place. Naturally the ‘proper’ involvement for an initial interaction differs from other interactional activities, such as classroom interactions, interviews or family mealtimes. However, for the purposes of the initial interactions discussed in this thesis, I argue that to be ‘properly’ involved is to work collaboratively with the other interactant in order to sustain the interaction. In short, the notion of involvement simply refers to activity, and *mutual* involvement refers to *inter*-activity. Goffman writes more explicitly of the idea of *inter*-activity in his claim of expecting others present “to stir up their sympathies and place them at his command”. This simply means that there is an expectation of reciprocity, or *inter*-activity, because if I play my ‘proper’ part, then I can reasonably expect for you to similarly play your proper part (cf. Clark 1996). For example, if one participant assumes guilt and attempts remediation, there can be an expectation that the other participant(s) should accept the remedial work and ‘do agreeability’ and progress the interaction or on some occasions contribute to the account in some form, either by producing their own

account (MULTIPLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNT) or by contributing to the account in some way (ACCOUNT-WITH).

Finally, Goffman writes of forming "the bridge that people build to one another, allowing them to meet for a moment of talk in a communion of reciprocally sustained involvement". The previous themes discussed in the excerpt all build towards the idea of moments of reciprocally sustained involvement. To be involved is to be active and to be reciprocally involved is to be *inter*-active. However sustaining reciprocity can sometimes be a task, as sustained, 'proper', 'appropriate' involvement across an interaction (particularly with an unacquainted individual) relies on the assumption that both participants will play their proper part in 'doing inter-activity'. When considering any two preferences at play at the same time, there could potentially be a clash between them. I suggest, though, that for these two preferences that there is no clash – in fact, the preference for agreeability can aid participants in doing further inter-activity. Of course, there will be disagreeable moments where participants are at odds with one another, however, if followed by remedial work to orient to the preference for agreeability, then inter-activity continues in the form of account sequences, even allowing participants to talk further about their differences as opposed to simply agreeing (Svennevig 1999). Differences in stance appear to violate the preference for agreeability, however the disaffiliation sequences examined in this thesis are followed by (often extended) remedial work sequences, thus demonstrating that agreeability and inter-activity are indeed oriented to as interactional and interpersonal goals.

Goffman has written about the interaction order however he provides no empirical evidence for his claims. This thesis provides some of the evidence and analysis that is missing from Goffman's work. Using a CA-informed method of analysis, the discussion of interpersonal pragmatics can be taken into the real world of everyday interaction. Traditionally, CA and interpersonal pragmatics have been studied as two separate fields, even though both are interested in interaction and both have roots in sociology. Therefore, given these core similarities it seems sensible to apply a CA methodology to the study of interpersonal behaviours, or vice versa, to consider the fundamental interpersonal aspects of communication when doing 'classic' CA. One of the most fundamental fusions is considering 'face' in CA. This has been discussed briefly by Heritage (1984a) and Lerner (1996). Lerner (1996) noted that Goffman's observations of face in everyday interaction are not based on singular linguistic

elements of social encounters but instead consider social interaction in a much wider context. Goffman himself noted that the preferred method for studying the interaction order should be through microanalysis (1983b:2). Therefore, the CA methodology is well suited to the study of the interaction order. Elsewhere (Flint 2016:41) I have suggested that "To *not* consider face is to *not* consider the social aspect of language use". For this reason, I do not simply analyse the initial interactions, observing the patterns of delicate moves of doing disaffiliation and remedial work. In this thesis, I begin to make connections between the social actions of interactants in the moment of the interaction with the bigger picture of the interaction order and how conversational mechanisms are of significance when used as vehicles for participants' 'moral enterprises', such as doing remedial work in order to do facework.

Goffman's definition of 'face' is based on the notion of an 'assumed line' which I suggest is very much related to the CA notion of 'preference' (also see Flint 2016). I make connections between the two phenomena and demonstrate that there is both a place for the consideration of the interpersonal element of interaction when doing CA as well as a place for the consideration of conversational structures and sequencing when doing interpersonal pragmatics. Just as Lerner (1996) identified face in preference structures, here I aim to do the same and provide further connections between the Goffmanian 'line' and CA's 'preference'. A 'line' can be defined as "a pattern of verbal and nonverbal acts" performed in a way that expresses an individual's view of the situation and their view of the interactants, including themselves (Goffman 1967b [1955]:5). Since preference is the systematic bias of next turns in conversational sequences, Goffman's 'line' ties in as the fundamental notions of both 'preference' and 'line' are *patterns* and *expectations* (based on those patterns). Throughout the collection of disaffiliation sequences collected for this research, there appears to be a pattern demonstrating that there is a *preference for agreeability* and a *preference for inter-activity*. But, merely to state that there *is* a pattern with no concern for *why* there is a pattern is to overlook the social nature of interaction. And that is wrong. Goffman defines face as being the positive social value claimed by an assumed line. So, if others assume that a line has been taken which pursues agreeability as an interactional goal, taking a turn that 'does *dis*agreeability' does not commit to the assumed line, and it is therefore at this point where remedial work is employed in order to do the necessary

facework. Once a person provides the necessary remedial work they once again (re)commit themselves to the line of 'doing agreeability', therefore saving face.

The same can be said for the preference for inter-activity. If a person has committed themselves to the assumed line that they are playing their 'proper' part in reciprocally sustaining the interaction, to pursue inter-activity is face-enhancing. Whereas, if participants do not play their 'proper' part and do not pursue inter-activity, this could be potentially face-threatening (if, of course, it has been assumed that they have committed to the assumed line of doing 'agreeability' and 'inter-activity'[14]). In the case of the initial interactants, following a disaffiliation, to not do remedial work (even following very trivial topics of disaffiliation) would be dispreferred in terms of 'doing agreeability', but it would also be dispreferred in that they would not be playing their 'proper' part in the interaction, and therefore not sustaining the interaction.

Previously, Heritage has said that deviating from the preferred next turn is a "face-threatening and sanctionable form of action" (1984a:268), however the reason *why* this could be face-threatening appears not to have been explored. By demonstrating some connections between 'preference', 'face' and 'line', this thesis has suggested some reasons why doing a dispreferred next turn *could* be face-threatening.

This chapter has demonstrated some connections between CA and interpersonal pragmatics. Through the microanalysis of the disaffiliation-plus-account sequences, we can see the machinery and structural order of talk, and this provides the empirical data needed to accept and support Goffman's (1967c [1957]) observations of the interaction order. Through the fusion of CA and pragmatics, similarities can be seen between the two fields and many of the terms that each uses. By considering 'face' and 'line' in conceptualising the interpersonal preferences of agreeability and inter-activity, I hope to have offered at least the beginnings of a fuller account of the need for both the structural and the interpersonal elements that make up everyday interaction.

[14] There are other situations where disagreeability and a lack of activity would be expected given an assumed line. For example, in situations such as politics or police interviews, participants would have different expectations.

Chapter 7 – Conclusion

This chapter concludes the thesis. §7.1 offers a summary, with some reflection on the research question and aims set out in Chapter 1. §7.2 discusses the limitations of the study and highlights some potential avenues for future work and possible implications of the research. The contributions of thesis will be discussed in §7.3 before §7.4 offers some final concluding remarks.

7.1 Summary of the Thesis

This thesis set out to investigate the following question:

> How are disaffiliations remedied in initial interactions between speakers of English in British–American dyads?

In answering this question, this thesis reviewed existing literature on initial interactions, (dis)affiliation and remedial work. Throughout the literature review, ideas from various disciplines were considered, particularly from the fields of CA and interpersonal pragmatics. The literature reviewed in Chapter 2 informed the methodology and the analytic frameworks of the thesis, which were discussed in Chapter 3. Here, the relevant information regarding the data set and the analytic methodologies was presented. The combination of frameworks fulfilled the research aim of fusing a CA-informed methodology with ideas that are fundamental to pragmatics. Chapters 4 and 5 embarked upon the CA-informed analysis of the initial interactions data. Chapter 4 operationalised *affiliation*, *disaffiliation* and *nonaffiliation*, which, prior to this thesis, had not been so thoroughly defined in the existing literature. This chapter explored stancetaking, CA and social psychological approaches to inform the definitions provided in this study. The definitions were discussed in relation to extracts taken from the collections of affiliation, disaffiliation and nonaffiliation. Chapter 5 focused more specifically on the types of remedial work sequences which followed the disaffiliations investigated in §4.2. Out of this analysis four new account types have been proposed: SINGLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS, MULTIPLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS, ACCOUNT-FORS and ACCOUNT-WITHS. Each of the account types was discussed, with analyses of extended account sequences and an overview of the sequential patterns of each account type.

In Chapter 6, pragmatics was fused with the CA-informed analysis. Here the observations of the CA-informed analysis were discussed in relation to Goffman's interaction order, and an argument was made for the existence of *the preference for agreeability* and *the preference for inter-activity*. This chapter also reflected on the CA notion of preference, considering it in terms of facework and the interaction order. Through the discussion of (dis)affiliation in Chapter 4, and the analysis of the account types in Chapter 5, this thesis has considered *how* initial interactants appear to account for disaffiliations according to the structural order. However, in Chapter 6 this thesis began to theorise accounts according to the interaction order, arguing for the presence of two interpersonal preferences. I have suggested that it is the fusion of both the CA-informed analysis and the application of this analysis to pragmatics that allow for a more nuanced account of how British and American speakers of English remedy disaffiliations in initial interactions.

7.2 Limitations, Future Research and Implications

An obvious limitation is the size of the data set. This thesis has used a collection of 15 instances of disaffiliation (plus two other small sub-collections of affiliations and nonaffiliations), therefore due to the small number of cases of disaffiliation-plus-account sequences, the sample may not be representative of initial interactions more generally. A larger collection of disaffiliations followed by accounts would allow for more general claims regarding the account types that follow initial interactions and with that, a better understanding of collaborative accounts could be gained.

Another limitation of this study could arguably be the organised nature of the data collection. However, I have counter-argued that using organised data collection in studies of interaction is not only valid, but also useful in the exploration of ideas before later applying the findings to 'real world' contexts. I have also presented a further argument for warranting organised data collection: since these initial interactants orient to disaffiliations as consequential, in less trivial environments those consequences are surely likely to be even more significant. I also argue that the findings of interactional studies with 'organised' data collection methods are equally valid as those which use 'naturally occurring' data, since all interaction is natural for the environment in which it occurs (cf. Wolfson 1976). So, the interactions analysed for this thesis are natural for

the context of unacquainted students meeting in a university setting for the purposes of data collection. I therefore argue that the data analysed in this thesis is indeed valuable for exploring these interactions.

There are many potential avenues for future research identified throughout this thesis. Some are listed here:

- Throughout this thesis, despite the data involving American and British participants, culture is noticeably not explored (largely due to the more specific focus on individual and collaborative remedial work sequences, but also because of the difficulties of defining culture); there could therefore be potential for future research investigating the impact of culture (in its broadest sense[15]) on instances of disaffiliation.

- The preference for self-accounting has been recognised through the analysis presented, however due to the small numbers of each account type, no generalisations regarding a preference for one particular account type over another have been made. I suggest that a larger collection of account sequences is required to provide evidence for this preference (initially recognised by Robinson 2016).

- Nonaffiliations were introduced in this thesis, however they were not explored in great depth. I suggest that nonaffiliation should be considered further in relation to the preference for agreeability. This thesis has recognised that doing nonaffiliation avoids doing disaffiliation, and through avoiding conflict orients to doing agreeability. Further exploration of nonaffiliations would enable stronger claims regarding the connection between noticeable absences of (dis)affiliation and the preference for agreeability.

[15] The impact of culture discussed here refers to other cultural differences besides nationality. This could include cultural differences regarding age, religion or occupation – or even the (possibly more subtle) cultural differences between students of the same nationality and age group regarding alcohol-drinking.

- This thesis has raised some issues regarding mutations of actions including retrospective transformations of epistemic stances and assessments into affective stances and other actions, such as questions, self-disclosures or storytellings being responded to as if they were doing stancetaking. I therefore suggest that further research should consider the forms of actions and their stancetaking functions.

- Mock and non-serious offence-taking should also be considered further in relation to remedial work. Given that mock behaviours can be considered to be either face-supportive and/or face-threatening (Haugh 2010), doing mock behaviour is a potentially risky action when attempting remedial work. More exploration here would not only provide a better understanding of mock behaviours in doing remedial work, it would also further fuse CA and linguistic (im)politeness, contributing to a relatively small field of existing literature.

- Finally, due to the relatively small collection of instances analysed here, further work on collaborative account sequences should be undertaken, particularly investigating collaborative account types across various data sets (including between participants with various relationships, such as families, friends and colleagues).

The implications of this thesis provide potential for impact concerning further work – most notably, research embarking on making connections between CA and pragmatics. Through embarking on studying interaction by using various perspectives, a more holistic picture can be uncovered by studying the same data and same phenomena from multiple angles. This thesis therefore provides evidence for the benefits of using inter-disciplinary perspectives from related fields of research as each discipline has the potential to provide some new perspective.

More specifically, this thesis provides the groundwork for potential future studies considering (dis)affiliation and/or remedial work. Through providing more thorough definitions and including the addition of nonaffiliation as a phenomenon, this thesis has aided future research considering (dis)affiliation. Similarly, the proposal of four new account types (SINGLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS, MULTIPLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS, ACCOUNT-FORS and ACCOUNT-WITHS) demonstrates the collaborative nature of remedial work in everyday interaction.

This thesis also has yet wider implications on the world beyond academia. I suggest that the findings from this research could be applied to other sources of data to solve real world problems. Some potential areas for further impact could include the application of these findings to data such as political discourse, institutional interactions (both between employees and customers, as well as between employees within a workplace) and family interactions, including marriage or family counselling as well as potentially other formats where (re)mediation and conflict are at play. The findings of this study could also have potential impact in the teaching of English to speakers of other languages (TESOL). By using a CA methodology this study has uncovered *how* interactants (dis)affiliate in mundane interactions. Many findings of CA (not just the findings of this study) could be used in influencing TESOL and improving teaching resources and methods.

7.3 Contribution to Knowledge

This section discusses the main findings of this study which has explored some key issues in understanding initial interactions, (dis)affiliation and remedial work and facework. Contributions to the field include the following:

- Definitions of affiliation, disaffiliation and nonaffiliation have been provided and discussed in relation to the empirical evidence from the collections made for this thesis. Through the inter-disciplinary approach, multiple aspects of language use have been considered (namely structural ordering and the interpersonal aspects of language use), thus providing a more well-rounded view of doing (dis)affiliation in interaction.
- This thesis has also offered original contributions to knowledge through the investigation of account types which have not been discussed prior to this thesis: SINGLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS, MULTIPLE-INDIVIDUAL ACCOUNTS, ACCOUNT-FORS and ACCOUNT-WITHS.
- Out of the analysis of the collections of affiliations, disaffiliations and nonaffiliations, and of the accounts that follow disaffiliations, two preferences have been identified and argued for: the ‘preference for agreeability’ and the ‘preference for inter-activity’.

- Although the ‘preference for agreeability’ has previously been recognised (Flint et al under review; Haugh 2015), this thesis provides further empirical evidence and begins definitional work on ‘agreeability’. The analysis of the various individual and collaborative accounts sequences following disaffiliations has demonstrated the underlying preference for agreeability in initial interactions.

- This thesis has recognised that justifications are typically offered following disaffiliations, and also typically, rather than the ‘blame’ being attributed to others it is attributed to fundamental differences between participants (e.g. culture) or to the self (even to the extent of framing accounts to attribute blame to the self before revealing that blame actually lies elsewhere, such as the instance when a participant claims her dislike of online shopping is because of her ‘disproportionate body’, rather than the inconsistency of clothes sizing in different stores). This CA-informed observation raises issues of face which have briefly been explored in Chapter 6.

- This thesis has suggested that there is a preference for inter-activity in initial interactions. The preference recognises Goffman’s (1967c [1957]) observation of participants reciprocally sustaining interaction and provides empirical evidence missing from Goffman’s work.

- Given that this thesis has discussed two unrelated preferences, the preference for agreeability and the preference for inter-activity, a clash of preferences could be expected. However, in the initial interactions discussed there does not appear to ever be such a clash. Since pursuing agreeability often takes great interactional work, the preference for inter-activity is also being oriented to. It thus appears that throughout the initial interactions, both agreeability and inter-activity are equally being oriented to as interactional goals.

- The emergent nature of stancetaking has been discussed. Through recognising that many stancetaking and non-stancetaking actions can effectively do affective stancetaking, this thesis has demonstrated some initial work on how affective stances emerge in interaction and how these emergent affective stances are responded to.

- Some similarities and differences have been recognised and discussed between (dis)agreement and (dis)affiliation. Some of the traits of (dis)agreement have been generalised to make them applicable to (dis)affiliation and possibly also other preference structures. This thesis has put forward the more general notion of a ‘preferred-plus-dispreferred’ turn shape in place of the ‘agreement-plus-

disagreement' turn shape to make it applicable to other phenomena, including (dis)affiliation.

The contributions recognised here have been discussed in detail throughout the thesis. Of course, many would benefit from further research.

7.4 Concluding Remarks

This thesis has fused two approaches: the structural order (Sacks 1995) and the interaction order (Goffman 1967c [1957], 1983b). Through the tying together of a CA-informed methodology with other ideas from pragmatics and sociology, this thesis has explored how initial interactants account for disaffiliation. From the very first foundations of CA, accounts have been of interest (Sacks 1995:4). Given this focus on accounts from a structural point of view, as well as Goffman's focus on remedial interchanges (1971a) and facework (1967b [1955]), the fundamental role of accounts to studying interaction should be clear. The role of accounts in relation to affective stances has not been considered in much depth outside of research from Flint (2016) and Flint et al (under review). Through the uncovering of initial interactants inter-actively doing remedial work, connections have been made between the structural mechanisms of conversation and the fundamental social nature of interaction.

Through applying a CA-informed methodology, this thesis has investigated 'preference' as it relates to interpersonal aspects of interaction. The preference for agreeability and the preference for inter-activity have been discussed in relation to the analytic observations of how initial interactants account for disaffiliations. Although these preferences emerged from the data analysed in this thesis, Goffman (1967c [1957]:116-117) had already observed some of the fundamental notions relating to these two preferences. Most notably, he considered social interaction as a means of forming "the bridge that people build to one another, allowing them to meet for a moment of talk in a communion of reciprocally sustained involvement" suggesting that "It is this spark, not the more obvious kinds of love, that lights up the world".

The observations made on interpersonal preferences not only provide some explanation of how initial interactants do remedial work following disaffiliations, but

also show how these interpersonal preferences contribute towards reciprocally sustaining interaction and how it is, therefore, that doing remedial work, is in fact, a way that people interactionally and agreeably light up the world.

References

Angouri J. and Locher M. A. (2012) Theorising Disagreement. Special Issue of Journal of Pragmatics. *Journal of Pragmatics,* 44 (12), 1549-1720.

Antaki C. (1994) *Explaining and Arguing*. London, Sage.

Antaki C. (2011) *Applied Conversation Analysis: Intervention and Change in Institutional Talk*. Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan.

Antaki C. (2012) Affiliative and Disaffiliative Candidate Understandings. *Discourse Studies,* 14 (5), 531-547.

Antaki C., Finlay, W., Walton, C. and Pate, L. (2008) Offering Choices to People with Intellectual Disabilities: An Interactional Study. *Journal of Intellectual Disability Research,* 52 (12), 1165-1175.

Arundale R. B. (2006) Face as Relational and Interactional: A Communication Framework for Research on Face, Facework, and Politeness. *Journal of Politeness Research,* 2, 193-216.

Attwood H. J. and Merrison A. J. (2017) "So Let's Get the Doors Open and Have Some Fun!": Investigating Rapport Management in Work Place Briefings from a Conversation Analytic Perspective. Presented at: *15th International Pragmatics Conference (IPrA).* Belfast, Northern Ireland, 16-21 July 2017.

Benoit W. L. (1995) *Accounts, Excuses, and Apologies: A Theory of Image Restoration Strategies*. Albany, NY, State University of New York Press.

Bolden G. B. and Robinson J. D. (2011) Soliciting accounts with why-interrogatives in conversation. *Journal of Communication,* 61 (1), 94-119.

Brown P. and Levinson S. C. (1978) Universals in language usage: Politeness phenomena. In: Goody E. N. ed. *Questions and Politeness: Strategies in Social Interaction*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp.56-311.

Brown P. and Levinson S. C. (1987) *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Button G. and Casey N. (1985) Topic Nomination and Topic Pursuit. *Human Studies,* 8 (1), 3-55.

Clark H. H. (1996) *Using Language*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Clayman S. E. (1992) Caveat Orator: Audience Disaffiliation in the 1988 Presidential Debates. *Quarterly Journal of Speech,* 78 (1), 33-60.

Clift R. (2001) Meaning in interaction: The case of actually. *Language,* 77 (2), 245-291.

Clift R. (2016a) Don't Make Me Laugh: Responsive Laughter in (Dis)affiliation. *Journal of Pragmatics,* 100, 73-88.

Clift R. (2016b) *Conversation Analysis*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Clift R. (2017) Is That Your Coat on the Floor? Agency and Autonomy in Indirection. Presented at: *15th International Pragmatics Conference (IPrA).* Belfast, Northern Ireland, 16-21 July 2017.

Clift R. and Holt E. (2017) The Pragmatics-Conversation Analysis Interface. Panel at: *15th International Pragmatics Conference (IPrA).* Belfast, Northern Ireland, 16-21 July 2017.

Condor S., Figgou, L., Abell, J., Gibson, S. & Stevenson, C. (2006) 'They're Not Racist…' Prejudice Denial, Mitigation and Suppression in Dialogue. *British Journal of Social Psychology,* 45 (3), 441-462.

Couper-Kuhlen E. (2012) Turn continuation and clause combinations. *Discourse Processes,* 49 (3-4), 273-299.

Drew P. E. and Wootton A. E. (1988) Introduction. In: Drew P. E. and Wootton A. E. eds. *Erving Goffman: Exploring the Interaction Order*. Cambridge, Polity Press, pp.1-13.

Du Bois J. W. (2007) The Stance Triangle. In: Englebretson R. ed. *Stancetaking in Discourse: Subjectivity, Evaluation, Interaction*. Amsterdam, John Benjamins, pp.139-182.

EastWick P. W. and Finkel E. J. (2008) Speed-Dating: A Powerful and Flexible Paradigm for Studying Romantic Relationship Initiation. In: Sprecher S., Wenzel A. and Harvey J. eds. *Handbook of Relationship Initiation*. New York, NY, Psychology Press, Taylor & Francis Group, pp.217-234.

Enfield N. J., Dingemanse M., Baranova J., Blythe J., Brown P., Dirkmeyer T., Drew P., Floyd S., Gipper S., Gísladóttir R. S., Hoymann G., Kendrick K. H., Levinson S. C., Magyari L., Manrique E., Rossi G., San Roque L. and Torreira F. (2013) Huh? What? – A First survey in 21 Languages. In: Hayashi M., Raymond G. and Sidnell J. eds. *Conversational Repair and Human Understanding*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp.343-380.

Englebretson R. (2007a) *Stancetaking in Discourse: Subjectivity, Evaluation, Interaction*. Amsterdam, John Benjamins.

Englebretson R. (2007b) Stancetaking in Discourse: An Introduction. In: Englebretson R. ed. *Stancetaking in Discourse: Subjectivity, Evaluation, Interaction*. Amsterdam, John Benjamins, pp.1-25.

Ferrara K. (1992) The Interactive Achievement of a Sentence: Joint Productions in Therapeutic Discourse. *Discourse Processes,* 15 (2), 207-228.

Flint N. (2016) *"That's what I Thought as Well": Doing Affiliation in Initial Interactions*. Unpublished Undergraduate Thesis. York St John University.

Flint N., Haugh M. and Merrison A. J. (2017) Accounting for Disaffiliation in Initial Interactions Amongst British and Australian Speakers of English. Presented at: *15th International Pragmatics Conference (IPrA)*. Belfast, Northern Ireland, 16-21 July 2017.

Flint N., Haugh M. and Merrison A. J. (under review) Modulating Troubles Affiliating in Initial Interactions: The Role of Remedial Accounts.

Glenn P. (2003) *Laughter in Interaction*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Goffman E. (1963) *Behavior in Public Places: Notes on the Social Organization of Gatherings*. New York, NY, Free Press.

Goffman E. (1967a) *Interaction Ritual: Essays on Face-to-Face Behavior*. New York, NY, Pantheon Books.

Goffman E. (1967b [1955]) On Face-Work. In: *Interaction Ritual: Essays on Face-to-Face Behavior*. New York, NY, Pantheon Books, pp.5-45.

Goffman E. (1967c [1957]) Alienation from Interaction. In: *Interaction Ritual: Essays on Face-to-Face Behavior*. New York, NY, Pantheon Books, pp.113-136.

Goffman E. (1971a) Remedial Interchanges. In: *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order*. Harmondsworth, Pelican, pp.124-225.

Goffman E. (1971b) Supportive Interchanges. In: *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order*. Harmondsworth, Pelican, pp.88-123.

Goffman E. (1971c) The Individual as a Unit. In: *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order*. Harmondsworth, Pelican, pp.23-50.

Goffman E. (1983a) Felicity's Condition. *American Journal of Sociology,* 89 (1), 1-53.

Goffman E. (1983b) The Interaction Order. *American Sociological Review,* 48, 1-17.

Haugh M. (2010) Jocular Mockery, (Dis)Affiliation, and Face. *Journal of Pragmatics,* 48 (8), 2106-2119.

Haugh M. (2011) Humour, Face and Im/Politeness in Getting Acquainted. In: Davies B. L., Haugh M. and Merrison A. J. eds. *Situated Politeness*. London, Continuum, pp.165-184.

Haugh M. (2012) Conversational Interaction. In: Allan K. and Jaszczolt K. M. eds. *The Cambridge Handbook of Pragmatics*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp.251-274.

Haugh M. (2015) Impoliteness and Taking Offence in Initial Interactions. *Journal of Pragmatics,* 86 (1), 36-42.

Haugh M. (2016) "Just Kidding": Teasing and Claims to Non-Serious Intent. *Journal of Pragmatics,* 95, 120-136.

Haugh M. (2017a) Mockery and (Non-)Seriousness in Initial Interactions Amongst American and Australian Speakers of English. In: Carbaugh D. ed. *Handbook of Communication in Cross-Cultural Perspective*. London, Routledge, pp.104-117.

Haugh M. (2017b) Revisiting Po-Faced Responses to Teases. Presented at: *15th International Pragmatics Conference (IPrA).* Belfast, Northern Ireland, 16-21 July 2017.

Haugh M. and Bousfield D. (2012) Mock Impoliteness, Jocular Mockery and Jocular Abuse in Australian and British English. *Journal of Pragmatics,* 44 (9), 1099-1114.

Haugh M. and Carbaugh D. (2015) Self-Disclosure in Initial Interactions Amongst Speakers of American and Australian English. *Multilingua,* 34 (4), 461-493.

Haugh M. and Obana Y. (2015) Transformative Continuations, (Dis)Affiliation and Accountability in Japanese Interaction. *Text & Talk,* 35 (5), 597-619.

Hayashi M. (2013) Turn Allocation and Turn Sharing. In: Sidnell J. and Stivers T. eds. *The Handbook of Conversation Analysis*. Oxford, John Wiley & Sons, pp.167-190.

Heritage J. (1984a) *Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology*. Cambridge, Polity Press.

Heritage J. (1984b) A Change of State Token and Aspects of its Sequential Placement. In: Atkinson J. M. and Heritage J. eds. *Structure of Social Action: Studies in Conversation Analysis*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp.299-345.

Heritage J. (1988) Explanations as accounts: A conversation analytic perspective. In: Antaki C. ed. *Analyzing Lay Explanation: A Case Book of Methods*. London, Sage Publications, Inc, pp.127-144.

Heritage J. (1998) Conversation Analysis and Institutional Talk: Analyzing Distinctive Turn-Taking Systems. In: Cmejrková S., Hoffmannová J., Müllerová O., Svetlá J. eds. *Proceedings of the 6th International Congress of IADA.* Tubingen: Niemeyer, pp.3-17.

Heritage J. and Raymond G. (2005) The Terms of Agreement: Indexing Epistemic Authority and Subordination in Talk-in-Interaction. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 68 (1), 15-38.

Heritage J. and Robinson J. D. (2011) 'Some' Versus 'Any' Medical Issues: Encouraging Patients to Reveal their Unmet Concerns. In: Antaki C. ed. *Applied Conversation Analysis*. Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, pp.15-31.

Holt E. (2007) 'I'm Eyeing Your Chop Up Mind': Reporting and Enacting. In: Holt E. and Clift R. eds. *Reporting Talk: Reported Speech in Interaction*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp.47-80.

Holt E. (2010) The Last Laugh: Shared Laughter and Topic Termination. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 42 (6), 1513-1525.

Holt E. (2017) Free Indirect Reported Speech in Interaction. Presented at: *15th International Pragmatics Conference (IPrA).* Belfast, Northern Ireland, 16-21 July 2017.

Holt E. and Clift R. (2007) *Reporting Talk: Reported Speech in Interaction*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Hymes D. (1984) On Erving Goffman. *Theory and Society*, 13 (5), 621-631.

Iwasaki S. (2015) Collaboratively Organized Stancetaking in Japanese: Sharing and Negotiating Stance within the Turn Constructional Unit. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 83, 104-119.

Jefferson G. (1972) Side Sequences. In: Sudnow D. N. ed. *Studies in Social Interaction*. New York, NY, Free Press, pp.294-333.

Jefferson G. (1987) On Exposed and Embedded Correction in Conversation. In: Button G. and Lee J. R. eds. *Talk and Social Organization*. Clevedon, Multilingual Matters, pp.86-100.

Jefferson G. (2004) Glossary of Transcript Symbols with an Introduction. In: Lerner G. H. ed. *Conversation Analysis: Studies from the First Generation*. Amsterdam, John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp.13-34.

Joyce J. (2015) *A Partial Sketch of Membership Categorisation Devices in Initial Interactions.* Unpublished Undergraduate Thesis. York St John University.

Kellermann K. and Lim T. (1989) Conversational Acquaintance: The Flexibility of Routinized Behaviors. *Rethinking Communication*, 2, 172-187.

Kitzinger C. and Frith H. (1999) Just Say No? The Use of Conversation Analysis in Developing a Feminist Perspective on Sexual Refusal. *Discourse & Society*, 10 (3), 293-316.

Lemert C. (1997) Goffman. In: Lemert C. and Branaman A. eds. *The Goffman Reader*. Oxford, Wiley-Blackwell, pp.ix-xliii.

Lerner G. H. (1996) Finding "face" in the preference structures of talk-in-interaction. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 59 (4), 303-321.

Levinson S. C. (1983) *Pragmatics*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Lindström A. and Sorjonen M. (2013) Affiliation in conversation. In: Sidnell J. and Stivers T. eds. *The Handbook of Conversation Analysis*. Oxford, John Wiley & Sons, pp.350-369.

Lofland L. H. (1973) *A World of Strangers: Order and Action in Urban Public Space*. New York, NY, Basic Books.

Macaulay R. (2001) You're like 'why not?' The quotative expressions of Glasgow adolescents. *Journal of Sociolinguistics,* 5 (1), 3-21.

Matsumoto Y. (2009) Foreword. In: Bargiela-Chiappini F and Haugh M eds. *Face, Communication and Social Interaction*. London, Equinox Publishing, pp.xi-xii.

McLaughlin M. L., Cody M. J. and Rosenstein N. E. (1983) Account sequences in conversations between strangers. *Communications Monographs,* 50 (2), 102-125.

Merrison A. J. (1998) *Doing Aphasia: Aphasic Discourse from a Non-Aphasic Perspective.* Unpublished PhD Thesis. University of Edinburgh.

Merrison A. J., Bloomer A., Griffiths P. and Hall, C. J. (2014) *Introducing Language in use: A Course Book.* 2nd Edition. Abingdon, Oxon, Routledge.

Mitchell N. (2016) *Accountability, Agency and Orientations to the Participation Order in the Interactional Achievement of Evaluations of Impoliteness.* Unpublished PhD Thesis. Griffith University.

Mitchell N. and Haugh M. (2015) Agency, accountability and evaluations of impoliteness. *Journal of Politeness Research,* 11 (2), 207-238.

Nichols L. (1990) Reconceptualizing social accounts: An agenda for theory building and empirical research. *Current Perspectives in Social Theory,* 10, 113-144.

Ochs E. (1996) Linguistic resources for socializing humanity. In: Gumperz J. J. and Levinson S. C. eds. *Rethinking Linguistic Relativity*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp.407-438.

Ogden R. (2006) Phonetics and Social Action in Agreements and Disagreements. *Journal of Pragmatics,* 38 (10), 1752-1775.

Pillet-Shore D. (2011) Doing Introductions: The Work Involved in Meeting Someone New. *Communication Monographs,* 78 (1), 73-95.

Pomerantz A. (1984) Agreeing and Disagreeing with Assessments: Some Features of Preferred/Dispreferred Turn Shapes. In: Atkinson J. M. and Heritage J. eds. *Structures of Social Action*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp.57-101.

Pomerantz A. and Heritage J. (2013) Preference. In: Sidnell J. and Stivers T. eds. *The Handbook of Conversation Analysis*. Oxford, John Wiley & Sons, pp.210-228.

Robinson J. D. (2006) Managing Trouble Responsibility and Relationships during Conversational Repair. *Communication Monographs,* 73 (2), 137-161.

Robinson J. D. (2009) Managing counterinformings: An interactional practice for soliciting information that facilitates reconciliation of speakers' incompatible positions. *Human Communication Research,* 35 (4), 561-587.

Robinson J. D. (2016) Accountability in Social Interaction. In: Robinson J. D. ed. *Accountability in Social Interaction*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp.1-44.

Robinson J. D. and Bolden G. B. (2010) Preference organization of sequence-initiating actions: The case of explicit account solicitations. *Discourse Studies,* 12 (4), 501-533.

Romaine S. and Lange D. (1991) The Use of 'Like' as a Marker of Reported Speech and Thought: A Case of Grammaticalization in Progress. *American Speech,* 66 (3), 227-279.

Sacks H. (1972) On the Analyzability of Stories by Children. In: Hymes D. H. and Gumperz J. J. eds. *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*. Oxford, Basil Blackwell, pp.325-345.

Sacks H. (1984) On Doing ‘Being Ordinary’. In: Atkinson M. J. and Heritage J. eds. *Structures of Social Action: Studies in Conversation Analysis*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp.413-429.

Sacks H. (1987) On the Preferences for Agreement and Contiguity in Sequences in Conversation. In: Button G. and Lee J. R. ed. *Talk and Social Organization*. Clevedon, Multilingual Matters, pp.54-69.

Sacks H. (1995) *Lectures on Conversation*. Oxford, Blackwell Publishing.

Sacks H. and Schegloff E.A. (1979) Two Preferences in the Organization Preference to Persons in Conversation and their Interaction. In: Psathas G. ed. *Everyday Language: Studies in Ethnomethodology*. New York, NY, Irvington Press, pp.15-21.

Sacks H., Schegloff E. A. and Jefferson G. (1974) A Simplest Systematics for the Organization of Turn-Taking for Conversation. *Language,* 50 (4), 696-735.

Schegloff E. A. (1968) Sequencing in Conversational Openings. *American Anthropologist,* 70 (6), 1075-1095.

Schegloff E. A. (1996a) Some Practices for Referring to Persons in Talk-in-Interaction: A Partial Sketch of a Systematics. *Typological Studies in Language,* 33, 437-486.

Schegloff E. A. (1996b) Confirming Allusions: Toward an Empirical Account of Action. *American Journal of Sociology,* 102 (1), 161-216.

Schegloff E. A. (2007a) *Sequence Organization in Interaction: Volume 1: A Primer in Conversation Analysis*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Schegloff E. A. (2007b) A Tutorial on Membership Categorization. *Journal of Pragmatics,* 39 (3), 462-482.

Schegloff E. A. (2007c) Categories in Action: Person-Reference and Membership Categorization. *Discourse Studies,* 9 (4), 433-461.

Schegloff E. A. (2013) Ten operations in self-initiated, same-turn repair. In: Hayashi M., Raymond, G. and Sidnell, J. eds. *Conversational Repair and Human Understanding.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp.41-70.

Schegloff E. A. and Sacks H. (1973) Opening up closings. *Semiotica,* 8 (4), 289-327.

Schegloff E. A., Jefferson G. and Sacks H. (1977) The Preference for Self-Correction in the Organization of Repair in Conversation. *Language,* 53 (2), 361-382.

Schönbach P. (1980) A category system for account phases. *European Journal of Social Psychology,* 10 (2), 195-200.

Schönbach P. (1990) *Account Episodes: The Management Or Escalation of Conflict.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Scott M. B. (1993) Foreword. In: Buttny R ed. *Social Accountability in Communication*. London, Sage, pp.ix-x.

Scott M. B. and Lyman S. M. (1968) Accounts. *American Sociological Review,* 46-62.

Semin G. R. and Manstead A. S. (1983) *The Accountability of Conduct: A Social Psychological Analysis*. London, Academic Press London.

Sibthorpe S. (2008) *Fast-Tracking Affection. Exploring the Constraining Influences of Unacquaintedness, Obligatory Affect and Time Limit on Speed Dating Interactions.* Unpublished Undergraduate Thesis. York St John University.

Sprecher S., Wenzel A. and Harvey J. eds. (2008) *Handbook of Relationship Initiation*. New York, NY, Psychology Press, Taylor & Francis Group.

Stivers T. (2008) Stance, Alignment, and Affiliation During Storytelling: When Nodding is a Token of Affiliation. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 41 (1), 31-57.

Stivers T., Mondada L. and Steensig J. (2011) Knowledge, Morality and Affiliation in Social Interaction. In: Stivers T., Mondada L. and Steensig J. eds. *The Morality of Knowledge in Conversation*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp.3-24.

Stokoe E. (2010) "Have You Been Married, or…?": Eliciting and Accounting for Relationship Histories in Speed-Dating Interaction. *Research on Language and Social Interaction,* 43 (3), 260-282.

Svennevig J. (1999) *Getting Acquainted in Conversation: A Study of Initial Interactions*. Amsterdam, John Benjamins Publishing.

Tagliamonte S., A. (2009) Be Like: The New Quotative in English. In: Coupland N. and Jaworski A. eds. *The New Sociolinguistics Reader*. Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, pp.75-91.

Tedeshi J. and Riess M. (1981) Verbal Strategies in Impression Management. In: Antaki C. ed. *The Psychology of Ordinary Explanations of Social Behaviour*. London, Academic Press.

Wolfson N. (1976) Speech Events and Natural Speech: Some Implications for Sociolinguistic Methodology. *Language in Society*, 5 (2), 189-209.