

Aphasia and topic talk

A case study

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge, it does not contain any unattributed material previously published or written by any other person. I also declare that the work in this thesis has not been previously submitted to any other institution for, or as part of, a degree.

This study was granted approval by the Macquarie University Ethics Review Committee (Human Research) (reference: HE26SEP2008-D06134) and conducted in accordance with the guidelines stipulated.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Scott Barnes', with a stylized, cursive script.

Scott E. Barnes
May, 2011

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Related Presentations and Publications

Portions of the content and text of this thesis appear in the following presentations and publications. They are listed in chronological order.

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Abstract

This study uses Conversation Analysis (CA) to examine the organisation of topic talk in interactions involving a person with aphasia (Valerie). Approximately three and a half hours of video recordings involving Valerie were collected and analysed for this study. The most outstanding aggregate feature of Valerie's topic talk was an asymmetry of speakership. It was found that Valerie's routine conversation partners spoke more, and for longer periods. This study identifies the motivations for this asymmetry, and the mechanisms of its accomplishment. In doing so, it also analyses how Valerie used particular linguistic forms to implement discrete actions during topic talk. Valerie's conduct as both a primary speaker and a recipient during topic talk is described. Initiating and progressing topic talk were found to be recurrently difficult for her. Valerie had more success with topic talk initiations that projected primary speakership for her conversation partners. These topic talk initiations frequently involved turn-initial *and*. It is argued that *and*-prefaced turns offered Valerie a number of interactional advantages in general, and for initiating topic talk in particular. Valerie's activities as a recipient during topic talk are then discussed. One highly recurrent response—*that's right*—was selected for analysis, and the following functional variants were identified: confirming; mutual stance; recognition; compliment; and restored intersubjectivity. Composite responses involving *that's right* are also examined. This study contributes to conversation-analytic research by describing largely unexamined ways of using *and* and *that's right* during everyday talk-in-interaction. It contributes to aphasiology by offering new information about the effects of aphasia on the organisation of topic talk, and by helping expand the communicative activities and linguistic resources that are considered relevant for investigating and treating aphasia.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This study describes the organisation of topic talk in interactions involving a person with aphasia. It represents a contribution to a growing body of work that uses the principles and practices of Conversation Analysis (CA) to examine the connections between linguistic impairment and interactional organisation. CA provides aphasiologists with a means of capturing linguistic impairment in its natural habitat, and investigation along these lines has spawned new ways of understanding, assessing, and treating aphasia. It has revealed how interaction creates unique problems (and opportunities) for people with aphasia (cf. Wilkinson, 1999b, p. 327), and has detailed the consequences of these constraints for the linguistic resources they utilise. For aphasiology—a discipline that largely takes the mind/brain and the sentence as its foundational points of departure—observations like these are of substantial theoretical and practical value.

There are a number of reasons to study aphasia and topic talk. First, topic talk is a common activity during talk-in-interaction, and an important scene for the prosecution of quotidian business; here, people tell one another about their experiences, share news about their lives, and discuss issues of the day. With topic talk, interactants explicitly construct who they understand one another to be, and engage with matters they take to be of value. Therefore, examining how people with aphasia and their routine conversation partners conduct topic talk may yield information that can be used to enhance their everyday communication. Second, little is known about how people with aphasia carry out particular sequential courses of action, and distinct action types. Conversation-analytic investigation so far has focused on how aphasia affects organisations of practice for talk-in-interaction; principally, turn construction and repair. Moreover, topic talk seems an inherently difficult task for people with aphasia. It is amongst the largest sequential units undertaken during everyday talk-in-interaction (Svennevig, 1999, p. 168), and requires the use of specific, semantically-rich words. Producing continuous talk and efficiently accessing lexical resources are near uniformly (though variously) problematic for people with aphasia. How, then, do they accomplish these tasks during topic talk? How do people with aphasia (and their routine conversation partners) organise topic talk so that aphasia does not render it inoperative? Or does it simply disintegrate under the pressure aphasia creates? This study attempts to address

these (and other) questions by subjecting topic talk during interactions involving a person with aphasia (Valerie¹) to detailed inspection.

1.1.1 Thesis organisation

This thesis is organised into three segments: Chapters 1-2, Chapters 3-8, and Chapter 9. The first segment broadly introduces the present study by discussing previous work along similar lines, and outlining its methodology. The second segment contextualises and delivers the present study's analyses. This segment also has a recurring structure. Prior to each analytic chapter, there is a chapter that delimits the phenomena under investigation, and develops resources necessary for their analysis. These analytic background chapters primarily involve the discussion of previous conversation-analytic investigation of the phenomena targeted. Lastly, the third segment situates the present study (and its findings) relative to broader aphasiological and conversation-analytic interests.

1.1.2 Thesis content

The individual chapters of this thesis address the following matters. Chapter 1 introduces aphasia, CA, and previous findings about interactions involving people with aphasia. Chapter 2 describes the methodology of the present study, the characteristics of Valerie's aphasia, and the nature of the data collected. Chapter 3 broadly sketches the organisation of topic talk, and summarises observations so far registered about topic talk and aphasia from a conversation-analytic perspective. This chapter sets the scene for Chapter 4 (and all the subsequent analyses). Chapter 4 describes aggregate speakership patterns during Valerie's topic talk, and analyses topic talk configurations that were recurrently problematic. The analytic focus is then substantially narrowed in Chapters 5 through 8. These chapters address discrete actions Valerie implemented during topic talk, and particular linguistic forms she employed in their realisation. Chapter 5 discusses the use of *and* in talk-in-interaction. This chapter sets the scene for Chapter 6, which examines Valerie's use of turn-initial *and*; principally, for topic talk initiation. Chapter 7 discusses reciprocity, brief vocal responses, and related aphasiological research. This chapter sets the scene for Chapter 8, which examines Valerie's use of *that's right* while acting as a recipient; principally, for agreement. Lastly, Chapter 9 summarises the present study's findings, discusses their import for aphasiology and mainstream CA, identifies the present study's limitations, and suggests avenues for future research.

¹ This name, and all others below, are pseudonyms. See Chapter 2 for further details on anonymisation.

The analyses offered in this study begin with an observation about an aggregate pattern in topic talk during Valerie's interactions: namely, speakership was distributed asymmetrically, with her conversation partners holding the floor more often, and for longer periods of time. Subsequent analyses are directed towards describing how the labour involved with topic talk came to be divided in this fashion. In doing so, some linguistic features of Valerie's practices for talking-in-interaction are also scrutinised. Broadly, the present study addresses:

- How Valerie's conversation partners responded to her topic talk initiations.
- How Valerie's conversation partners responded to her periods of primary speakership.
- How Valerie responded to her conversation partners' topic talk initiations.
- How Valerie responded to her conversation partners' periods of primary speakership.
- How Valerie used particular linguistic forms to implement discrete actions during topic talk.

Chapter 1 will now proceed with an introduction to aphasia, CA, and the use of conversation-analytic practices and principles for aphasiology. As well, it provides a preliminary characterisation of the present study's features and objectives relative to other aphasiological work, and prior conversation-analytic research targeting aphasia.

1.2 Aphasia

Section 1.2 defines and describes aphasia. It also broadly highlights some perspectives from which aphasia has been approached, and briefly details how they have informed clinical practice.

1.2.1 Definition, aetiology, and characteristics

Aphasia is an acquired, non-degenerative impairment of language. It results from damage to the brain; typically, the left hemisphere of the cerebral cortex. Language is the only or primary cognitive capacity affected. It can involve deficits in one or more language modalities (listening, speaking, reading, and writing) and one or more components of the language system (phonology, morphosyntax, and semantics). Cerebrovascular accident (CVA) (i.e. stroke) is the most common cause of aphasia (Chapey & Hallowell, 2001). Between 21 and 38 percent of people who suffer a stroke will have aphasia in the acute stages of recovery (Berthier, 2005). While aphasia will spontaneously resolve for some of these individuals (e.g. Hillis & Heidler, 2002), it will persist for many others. For instance,

Pederson, Vinter, and Olsen (2004) found that 61 percent of people who had aphasia in the early stages of recovery continued to have it one year later, although severity tended to decrease.

Modern aphasiology has been primarily concerned with the description of aphasic symptoms, and how they cohere into various, classifiable groups. Although it has been labelled in a number of different ways, a distinction between fluent and non-fluent aphasias has been drawn in the vast majority of the taxonomies developed (cf. Ardilla, 2010). Norman Geschwind and his followers in the Boston School established this particular nomenclature in modern aphasiology, and correlated it with the anatomical locations of lesions to the brain (Ardilla, 2010; Bartlett & Pashek, 1994; Tesak & Code, 2008, p. 167-168). Lesions to the anterior portions of the left perisylvian cortex were linked with non-fluent aphasias, while posterior lesions were linked with fluent ones (Ardilla, 2010; Code, 1989).

Non-fluent aphasia is most synonymous with Broca-type aphasia. Verbal symptoms of Broca-type aphasia include laborious, discontinuous speech², reduced utterance length, reduced vocabulary, reduced numbers of verbs relative to nouns, morphosyntactic deficits, and relatively spared language comprehension. A prominent aspect of the impairments associated with Broca-type aphasia is agrammatism. Features of agrammatism (in English, at least) include the omission of articles, prepositions, auxiliary verbs, and verbal morphology, problems with word order, and some difficulties understanding more complex syntactic structures (cf. Grodinsky, 2000; see also Beeke, 2005, for an extensive introduction). Fluent aphasia is most synonymous with Wernicke-type aphasia. Verbal symptoms of Wernicke-type aphasia include continuous speech and relatively preserved syntax, with significant deficits in lexical selection and language comprehension (cf. Ardilla, 2010; Goodglass, Kaplan, & Barresi, 2001). Wernicke-type aphasia is associated with the frequent production of paraphasic errors (i.e. semantic and/or phonemic substitutions for a target word) as well as neologisms (i.e. non-words) (cf. Dell, Schwartz, Martin, Saffran, & Gagnon, 1997). While the symptom clusters and anatomical regions associated with Broca-type and Wernicke-type aphasias are not the only manifestations of aphasia recognised (e.g. Nadeau & Crosson, 1997; see also Ardilla, 2010), these conditions remain a key touchstone for aphasiology, both in research and clinical practice.

² The proximity of the cortical motor centres to the anterior perisylvian regions means that speech (e.g. dysarthria) and non-speech (e.g. unilateral paralysis) motor impairments commonly co-occur with non-fluent aphasia. Dysarthria is neuromuscular dysfunction affecting the motor systems that support speech. See Marquardt (2000) for a broad introduction.

1.2.2 Impairments versus consequences

In modern aphasiology, a broad distinction can be drawn between investigations and clinical procedures that focus on the nature of aphasia as an impairment, and those that focus on the consequences of aphasia for daily life (cf. Thompson & Worrall, 2008). Studies that have employed the theories and practices of generative linguistics, psycholinguistics, and cognitive neuropsychology (e.g. Caplan, 1987) are the best example of investigation concerned with aphasia as a (cognitive-linguistic) impairment. This research has built on the grosser descriptions of aphasic symptoms identified by earlier aphasiology, and elaborated the cognitive-linguistic character of aphasia. For example, work along these lines has been concerned with the nature of syntactic deficits (e.g. Bastinaanse & Thompson, 2003; Grodzinsky, 2000; Shapiro, Gordon, Hack, & Killackey, 1993), and the cognitive processes involved with word production (e.g. Caramazza, Papagno, & Rumel, 2000; Dell et al., 1997; Nickels, 2002a). For researchers working within these traditions, aphasic impairments represent a testing ground for the cognitive reality of the modules and mechanisms postulated in theories of language and/or cognition³ (Tesak & Code, 2008, p. 181). The application of these models to aphasia has also promoted the development of cognitive-linguistic theories relating to the deficits implicated in particular aphasic syndromes. Aphasiologists have then used this knowledge to inform clinical assessments and interventions for aphasia. For example, this work has led to the development of theory-driven intervention programs that aim to ameliorate the impairments underlying aphasic word production (e.g. Nickels, 2002b) and sentence construction (e.g. Thompson & Shapiro, 2005).

At the other end of the spectrum, there is a growing body of research concerning the consequences of aphasia for everyday life. These studies have examined the effect of aphasia on, for example, quality of life (e.g. Ross & Wertz, 2003), identity (e.g. Shadden, 2005), vocational status (e.g. Hinckley, 2002) and everyday communication activities (e.g. Davidson, Worrall, & Hickson, 2003; Parr, 2007). This work has examined how aphasia can recurrently disrupt discrete activities of daily living (e.g. calling directory assistance, talking with a spouse, ordering food at a restaurant), and described its aggregate negative effects (aphasia can lead to relationship breakdowns, social isolation, loss of economic opportunities, etc.). Consequence-oriented research finds its modern origins in the functional communication approach initiated by Martha Taylor Sarno, and developed by Audrey Holland. These aphasiologists were concerned with how people with aphasia communicated and performed

³ Most of this research assumes that the relationship between aphasic symptoms and the underlying impairment(s) caused by brain damage is relatively direct, e.g. that syntactic errors illustrate the nature of a syntactic impairment. For a counter argument in relation to agrammatism, see Kolk and Heeschen (1990).

everyday tasks in spite of their diminished linguistic capacities (e.g. Holland, 1982). A second major influence on consequence-oriented research was the disability movement of the 1980s, which positioned disabled people relative to society at large (e.g. Thompson & Worrall, 2008, p. 11-15). Together, this work has facilitated the development of clinical philosophies and programs that, in addition to linguistic impairment, address specific activities of daily living, personal circumstances and preferences, social supports, and societal barriers (e.g. Byng & Duchan, 2005; Simmons-Mackie, 2008).

Studies of aphasic discourse began to proliferate in the late 1970s and early 1980s (see Armstrong, 2000; and Cummings, 2007, for reviews). Investigation along these lines emerged from the functional communication movement, and aphasiologists' increasing concern with disparities between linguistic impairment and broader communicative competence (Holland, 1991; Ulatowska, 2007). In particular, aphasiologists began to pay closer attention to the fact that people with aphasia largely retained pragmatic competence despite their linguistic difficulties (e.g. Holland, 1982). Studies of aphasic discourse share characteristics with both impairment- and consequence-oriented approaches. Unlike a good deal of consequence-oriented research, it has maintained a focus on how aphasia manifests linguistically. But, unlike most impairment-oriented work, studies of discourse have extended their analytic attention beyond isolated sentences, and generated valuable information about how people with aphasia perform during tasks that are more representative of everyday communication. However, many discourse-oriented researchers have persisted with the monologic elicitation practices used in sentence-oriented investigations, and focused on a small number of discourse genres; predominately narrative and procedural discourse (e.g. Armstrong & Ulatowska, 2007; Łojek-Osiejuk, 1996; Ulatowska, North, & Macaluso-Haynes, 1981). As well, much of the research examining aphasic discourse has tended to retain the view that language is, first and foremost, an abstract, cognitive-representational system (cf. Armstrong & Ferguson, 2010; see Armstrong, 2005, for some prominent exceptions).

1.2.3 Conversation

The centrality of conversation for the everyday lives of people with aphasia has long been recognised (e.g., cf. Armstrong & Ferguson, 2010; Beeke, Maxim, & Wilkinson, 2007; Ferguson, 1994; Holland, 1982; Kagan, 1998; Parr, 1994; Ramsberger & Rende, 2002; Wilkinson, 1999a). Like aphasic discourse, interest in conversation was initiated by researchers concerned with the consequences of aphasia. These researchers saw conversation as the principle activity disrupted by aphasia (e.g. Holland, 1991; Kagan, 1998). There is, however, some variability as to the phenomena targeted by this work. In particular, much of

this research has utilised contrived interactions, such as role plays, interviews, story recounts, and barrier tasks. Studies that focus on authentic interactions are much less common (Damico, Ball, Simmons-Mackie, & Müller, 2007). Aphasiologists have also used an eclectic array of methods for analysing conversation, including rating scales (e.g. Hesketh, Long, Patchik, Lee, & Bowen, 2008), field descriptions (e.g. Parr, 2007), interviews and participant reflections (e.g. Davidson, Worrall, & Hickson, 2008), and various linguistic procedures (e.g. Ramsberger & Rende, 2002).

Investigations of aphasia and conversation, in combination with clinicians' experiences of conversations involving people with aphasia, have led to the development of assessment and intervention approaches that specifically target conversation (e.g. Holland, 1991; Hopper, Holland, & Rewega, 2002; Kagan, 1998). These interventions focus on training people with aphasia and their familiar conversation partners to implement strategies that facilitate communication, for instance: using gesture and writing to aid expression and comprehension, verifying what the person with aphasia has communicated with summaries, and providing people with aphasia sufficient time to take a turn (e.g. Kagan, 1998).

1.2.4 The present study

The present study finds its motivations in consequence-oriented approaches, and an interest in the everyday lives of people with aphasia. In particular, it contributes to aphasiological interest in functional communication (cf. Armstrong & Ferguson, 2010; Holland, 1991; Simmons-Mackie, 2008). However, like studies of aphasic impairments and discourse, it makes detailed observations on language use. It also eschews the use of contrived interactions, and impressionistic measures (e.g. rating scales, field notes). Instead, it directly analyses spontaneous conversations in which a person with aphasia and her familiar conversation partners carried out everyday activities. In essence, this study represents a contribution to the emerging research program that Damico et al. (2007, p. 93) labelled "interactional aphasiology".

1.2.5 Summary: Section 1.2

Aphasia is an acquired language disorder resulting from damage to the brain. It can affect multiple language modalities and systems. Aphasiologists have drawn a contrast between fluent and non-fluent aphasias. Non-fluent, Broca-type aphasia involves laborious, discontinuous speech, reduced utterance length, reduced vocabulary, syntactic deficits, and relatively spared language comprehension. Fluent, Wernicke-type aphasia involves continuous speech and relatively preserved syntax, with significant deficits in lexical selection

and language comprehension. Aphasiologists have tended to approach investigation and clinical practice with either a focus on the impairments caused by aphasia, or the consequences of aphasia for daily living. Studies of aphasic discourse share properties with both impairment- and consequence-oriented approaches. Finally, aphasiologists have long acknowledged the importance of conversation for research and clinical practice, and have used an eclectic array of methods to study it.

1.3 Conversation analysis

Section 1.3 summarises the principles and methodological practices of CA, and outlines its key findings about the organisation of interaction. In particular, it focuses on the “organizations of practice” discussed by Schegloff (2006a).

1.3.1 Development, principles, and practices

CA was designed as, and continues to be, a method for doing sociology. In the 1960s, Harvey Sacks set about formulating a new way of coming to terms with social order. His collaborations with Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson laid the foundations for the development of CA as a rigorous analytic framework. CA finds its grounding in Harold Garfinkel’s Ethnomethodology (e.g. Garfinkel, 1967; Heritage, 1984b) and Erving Goffman’s work on the “interaction order” (e.g. Goffman, 1983). Garfinkel’s concern with practical sense-making, and Goffman’s with face to face interaction as a consequential domain of inquiry, are visible in CA’s theoretical and methodological points of departure (cf. Heritage, 2001; see also Heritage, 1984b; and Schegloff, 1988a).

CA takes as its primary object of study recorded, authentic, real-time instances of interaction between people conducting the activities of their everyday lives. As Schegloff (1995) noted, a vast array of human activity is achieved through talking and interacting with other people; as different as a politician answering a question in a house of parliament, and a child asking a parent to buy a toy. Hence, conversation—or, more properly, “talk-in-interaction” (cf. Schegloff, 1987a, 2006a)—is the activity through which much of human society is constituted (Goodwin & Heritage, 1990). CA also affords mundane, face to face interactions a privileged position amongst the activities undertaken via talk-in-interaction. Schegloff (1995, p. 186-187) argued that “...ordinary conversation is very likely the basic form of organization for talk-in-interaction”. Further, he suggested that other interactive occasions represent variants, or transformations of it (see also Heritage, 1984b, p. 238-240).

CA views interaction as an orderly, ongoing achievement. This position is amongst the most (if not the most) important of its analytic assumptions. Sacks posited that interactants’

conduct is systematically organised, and that this organisation is present on a moment-to-moment basis (e.g. Sacks, 1992a, p. 483-485; Schegloff, 1993). First and foremost, CA is concerned with how interactants' design their conduct for the accomplishment of social action (cf. Schegloff, 1995; 1996a). That is, when people talk in interaction, they are making visible—through their practices—what they are doing, and how they are doing it. CA aims to describe what interactants do to achieve this visibility; the procedures they undertake to make some stretch of talk (or other conduct) identifiable as a “possible X” (Schegloff, 2006b, p. 145).

The route that Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson took in this analytic endeavour contrasted with the prevailing sociologies of the time (Goodwin & Heritage, 1990). Their objective was to create a descriptive social science, where the terms and findings of inquiry were guided by the materials subjected to analysis rather than prior theorising about them. Sacks and his co-workers took the position that the terms of their chosen material—talk-in-interaction—could be found in the conduct of those who created and made sense of it in the first place (cf. Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, p. 290). As such, a key objective of CA is to bring analysts' sense-making into alignment with interactants' sense-making. This methodological practice has far reaching implications for the study of talk-in-interaction. Take, for example, the investigation of action. Instead of attempting to intuit what interactants are doing with a stretch of talk, conversation analysts bind analytic interpretation to interactants' treatment of it. Immediately subsequent turns are a key resource for this task because they are where interactants made their sense-making visible to one another (Heritage, 1984b, p. 254-260; Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). An analyst can, therefore, gain access to interactants' moment-to-moment understandings of the actions that were implemented, and then begin to formulate an account of what occurred, and how. In addition, the nature of the action(s) undertaken need not be restricted by the vernacular of a language. Schegloff (1996a), for example, demonstrated that there is scope for the discovery of practices that defy commonsense labelling, but are nonetheless recurrently used by members of a culture.

CA's inductive approach to investigation also shapes how analysts select phenomena for inquiry. In particular, interactants' orientations are used to determine which phenomena are considered interactionally meaningful, and the nature of their import. As a consequence, conversation-analytic research requires the creation of intimately detailed transcripts of the interactions recorded. For example, there are transcription conventions for occurrences like short pauses, in-breaths, shifts in pitch, etc. (see Appendix A). Intuitively, these happenings may seem haphazard, but their status as such is treated as an empirical question. That is, CA

resists firm conclusions about the import of particular phenomena until empirical evidence of interactants' orientations to them is gathered and examined (cf. Heritage, 1984b, p. 242-243).

Section 1.3.1 has discussed the development and principles of CA. Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson designed CA to address sociological objectives, and investigate the interaction order. Most fundamentally, Sacks hypothesised that interactants' conduct is orderly on a moment-to-moment basis. Conversation analysts aim to discover this order empirically and inductively, and reveal the procedures that interactants use to carry out social action.

1.3.2 CA and language

As noted above, CA was designed for doing sociology, rather than linguistics, or anthropology, or psychology, etc. Although language is consequential for much of what transpires during interaction, it is but one semiotic material available to interactants (cf. Goodwin, 2000). Therefore, CA does not privilege language as an object of study (Schegloff, 1996c, p. 52). However, the general investigative orientation of CA does have consequences for how language is viewed analytically. Unlike much of mainstream linguistics, CA treats language as a system with essentially social-interactional origins and motivations (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting, 2001; Schegloff, Ochs, & Thompson, 1996; Schegloff, Koshik, Jacoby, & Olsher, 2002). With regard to origins, Schegloff (1989, 1995, 1996c) noted that language evolution and language development are both processes that are accomplished through interaction. He therefore suggested that aspects of the language system must be adapted to the structural environment provided by interaction (e.g. TCUs, turns, sequences; see Section 1.3.3). With regard to motivations, the phonetic, prosodic, lexical, and grammatical structures used during interaction are viewed as resources for dynamically implementing praxis (i.e. action) between interactants. See Schegloff et al. (1996), Couper-Kuhlen and Selting (2001), and Prevignano and Thibault (2003, p. 167-170) for comments on development of an "Interactional Linguistics".

1.3.3 Organisations of practice

Schegloff (2006a) claimed that there are a number of generic problems that interactants must solve in order to successfully conduct social interaction. He wrote:

By referring to them as *generic*, I mean to convey that where stable talk in interaction is sustained, solutions to key organizational problems are in operation, and these organizations of practice are the basis for these solutions. (p. 71, italics original)

This chapter will now sketch the organisations of practice identified by Schegloff (2006a); namely, turn-taking and turn organisation (e.g. Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 1996a), sequence organisation (e.g. Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Schegloff, 2007c), repair (e.g. Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977; Schegloff, 1992), word selection (e.g. Sacks, 1972a,b; Schegloff, 1996b, 2007b) and overall structural organisation (e.g. Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Schegloff, 2010). This discussion addresses their operation during everyday talk-in-interaction, rather than in institutional talk (e.g. Heritage, 1997).

1.3.3.1 Turn-taking and turn organisation

Schegloff (2006a, p. 72) argued that “[w]hat is at stake in ‘turn taking’ is not politeness or civility, but the very possibility of coordinated courses of action between the participants...”. Sacks et al. (1974) described turn-taking in everyday conversation, and postulated a system that could account for the turn-taking patterns they had observed during this activity (p. 700-701). The turn-taking system proposed by Sacks et al. (1974) includes two components, with an accompanying set of rules. The components provide methods for constructing turns, and methods for allocating turns.

Interactants build turns-at-talk from turn-constructual units (TCUs). Upon beginning a turn, the turn-taking system entitles speakers to one TCU. Speakers can utilise different unit-types when building a TCU (e.g. lexical, phrasal, clausal, sentential). All unit-types project the kinds of next-parts that are required to bring a TCU to possible completion. Possible completion of a TCU also constitutes possible completion of a turn (Schegloff, 1996c), and is typically negotiated by interactants with reference to grammar, intonation, and action. The co-ordination of all three features commonly occurs (Ford & Thompson, 1996). Once the unit-type in progress has been brought to its first point of possible completion, a transition-relevance place (TRP) is generated.

At TRPs, transfer of speakership is achievable, but not mandated. Interactants must, therefore, determine if speakership is to be transferred and, if so, who it is to be transferred to. The “turn-allocational component” is divided into two sets of practices; those that allow for a current-speaker to select a next-speaker, and those that allow a potential next-speaker to self-select. The rule set addresses how interactants ensure one party is selected (thereby maintaining one-speaker-at-a-time), and how gap and overlap are minimised. See Sacks et al. (1974, p. 704-706) for further explication of the rule-set, and its import for their turn-taking system.

Schegloff (1996c) has expansively sketched the internal organisation of turns, identifying a number of positions within and around TCUs, and the interactional

contingencies they address. For example, Schegloff (1996c) discussed TCU pre-beginnings, post-beginnings, pre-possible completions, and post-possible completions. For the sake of brevity, only pre-beginnings and pre-possible completions will be discussed here. Pre-beginnings can involve conduct such as non-lexical vocalisations (e.g. *uh*), in-breaths, head turns, and throat clearings. These objects act to signal that a turn may be commencing, but do not constitute the initiation of a TCU. At pre-possible completions, interactants can implement conduct directed towards the possibility of TCU completion. For example, potential next-speakers may begin to speak, and current speakers may work to show that TCU completion is likely (e.g. they may produce a pitch peak, see Schegloff, 1987a). Alternatively, current speakers may implement practices to index their resistance to speakership transition (e.g. a “rush-through”, see Schegloff, 1982, 1987a).

Because the turn-taking system provides for speaker transition at the first point of possible TCU completion, continuations of speakership past that point must be considered interactional achievements (Schegloff, 1987a, p. 104). There are, however, turns-at-talk that properly involve multiple components, i.e. multi-unit turns (Schegloff, 1996c, p. 61-69; Selting, 2000). Courses of action like tellings, explanations, and jokes regularly require one party to hold speakership for an extended period of time, and others to align as recipients (cf. Houtkoop & Mazeland, 1985; Jefferson, 1978; Sacks, 1974; Schegloff, 1980, 1982, 1996c; Selting, 2000). Recipients resist making bids for the floor until the activities projected by the course of action have been satisfactorily completed (cf. Selting, 2000).

Finally, Sacks et al. (1974, p. 699-700) claimed that the turn-taking system for everyday talk-in-interaction has the dual status of being context-sensitive and context-free. They argued that interactants draw upon a “formal apparatus” in their management of turn-taking, but that this apparatus is sensitive to the circumstances to which it is applied⁴ (see also Lerner, 2003).

1.3.3.2 Sequence organisation

Turns-at-talk are arranged by interactants into distinct and coherent patterns of action, or sequences. By arranging series of consecutive turns in particular ways, interactants work to create observable and identifiable courses of action together. For example, there are sequential practices for making invitations (e.g. Davidson, 1984), initiating topic talk (e.g. Button & Casey, 1985), delivering news (e.g. Maynard, 2003), telling stories (e.g. Jefferson, 1978), and closing conversations (e.g. Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). Sequence organisation also creates a framework for the interpretation of talk (Heritage, 1984b). This means that, unless

⁴ Schegloff (2010, p. 134) suggested that this position is applicable to other organisations of practice as well.

otherwise marked, turns will be understood as fitted to and furthering the current sequence-in-progress (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Schegloff, 2007c).

A basic type of sequence organisation is the “adjacency pair” (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Schegloff, 2007c). Adjacency pairs minimally consist of two component actions: a first-pair part (FPP) and a second-pair part (SPP) (Schegloff, 2007c). Upon the production of a particular type of FPP (e.g. a question, an invitation, a complaint), the production of a particular type of SPP (e.g. an answer, an acceptance, an apology) from another speaker becomes conditionally relevant, i.e. normatively expected (Schegloff, 1968, 2007c). If the projected SPP is not forthcoming, or a non-conforming type of SPP is used, the normative expectation will have been violated, and a particular interactant may be held accountable.

Interactants can also exploit the “armature” (Schegloff, 2007c, p. 12) provided by adjacency pairs to assemble larger courses of action. For instance, adjacency pairs can be expanded in systematic ways relative to their “base” first and second pair parts. Pre-expansions occur before a base FPP; insert-expansions occur between the base FPP and SPP; and post-expansions occur after a base SPP (Schegloff, 2007c, p. 26-27). Pre- and insert-expansions typically constitute adjacency pairs in their own right, and act to address issues that affect production of the next adjacency pair component due (see Schegloff, 2007c, p. 27-58; 97-114). Post-expansions, on the other hand, encompass a more functionally and structurally diverse range of phenomena; from the minimal (e.g. receipting responses like *yes* and *mm*) to the potentially extended (e.g. tellings, topic talk) (see Schegloff, 2007c, p. 115-194).

1.3.3.3 Preference organisation⁵

Preference organisation concerns the practices involved with the production of alternative action types (Schegloff, 2007c). Upon the occurrence of some FPP, there are typically a number of actions available to interactants for use as SPPs. Not all of the actions available will have symmetrical implications for subsequent talk (cf. Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). Some responses will be aligning with the proposed course of action, while others will be less so. Responses that embrace a course of action, and the terms set out by it, are preferred. Responses that resist a course of action, and the terms set out by it, are dispreferred. Schegloff (1988b) also drew a contrast between structure-based and practice-based notions of preference. Structure-based preference concerns the relationship between FPPs and possible SPPs. For example, invitations prefer acceptances, and disprefer rejections (Schegloff,

⁵ Preference organisation was not included amongst Schegloff's (2006a) organisations of practice, but requires comment at this juncture nonetheless.

2007c). Practice-based preference concerns how interactants design their turns to reflect the kinds of actions being implemented. For example, turns that include inter- and intra-turn delays are regularly used to project dispreferred actions, whereas turns that implement an action promptly and directly are regularly involved with the delivery of preferred actions⁶ (cf. Pomerantz, 1984). These notions of preference are potentially separable within the same turn-at-talk, e.g. a structurally dispreferred response can be delivered with a preferred turn shape, and vice versa (Schegloff, 1988b). See Schegloff (1988b, p. 453-455; 2007c, p. 58-96) for a more extensive discussion.

1.3.3.4 Repair

Repair refers to the procedures that interactants use to address difficulties with “speaking, hearing, and understanding” talk (Schegloff et al., 1977, p. 361). The target of repair—the trouble source, or repairable—is not defined by what an analyst thinks is correct or incorrect but by what the interactants themselves attend to as problematic. Repair is an optional resource, and interactants can initiate or withhold repair on virtually any turn, no matter how problematic or unproblematic it might seem. Further, repair is unique amongst interactional practices in that it can be used at any time (Schegloff, 2000b). However, it is a dispreferred action (Schegloff et al., 1977).

The course and distribution of repair manifests in a number of characteristic ways (see Schegloff et al., 1977). First, repair (usually temporarily) displaces all other interactional projects, and is commenced as close to a trouble source as possible. Second, there are two distinct phases that repair moves through: initiating repair and carrying out repair. Participation in these phases, however, is not symmetrically available to all interactants. There is a strong preference for the speaker of the trouble source (i.e. the “self”) to initiate and undertake repair, rather than its recipient(s) (i.e. the “other”) (Schegloff et al., 1977). Third, there is a preference for repair to be resolved as quickly as possible, so as (amongst other things) displaced activities may be resumed.

Self-repair is commonly initiated with sound stretches, cut-offs, and non-lexical vocalisations (e.g. *uh*, *ah*). It can also be variably positioned relative to the trouble source, and the TCU in which it is housed (cf. Schegloff, 1979). Speakers may initiate repair before they have produced the trouble source, as they are producing it, or afterwards. As well, speakers may halt the TCU at a point of incompleteness, or initiate repair at or after it has reached possible completion (see also Schegloff, 1992, on “third position” repairs). Other-initiations

⁶ See Chapter 8 for discussion of Raymond (2003), who examined a preference organisation set in motion by the grammatical format of a FPP.

tend to occur in the turn immediately following the trouble source (Schegloff et al., 1977). They can take a number of forms; from “open” class repair initiations like *huh*, *pardon*, and *what*, where the nature of the trouble is not indexed, to candidate understandings of the matters-in-question (cf. Drew, 1997). Other-repairs are comparatively infrequent in everyday talk-in-interaction (Schegloff et al., 1977), and can often be heard as disaffiliative (cf. Jefferson, 1987).

1.3.3.5 Word selection

The phenomena involved in word selection are a good deal fuzzier, and more diverse than the organisations of practice discussed so far. The sense adopted by Schegloff (2006a) concerns practices for formulating places, persons, times, etc., and how interactants come to select the lexical items they do. An intuitively appealing explanation is the accuracy of a formulation, e.g. *he is an old person*. However, “factuality” alone is inadequate grounds given that other, equally accurate words are usually available (cf. Sacks, 1972a). Schegloff (2006a) argued that lexical items are systematically chosen to make the actions being implemented identifiable as those actions, and particular ways of doing those actions at that. For a more extensive discussion of associated practices, see Schegloff (1996b; 2007b).

Studies of membership categorisation practices have addressed similar issues (e.g. Hester & Eglin, 1997; Housley & Fitzgerald, 2002; Sacks, 1972a, b; Schegloff, 2007a; Watson, 1997). In essence, this research has sought to examine how members employ commonsense knowledge, and is grounded in Sacks’ (1972a, b) attempts to build an architecture for this task. However, the positioning of this work relative to other conversation-analytic research is not uncontroversial. See Housley and Fitzgerald (2002), Schegloff (2007a), and Watson (1997) for some comments on these matters.

1.3.3.6 Overall structural organisation

The construction of an entire occasion of interaction is also a systematic achievement. Interactants’ conduct can be heard as directed towards the overall organisation of an interactive episode at a number of different junctures. Perhaps the most obvious places are openings (e.g. Schegloff, 1986) and closings (e.g. Schegloff & Sacks, 1973), but other, much smaller objects can display how interactants understand a particular moment in the context of an interactive occasion (e.g. Bolden, 2008; Schegloff, 2010). For example, Schegloff (2010) provided evidence that some instances of *uh(m)* are heard relative to overall structural organisation; in particular, *uh(m)* can be used as a practice for launching conversational business.

A contrast has also been drawn between interactive episodes organised for sporadic occurrences of talk, versus those where talk is properly continuous (e.g. Schegloff, 2007c; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Couper-Kuhlen, 2010). The former, often referred to as “continuing states of incipient talk” (e.g. Schegloff & Sacks, 1973, p. 325), involves interactive occasions such as car trips, meals, and the like, where talk can be recurrently taken up and abandoned. On the other hand, there are interactions in which similarly motivated withdrawals would be potentially sanctionable (e.g. phone calls, interviews).

1.3.3.7 Other properties of talk-in-interaction

In addition to the organisations of practice sketched above, Schegloff (2006a, p. 85-87) identified “minimisation”, “nextness”, and “progressivity” as generically relevant (and interrelated) properties of talk-in-interaction. Minimisation refers to the default form of various practices (e.g. TCU size, adjacency pairs, person references) being their most minimal realisation. Nextness concerns the relationship between “prior” and “next” objects, and the relevance of the succession from the former to the latter for most interactional organisations. Lastly, progressivity refers to the forward motion of structured units (cf. Lerner, 1996b; Schegloff, 1979). On the relationship between these properties, Schegloff (2006a) wrote:

...progressivity is realized when some trajectory of action moves from the last-reached point to the next, delay means something occurs next other than what was due next; expansion of some unit—a turn, a sequence, a person reference—beyond its default, minimal realization can constitute a loss of progressivity, and so forth. (p. 87)

Hence, these properties are in operation simultaneously, and at a number of different organisational levels (Schegloff, 2006a).

1.3.4 Summary and discussion: Section 1.3

Section 1.3 has briefly outlined the development, principles, practices, and findings of CA. It has identified and discussed the operation of key organisations of practice for talk-in-interaction, and their role in addressing the generic problems faced by the parties to an interaction. Schegloff (2005, p. 456) has characterised these findings as “...a body of theorizing about the organisation of interaction”. However, the methods used in the development of these theories are substantially contrastive to those typically utilised in sociology (and in aphasiology). CA provides researchers with methodological tools for

systematically investigating the structure of social interaction, and a body of empirically grounded findings with which the materials under study can be compared and contrasted.

1.4 Aphasia and conversation analysis

Section 1.4 discusses issues relating to the use of CA for aphasiology. Previous work that has used CA to investigate the interactional practices of people with aphasia is then summarised. Finally, interaction-focused therapy is briefly described.

1.4.1 Applying CA

The use of conversation-analytic principles and techniques in disciplines outside of sociology has increased substantially in the past few decades (e.g. Antaki, in press, 2011a; Koshik et al., 2002; Richards & Seedhouse, 2005). As well as elaborating the organisation of interaction, this work has been directed towards informing practices within those disciplines, and/or the domains of activity under investigation. In particular, CA has been adopted by researchers attempting to revise disciplinary assumptions, and to address practical problems encountered by practitioners and consumers in selected fields of work (see Antaki, in press, 2011b, for further discussion). Each of these motivations is evident in studies that have applied CA to interactions involving people with aphasia.

1.4.2 CA as a method for aphasiology

CA significantly differs from the investigative methodologies most commonly used for aphasiology. It is naturalistic, rather than experimental; data-driven, rather than theory-driven; its targets are observable, rather than postulated; it does not take language as the primary object of study, and; it treats language as a social-interactional resource, rather than a cognitive-representational system. There are, however, sound motivations for its application to interactions involving people with aphasia; and everyday interactions in particular. Work along these lines has made a significant contribution to aphasiology.

First, and most generally, this research has added to the available information relating to the everyday lives of people with aphasia. This may seem a rather mundane accomplishment but, as recently as thirty years ago, how people with aphasia communicated in their everyday lives had been largely unstudied (cf. Holland, 1982). Second, it has demonstrated that talk-in-interaction can be examined in a rigorous fashion without compromising ecological validity, or resorting to exceedingly theory- and analyst-driven frameworks when categorising and interpreting interactional conduct (cf. Beeke, Maxim, & Wilkinson, 2007; Ferguson, 1994). Third, and perhaps most importantly, this work has

demonstrated that investigations of talk-in-interaction can simultaneously contribute to conceptions of aphasia as a linguistic disorder and to understanding its consequences for everyday life (cf. Wilkinson, Beeke, & Maxim, 2003). For instance, a number of studies have explored the possibility that aphasic language is adapted to the organisations and contingencies of interaction, rather than just a reflection of underlying impairment (e.g. Beeke, Wilkinson, & Maxim, 2003a, b, 2007, 2008; Heeschen & Schegloff, 1999, 2003; Laakso, 1997, 2003; Schegloff, 2003; Wilkinson et al., 2003). This information is of obvious interest for those concerned with developing models of the relationship between aphasic symptoms and cognitive-linguistic representation. At the same time, this research has also revealed the procedures that people with aphasia and their conversation partners use to implement social action. This information is of import for research and clinical procedures targeting functional communication. Traditional functional communication approaches tend to focus on the gestalt accomplishment of various activities collaboratively identified by the clinician, the person with aphasia, and their significant others (e.g. ordering at a restaurant, calling a relative on the phone) (cf. Pound, Parr, Lindsay, & Woolf, 2000; Simmons-Mackie, 2001, p. 249). CA's inductive approach to social action, in combination with its focus on the procedural nature of talk-in-interaction, promises (and has delivered) novel information about what constitutes functional communication, and how it is accomplished (cf. Armstrong & Ferguson, 2010, p. 493; Wilkinson, 1999b, p. 327; see Chapter 9). Finally, although it has been a philosophical commitment of various approaches to conversation in aphasiology (e.g. Kagan, 1998), CA provides empirical evidence of, and a method for accessing, the profoundly co-constructed nature of interaction. This work has also taken seriously the possibility that aphasia is not an omnipresent influence (e.g. Wilkinson, 2007; Wilkinson et al., 2003). As such, the relevance of aphasia—and/or an interactant's status as “aphasic”—is treated as a contingent achievement of multiple interactants, rather than a persistently relevant attribute of one interactant alone⁷.

One final comment on the use of CA for aphasiology is necessary. It is the author's position that the application of CA to interactions involving people with aphasia should, ultimately, be neither impairment- nor consequence-oriented. Instead, investigation should be (and largely has been) concerned with the procedural achievement of talk-in-interaction as an independent domain of inquiry. That is, rather than setting out to describe the nature or consequences of aphasia per se, this work should simply address itself to how social action

⁷ It should also be noted that an analyst's knowledge that one interactant has aphasia is not inconsequential from a conversation-analytic perspective. See Heeschen and Schegloff (1999, p. 378), and Chapter 9 for some further discussion of this issue.

was accomplished in the data-at-hand (cf. Damico et al., 2007, p. 98). Hence, the contributions of CA-inspired research to impairment- and consequence-oriented understandings of aphasia are by-products of coming to terms with the procedural achievement of talk-in-interaction.

The sections to follow describe the findings of research examining aphasia and talk-in-interaction⁸. Given its prominence in, and importance to, interactions involving people with aphasia, it commences by discussing studies that have examined the organisation of repair.

1.4.3 Repair

A salient feature of interactions involving people with aphasia is the prevalence and persistence of trouble. Although repair is typically framed in structural terms, it is ultimately a moral issue (e.g. Jefferson, 1987). Its recurrence can result in prolonged disruption to interactional business, and explicit orientation to an individual's linguistic incompetence (cf. Wilkinson, 2007; Wilkinson et al., 2003; see also Ferguson, 1996; Lindsay and Wilkinson, 1999; and Perkins, 2003).

Linguistic impairment simultaneously increases the possibility of trouble arising, and diminishes the pool of resources available to effect its resolution. Self-repair by people with aphasia has been most substantially addressed by Laakso (1997), who examined how (Finnish) people with fluent aphasia initiated and undertook repair of aphasic errors. She found that these speakers initiated pre- and post-positioned repair (cf. Schegloff, 1979) using the same practices as non-brain-damaged speakers, but that self-initiation could be extremely prolonged, and could include multiple attempts using different initiation techniques. Laakso (1997) also investigated whether different kinds of aphasic errors were more likely to receive repair initiation than others. She found that errors that were dictionary words (e.g. semantic paraphasias) were more likely to receive prompt repair initiation than errors that were non-words (e.g. neologisms, phonemic paraphasias). Laakso (1997) suggested that this was attributable to dictionary words having greater potential to cause misunderstanding. That is, unlike non-words, dictionary words are less readily identifiable as erroneous (cf. Wilkinson, 1995). This meant that swift repair initiation was necessary to show that turn construction had in fact gone awry. Aphasic errors that did not receive repair were also influenced by a number of interactional factors. In particular, errors that did not elicit self-initiation of repair often occurred towards the end of a TCU, after a number of other errors and repair attempts, and/or concurrently with illustrative gesturing. Like self-initiation, Laakso (1997) found that self-

⁸ The categorisation of studies below is, in a number of cases, somewhat arbitrary. Many papers have made substantial observations relating to multiple organisations of practice.

repair typically involved prolonged attempts using a number of different practices. She noted that self-repair practices included the production of lexically-related words, demonstrative pronouns, pointing, and repetition prior to reaching the targeted item (if it was reached at all).

Wilkinson, Gower, Beeke, and Maxim (2007) described self-repair practices used by a man with fluent aphasia (Derek). They contrasted Derek's turn construction practices at 15 weeks after his brain injury with his turn construction practices at 30 weeks. Wilkinson et al. (2007) found that Derek frequently used "replacement"—a post-positioned repair practice—at 15 weeks. But, by 30 weeks, Derek was using "insertion"—a pre-positioned repair practice. Thus, in the earlier recordings, Derek was reaching a trouble source, and then retrospectively operating on it, whereas in the later recordings Derek was looping his TCUs backwards (likely) before arriving at a trouble source. Wilkinson et al. (2007) argued that this latter turn construction practice was less perceptibly "aphasic", and promoted Derek's ability to fluidly progress his turns-at-talk.

People with aphasia often orient toward their inability to effectively carry out self-repair (e.g. Wilkinson et al., 2003). Wilkinson (2007) examined how people with aphasia used laughter during self-initiated repair, and noted two distinct patterns. The first pattern involved people with aphasia laughing in the course of a long and unsuccessful attempt at self-repair. This laughter did not elicit reciprocal laughter from other interactants. The second pattern also involved prolonged attempts at self-repair, but the laughter was employed by the speaker with aphasia in aid of a humorous noticing. The potential for humour resulted from an attempt at self-repair yielding a word that was plainly incongruous with the matters-at-hand. This laughter did elicit reciprocal laughter from other interactants. Wilkinson (2007) argued that, in both cases, the laughter reflected the delicacy of prolonged but unsuccessful attempts at self-repair, and its role in revealing the person with aphasia as linguistically incompetent. When resisting laughter, conversation partners ensured that they were not heard as aligning with the aphasic speaker's orientation towards their own incompetence. On the other hand, humorous noticings made the production of reciprocal laughter less delicate because of its mildly jocular nature. As well, awareness of an error's potential for humour also represented "...a kind of competence in the face of a display of incompetence" (Wilkinson, 2007, p. 562), which made reciprocal laughter more readily available as a response.

An extremely prominent feature of interactions involving people with aphasia is the prevalence of other-repair (cf. Ferguson, 1993, 1994; Goodwin, 1995, 2003; Klippi, 1996, 2003; Laakso & Klippi, 1999; Lindsay & Wilkinson, 1999; Oelschlaeger & Damico, 2003; Milroy & Perkins, 1992; Perkins, 2003; Wilkinson, 1995). Its recurrence largely reflects the difficulties people with aphasia have with repairing their own turns. Laakso and Klippi (1999)

described a collaborative pattern of repair known as a “hint and guess” sequence (cf. Lubinski, Duchan, & Weitzner-Lin, 1980). They identified four distinct phases in this course of action. First is “problem establishment”, in which a person with aphasia engages in conduct to signify that they are encountering persistent word finding difficulties, such as pausing, cut-offs, withdrawal of gaze, and particular facial expressions (see Goodwin and Goodwin, 1986; Laakso, 1997; Oelschlaeger, 1999). Next, the interactants establish “a framework for co-participation”, whereby the person with aphasia invites others to participate in the search, often via gaze (cf. Oelschlaeger, 1999). Third, in the “hint and guess” phase, other interactants begin to supply candidate formulations/words. If the supplied word is not the target, the responses of people with aphasia tend to provide further information (e.g. semantic, syntactic) about the word(s) being sought, which can help guide subsequent guesses (cf. Ferguson, 1993; Helasvuoto, Laakso, & Sorjonen, 2004). Finally, once the target has been identified, interactants undertake an extended confirmation phase, typically involving the production of multiple acknowledging tokens. See Oelschlaeger and Damico (2003) and Helasvuoto et al. (2004) for further characterisation of collaborative word searches.

A number of studies have suggested that the initiation and course of other-repair may vary between conversation partner types. For example, Laakso (2003) analysed an instance in which a speech pathologist resisted participation in a word search despite invitations from a person with aphasia. Her production of minimal responsive tokens left the burden of repair on the person with aphasia, and he was unable to resolve the trouble independently. Laakso (2003) contrasted this instance with a word search in which the spouse of a person with aphasia accepted his appeals for co-participation. This resulted in the relatively swift identification of the target, and the resumption of interactional business. Resistance to other-repair, however, does not appear to be restricted to clinicians. Perkins (1995, 2003) and Booth and Perkins (1999) offered evidence that some familiar communication partners may resist initiating and participating in repair despite signs of serious trouble. These conversation partners elided the trouble, and continued to prosecute the ongoing course of action, or initiated a new one. See Chapter 7, Section 7.3.1 for further discussion on this point, and Chapter 4 for some empirical examples.

Like Laakso (2003), Lindsay and Wilkinson (1999) found that spouses of people with aphasia were more willing to directly address trouble than speech pathologists, but the patterns they observed were rather different. Spouses were found to use open-class repair initiations (Drew, 1997) and engage in “correct production sequences” (Lock, Wilkinson, & Bryan, 2001). Correct production sequences involve a person with aphasia producing an error, followed by a conversation partner repeating the target (or some portion of it) in the following

turn, and encouraging the person with aphasia to attempt its production once more. Speech pathologists did not use open-class repair initiations, nor correct production sequences. Instead, they tended to initiate and implement other-repair using formulations and summaries. Lindsay and Wilkinson (1999) argued that spouses' other-repair practices brought problems with intersubjectivity to the "surface" of the interaction, whereas speech-language pathologists' practices did not emphasise the trouble, and worked to disengage from it.

In summary, there is the potential for repair to be recurrently implemented during interactions involving people with aphasia, and reveal them as linguistically incompetent. These speakers continue to initiate repair during their own turns-at-talk, but they often require assistance from their conversation partners to efficaciously address the trouble. There also seems to be a good deal of variability as to whether, when and how other-repair is undertaken during these interactions. Further investigation is required to establish how (and perhaps if) this variability is related to the type of conversation partner involved⁹.

1.4.4 Turn construction and turn-taking

Turn construction is an inherently fraught task for speakers with aphasia. Turns are largely built from linguistic resources and, as noted above, expressive language impairments can result in prolonged postponement of ongoing interactional business. As such, one might expect people with aphasia to adopt practices that minimise the likelihood of trouble disrupting their turns (cf. Wilkinson et al., 2007, p. 92).

Wilkinson et al. (2003) examined the turn construction practices of two people with fluent aphasia, and identified a number of recurrent patterns. First, when these speakers attempted to produce turns with a conventional subject-verb-object (SVO) structure and/or semantically rich lexical items, the progressivity of their turns was often significantly inhibited, resulting in the initiation of repair, and meta-interactional displays of orientation towards these difficulties. Second, these speakers regularly constructed turns in which a noun or noun phrase was produced as the initial (or near initial) element in the turn (i.e. it was "fronted"), and then followed by a proposition about the noun phrase (e.g. *that thing...it's a good one*). Third, and often in combination with fronted noun phrase turns, the speakers commonly used "general meaning lexical items", such as *thing* and *do*, and pronouns like *one*. Wilkinson et al. (2003) argued that fronting and general meaning lexical items offered a number of interactional advantages. They suggested that fronting can help an aphasic speaker bid for the floor by introducing a particular focus for the coming turn, but also making clear

⁹ See also Ferguson (1994) and Lind (2005) on other-repair practices used by less familiar, lay communication partners.

that there is more to come in it. Further, this method for turn beginning does not grammatically constrain subsequent turn elements to the extent that other turn beginnings can (cf. Schegloff, 1987b; see Chapter 6). As well, the use of general meaning lexical items likely avoided problematic word retrieval, and could indexically invoke semantically rich lexical items in the surrounding talk. Wilkinson et al. (2003) therefore argued that these practices were adaptations to the pressures of constructing turns in the face of real interactional consequences if/when their production was problematic.

Beeke et al. (2003a) and Beeke, Wilkinson, and Maxim (2007) have made similar observations relating to the turn construction practices of two people with non-fluent aphasia (Connie and Roy respectively). Beeke et al. (2003a) observed that Connie regularly positioned a “temporal phrase” at the beginning of her turns¹⁰ (e.g. *last week, july*). They argued that, in addition to the other turn constructional advantages associated with fronting (see above), Connie’s practices addressed contingencies specific to the grammatical impairments associated with non-fluent aphasia. Beeke et al. (2003a) suggested that temporal phrase fronting provided Connie with a means of marking tense, while allowing her to avoid calibrating verbal morphology. Beeke, Wilkinson, and Maxim (2007) examined the grammatical organisation of Roy’s turns, and linked particular turn construction formats with the implementation of particular actions. Like the fluent speakers studied by Wilkinson et al. (2003), Roy was found to use turn-initial nouns in combination with words that commented on the noun. This pattern was associated with sequence-initiating actions that committed Roy to a particular position (e.g. *clerical ... boring inn ’it*). Roy used turn-initial adjectives to assess the matters-at-hand, and often followed them with *because*-prefaced turn elements that added a rationale for the assessment. Beeke, Wilkinson, and Maxim (2007, p. 263) argued that, together, these elements worked to convey Roy’s “opinion” on the matters-at-hand. Roy also constructed turns in which talk and mime were used concurrently. This turn format was used to convey events, i.e. to progress a telling of some sort¹¹. Thus, although Roy’s ability to produce typical sentential grammatical structures was significantly affected, he was still able to arrange elements in his turns in order to make distinct turn formats that implemented specific actions (Beeke, Wilkinson, & Maxim, 2007, p. 272).

A number of investigators have also examined how the language elicited from people with aphasia during clinical testing procedures differs from the language they use for constructing turns. Most prominently, this work has proposed that some symptoms of

¹⁰ Connie also used temporal phrase fronting in combination with noun phrase fronting. See Chapter 3.

¹¹ Also see Beeke, Wilkinson, and Maxim (2007, p. 267-271) on “collaborative turn construction sequences” in Roy’s talk.

agrammatism may in fact be adaptations to talking in turns (see also Kolk and Heeschen, 1990). For instance, Heeschen and Schegloff (2003) found that the language used by a person with non-fluent aphasia became increasingly agrammatic as clinical tasks began to more closely resemble conversation. They, therefore, argued that some features of agrammatism may be “interactionally motivated” (p. 249). Beeke et al. (2003b) also reported that Connie was able to use a variety syntactic constructions in testing that were not used in conversation, and suggested that the extended time required for the production of typical grammatical structures made agrammatic output more viable in conversation (see also Beeke et al., 2008). Further, Heeschen and Schegloff (1999, 2003) argued that agrammatic turns may be particularly useful for enlisting the linguistic resources of conversation partners. They observed that conversation partners recurrently elaborated the elements missing from the aphasic speakers’ turns in immediately subsequent talk.

Fewer studies have specifically investigated the production of multi-unit turns by people with aphasia. Wilkinson (2009) examined how a person with fluent aphasia (Derek, see Section 1.4.3) used a particular compound TCU (cf. Lerner, 1991, 1996). He observed that person references (cf. Schegloff, 1996b) were regularly produced using a pseudo-cleft construction (e.g. *the only person who I’d never ever like doing the mark is Rob*, Wilkinson, 2009, p. 210). Derek used the first component of these TCUs to project the upcoming reference, while also characterising or adopting a perspective on the matters-at-hand. The second component delivered the reference, but in turn-final position. Wilkinson (2009) also noted that Derek used insertions (Wilkinson et al., 2007) and parentheticals (cf. Mazeland, 2007) in combination with pseudo-clefts, which further delayed the projected production of the person reference. Given that proper nouns are often problematic for people with fluent aphasia, the displacement of a person reference to turn-final position seems potentially advantageous. Wilkinson (2009, p. 222) suggested that pseudo-clefts, and their relegation of the person reference to turn-final position, may have increased the likelihood of successfully producing the desired lexical item at or near the slot projected.

Laakso (2003) also made comment on the production of multi-units turns by people with fluent aphasia. Long turns-at-talk are often included amongst the symptoms associated with Wernicke-type aphasia. However, Laakso (2003) noted that turns are inherently interactional, and that multi-unit turns by one party are the product of conduct from all interactants. She demonstrated that an extended turn by a person with Wernicke-type aphasia was the result of repeated attempts at self-repair, and his conversation partner’s resistance to participation in his repair attempts (see above). Hence, whatever the involvement of linguistic impairment, long turns by people with Wernicke-type aphasia must be considered a multi-

party, interactional achievement. See also Auer and Rönfeldt (2004) on the role of prosody in the achievement of extended turns by people with fluent aphasia.

Finally, Ferguson (1998) examined whether turn-taking during interactions involving people with fluent aphasia operated in the same fashion as turn-taking during typical interactions¹². This study analysed turn-taking between people with aphasia and either a familiar speech pathologist, an unfamiliar speech pathologist, or an unfamiliar lay person. Interactions between participants with aphasia were also examined. Ferguson (1998) found that turn-taking largely conformed to the system put forward by Sacks et al. (1974), but some distinctive patterns in turn-allocation emerged. Non-aphasic participants tended to select the person with aphasia as next-speaker much more often than they selected themselves, and vice versa. Ferguson (1998) suggested that this was likely attributable to the “interview style” adopted by the non-aphasic interactants. In everyday interaction, there is some evidence that people with aphasia have more difficulty claiming and retaining the floor (see Chapters 3 and 7 for further details).

This section has discussed turn construction and turn-taking during interactions involving people with aphasia. It appears that people with aphasia are subject to (or at least orient to) the same interactional contingencies as other parties when constructing and distributing turns. However, the methods they use for turn construction reflect the strong possibility of trouble, the constraints imposed by their linguistic impairments, and the availability of other semiotic resources (e.g. prior talk, conversation partners).

1.4.5 Co-construction and multimodality

While all face-to-face interaction is accomplished via the manipulation of multiple semiotic materials by multiple parties (cf. Goodwin, 2000), the linguistic impairments associated with aphasia can make this achievement rather more salient. People with aphasia must often make use of bodily resources (e.g. gaze, gesture, and facial expression), semiotic artefacts in the environment, and linguistic materials in order to ensure that the actions they are attempting to implement are identifiable. Together with their positioning in an interactional here-and-now (e.g. within a global activity, a local sequential context, for a particular recipient), these semiotic materials work to create a product that none of the individual components could independently constitute (cf. Beeke, Wilkinson, & Maxim, 2001; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1992). Two studies exemplifying how people with aphasia manipulate multiple semiotic resources in concert with other interactants will now be

¹² This investigation was in fact a replication of an earlier study conducted by Schienberg and Holland (1980).

discussed. For further work relating to co-construction and multimodality see, for example, Bloch and Beeke (2008), Klippi (1996, 2003), and Rhys (2005).

Goodwin (2003) explored how Chil, a man with severe non-fluent aphasia and a vocabulary of three words—*yes*, *no* and *and*—was able to formulate social action in concert with his familiar communication partners. The talk examined by Goodwin (2003) involved the planning of a dinner reservation between Chil and some family members, with analysis focused on Chil's configuration and placement of gesture in the ongoing talk. In the course of these arrangements, two other people were mentioned, and Chil began an attempt to suggest that they also be invited. In large part, this was accomplished through Chil's use of a hand shape (with his left, unparalysed hand) shifting between the form prototypically associated with the number five, to one in which only his thumb and index finger were extended.

Retrospectively, it is evident that Chil was attempting to show the number "seven" to signify that seven people should attend the dinner. One challenge was, therefore, that his consecutive hand shapes be identified as the correct number. When incorrect guesses were made at the target number, Chil subtly altered the configuration of his hand so as the "two" gesture was tilted laterally (i.e. so his thumb was level or above the highest point of his index finger), which eventually resulted in the correct number being guessed. However, Chil also needed to ensure that the correct "thing" was being counted. Throughout the sequence, the other interactants alternated between counting *time* and counting *people*, with Chil's wife finally suggesting *seven people* as a candidate interpretation. Chil guided their interpretation by resetting his gesture when the incorrect object (or object-number combination) was adopted by momentarily dropping his hand, and then quickly raising it back into the same space as before. Although the semiotic resources used by Chil may seem transparent in retrospect, in real time Chil and his interlocutors needed to closely monitor one another's conduct in order to collaboratively establish what he was attempting to do.

Wilkinson, Beeke, and Maxim (2010) examined how people with non-fluent aphasia accomplished enactment; that is, how they used direct reported speech and/or conveyed particular features of a scene or event, predominately during tellings and informings. The production of direct reported speech in the same fashion as non-brain-damaged speakers is unviable for people with non-fluent aphasia because it requires complex lexical and grammatical resources. Wilkinson, Beeke, and Maxim (2010) found that, instead, non-fluent aphasic speakers were able to economically convey various telling-world actions and events by combining objects that are lexically and syntactically uncomplicated with a number of other semiotic materials. Bodily movements (e.g. gaze, posture, facial expression, and gesture) were present in all instances of enactment, both with and without accompanying

linguistic resources. One pattern noted by Wilkinson, Beeke, and Maxim (2010, p. 64-66) involved the production of a person reference, followed by “kinesic enactment”, whereby the bodily movements of the person with aphasia depicted the activities (in particular, the affective states) of the individual referenced. The sparse language used by people with aphasia also left much inferential work for recipients. When producing kinesic enactments (with and without accompanying linguistic resources), people with aphasia relied on their conversation partners’ ability to hear the matters enacted as temporally iconic and, in the absence of person references, the actors involved. That is, the success of enactment by people with aphasia was dependent on conversation partners treating the serial ordering of depicted events as reflecting their occurrence in the telling-world, and conversation partners’ ability to infer (using, for example, prior talk) who was carrying them out. See Wilkinson, Beeke, and Maxim (2010) for further details the linguistic resources and practices associated with enactment undertaken by people with non-fluent aphasia.

1.4.6 Sequence organisation

Few studies have set out to examine how people with aphasia sequentially achieve particular, non-repair-related courses of action (e.g. complaints, invitations, stories, offers). More typically, comments relating to sequence organisation have concerned how prior turns constrain the interpretation of talk. Wilkinson (1999b) has put forward the most detailed consideration of these issues. He characterised sequentiality as both a “problem” and a “resource”. On the one hand, conversation partners may have difficulty understanding how the turns of people with aphasia fit with the talk immediately prior, and their implications for subsequent actions (see Drew, 1997, on similar phenomena in typical interactions). For example, Wilkinson (1999b, p. 333-335) analysed an instance in which the spouse of a person with aphasia heard his turn-at-talk as contributing to the ongoing sequence, rather than (as it would turn out to be) initiating something new. On the other hand, prior talk can be a useful interpretive resource for recipients of aphasic talk, and contextualise potentially problematic items that occur in their turns (e.g. paraphasias, pro-forms, and semantically-weak lexical items). See Bloch and Wilkinson (2004) for some similar observations relating to interactions involving people with dysarthria.

Perhaps the most powerful demonstration of sequentiality as an interpretive resource is Goodwin’s (1995) analysis of how Chil and his conversation partners worked together to construct social action. Chil’s extremely restricted vocabulary meant that much of his participation during talk-in-interaction was restricted to responsive actions; in particular, SPPs. The interpretive framework constructed by FPPs severely constrained how Chil’s

responses could be heard. Goodwin (1995) analysed a stretch of talk in which Chil was being offered breakfast by his nurse. In response to the nurse's offer of toast, Chil responded with *yes uh no*. The nurse treated this response as accepting toast, and began offering Chil various things to top it with, which Chil rejected via *no* in each instance. As it would turn out, Chil wanted a muffin rather than toast but, due to his limited linguistic resources and the interpretive framework constructed by the preceding FPPs, he was unable to make his *nos* heard as resistance to the course of action being prosecuted, rather than declinations of the most recent option presented.

Finally, a number of studies have commented on the use of practices characteristic of particular sequential units, while not explicating the organisation of the unit itself. For instance, both Beeke et al. (2003a) and Heeschen and Schegloff (2003) commented on the use of devices typical of story tellings (namely, temporal phrases) by people with aphasia in order to project "more to come", while making only limited observations on the sequential organisation of stories (or tellings more generally) produced by these individuals.

1.4.7 Interaction-focused therapy

Research applying conversation-analytic principles to interactions involving people with aphasia has spurred the development of resources and measures for clinical use (e.g. Booth & Perkins, 1999; Lock et al., 2001; Perkins, 1995; Perkins, Crisp, & Walshaw, 1999; Whitworth, Perkins, & Lesser, 1997). These procedures are directed towards capturing how individuals with aphasia participate in conversation at a specific point in time. In particular, clinicians have used these procedures to establish how aphasia affects repair and turn-taking, with a view implementing therapies that address any problematic patterns identified, and their consequences (e.g. emotional distress). The most comprehensive, CA-based intervention procedure so far developed is the Supporting Partners of People with Aphasia in Relationships and Conversation (SPPARC) resource kit (Lock et al., 2001). Rather than attempting to improve the linguistic resources of people with aphasia, or their ability to conduct discrete activities of daily living, SPPARC aims to improve how people with aphasia and their conversation partners accomplish interaction, i.e. it is an interaction-focused therapy (cf. Wilkinson et al., 2011). The SPPARC involves educating people with aphasia and their familiar communication partners about how interaction operates, and raising awareness of their own conversational conduct (see Beeke, Maxim, and Wilkinson, 2007; or Wilkinson, in press, 2011, for broad introductions). During SPPARC-based intervention, the clinician collects pre- and post-intervention recordings of interactive dyads. Problematic patterns are identified in pre-recordings by the clinician and, in collaboration with the person with aphasia

and his/her conversation partner, therapeutic targets are then selected. The person with aphasia and his/her conversation partner then participate in weekly education sessions. These sessions involve discussion about the organisation of interaction and how it is affected by aphasia, as well as guided reflections on their own interactional conduct. Post-intervention recordings are then collected and inspected for occurrences of the behaviours previously identified, and other changes from pre-intervention recordings. SPPARC (and most other interventions concerned with conversation) primarily focus on altering problematic conduct adopted by conversation partners. Conversation partner behaviours targeted include pedagogic repair sequences (e.g. Wilkinson et al., 1998), frequent production of questions (e.g. Wilkinson, Bryan, Lock, & Sage, 2010), and taking the floor when the person with aphasia is still progressing their turn (e.g. Beeke, Maxim, Best, & Cooper, 2011; see also Perkins et al., 1999). Intervention strategies encouraging people with aphasia to adopt particular practices are less well developed, but work is being undertaken on this front (e.g. Beeke et al., 2011; Wilkinson et al., 2011). For instance, Beeke et al. (2011) reported on an ongoing project aiming to promote use of the successful turn construction formats identified in previous work on agrammatism (e.g. Beeke et al., 2003a; Beeke, Wilkinson, & Maxim 2007).

1.4.8 Summary: Section 1.4

Research applying CA to interactions involving people with aphasia has generated substantial knowledge about how aphasia affects the shape of talk-in-interaction; in particular, how it affects practices for repair and turn construction. Overall, this work has demonstrated that the structural environment provided by interaction, and the semiotic resources it makes available, strongly influences how people with aphasia use language. As well, it has shown that their successful participation in talk-in-interaction is largely dependent on the conduct of their conversation partners. This research has also facilitated the development of distinct, interaction-focused therapies, which aim to address how interaction is accomplished by people with aphasia and their conversation partners. Quite understandably, the bulk of this work—and the clinical resources it has spawned—has been concerned with organisations of practice. The prosecution of discrete actions, and/or courses of action, has been less widely addressed (notable exceptions include Beeke, Wilkinson, and Maxim, 2007; Wilkinson, 2009; Wilkinson, Beeke, and Maxim, 2010). That is, previous research has predominately focused on the architecture of interaction, rather than the activities that interactants implement through it.

1.4.9 The present study

The present study examines how a particular sequential course of action—topic talk—was managed by a person with aphasia and her conversation partners. It provides a description of how Valerie and her conversation partners configured topic talk generally, and a detailed account of discrete actions that Valerie implemented during topic talk; principally, topic talk initiation and agreement. In doing so, the present study draws on previous findings relating to the effects of aphasia on repair, turn construction, turn-taking, and sequence organisation, as well as their operation during interactions involving non-brain-damaged individuals. Its findings have implications for current interaction-focused therapies. In addition, studies like the present one may also facilitate the development of novel interaction-focused therapies targeting the accomplishment of particular communicative activities. These and related issues will be taken up in more detail in Chapter 9.

Chapter 2 Method

Chapter 2 describes the methodological practices adopted for the present study. It outlines the present study's analytic scope, and provides information about Valerie and her aphasia. Details of data collection, content, and analysis are then elaborated.

2.1 Mode, domain, and objectives of inquiry

A distinctive feature of conversation-analytic investigation is the seriousness with which it approaches single instances of phenomena (Schegloff, 2010, p. 134). While researchers using other analytic methods can (properly) dismiss lone occurrences as happenstance, CA's commitment to studying naturally-occurring talk-in-interaction, and treating it as an ongoing, orderly achievement, makes single instances of conduct viable analytic targets (cf. Schegloff, 1993, p. 101). This is because talk-in-interaction is undertaken, in the first place, for interactants' ends, rather than analysts'. That is, interactants must employ systematic methods to ensure that each transfer of speakership, each telling, each greeting, etc., is carried out successfully because they are subject to real consequences if things go awry. Conversation analysts cannot therefore treat the accomplishment of single instances of conduct as uninteresting, chance occurrences without subjecting them to serious analytic inspection. In most cases, though, analysis does not end with the description a single instance. One analytic "mode" used by conversation analysts is directed towards revealing the aggregate orderliness of selected interactional practices; in particular, their formal, trans-situational features (Schegloff, 1987a, p. 101). These general accounts are grounded in the analysis of multiple single instances. Moreover, given that each occurrence of a practice is considered to be an orderly, achieved outcome, instances that depart from broader patterns cannot simply be dismissed as statistical anomalies (Schegloff, 1993). Instead, their features are used to inform the development of formal descriptions (e.g. Schegloff, 1968).

The analytic enterprise pursued in the present study is analogous to this mode of conversation-analytic work. This study has attempted to describe single instances of orderliness in the materials-at-hand, with a view to accounting for their aggregate operation. However, the analytic domain of the present investigation differs in two primary ways. First, mainstream conversation-analytic work (along these lines) inspects the operation of particular practices across different interactional settings and participants (e.g. Schegloff, 1996a). Second, the "aggregate" targeted in the development of formal descriptions is an underlying, context-free machinery that interactants draw upon in the production and recognition of those practices (cf. Schegloff, 2010, p. 134). By contrast, the present study restricted its

observations to interactions involving Valerie, and only aimed to comment on the aggregate operation of phenomena therein. In addition, the development of the aggregate analytic accounts offered here was not entirely dependent on the talk examined. It was supplemented with evidence from mainstream conversation-analytic findings, and previous investigation of interactions involving people with aphasia. To a lesser extent, these accounts also drew upon broader aphasiological research, and the results of language testing procedures administered to Valerie.

Finally, it should be noted that, beyond her aphasia, Valerie was not purposefully selected for this study. The examination of her talk—and her talk alone—was primarily motivated by practical constraints on the present investigation, and the analytic commitments and procedures of CA. On the first count, Valerie agreed to participate early in the recruitment process. This meant that her interactions were available for inspection for a good deal of the present study's prescribed duration. On the second, given the care that CA affords single instances of conduct, and the volume of recordings made by Valerie and her conversation partners (see Section 2.5), it was decided that examination of Valerie's talk alone would be a reasonable (though still formidable) analytic target.

In summary, then, the present study took detailed description of singular instances of conduct as its analytic point of departure. It then developed aggregate accounts via inspection of multiple instances of the phenomena subjected to scrutiny. The applicability of the findings put forward here to other populations (and interactional occasions) is left as an open, empirical question. The analyses undertaken in the course of this study simply aimed to access and describe the organisation of Valerie's talk. These observations were then used as a catalyst for exploring issues relevant to research and clinical practice with aphasia.

2.2 Participants

Valerie responded to a recruitment advertisement in a local stroke recovery newsletter seeking people with acquired communication disorders (see Appendix D). She was then provided with further information by the researcher, met with him, and agreed to participate. Valerie was 83 years old at the time of recruitment, and she reported being a right-handed, monolingual English speaker. She suffered a left hemisphere CVA approximately twelve years prior to her participation. The aetiology, size, and site of her lesion, and her history of speech and language intervention, are all unknown. In addition to her communication disorder, Valerie had a dense right hemiplegia, with no functional movement in her right arm or leg. As a result, she had required nursing home care since her brain injury, and had been living at her current residence for around three years. Prior to her CVA, Valerie had worked

as an accountant for approximately forty years, and was active in a variety of community and charity organisations. Her husband, who died months before her brain injury, reportedly had severe non-fluent aphasia.

Four people known to Valerie were also recruited to participate in this study: Betty, Evelyn, Kath, and Wendy. Wendy was a volunteer worker at Valerie's nursing home, and had known Valerie for approximately two years. Kath was also a volunteer worker at one of Valerie's previous nursing homes, but they had subsequently become friends. She had known Valerie for approximately eight years. Both Wendy and Kath visited Valerie on a weekly basis. Evelyn was a retired speech pathologist who had known Valerie for approximately twenty years. Evelyn and Valerie met as a consequence of Valerie's husband's aphasia, and they had subsequently worked together to organise aphasia-related community groups. Evelyn visited Valerie on a monthly basis. Lastly, Betty was a long-term friend of Kath's who had recently entered the same nursing home as Valerie. Prior to the recording collected for the present study, Valerie and Betty had met on only one occasion, but had heard a good deal about one another via Kath.

2.3 Materials

Valerie was administered a number of formal testing procedures in order to establish the presence and characteristics of her aphasia. Descriptions of these tests are presented in Appendix B. Recordings were made using a Samsung VPMX20 Standard Definition digital video camera, and saved to an eight gigabyte SD card. The camera itself was supported by a three inch clamp tripod. This allowed it to be securely and discreetly affixed to common furniture (e.g. bookshelves, cupboards, tables), while causing minimal disruption to participants' activities.

2.4 Procedures

Testing procedures were conducted by the researcher in Valerie's room at the nursing home, and were video recorded. Valerie was then lent a video camera for four weeks, and it was affixed to a wardrobe in her room. Figures 2.1 and 2.2 respectively depict the setup of Valerie's room, and the most common positioning of Valerie and her conversation partners during recording. All images in this thesis are used with participants' consent.

Although researcher-administration of recordings would have been more efficacious, it was decided that participant-administration was likely to yield interactions that were more representative of participants' routine conduct. Valerie and her conversation partners were,

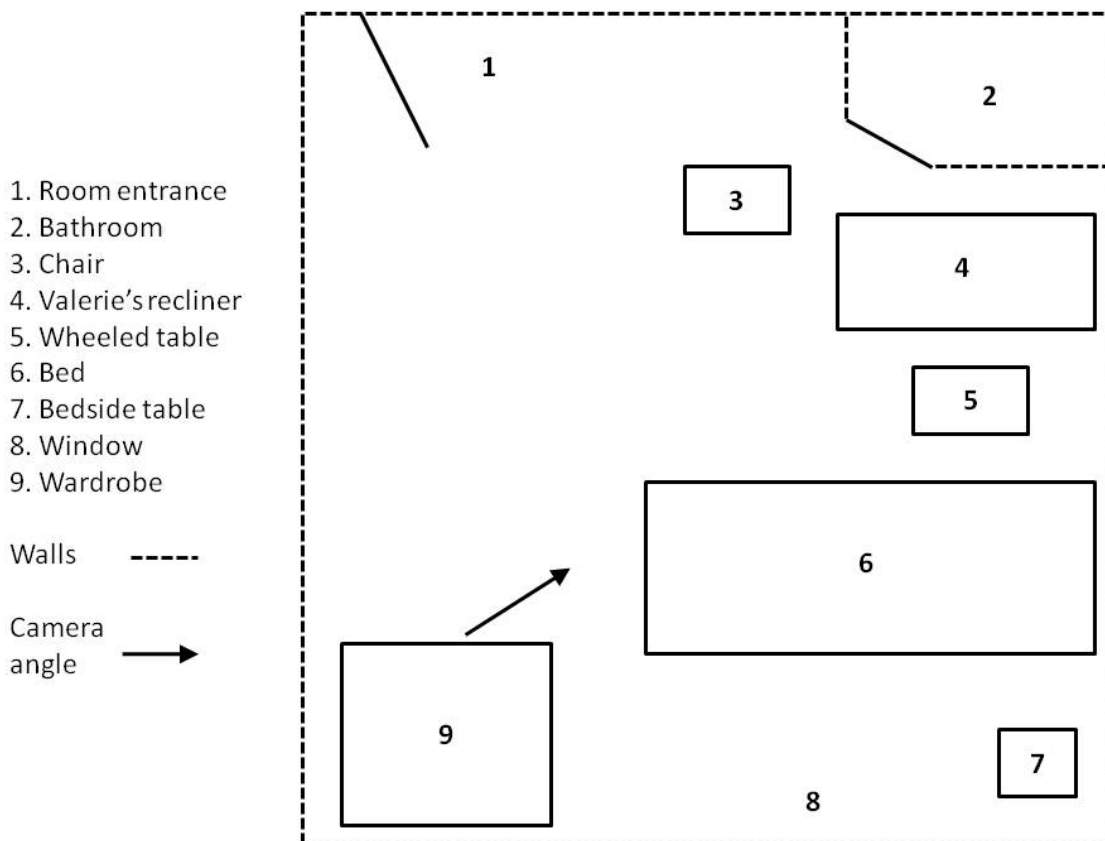


Figure 2.1. Floor plan for Valerie's room.



Figure 2.2. Kath and Valerie (left to right).

therefore, provided with oral and written directions for the operation of the video camera (see Appendix D), and asked to record themselves speaking during the course of their typical activities together. They were instructed that they could record as little, or as much as they wanted. However, it was suggested to Valerie that one hour of recordings in total would be sufficient. The researcher maintained regular contact with Valerie during the recording period (both via phone and in person) with a view to addressing any issues that arose, ensuring the success of data collection, and transferring recordings to other storage media. One further recording was made after this period elapsed (see Appendix C).

2.5 Data

The results of the formal testing procedures administered to Valerie are summarised below in Table 2.1. See Appendix B for further details. In general, the results indicate that Valerie had mild, non-fluent aphasia, affecting both receptive and expressive modalities. Her speech involved some word-finding problems, and morphosyntactic errors. She displayed difficulty understanding non-canonical syntactic constructions (e.g. passive sentences), and she performed poorly on the Discourse Comprehension Test (DCT) (Brookshire & Nichols, 1993b). Valerie also presented with mild dysarthria. This primarily involved difficulty coordinating breathing with speech, dysphonia (i.e. changes to voice quality), and occasionally imprecise articulation.

Table 2.1
Summary of Valerie's Testing Results

Procedure	Component	Score
Western Aphasia Battery (Revised) (Kertesz, 2006)	Aphasia quotient	78.2/100
Verb and Sentence Test (Bastiaanse et al., 2002)	Verb comprehension	36/40
	Sentence comprehension	30/40
	Action naming	36/40
	Sentence construction	10/20
Discourse Comprehension Test (Brookshire & Nichols, 1993b)	Set A questions	22/40

The number and duration of recordings collected are detailed in Table 2.2. Summary descriptions of the participants in, circumstances surrounding, and occurrences during these recordings are provided in Appendix C. Codes were assigned to the recordings based on the order of their collection (e.g. 013103), and the date (day/month) they were collected (e.g.

Table 2.2
Summary of Recordings Collected

Recording	Conversation Partner(s)	Duration (mins:secs)
013103	Wendy	16:48
023103	Evelyn	18:41
030204	Kath	18:54
041004	Kath	56:08
051604	Kath	53:12
062304	Kath	19:48
072910	Kath & Betty	31:37
Total		215:08

013103)¹. During these recordings, Valerie and her conversation partners engaged in a variety of different activities. For example, they wrote greeting cards, made phone calls, and produced topic talk. In order to provide a broad sense of the data's content, these activities were assigned codes, and their duration was calculated. Periods in which the interactants were completing a non-vocal activity (e.g. writing in cards, arranging objects in the room, filing fingernails) were coded as "Non-talk"². Periods in which the interactants were not engaged with non-vocal activity, and were actively oriented to each other, were coded as "Talk". Periods in which talk unrelated to a non-vocal activity occurred concurrently with a non-vocal activity (e.g. nail filing plus topic talk) were coded as "Non+talk". In addition, small portions of these recordings were omitted from transcription due to prolonged periods of non-vocal activity, extensive identifying information, and interruption by other activities in the nursing home. This information is summarised in Table 2.3. Mutual orientation to one another in the absence of any other activity was, overall, the most common occurrence in the data collected. However, its frequency varied between recordings.

Table 2.3
Summary of Activities Within Recordings Collected (mins:secs)

Recording	Omitted	Non-talk	Non+talk	Talk	Total
013103	00:15	00:36	01:32	14:25	16:48
023103	00:30	00:00	00:00	18:11	18:41
030204	01:10	00:42	00:11	16:51	18:54
041004	06:00	07:21	13:36	29:11	56:08
051604	02:15	05:11	09:35	36:11	53:12
062304	01:40	06:17	05:15	06:36	19:48
072910	01:50	00:00	00:00	29:47	31:37
Total	13:40	20:07	30:09	152:12	215:08

¹ Transcripts presented in this thesis also include the timing of an extracted segment within the recording, e.g. [013103] (01:00 - 02:00).

² Note that this does not mean there was no talking during the activity (although many were punctuated with long periods of silence). Where talk was present, it was only directed towards completing the ongoing activity.

2.6 Data analysis

Data were organised and viewed using the ELAN linguistic annotator (Version 3.8.1) (e.g. Lausberg & Sloetjes, 2009)³. This program presents video and audio wave-forms simultaneously, and allows playback to be looped for repeated viewing. It also supports accurate timing of analytically important phenomena. As noted above, only a small portion of the data collected were not subjected to transcription (see Table 2.3). Transcripts were created using Microsoft Word 2007, and formatted according to conversation-analytic transcription conventions, with a small number of additions (see Appendix A). Initial transcripts primarily reflected the sequential ordering of phenomena, with further characteristics progressively added during repeated viewing of the data. Prosody was transcribed perceptually, and supplemented with instrumental measures where necessary using the Emu Speech Data Base System (Version 2.2.4) (e.g. Cassidy & Harrington, 2001)⁴. Non-vocal conduct was glossed more selectively. Detailed descriptions of non-vocal conduct were added to transcripts in which phenomena of interest were present. Transcript accuracy was addressed through repeated inspection by the researcher, and his supervisors. As well, transcripts were subjected to scrutiny at a number of informal meetings of conversation analysts and linguists, in addition to formal conference presentations. Finally, all transcripts were anonymised, with potentially identifying information replaced (e.g. place and person names).

Once transcripts were sufficiently detailed, they were (in conjunction with the data) examined for interesting, potentially orderly practices. Phenomena of interest were identified and collated, and subjected to detailed sequential analysis. This procedure is commonly referred to as making “collections” (cf. Hutchby & Wooffitt, 1998, p. 94-98). Common features of the targeted phenomena (e.g. sequential context, grammatical shape, and prosody) were recorded in spreadsheets created using Microsoft Excel 2007. Instances in which the targeted phenomena were carried out atypically, or were absent in an environment where they were possibility relevant (i.e. deviant cases, cf. Schegloff, 1968) were then sought. Finally, it should be noted that subsequent chapters detail the motivations for selecting particular phenomena for analytic attention (see Chapter 3, Section 3.5; Chapter 6, Section 6.1; Chapter 8, Section 8.1.2).

Chapter 3 will now provide a detailed description of the principal analytic focus of the present study: topic talk.

³ This software was developed at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen, The Netherlands. See <http://www.lat-mpi.eu/tools/elan/> for further details.

⁴ See <http://emu.sourceforge.net/> for further details.

Chapter 3 Topic talk

The organisation of topic has attracted quite significant attention in conversation-analytic research (e.g. Button & Casey, 1984, 1985, 1988/89; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1990; Jefferson, 1984, 1993; McKinlay & McVittie, 2006; Maynard, 1980; Maynard & Zimmerman, 1984; Melander & Sahlström, 2008; Sacks, 1992a, b; Schegloff, 1990, 2007c; Stokoe, 2000; Svennevig, 1999). Although united by this term, there is some diversity in this literature as to the scope of “topic”, and the analytic targets it embodies. Chapter 3 outlines how the present study approaches topic (talk), and details some findings of conversation-analytic research in this area. Observations relating to topic talk that have emerged from conversation-analytic investigations of aphasia are also discussed. Finally, the motivations for selecting topic talk as an analytic target are identified, and the scope of the analyses to follow are described.

3.1 Investigating topic talk

Many studies have drawn a contrast between “topic” as an activity in interaction, and “topic” as an attribute of the content used in interaction (e.g. Goodwin & Goodwin, 1990; Korolija & Linell, 1996; Linell, 1998; Maynard, 1980; Melander & Sahlström, 2008; Schegloff, 1990; Svennevig, 1999). In fact, the relationship between topic and content led Sacks (1992a) to register some trepidation about the viability of investigating topic-in-interaction at all.

In the first instance I was leery of beginning to do work on the phenomenon of ‘topic’ by virtue of its seeming to be that sort of thing in which direct content considerations would obviously be involved, and where I couldn’t proceed in my usual fashion, which would be to try to extract relatively formal procedures which persons seem to use in doing whatever they are doing. (p. 752)

Sacks (1992a), however, resolved that topic was amenable to the type of inquiry he had been pursuing with other organisations-for-interaction. He continued:

Dell Hymes said something like ‘It’s a curious feature of particularly linguistic history, that at each point where work has been done, what had previously been thought to be content considerations turned out to be formal considerations. But the next area looked like it was pure content consideration.’ And when we get into it, we find out that it’s an area in which the structure was, e.g., invariant to some extent over various sorts of content considerations. So,

had we used that sort of a guideline, perhaps ‘topic’ wouldn’t have been such a thing that one tries to avoid. (p. 752)

The “structure” that concerned Sacks was a set of practices identifiable as “topic”. That is, Sacks was proposing that interactants must have accountable methods for “doing topic”, just as they have accountable methods for other courses of action like “making a request”, or “opening a telephone conversation”, or “telling a story”. Schegloff (1990, p. 52) subsequently termed the course of action associated with topic “doing topic talk”. It is this procedural achievement, and the practices that constitute it, that are the target of the present study.

The discussion and analyses to follow will also eschew the use of the term “topic” with reference to content-based organisations. This position has a number of motivations. First, interactants utilise content (or, more properly, semiotic materials, cf. Goodwin, 2000) to prosecute every activity-in-interaction. Therefore, as a matter of methodological course, it would seem unwise to assume a priori that content is organised any differently for doing topic talk than it is, for example, for making a request. Second, even if certain semiotic materials are organised in particular, salient ways for doing topic talk, interactants must make accountable that they are using content in an organised fashion, i.e. they must implement practices for “doing organised content”. Hence, the target of study is still (at least partly, if not mostly), procedural. Finally, and more pragmatically, avoiding using “topic” in relation to content-based organisations decreases the potential for ambiguity and, in particular, weakens any influence from the vernacular senses associated with this term.

In summary, then, this study treats topic (talk) as a procedural achievement. It targets the practices that interactants implement to make topic talk identifiable as a specific type of conduct, and does not use the term “topic” with reference to content-based organisations.

3.2 Features of topic talk¹

This section endeavours to provide a sketch of topic talk as a course of action. As Atkinson and Heritage (1984, p. 165) argued, this is not a straightforward task. Topic talk is an extremely complex activity, and much about its organisation remains to be discovered. This means that the account to follow is (necessarily) incomplete, and a number of the claims put forward are both broad and tentative. But, as the section proceeds and empirical examples are provided, the targets of inquiry will come into sharper focus.

¹ The scope of the subsequent discussion has, in many ways, been influenced by Svennevig’s (1999) insightful consideration of topic in general, and topic in first-encounter interactions in particular.

First and foremost, it should be registered that topic talk is a sequentially organised phenomenon. It involves the production of turns-in-a-series, and the relationship between (contiguous and non-contiguous) turns is consequential for how it is made recognisable. Some parts of topic talk involve the adjacency-pair-based sequence organisations described by Schegloff (2007c), but others are organised by other kinds of sequence organisations. Schegloff (2007c) wrote:

There *are* sequence organizations that are not based around adjacency pairs—for example, some forms of storytelling and other “telling” sequences ... some forms of topic talk (although adjacency pairs may figure in such talk, even when not supplying it’s underlying organization...) (p. 9, italics original).

Topic talk also involves a diverse range of actions. That is, topic talk is inclusive of announcements, assessments, inquiries, formulations, tellings, agreements, and noticings. These actions likely have a characteristic distribution within topic talk. Announcements and noticings may more regularly occur at topic talk’s initial boundary, whereas tellings may more typically occur medially, and assessments may occur more regularly at possible closure. How these actions operate independently, as well as how they recurrently fit together, is therefore of significant import for more clearly establishing what constitutes “doing topic talk”. Sections 3.2.1 through 3.2.5 describe how some of these actions operate during topic talk, as well as more global patterns in this course of action. In particular, it focuses on the character of topic talk initiations (3.2.1 and 3.2.2), their implications for subsequent topic talk (3.2.3 and 3.2.4), and the practices interactants implement for transitioning during topic talk (3.2.5).

3.2.1 Topic talk initiations

The initiation of topic talk can be accomplished using a number of different action types. For example, topic talk initiations can be announcements, informings, noticings, and inquiries. All of these actions work to facilitate the selection of particular matters—“mentionables” (cf. Schegloff & Sacks, 1973)—that can be used to progress topic talk². The claim here is not these actions are exclusively involved in topic talk (e.g. a noticing can pre-figure the arrival of a complaint). The instantiation of topic talk is simply one possible (but perhaps common) outcome.

² Turns that deliver mentionables will be referred to as doing “mentioning”.

Button and Casey (1984, 1985) have described some practices used for topic talk initiation: topic initial elicitors, itemised news inquiries, and news announcements³. Extract 3.1 provides an example of a topic initial elicitor. Speakers use this practice to project the selection of mentionables by another party in subsequent turns. After a topic initial elicitor, the preferred response is the proffering of mentionables. “No-news” responses, which avoid or reject their production, are dispreferred (Button & Casey, 1984).

Extract 3.1 (Button & Casey, 1984, p. 167-168)

001 A ...llo ::,
 002 B G'morning Olivia,
 003 A Howuh you::,
 004 B Fine.
 005 B How'r [you
 006 A [That's good ehheh
 -> 007 A Whaddiyuh kno:w.
 => 008 B hh Jis' got down last night.
 => 009 A Oh you di:d,?

A's turn at 7 acted to segment the projected topic talk from the prior course of action (in this case, conversational opening components), and provided a sequential slot for B to introduce mentionables. B's response at 8 was met with a composite newsmarker from A (*Oh you di:d,?*), which “topicalized” the matters put forward, and promoted subsequent topic talk from B (Button & Casey, 1984, p. 167).

Unlike topic initial elicitors, itemised news inquiries act to nominate particular mentionables for subsequent topic talk⁴. This practice implicates a recipient's experiential world, and regularly concerns their ongoing activities and personal circumstances (Button & Casey, 1985, p. 8). Like other kinds of actions that make use of interrogative components, itemised news inquiries construct a gap in knowledge between speakers and recipients, with the speaker claiming epistemic inferiority relative to the recipient (cf. Heritage & Raymond, in press). Itemised news inquiries also represent a resource that interactants can use to generate topic talk when topic initial elicitors have been met with no-news responses (Button & Casey, 1985, p. 4). At the beginning of Extract 3.2, Kath and Valerie were bringing to a close some topic talk relating Kath's former GP, who had left his employment very suddenly.

³ See also Maynard (1980) on “invitations” and “announcements” and Schegloff (2007c) on “topic proffers”.

⁴ While Schegloff (2007c, p. 169) claimed a distinction between itemised news inquiries and “topic-proffering sequences”, the practices he described for topic proffers appear to hold for itemised news inquiries. Svennevig (1999) suggested that topic proffers are the more general class (to which itemised news inquiries belong), and need not be involved with the delivery of news.

Extract 3.2 [051604] (27:27—27:53)

001 V keeping (.) quiet i suppo:se.
 002 K ye:s,
 003 (.)
 004 K yes i think so.
 005 (.)
 006 K °ye[s.°
 007 V [°mm:..°
 008 K .hh well it's nob'dy's business except pete's why=
 009 V [yes.
 010 K =he's of[f,
 011 V [(°°mm°°)
 012 (0.3)
 013 K .hh °b't u[h°
 -> 014 V [↑en how was your turkey,
 015 K .HHH °valerie. it w's delicious.
 016 (0.3)
 017 K <IT was delicious.>
 018 (0.3)
 019 V °beautiful.°
 020 (0.3)
 021 K it (.) rea:lly was: °u-° a[hm:,] .hh it- °(d-)° (1.0)=
 022 V [mm(,)]
 023 K =it w's (0.2) qu:ite a big one; >it w's< four en a
 024 half <ki[los.>]
 025 V [ye:s,] (°°mm:°°)

Although this topic talk appeared ripe for closure following the minimal turns at 6 and 7, Kath briefly revived it via her stance-taking at 8/10. Valerie then produced an itemised news inquiry at 14 as Kath moved to “re-exit” the sequence (Schegloff, 2009). This turn proffered Kath’s recent turkey meal as a mentionable and, in response, Kath enthusiastically assessed the turkey, and commenced a telling about it. Like A’s topic initial elicitor in Extract 3.1, Valerie’s itemised news inquiry successfully engendered subsequent topic talk.

News announcements, by contrast, are recurrently formatted as declaratives (Terasaki, 2004), and usually implicate mentionables located in the speaker’s experiential world. Hence, news announcements construct the speaker as knowledgeable of the matters-at-hand, and the recipient as less so. Button and Casey (1985) characterised news announcements as “headlines”, which provide only limited access to the matters raised, and an opportunity for news recipients to sanction the progression of related topic talk. In Extract 3.3, Valerie and Evelyn brought to a close some persistent topic talk relating to golf; most recently, courses in the local area.

Extract 3.3 [023103] (16:36 - 16:54)

001 E what w's y' [ha:..] y' don't remember what y' hand=
 002 V [no:..]
 003 E =>(aw) you didn't< have one.

004 (0.7)
 005 V n[o.
 006 ? [()
 007 (1.5)
 008 E so y' j'st played casually;
 009 (0.3)
 010 V ((nods)) °°(mm) ye:s.°°
 011 (0.2)
 012 E °°(yeah)°°
 013 (2.5)
 -> 014 E >so (i'm)< actually, (.) ahm (0.4) been asked t' play
 -> 015 et swa:nsea on friday.
 016 (0.3)
 => 017 V aw ye:[s,
 => 018 E [an i (hadn't) played there >b'se it's< ...

After Evelyn's questioning about past golfing habits yielded only minimal responses from Valerie at 5 and 10, Evelyn produced a news announcement at 14 regarding an invitation to play at an unfamiliar local course. Again, this turn was receipted using a composite newsmarker (at 17), which sanctioned the progression of topic talk.

The practices associated with delivering news have been subjected to a good deal of attention in conversation-analytic research (e.g. Beach, 2001; Freese & Maynard, 1998; Maynard, 1996, 2003; Schegloff, 1988b; Terasaki, 2004). Maynard (2003) is the most extensive of these accounts, and describes the typical sequence of turns through which the delivery of news is accomplished in everyday talk. It begins with the announcement of news⁵, followed by the announcement response, the elaboration of news, and then the assessment of news (Maynard, 2003, p. 95). After the announcement of news, recipients can use a variety of tokens to index their alignment towards it. News receipts work to register the news, and encourage sequence closure; newsmarkers register the news, and encourage sequence expansion; and "standardized oh-prefaced assessments" (e.g. *oh good*, *oh dear*) are ambivalent as to subsequent closure or expansion (Maynard, 2003). Next, speakers may elect to elaborate the details of the news, or recipients may prompt them to do so. Then, following assessment of the news, further topic talk might be pursued about the same, or other matters.

Another action that can be used to initiate topic talk is noticing. One obvious set of "local resources" (Sacks, 1992b, p. 92) from which mentionables can be selected includes mutually available, perceptually-instantiated artefacts, such as aspects of personal appearance, or the surrounding physical environment. Given the constraints on what makes an artefact legitimately mentionable (see 3.2.2 below), not all objects that are available for noticing will be potential mentionables (Sacks, 1992b, p. 93). However, there are likely some classes of

⁵ Some news announcements will involve a pre-announcement prior to the news delivery sequence. See Terasaki (2004).

mentionables that, when generating topic talk from them, are preferably done as noticed rather than as announced. Schegloff (2007c, p. 86-87) argued that the owners of potential mentionables like new clothes, haircuts, and purchased objects may maximise opportunities for them to be noticed, and revert to announcing only after noticing has not transpired, and prompts to notice have been unsuccessful.

This section has argued that topic talk initiations involve the generation of mentionables. The initiation of topic talk can be accomplished via a number of different actions, and they are subject to their own organisational contingencies, as well as those associated with topic talking.

3.2.2 Mentionables

Svennevig (1999) suggested a broad system for classifying types of mentionables. He drew a contrast between “personal” and “impersonal” mentionables. Personal mentionable types include self-oriented, other-oriented and we-oriented. Personal mentionables implicate the life worlds of selected interactants, and involve such things as “past experiences, future plans, personal characteristics, etc.” (Svennevig, 1999, p. 218). Impersonal mentionable types include setting and encyclopaedic. Setting mentionables involve the perceptual scene in which the interaction takes place. These mentionables tend to quickly make way for other types (cf. Maynard & Zimmerman, 1984; Sacks, 1992b, p. 205). Encyclopaedic mentionables involve interactants’ knowledge as members of a culture, and include, for example, “media events, politics, literature, and music” (Svennevig, 1999, p. 218).

The selection of mentionables is constrained by multiple factors. First, most generally, Svennevig (1999) argued that interactants select matters for mentioning based on their novelty and value (see also Schegloff and Sacks, 1973; and Button and Casey, 1985). That is, mentionables must be in some way new or informative, and of evaluative interest for interactants⁶. Second, interactants’ social relationships constrain the selection of mentionables. At the same time, though, social relationships are constructed through topic-talk-initiating actions (e.g. Bolden, 2006; Drew & Chilton, 2000; Duck, 1995; Kellermann & Palomares, 2004; Lerner, 1992; Maynard, 2003; Maynard & Zimmerman, 1984). Maynard (2003) characterised the connection between one topic-talk-initiating action—the delivery of news—and social relationships as follows:

⁶ It is not difficult to imagine circumstances in which the novelty constraint could be loosened (e.g. reminiscing between intimates). Further, whether a mentionable is “actually” novel for its recipient is quite a different matter to it being receipted as new (see Terasaki, 2004). However, for the most part, these conditions do appear to affect the kinds of mentionables that interactants introduce.

...presenting and hearing news in conversation is *reflexive* to the relationship of the involved parties. As participants observe peer (kinship, friendship) rights and obligations for letting each other know the latest news, they are, *in their practices*, behaviourally accomplishing or achieving the visibility of those relations. That is, when potential deliverers *offer* news, they partially signify in that offering the very relation that obligates their telling. Also, when potential recipients ask for news, they are, in their attentiveness, performing particular concerns and enacting a social connection with their interlocutor. (p. 123, italics original)

Maynard and Zimmerman's (1984) work on interactions between acquainted and unacquainted dyads demonstrates the consequentiality of relational categories (and categories in general) for the selection of mentionables. When acquainted dyads initiated topic talk, they drew upon their history of interaction, and selected matters that reflexively constituted their acquaintedness (e.g. the activities of mutually known people). By contrast, unacquainted dyads use of "pre-topical sequences" reflexively constituted their unacquaintedness. These sequences involved questions that pointed towards the interactants' lack of mutual biographical knowledge, and proffered categories that were potentially relevant to them (e.g. *what courses are you taking this semester?*). Unacquainted dyads could then use the responses elicited during pre-topical sequences to generate subsequent topic talk.

Finally, the overall structural organisation of interaction can constrain the selection of mentionables. For some occasions of talk, there is a location that Schegloff and Sacks (1973, p. 301) referred to as "first topic position" (see also Schegloff, 1986). Here, interactants tend to introduce mentionables that, by virtue of their positioning, are afforded particular significance for the interaction-in-progress, and can also (but need not) coincide with the motivation for interacting at all. Schegloff and Sacks (1973) argued that the importance of first topic position is evidenced not just by what interactants actually produce there, but by what they omit. That is, interactants may withhold mentionables from first topic position, thereby ensuring that they are not afforded the significance that a first mentionable may take on (cf. Drew & Chilton, 2000, p. 154). Sacks (1992b, p. 88-89) also raised the possibility that there are some mentionables that are properly done as firsts, while others have a less restricted distribution. For example, Sacks argued that (in some societies) a mother announcing the birth of her own child is properly done as a first, rather than incidentally mentioned in a non-first position. Thus, the status of a mentionable is co-determined by its (sequential) position, its composition (i.e. the turn and action it is delivered by), and the practical reasoning undertaken about it by interactants in-situ.

This section has identified some mentionable types, and argued that the selection of mentionables is constrained by a number of factors. It has identified the novelty and value of the matters-at-hand, interactants' social relationships, and the overall structural organisation of interaction.

3.2.3 Expansion

As noted above, Button and Casey (1984) demonstrated that claims of no-news are a dispreferred response to topic initial elicitors because they do not nominate mentionables for subsequent topic talk. However, even if mentionables are selected, there is no guarantee that topic talk will progress successfully. Just prior to Extract 3.4, Kath had been tending to Valerie's fingernails with scissors, and inadvertently hurt her while cutting. As such, she abandoned the scissors in favour of a nail file.

Extract 3.4 [051604] (01:49 - 02:31)

```

001  K  mm j'st try fi:ling.
002      [(1.4)
          [(K prepares to file the nail))
003  K  it's broken right dow:n.
004      [(8.3)
          [(K gets the file into position, then begins))
-> 005  K  [en h:ow's (°°y-°°) mister dea::(h)n.
          [(gazing at V's hand))
006      [(0.7)
          [(K continues filing; V watches))
=> 007  V  (ohw) fi:ne thank you,
008      [(0.9)
          [(K continues filing))
009  K  goo:d?
010      [(6.3)
          [(K continues filing))
011  K  °(en) that looks.°
012      [(5.4)
          [(K examines V's hand, then continues tending to it))
-> 013  K  ↑is he still looking in-to a computer for you?
014      [(1.9)
          [(K continues tending to V's hand))
=> 015  V  °°.tk °° (0.5) aw: (n-) i don't know [what.          ]
016  K                                     [°↓you don't] know
017      no.↓°
018  V  [.mtk
          [(K withdraws her hand))
019      (0.7)
-> 020  K  >how d'es< 'a:t [feel,
          [(K begins to move backwards))
021      (0.2)
022  V  >aw< that's good,
```

As Kath was leaning over filing Valerie's fingernails, she produced a news inquiry about Valerie's son, and a lengthy delay followed. Valerie's response was a composite, no-news one, and Kath brought the sequence to possible closure with an assessment. Kath then

continued filing Valerie's nails and, at 13, attempted to initiate topic talk via another news inquiry. After a lengthier delay than the one at 8, Valerie produced another no-news response. This time Valerie claimed a lack of access to matters raised and, once more, Kath's response projected possible (if not probable) sequence closure.

Intuitively, it is evident that Kath's topic talk initiations failed. One could also argue that Kath, given the production of her second news inquiry at 13, and her inquiry about the task-at-hand at 19, treated her prior topic talk initiations as unsuccessful. Technically, one way to characterise these patterns is in terms of structure-based preference⁷. Schegloff (2007c, p. 169-180) argued that a distinctive feature of topic-proffering sequences is that they prefer non-minimal post-expansion (see also Button and Casey, 1985, p. 12-13). That is, while many sequence types prefer sequence closure after the production of a SPP, topic-proffering sequences that are not pursued past a SPP, or have minimal post-expansion, are dispreferred. Cast in terms of turn organisation, the courses of action that constitute topic talk (e.g. tellings, extended descriptions) recurrently involve multi-unit turns. Thus, topic talk can involve multiple sequential units produced by multiple speakers, and/or substantial turn expansion produced by a single speaker under the auspices of a single adjacency pair (cf. Schegloff, 2007c, p. 215-216).

This section has argued that topic talk initiations, as an action type, prefer responses that promote expansive talk. As such, topic talk recurrently involves the production of multiple sequential units and multi-unit turns over its duration.

3.2.4 Projection

Topic talk initiations are also important for projecting the kinds of interactional work that will be involved in a spate of topic talk, and who can properly complete it (Schegloff, 2007c, p. 170). Like other courses of action that involve multi-unit turns, topic talk regularly requires one party to take on primary speakership, and others to align as recipients. If topic talk does involve speakership asymmetry, topic-talk-initiating actions can be used to project which speakers should take on speakership. As has been outlined above, news inquiries and announcements implicate the biographies and circumstances of particular interactants, and distribute the burden of talking to them (Schegloff, 2007c, p. 170). These actions also demonstrate that the interactant who initiates a spate of topic talk need not take on primary speakership during its progression. Topic talk initiations are, however, more than a bland proposal of speakership configuration. By nominating particular aspects of their own and

⁷ Of course, Valerie's responses were also dispreferred in terms of practice-based preference. See Chapter 4, Section 4.3.1 for further discussion of this extract.

others' life worlds, interactants are—in addition to distributing interactional labour—occasioning situated identities. In doing so, topic talk initiations invoke the knowledge and rights associated with those identities (cf. Raymond & Heritage, 2006), and make relevant other commonsensical resources (e.g. devices and categories, cf. Sacks, 1972a, b; Schegloff, 2007c).

One method for action projection that can be used at topic talk initiation is a preface, or pre-sequence (e.g. Goodwin, 1996; Sacks, 1974; Schegloff, 1980, 2007c; Terasaki, 2004). These objects are regularly used to project the production of a multi-unit turn. For instance, Sacks (1974) argued that story prefaces point toward an upcoming telling, and afford potential recipients an opportunity to sanction or reject its delivery. Story prefaces also provide some insight into kinds of content that is likely to be conveyed in the telling, such as its valence (e.g. *terrible*, *wonderful*, *scary*) and involved parties (e.g. *a friend of yours*, *my sister*). These features can help guide the participation of recipients, both in terms of knowing what they should do, and when they should do it. For example, the telling preface *did I tell you about my horrible accident?* may make relevant displays of sympathy when something that is analysably a “horrible accident” is registered by the speaker, but other kinds of participation (e.g. newsmarkers, continuers, acknowledgments) may be relevant prior to its arrival (cf. Goodwin, 1984, 1986a, 1996; Sacks, 1992b, p. 11).

This section has argued that topic talk initiations project the kinds of activities that are likely to occur during a spate of topic talk, and the participation opportunities likely therein. In doing so, topic talk initiations occasion who-interactants-are-for-this-topic-talk, and bring into operation relevant commonsensical and non-commonsensical knowledge.

3.2.5 Transition

An interesting feature of topic talk, as a particular course of action, is that it can recur over the duration of an interaction. That is, unlike greetings, or complaints, or invitations, whose recursion would be variously problematic for the progressivity of an interaction, topic talk can be closed, replaced by other activities, then taken back up again multiple times by multiple speakers. As well, topic talk initiations can be recursively done within a period of topic talk. In some cases, this recursion may in fact be preferred. Interactants must, therefore, have practices for transitioning between topic talk and other courses of action, as well as between different spates of topic talk⁸. The discussion to follow will focus on practices involved with intra-topic-talk transition.

⁸ Following Schegloff (1996c, p. 119), the term “spate” is used to point towards the coherence of a stretch of talk while signifying some analytic uncertainty as to its precise character. In particular, “spate” is mostly used to

Conversation-analytic researchers have tended to draw a contrast between two methods for organising topic talk transition (e.g. Button & Casey, 1985, p. 3; Schegloff, 2007c, p. 169; Svennevig, 1999, p. 188). The first method will be referred to as disjunctive transition (e.g. Schegloff, 2007c, p. 169). This involves organising topic talk so that the boundary between a topic talk initiation and the foregoing sequential context is clearly demarcated. For topic talk organised in this fashion, topic talk initiations are preceded by practices for “doing closing topic talk”⁹. The second method will be referred to as stepwise transition (e.g. Jefferson, 1984; Sacks, 1992a, b; Schegloff, 2007c, p. 169). This involves organising topic talk so that topic talk initiations are not preceded by strong practices for closing. The discussion presented so far in this chapter has focused heavily on disjunctive transition, and its initial boundary in particular. Before moving on to practices for stepwise transition, some discussion of topic talk’s terminal boundary is warranted.

Svennevig (1999, p. 188-189) argued that topic talk closure becomes relevant when progressivity begins to falter. He argued that this involves both structure and content. As Maynard (1980) observed, a spate of topic talk is often closed when talk becomes less continuous, and fails to engender transfer of speakership. As well, discontinuation of ongoing topic talk is possible (if not common) when interactants’ contributions become primarily backwards-looking (e.g. receipting, assessing, summarising, laughing) and repetitive. Some backward-looking turns associated with possible terminal boundaries in topic talk will now be discussed.

A number of recipient responses have been implicated in foreshadowing sequence closure in general, and topic talk closure in particular. Gardner (2001) argued that an acknowledging *mm* can be used to signal disalignment, neutrality, and/or low involvement with an ongoing course of action. Further, he found that substantial turns after an acknowledging *mm* tended to be topic talk initiations¹⁰. The response tokens *okay* and *alright* represent stronger practices for closing. Gardner (2001) characterised them as “change-of-activity” tokens, and argued that they act to create interactional junctures by terminating some aspect of the prior talk, thereby laying the sequential ground for next-objects (e.g. another topic talk initiation, conversation closure; see Beach, 1993; Schegloff, 2007c; Schegloff and Sacks, 1973). Stronger yet are recipient assessments and commentaries (Goodwin &

describe a topic talk initiation, and related talk it engenders, with a new “spate” beginning if another topic talk initiation immediately follows.

⁹ Some kinds of “touched-off” topic talk are an important exception. In this circumstance, ongoing topic talk is not closed, but interactants implement practices to make the mentionables proffered hearable as disjunctive, and just-now-occasioned.

¹⁰ See also Jefferson (1984, 1993) on the acknowledging *yes/yeah* as a “pre-shift” token, and Chapter 7, Section 7.2.1 on the properties of this response as compared to canonical continuers like *mm hm* and *uh huh*.

Goodwin, 1992; Jefferson, 1993; Schegloff, 2007c). Jefferson (1993) characterised recipient commentaries as elaborated recipient stance-taking on the matters raised over the course of topic talk, and can involve summaries, upshots, and formulations (on the latter, see Heritage and Watson, 1979). Recipients can use these responses to display explicit appreciation for, and heightened involvement with, the foregoing topic talk, while simultaneously providing for disengagement from it (cf. Goodwin & Goodwin, 1992; Jefferson, 1993).

Drew and Holt (1998) examined how primary speakers used figurative expressions to summarise, and propose closure to, a spate of topic talk. They suggested that figurative expressions are particularly useful for this task because they extricate interactants from the “empirical details” of the matters-at-hand, and facilitate movement into summaries and accounts with more generalised relevance. If a figurative expression fails to engender agreement in the immediately following turn, the ongoing topic talk may persist. In this circumstance, speakers can address any incipient (or realised) disagreement by proffering alternative figurative expressions. As well, figurative expressions can facilitate topic talk closure when other practices have proven ineffective (Drew & Holt, 1998, p. 504). Holt (2010) also demonstrated that laughter at possible terminal boundaries can facilitate topic talk closure. She found that the mutuality of laughter was consequential, with solo laughter potentially signifying closure-resistance. Holt (2010) also speculated that mutual laughter may be especially suited to possible topic talk closures that coincide with possible conversation closures because of the heightened mutual orientation it involves, and its role in the enactment of intimacy.

While strong terminal boundaries are implemented for disjunctive transitions in topic talk, stepwise transition weakens terminal boundaries, sometimes to the point of invisibility. During stepwise transition, interactants can systemically generate opportunities to introduce mentionables under the auspices of ongoing topic talk, rather than investing effort into doing closing, and putting forward mentionables under auspices of their own. Sacks (1992b) went so far as to associate the fluidity of stepwise movement with the global successfulness of topic talk:

In a way, the measure of a good topic is a topic that not so much gets talked of at length, but that provides for transitions to other topics without specific markings of that a new topic is going to be done. The richness of a topic is, then, not to be characterized by the fact that there's lots to say about it, but that there are lots of ways to move from it unnoticeably. Whereas a lousy one is one that, the end of it having come, we know we're at the end of it, and if we're going to go anywhere else we've got to start up again. And that's the character of,

say, ‘embarrassing’ topics and ‘controversial’ topics; that to get *off* of them one has to specifically do ‘getting off of them’. (p. 352, italics original)

Elsewhere, Sacks (1992b, p. 566-567) argued that stepwise methods may in fact be the preferred way for interactants to introduce mentionables, and transition during topic talk. There is, however, reason to believe that the practices used during stepwise transition may be more difficult to access analytically than those implemented in aid of disjunctive transition. Holt and Drew (2005, p. 41) argued that, because the objective of stepwise transition is to introduce mentionables seamlessly, the procedures used by interactants will likely be more opaque than those used for disjunctive transition.

Another key feature of stepwise movement is that subsequent topic talk keeps in operation aspects of prior topic talk. Sacks (1992b) broadly characterised this attribute of stepwise transition as follows:

Now, the character of the *stepwise movement for topics* is that if you have some topic which you can see is not connected to what is now being talked about, then you can find something that is connected to both and use that first (p. 300, italics original).

Perhaps the most cited example of this kind of transition is Jefferson’s (1984) discussion of stepwise movement during troubles tellings. Jefferson (1984) argued that troubles tellings, because of their interactional delicacy, restrict the kinds of interactional projects that can properly come next. One option for interactants is to implement strong terminal boundaries before moving on to other matters, i.e. to “do getting-off troubles telling”. Another is to incrementally move away from troubles tellings using stepwise methods. Jefferson (1984) identified a five-step process for doing so. First, interactants engaged in “summing up the heart of the trouble”, which involved a summary assessment, or formulation of the trouble described so far; second, the troubles-teller then introduced talk on matters that were related to the telling, but “ancillary” to it; third, the troubles-recipient then moved to stabilise and promote talk on the ancillary matter; fourth, the troubles-recipient produced a “pivotal utterance” with “topical potential” of its own, but still somehow fitted to the foregoing talk; which, fifth, brought the interactants to the “target (other) matters”, and these were subsequently pursued in-their-own-right. During this process, explicit disengagement from the troubles telling was not proposed by either party, but it was achieved nevertheless.

Jefferson (1984) also suggested that the other matters reached at step five are often less than coincidental, and that they can be occasioned by the troubles-telling in progress¹¹.

Another procedure that can be used for stepwise transition is “recontextualisation” (cf. Linell, 1998; Svennevig, 1999). When recontextualising, interactants take up an aspect of the prior topic talk—often one that was peripheral—and afford it a new sense, and/or focal status in subsequent talk. Svennevig (1999, p. 209-210) contrasted this procedure with the gradual movement addressed by Jefferson (1984). He argued that recontextualisation is “... a punctual shift that involves a clear change in contextual frames”. This means that it often involves a stronger terminal boundary than Jefferson’s gradual transitions¹². But, unlike disjunctive transition, both gradual transition and recontextualisation aim to render subsequent talk as accountably emergent, and to retain some of the organisations that were operative in prior talk.

How interactants select what is to come next during stepwise transition—that is, the nature of the connections between mentionables—is an appealing candidate for analytic attention. Much of the work that has targeted this aspect of topic talk has been undertaken by investigators using non-conversation-analytic approaches to interaction, often with computational leanings (e.g. Schank, 1977; Hobbs, 1990; Yabuuchi, 2002). These kinds of studies can be susceptible to the privileging of content relations, and often risk losing sight of other organisations that are in operation during talk-in-interaction (cf. Schegloff, 1990). This is not to say that content-based organisations should be ignored, but simply that they are always delivered by, and subject to, the contingencies of organisations of practice for interaction. One content-based procedure for selecting next-mentionables identified by Sacks (1992a) is “co-class membership”.

...one basic way that ‘topical talk’ is exhibited involves the use of the following sorts of things: A given part of any utterance can be analyzed to find that it has some (actually many) class statuses. Having found some class status for that given item, one may in the next utterance present such a term as stands in co-class membership with a term used in the last. So A talks about cigars, B can talk about pipes. (p. 757)

While researchers working along non-conversation-analytic lines have adopted similar positions towards the relationships between mentionables, a significant weakness of this

¹¹ This observation resonates with Sacks (1992b, p. 299) and Schegloff and Sacks (1973, p. 301), who argued that interactants can refrain from mentioning particular matters until such a time that grounds for doing so have been organically occasioned.

¹² It should also be noted that Svennevig’s classificatory system is more diverse than the one presented here. For the purposes of this study, stepwise transition is used as a superordinate term for all non-disjunctive shifts.

research is that the kinds of content relationships proffered, and the classes of objects that are invoked, tend not to be derived from interactants' orientations, but from (implicit and explicit) prior theorising. Instead, the relationships made relevant by interactants should be treated as prime. That is, whether cigars and pipes have some acontextual relationship is not important; what matters is that interactants treat them as having one, and particular one at that. For example, their status as "smoke-ables" may be an appealing link acontextually, but it is likely a severe gloss of the links made relevant by interactants via the matters-at-hand¹³.

However, as noted above, whatever content-based relationships are in operation, their identifiability remains a deeply procedural matter, and interactants must implement practices for "doing organised content". Sacks (1992b, p. 254) suggested that the nature of a turn's connection with an ongoing spate of topic talk can be indexed using a variety of formal markers. "Tying" practices are a key resource, and act to linguistically relate subsequent turns to prior ones via pronouns, lexical recycling, tense, and modality¹⁴ (Sacks, 1992a, p. 540-542; Holt & Drew, 2005). Couper-Kuhlen (2004) also observed that consistency in pitch and volume with prior turns can, in conjunction with lexical and grammatical resources, work to signal that a turn is progressing ongoing topic talk, rather than initiating something new. Following their earlier work on disjunctive transition, Holt and Drew (2005) demonstrated that figurative expressions could be utilised for stepwise transition as well. They found that interactants utilised figurative expressions to summarise ongoing topic talk and, having created a juncture, then used the subsequent space to mention matters that could be heard as occasioned by the foregoing talk. Thus, they characterised the work that the figurative expressions were engaged in as "pivotal", in that the expression was tied to both prior and next talk, while providing for transition between them.

This section has examined the practices used for topic talk transition; in particular, how interactants bring topic talk to possible closure, and how they keep aspects of prior talk in operation when initiating another spate of topic talk. It has linked faltering progressivity with possible closure, and discussed a number of backwards-looking actions used in this environment. It has also discussed some procedures and content-based organisations involved with the stepwise transition during topic talk.

¹³ See Chapter 6, Extract 6.9, for an example of an ad hoc categorical relationship.

¹⁴ This is not to say that explicit linguistic markers are mandatory (cf. Svennevig, 1999, p. 202-203). In the absence of markers that signal either continuity or discontinuity, adjacency can encourage recipients to inspect talk as organised relative to an ongoing course of action (cf. Schegloff & Sacks, 1973).

3.3 Summary and discussion: Sections 3.1 and 3.2

Topic talk can be characterised as follows:

- It is a sequentially organised activity.
- It involves a diverse range of actions, and courses of action.
- It requires the selection of mentionables.
- Topic talk initiation can be accomplished via a number of different actions.
- Topic talk initiation projects the courses of action and the participational configurations that can be expected during topic talk.
- Topic talk initiation occasions situated identities, and commonsense knowledge.
- It preferably involves the production of non-minimal, multi-part units.
- Topic talk, and topic talk initiation, can be recursively done.
- It becomes closure-relevant when progressivity begins to fail.
- It can transition in a disjunctive, or a stepwise fashion.
- Disjunctive transition involves strong closure prior to the introduction of further mentionables; stepwise transition involves no or weak closure prior to the introduction of further mentionables, and retains some of the organisations that were operative in prior talk.

Although the foregoing account has focused on the structures involved in topic talk, and the manner of their operation, this should not be taken to imply that topic talk is dryly mechanical. Rather, topic talk represents an important staging ground for the construction and interpretation of quotidian experience, and the conduct of interactional business. In essence, topic talk initiations are motivated by, and grounded in, interactants' understandings of their own and others' aesthetic appreciations of the world. Thus, when interactants do topic talk, it represents an opportunity to explicitly and comprehensively engage with meaningful aspects of their own experience, while simultaneously constructing who they understand other interactants to be relative to themselves. While topic talk is far from the only course of action implicated in interactants' social relationships (e.g. Goodwin & Goodwin, 1990; M. Goodwin, 1990; Jefferson, Sacks, & Schegloff, 1987; Mandelbaum, 2003; Pomerantz & Mandelbaum, 2005; Schegloff, 1986), it seems a rather significant site for their enactment, and maintenance.

3.4 Topic talk and aphasia

Conversation-analytic work examining aphasia has not extensively addressed topic talk (Wilkinson, 2006). For the most part, incidental observations relating to topic talk have been registered during analyses primarily concerned with the explication of other phenomena

(e.g. Goodwin, 1995; Klippi, 2003; Laakso & Klippi, 1999; Linell & Korolija, 1995; Perkins, 1995; Perkins et al., 1999). All of these investigations, however, have noted the strong likelihood of trouble arising when people with aphasia initiate topic talk. A number of the empirical analyses presented in these and other studies provide some insight into the patterns that can emerge.

Laakso and Klippi (1999) observed that topic talk initiations recurrently engendered “hint and guess” sequences. They argued that this was because prior talk offered little support for recipients’ interpretations of new, potentially problematic referents. Linell and Korolija (1995) found that, during multiparty interactions, people with aphasia often lost speakership after they had produced a topic talk initiation despite the fact that the mentionables they proffered were successfully taken up. Lock et al. (2001) similarly noted that aphasia can affect the “balance of contributions” during topic talk. They observed that one interactant may take on a dominant role, producing the majority of topic talk initiations, and holding the floor for extended periods of time.

Bloch and Wilkinson (2004) have also demonstrated the potential problematicity of topic talk initiations for people with dysarthria. They analysed an instance in which a woman with dysarthria (Rose) attempted to initiate a new spate of topic talk, but her spouse (Tom) failed to align with this turn, and initiated repair. Like Laakso and Klippi (1999), Bloch and Wilkinson (2004) suggested that (amongst other interpretive difficulties) the lack of support from prior sequential context may have increased the interpretive burden on Tom, and resulted in trouble. As well, they also noted that Tom may not have realised that Rose was initiating a new spate of topic talk, and encountered difficulty because he was attempting to integrate her turn with the talk immediately prior (see also Wilkinson, 1999b; Wilkinson et al., 2011).

Beeke et al. (2003a) and Wilkinson et al. (2011) provided some detailed observations on the shape of topic talk initiations produced by a woman with aphasia (Connie). During pre-intervention recordings, Connie was found to produce topic talk initiations that did not involve turn prefaces (e.g. *but*, *well*, *and*, and *oh*) and trouble recurrently ensued following them (Wilkinson et al., 2011). Connie and her spouse (Simon) then participated in interaction therapy. Connie was encouraged to use ‘alerters’ (Wilkinson et al., 2011: 81) such as *by the way* and *anyway* when initiating topic talk. The rationale for this suggestion was to make the sequentially-new status of Connie’s turns explicit, and lessen the interpretive burden on Simon. Simon was also encouraged to produce continuers like *mm hm* if he suspected that Connie was attempting to initiate topic talk in order to provide her with more time to produce her turns. Post-intervention recordings revealed that Connie’s topic talk initiations were more

successful than before, and Simon did use continuers in the fashion suggested. However, Connie's topic talk initiations did not involve the prefaces recommended. Instead, she frequently used temporal phrases (e.g. *last week*, *June*) in turn-initial position (see Chapter 1, Section 1.4.4). The examples presented in Beeke et al. (2003, p. 89-90) involved Connie using a temporal phrase in combination with noun phrase fronting (*June + three tier wedding cake + I make it*) and a declarative question (*last week + you go out?*). Wilkinson et al. (2011) also noted that Connie used more pre-beginning objects (cf. Schegloff, 1996c) such as lip smacks and non-lexical vocalisations during her post-intervention topic talk initiations¹⁵. Together, these practices likely helped prepare Simon for an action that departed from the prior sequential context (Wilkinson et al., 2011).

Empirical data presented in other work also suggests that speakers with aphasia spontaneously (i.e. without therapeutic instruction) use turn-initial markers when producing topic talk initiations. For example, Beeke, Wilkinson, and Maxim (2009), Beeke et al. (2011), and Heeschen and Schegloff (1999) all reported on instances in which speakers with aphasia initiated topic talk via *oh*-prefaced turns. It seems likely that the display of just-now-ness embodied by *oh* (cf. Bolden, 2006; Heritage, 1984a) may have been helpful in casting the talk-to-follow as possibly disjunctive with prior talk.

In summary, this research has suggested that topic talk initiations are often a locus of trouble for people with aphasia (and dysarthria). In particular, it has identified referential and sequential discontinuity, as well as turn-constructual difficulty as possible (if not probable) sources of trouble for the successful implementation of this action.

3.5 The present study

Topic talk is a common activity during everyday talk-in-interaction. It is where interactants tell one another about their experiences, share news about their lives, and discuss issues of the day. Interactants explicitly construct their aesthetic appreciations of the world through topic talk, and position themselves relative to sociocultural value. As such, it is an important scene for the construction of social identity and interpersonal relationships. However, topic talk seems inherently difficult for people with aphasia (see Chapter 1, Section 1.1), and preliminary work has pointed towards the potential for topic talk to engender trouble (see above). The information yielded by the investigation of topic talk could, therefore, be of significant value for clinicians seeking to enhance the everyday communication of people

¹⁵ Schegloff (1979) noted that self-initiated repair regularly occurs during topic talk initiations. Further, when it is absent, topic talk initiations are often met with other-initiated repair. It seems possible that this conduct was addressing similar contingencies to self-initiated repair.

with aphasia. Such work could also highlight unknown communicative problems (and solutions) engendered by topic talk, and add to knowledge of how people with aphasia manage particular sequential units. These are the primary motivations for the examination of topic talk during the present study.

Preliminary inspection of Valerie's interactions revealed that she and her conversation partners routinely engaged in topic talk. There were prolonged periods in which topic talk operated quite unremarkably, as well as periods of substantial trouble. How, then, did Valerie and her conversation partners ensure its operation in spite of aphasia? And precisely what happened when things went wrong? The analyses presented in Chapters 4, 6, and 8 will aim to describe topic talk during Valerie's interactions with a view to answering these questions.

Although the analytic chapters that follow encompass various, distinct phenomena, they are essentially organised around observations on topic talk initiations, and the speakership configurations they involved. These chapters describe:

- Valerie-initiated Valerie-progressed topic talk (Chapters 4 and 6)
- Valerie-initiated partner-progressed topic talk (Chapters 6 and 8)
- Partner-initiated Valerie-progressed topic talk (Chapter 4)
- Partner-initiated partner-progressed topic talk (Chapter 8)

These analyses will demonstrate that topic talk initiated by Valerie—especially topic talk that involved primary speakership for her (i.e. Valerie-progressed topic talk)—was regularly problematic (see Chapter 4). On the other hand, if Valerie's topic talk initiations involved primary speakership for her conversation partners, they were much more likely to succeed (see Chapter 6). Further, Valerie strongly aligned with partner-initiated partner-progressed topic talk (see Chapter 8). The result of these patterns was a discrepancy in speakership during the topic talk collected for the present study; that is, Valerie's conversation partners held primary speakership more often, and for longer periods of time.

Chapter 4 Valerie, topic talk, and trouble

Chapter 4 describes aggregate speakership patterns during Valerie's topic talk, and analyses topic talk configurations that were recurrently problematic. It examines topic talk initiated by Valerie, and topic talk that involved her taking on primary speakership. This chapter demonstrates that initiating and progressing topic talk were often difficult for Valerie, and that the conduct of her conversation partners significantly affected how topic talk evolved in these circumstances.

4.1 Speakership asymmetry

Much of the talk that transpired between Valerie and her conversation partners is characterisable as topic talk. Spates of interaction during which tasks like nail-filing, letter reading and writing, making phone calls, and consuming meals were undertaken are an obvious point of contrast. However, as Extract 3.4 demonstrated, topic talk could be taken up concurrently with these activities. The most outstanding aggregate feature of topic talk between Valerie and her conversation partners was an asymmetrical distribution of speakership. That is, for much of the topic talk that occurred, it was Valerie's conversation partners who took on primary speakership. This is a foundational observation for the present study, and will be returned to over the course of the analyses that follow in this thesis. Extract 4.1 is representative example of topic talk with this speakership configuration. Here, Valerie's alignment as a recipient, and production of minimal responses, provided Kath with the opportunity to progress topic talk relating to the activities of her grandchildren.

Extract 4.1 [030204] (09:02 - 10:29)

```
001 K so: she's h:ighly delighted about that. .hh a::nd
002 uh:m <she is> (0.5) <well> tied up with the scripture
003 union [there: and um .hh does bible study there.=
004 V [ye:s.
005 K =>which is< typically alice. .hh B'T (0.6) f'r the
006 fi:rst time since katrina, (0.3)
007 V mm hm,
008 (0.4)
009 K a girlfriend and alice, °hh° °uh- aw(h) alice (un) a
010 girlfriend. (.) whichever way, .hh ↑ahm° (0.4) .hh want
011 t' go back to the states,
012 (0.5)
013 V ohw yes;
014 (0.4)
015 K .hh so: (0.5) ah:m: (0.2) fay w's talking to me about
016 it the other night 'nd. .hhh >she said< e'course
017 y'know, alice's not working now. so: (0.2) y'know
```

018 mon[ey's a b:it short, b't- .hh >fay said it's< a pity=
 019 V [n:o:,
 020 K =really b'cause the- (0.6) <air fares,> (0.3) t' the
 021 states 're the cheapest they've ever be[en,
 022 V [°>yeah<°
 023 (0.5)
 024 K .hh so:: (.) uh:m. (0.8) .hh i said well, (0.9) uhm.
 025 (.) >it would be< my pleasure t' give 'er a th[ousand=
 026 V [mm:.
 027 K =dollars.
 028 (1.3)
 029 K [so:] fay said ↑uhw would y(h)ou, °>(so) i said<°=
 030 V [mm:,]
 031 K =ye:s: y'know i mean, .hh i'd- (0.7) far rather give
 032 it her t' now than when i'm dead;
 033 V that's ri:ght ↓yeah.
 034 K s' she c'n make use of it; ahm:=
 035 V =(mm[:)
 036 K [an:d uh. .hh anyway. ecstatic email back fr'm
 037 alice.
 038 (0.4)
 039 K so excited. y'kn:ow,
 040 (0.6)
 041 V cour:[se,
 042 K [an:d. (0.4) b'cause, (0.3) alice d'sn't get,
 043 (1.1) bobby h's had everything;
 044 (0.4)
 045 V ye(ah:)=
 046 K =>b't alice< hasn't had all that much. y':know.
 047 (0.4)
 048 V mm:_
 049 (0.4)
 050 K meanwhile our bobby is in par:kes:? with his girlfriend
 051 (and) 'is girlfriend's mo[ther?
 052 V [°aw ye:ah.°

Faced with this pattern, one may be tempted to explain it by invoking factors extrinsic to the sequential organisation of interaction. In particular, one may reason that Valerie's willingness to align as a recipient was the result of potential mentionables being distributed asymmetrically. At the time of recording, Valerie had resided in nursing homes for more than a decade. It is therefore possible that her conversation partners' accumulation of experiences in the wider world meant that they had more mentionables at their disposal. Further, the kinds of experiences and concerns that Valerie was accumulating in her daily life may have been less readily usable for topic-talking because of their status as delicate, bordering on taboo¹. Speculative as it may be, there is some empirical evidence to support this hypothesis. In Extract 4.2, Kath had just re-initiated topic talk about caring for a friend who was recovering from major surgery.

¹ For example, Kath reported to the researcher that she specifically avoided, and passively discouraged, talk about medical breakthroughs and treatments, which Valerie regularly brought up. Kath indicated that she did this so as not to give Valerie "false hope" about possible improvements in her condition; particularly her hemiplegia.

Extract 4.2 [041004] (04:26 - 05:08)

001 K .hh ahm hh she ↑c(h)an't↑ do anything.
002 (0.7)
003 K ↑an (0.2) b't after major surgery like that °you don't
004 really [expect [t' be able to do you.°
005 V [(°mm, °)
006 [(0.3)
-> 007 V [°.hh° [i think,] [(0.3) uh=
[(V gazes down))] [(K gazes to V))
008 K [b't she does,]
[(gazing in bag))
009 V =[(0.6) (i don't s-) (0.5) i'm not: <going to talk>
[(K puts her bag down))
010 (0.7) b't i [f:ear tha[t (0.8)
[(gazes to her lap [then back to K))
011 K °oh:w:°
012 (0.7)
013 V (th't w's) maybe [there; (0.7) uhm:. (2.3) what's 'at,
[(gazes left then down))
014 (2.3) [ovarian cyst;
[(gazes to K))
015 (0.6)
016 K oVArian CYSt,
017 V yea:(s).
018 [(0.3) [(3.1)
[(V holds gaze at K)) [(then down to the purse in her
lap, which she manipulates))
019 K oh dea(h)r
020 [(0.9)
[(V continues manipulating her purse))
=> 021 K .hh do you want me t' put that purse back for you
022 valerie?
023 V yes,
024 (.)
025 V °please.°
026 (0.3)
027 K [°okay pet°
[(K stands up))

Valerie's initiation of topic talk relating to her own health received only minimal uptake from Kath at 11, 16, and 19. After the confirmation of *ovarian cyst* at 16, there were lengthy silences at 18 and 20, in which neither Kath nor Valerie elected to progress related talk. Kath then directed the interaction away from topic talk, and towards ongoing practical activities; in this case, putting Valerie's purse back into a safe.

In Extract 4.3, Evelyn displayed greater willingness to pursue talk relating to Valerie's (un)wellness. Previously, Valerie had been recounting medical breakthroughs reported in the media (see Extract 4.8), and other treatment options for her hemiplegia.

Extract 4.3 [023103] (04:27 - 04:59)

001 V [b't y'know; (.) (all- °°of°° °this.°) (1.4) in my:
 [((gazing down, rubbing affected arm))
 002 arm, (0.3) (y' c'n) s:timulate,
 003 [(0.5)
 [((V continues rubbing arm))
 004 E mm:,
 005 V [and uh (1.4)] (0.5) so y' never know;
 [((continues rubbing))]
 006 (0.3)
 007 V huh h[uh
 008 E [no:, (.) no:. y're hopeful th't they come up
 009 with something;
 010 V [(m[m:,)
 [((prepares to wipe nose with a tissue))
 011 E [mm:..
 012 [(0.7)
 [((V wipes her nose))
 013 E .h well: i think prob'ly it's sort of the:: (0.2) .hh
 014 where they're looking at stem cell::; (0.3)
 015 [(ba-) at putting] stem cells back [into the brain,]=
 016 V [that's right,] [ye:s.]
 017 E =there's probably [(one-)]
 018 V [(we)] wonderful ↑m[m:..
 019 E [ye]ah. the
 020 things that could help people who've [had st]rokes.
 021 V [°yeah.°]
 022 (0.3)
 023 E ↓do- [down the track.]
 024 V [well i (cha]tted) (.) (t' jimmy) ...

Although Evelyn appeared to resist producing a substantial turn at 4, and did not immediately align with Valerie's formulaic expression at 5, she eventually provided an agreeing response at 8-9. The *you're* in this turn had the potential to be heard as generic (cf. Scheibman, 2007), which, along with the rather bland sentiments therein, worked to extricate the topic talk from the particulars of Valerie's circumstances and into generalised relevance (cf. Drew & Holt, 1998; Holt & Drew, 2005). Evelyn then commented on the potential usefulness of *stem cells*, but she wrapped it in heavy qualification (i.e. *I think, prob'ly*, and *could help*). Valerie endorsed Evelyn's perspective on *stem cells* at 16 and 18 but, again, Evelyn's increment at 23 ensured that her perspective was strongly qualified, and almost rendered inapplicable to Valerie (i.e. *down the track*). Thus, unlike Extract 4.2, where topic talk was abandoned altogether, Evelyn progressed talk relating to Valerie's unwellness. However, she also took clear measures to ensure that it was heard as originating in generality, rather than addressing Valerie's individual circumstances.

While the activities of Valerie's daily life and aspects of her wellness were certainly delicate matters, and may have contributed to speakership asymmetry, they were not the only (nor primary) influence on its recurrence. There were multiple factors that constrained

Valerie's bids for speakership and, simultaneously, promoted alignment as a recipient. The analytic chapters that follow will discuss factors that motivated speakership asymmetry, and the practices that Valerie and her conversation partners implemented in order to generate it. This begins with the observations presented in Sections 4.2 and 4.3 on Valerie-initiated topic talk, and Valerie-oriented topic talk respectively.

4.2 Valerie-initiated topic talk

Section 4.2 examines the problems that emerged when Valerie produced topic talk initiations, and when she took on primary speakership in order to progress topic talk.

4.2.1 Securing alignment

Preferred responses to topic talk initiations facilitate the production of non-minimal talk relating to the matters put forward (Schegloff, 2007c; see Chapter 3). This can involve objects that clear the way for further talk on the matters-at-hand by another party (e.g. newsmakers), or the production of a related multi-unit turn by a selected party. Valerie's topic talk initiations were often met with dispreferred responses, both in terms of practice-based and structure-based preference. While Extract 4.2 demonstrated that alignment with a topic talk initiation could be inhibited by the delicacy of the matters-at-hand, many problematic topic talk initiations seemingly had no such status. In particular, Valerie's conversation partners responded to a number of Valerie's topic talk initiations with weakly aligning, receipting responses. Extract 4.4 is a canonical example. Prior to this extract, topic talk had been progressing very discontinuously, and there had been a lapse in talk for more than six seconds.

Extract 4.4 [013103] (10:00 - 10:32)

```

001  W  >i 'ad a< lovely day out yest'day, when i went down t'
002      niagara: the weather w's i_per:f'ct.
003  V  ye:s.
004      (0.3)
005  W  we >live in a< beau:tiful city don't we;
-> 006  V  b't see (the:) stopped the ferries because. .hh
-> 007      (that) [the s:well: (0.5)
                [((lifts hand with thumb, middle & index))
                extended, & moves hand circularly))
-> 008      [being too::, (0.4)
                [((halts movement & returns hand to lap))
-> 009  W  [(yea-)=
                [((nods slightly))
-> 010  V  =mu[ch,
                [((nods slightly))
-> 011      [(0.3)          [(1.2)
                [((W is still)) [((then nods strongly twice))

```

```

=> 012 W .hhh [i w's s]urprised when we went through the=
    013 V [(mm:(h)) ]
    014 W =national- (0.3) eh:m:. (0.4) park, .hhh its only
    015 about five years ago:, it w's practic'lly wiped out:
    016 waddn' it-
    017 V mm:_=
    018 W =en now it's all gree:n en: [lush end] yea-]
    019 V [(↑really,] *m]m:.*
    020 (.)
    021 W 's incredible the way it ehm (0.2) [comes ] back t'=
    022 V [(yeah,)]
    023 W =life again.
    024 (6.0)

```

Wendy indicated earlier in the interaction that she had been on a trip to Niagara, but provided few details about it (see Extract 4.7). Her reintroduction of these matters at 1-2 received a falling *yes* from Valerie and, instead of developing further talk about the events of the trip, Wendy assessed the surrounding metropolitan area. In the next turn, Valerie produced a topic talk initiation concerning ferry services being affected by large ocean swells. Wendy responded using a *yeah*-like object placed slightly before Valerie's turn had come to possible grammatical completion. Once it did reach possible completion at 10, the only response forthcoming from Wendy was (delayed, but) vigorous nodding. Wendy then began to provide details about her trip to Niagara, describing the condition of fire-affected bushland. Valerie's *mm* at 17 handed the floor back to Wendy and made no claim to knowledge of the previously burnt area, despite the invitation Wendy extended via her tag. Wendy's description of the national park's current state yielded a composite, newsmarking response from Valerie at 19. This provided for Wendy's continued speakership but, after an assessment at 21-23, another lapse in talk developed.

Of interest for the present discussion is Wendy's weak alignment with Valerie's topic talk initiation at 6-8/10, and the resumption of her telling at 12. Valerie's turn at 6-8/10 appears sequentially misplaced. She treated the space subsequent to Wendy's assessment as appropriate for topic talk initiation even though further details about Wendy's were likely forthcoming. Wendy's receipting responses were structurally dispreferred and, in combination with the resumption of her telling, they worked to effectively delete Valerie's topic talk initiation from the interactional record (cf. Jefferson, 1978). Valerie could have pursued a preferred response from Wendy by progressing talk relating to the proffered matters (e.g. *very inconvenient for travellers*), or inquired as to why Wendy failed to adequately align (e.g. *didn't you hear that they stopped the ferries?*, or *did you hear what I said?*). She did neither. Thus, Valerie's conduct also contributed to the failure of her topic talk initiation to yield non-minimal talk.

A similar pattern is present in Extract 4.5. Like Wendy in Extract 4.4, Kath simply receipted Valerie's topic talk initiation, and then resumed a previously projected course of action. Prior to this extract, Kath had informed Valerie that there would not be an edition of the local paper because it was Easter Friday.

Extract 4.5 [041004] (46:56 - 47:35)

```

001 K  [°(w-) per'aps there'll be one: (0.2) easter saturday,°
        [((gazing to V's left))
002      (0.5)
003 V  ye:s [(th)at's right,
        [((K turns her heard towards V))
004      [(0.4) [(0.8)
        [((K gazes to V)) [((then to V's left))
005 K  the: (0.3) traffic is quite li:ght [on the roads
        [((gazes to V))
006      [today which surprised] [me.=
        [ [((gazes to V's left))
007 V  [(oh °that's good.°) ]
008 K  =.hh ev [course (the-)]
        [((gazes to V))
-> 009 V  [(b't) th]ose (/kis/), (0.7) they're
-> 010      (taken.)
-> 011      (0.3)
=> 012 K  ye(h)ah(h):,
013      (0.4)
014 V  (d(h)read),
015      (0.2)
=> 016 K  [.hh and e'course the [easter sho:w is on now.
        [((gazes to V's left)) [((then back to V))
017      (0.3)
018 V  ye:s,
019      (0.2)
020 V  °m[m:.°
        [((K begins gazing to V's right))
021 K  so:: (1.8) u- u- so many people take advantage of the
022      buses you:: .hhh c'n go down: ahm. (0.5) .tk
023      nā[mbucca park?
        [((gazes to V))
024      (0.3)
025 V  ohw y[e:s:, ]
026 K  [en (.)] put'chor car:: in there; en then you j'st
027      wait outside for, .hh ahm a bus, which (t-)=
028 V  =aw: that's good,=

```

After the possible closure of prior talk at 3-4, Kath produced a topic talk initiation relating to *traffic ... on the roads today*, and claimed that it was *quite light*. Valerie began an assessing response at a point of possible grammatical completion during Kath's turn, but ended up overlapping with Kath. Following a third point of possible grammatical completion at 6, Kath produced a pre-beginning in-breath, and commenced another TCU. Valerie then put forward a topic talk initiation in overlap with this talk. Due to Valerie's turn-constructional difficulties, and the lack of subsequent topic talk, the nature of the matters she mentioned at 9-10 cannot be definitively determined. Kath responded with a breathy *yeah*, and Valerie then produced

what appears to have been an assessment. At 16, Kath promptly took up talk relating to the *Easter show*. Given the similarity between the TCU beginnings at 8 and 16, it seems likely that this was what Kath had attempted to effect earlier in the sequence, but that Valerie's topic talk initiation had disrupted. Valerie's responses at 18 and 20 allowed Kath to maintain her hold on the floor, while Valerie's subsequent newsmarker (25) and assessment (28) promoted continued topic talk from Kath along these lines.

Valerie's motivation for proffering an alternative topic talk initiation is not entirely clear. The closure of prior talk at 3-4 provided an ideal environment for topic talk initiation, but Kath was able to exploit this opportunity first. One possibility is that Valerie heard Kath's *traffic* topic talk as being akin to "weather talk" (cf. Sacks, 1992b, p. 205) or a setting topic (cf. Svennevig, 1999), in the sense that it was transitional, and could (perhaps should) be punctually supplanted by other matters. Kath's progression of the talk towards the *Easter show* also suggests that this was the case. However, as a result of Kath's weak alignment via *yeah*, and Valerie's resistance to pursuing stronger alignment at 14, Valerie's topic talk initiation ended up being discarded too.

Valerie's topic talk initiation in Extract 4.6 was also met with a structurally dispreferred response, but it was slightly more substantial than those in Extracts 4.4 and 4.5. As well, the status of Kath's response as dispreferred was (albeit thinly) concealed by her subsequent production of a multi-unit turn. This extract commences at the possible closure of a telling regarding Kath's friend, Sonia, who was transitioning back to her own home (from Kath's) after surgery.

Extract 4.6 [041004] (41:11 - 42:23)

```

001 K .hhh (0.3) so >we've gOt a bit of a< problem there
002      valer(h)ie.=
003 V =o'course ye::[s.
004 K      [bit of a prob.
005      [(2.3)
006      [((V & K gaze at each other))
006 K ah[(m)
007 V      [b't y' must be tir::ed.
008      (0.6)
009 K i'm tired ye[s, (.) ] >i mean< i'm tired. I: .hh=
010 V      [°yeah,°]
011 K =well u'm up 't five in the °morning(,)°
012      (0.2)
013 V °yes, mm,° [(have you) take the dogs: f'r=
014 K      [u(hh)
015 V =(th[eir walk?])
016 K      [yE:s      ] ye:s,
017      (.)
018 K a[nd      ] um (0.6) .tk .hh (1.0) i mean, °°e:°° sonia=
019 V      [(mm:_)]
020 K =(0.2) tries t' help es much es she can:: like=
021 V =(yeah)=

```

022 K =yesterday: ahm. (0.4) >she said< dy' want veggies
 023 d'ye want. >en i said uhw (w(h)e-)< .hh have some
 024 bea:ns, en potato:, ('n:)=
 025 V =yeah,=
 026 K =°or something else. (.) >i can't remember what it
 027 was.°< .hh aehm (0.6) so >she said< well i c'n sit et
 028 the bench en do the beans. w'll [that's fine.=
 029 ? [()
 030 ? =()
 031 V mm:,
 032 (0.6)
 033 K °ahm°
 034 (0.8)
 -> 035 V i th:ink th't on the tee|v(h)ee. (0.2) there's th't
 -> 036 (0.6) INghams chicken.
 037 (0.5)
 -> 038 V th↑at looked (.) very ni[:ce,
 => 039 K [inghams chicken. .tk .HH tell
 040 y' whAt i did- (0.4) buy (some she-) s- sonia said,
 041 .HHAW don't it's too expensive. i said look (1.1) i
 042 love turkey. (0.3) l[:ove] turkey. .hh a:n:d (0.5)=
 043 [°(mm:)°]
 044 K =i have it (.) et chr↑istmas, (0.7) [on box]ing day:.,=
 045 V [yes,]
 046 K =[.h >en i] said i want< (.) a turkey f'r easter.
 047 V [mm:;]
 048 V mm:..

Valerie's topic talk initiation at 7 seemingly related to the burden that Sonia had placed on Kath. This turn projected primary speakership for Kath, and she began by elaborating the general demands of her daily life (9-16). At 18, Kath directed the talk back towards Sonia and, via the temporal word at 22, projected a telling about Sonia's attempts to assist with routine tasks. The task identified during the telling was the preparation of dinner, and Sonia's offer to ready some vegetables for cooking. With the exception of the parenthetical at 26-27, the telling was largely composed of reported speech. Kath's *w'll that's fine* at 28, however, was functionally equivocal. That is, it could have been reported speech, stance-taking about the details of the telling-so-far, or both. Valerie passed up the chance to produce a substantial turn at 31 but, following silences at 32 and 34, and an *ahm* from Kath in between, she put forward a topic talk initiation concerning *Inghams chicken*; a brand of (predominately frozen) chicken products. Valerie then claimed that this product *looked very nice*. Kath responded by repeating *Inghams chicken*, and then commenced another telling that (although initially unclear) concerned a turkey that she purchased for an Easter Sunday meal.

Like Extracts 4.4 and 4.5, Valerie's topic talk initiation was sequentially misplaced. Despite its failing progressivity from 30-34, Kath's telling probably required further elaboration. Valerie's topic talk initiation, therefore, interposed in the telling's projected course. Kath's conduct subsequent to Valerie's topic talk initiation, however, diverged from the patterns in Extracts 4.4 and 4.5 in two important ways. First, Kath's repetition of *Inghams*

chicken more clearly displayed how she heard Valerie's talk. But, like the responses in Extracts 4.4 and 4.5, her alignment with it was weak. Kath's repetition did little more than receipting, and did not promote further talk from Valerie on this matter. Second, rather than completely deleting Valerie's talk and returning to the prior telling, Kath used it to launch a hearably emergent course of action, i.e. a telling about a turkey she bought. In essence, though, Kath's repetition halted the activities projected by Valerie's topic talk initiation, while furnishing a (tenuous) link to a self-attentive course of action that she would then attempt to prosecute. Like in Extracts 4.4 and 4.5, Valerie did not pursue further talk relating to the mentionables she put forward, and elected to align with the actions that followed².

A notable feature of the extracts presented so far in this section is that, despite the dispreferred responses engendered by Valerie's topic talk initiations, neither Valerie nor her conversation partners initiated repair. This pattern is not entirely unexpected. Perkins et al. (1999) found that the brother of a man with aphasia often allowed lapses to occur, and/or produced topic talk initiations in place of initiating repair on problematic talk. On the other hand, Bloch and Wilkinson (2009) noted that dysarthric speakers did not initiate repair during extended silences after their own turns. They suggested that this may have been because the reason for the silence (e.g. trouble hearing/understanding, or resistance to the turn's action) was unclear in the absence of a response from their conversation partner. As such, how to alter the turn in order to secure alignment would be similarly doubtful. In Valerie's case, the weak receipting responses above were not significantly delayed³. Valerie may, therefore, have heard them as resisting the actions she was implementing rather than indexing trouble. This also (at least partially) explains why she did not pursue stronger alignment in subsequent turns.

In Extract 4.7, other- and self-initiated repair were both taken up after an extended silence followed Valerie's topic talk initiation. The nature of Valerie's repair attempt provides some support for Bloch and Wilkinson's (2009) claims, in that the silence (and Wendy's weak repair attempt) meant that Valerie could not be sure about the type of trouble implicated, and needed to make a guess. It would turn out that she took the wrong tack. As the extract begins, talk relating to libraries in the local area was still progressing before a lapse eventuated at 10.

² In the present case, Valerie's alignment was almost certainly delayed because of the unusual way in which Kath commenced the telling.

³ It seems likely that Valerie's turn at 35-36 in Extract 4.6 was designed to be hearably incomplete, allowing her to maintain her hold on the floor and produce further turn elements (see Beeke et al., 2003a, p. 95; Wilkinson et al., 2003). As such, an aligning response from Kath at 37 was likely not due nor, therefore, hearably absent.

Extract 4.7 [013103] (05:28 - 06:16)

001 W i us'llly go down the mall:..
002 (0.4)
003 V .tk ↑(oh)w yes,
004 (.)
005 W b't then you've gotta carry the boo:ks rather a long
006 way, bec'se- [.hh i]n the mall you walk a long way:¿
007 V [mm_]
008 V mm[: ,
009 ? [()
010 [(4.5)
[((V & W both gaze downward))
011 W °.tk .hh° (0.5)
-> 012 V .TK (what 'e: >'re you<) caught u:p with the uh- (0.4)
-> 013 .hh electricity?
-> 014 [(1.4)
[((V & W gaze at each other))
-> 015 W electrice-
-> 016 V mm:..
-> 017 [(0.7)
[((W gazes to V's left))
-> 018 W aeh:m: (.)
-> 019 V .tk [(0.2) you've- 'ave you got gas? or [electri°(c:)°
[((W gazes to V)) [
-> 020 W [naw:, (0.2)
-> 021 [na: i've only got electric'ty.
[((shuffling books in her lap))
022 (0.3)
-> 023 V [mm:..
[((W gazes down))
=> 024 W .hh [(0.7) [en i w's very
[((gazing down, moving books)) [((gazes to V))
025 fortunate yesterday:, i went down t' <niaga[ra?>
[((V nods))
026 (1.0)
027 W >which is< on: the: aeh:m. (0.6) foreshore ev (0.7)
028 °↓(lake)°=
029 V =ohw (yes.)=
030 W =yeah: por::°t° sorell,
031 (0.5)
032 V °(mm hm,)°
033 (0.7)
=> 034 W en we got back, (0.2) we got through the city before
=> 035 all that [h'd happened.[ye::a]:h.
036 V [ohw that's [wonderful.]

Wendy produced some potential pre-beginning objects at 11, but Valerie exploited her tardiness in commencing a TCU, and began a turn of her own at 12. Although not entirely clear, this turn seemingly involved an interrogative grammatical format, and projected subsequent talk from Wendy about the effect of *the electricity* on her activities. The target here was a blackout in the inner city that lasted for approximately two hours during the previous day. An extended silence ensued at 14. Wendy then appeared to initiate repair, which Valerie receipted with only *mm*. Another silence developed at 16, and was followed by the beginnings of a turn from Wendy at 18. Having resisted further, substantial talk so far, Valerie elected to produce a *yes/no* interrogative at 19. The content of this turn suggests that

Valerie heard the prior trouble as arising from an asymmetry of experience, rather than the intelligibility and/or understandability of her own talk (Bloch & Wilkinson, 2004, 2009)⁴. That is, she inferred that Wendy may have been unaffected by (and unaware of) the blackout because her home did not use electricity as a power source. Interestingly, once Wendy confirmed that she did use electricity, Valerie did not undertake any further reparative action and, in the space that followed, Wendy projected the telling of something *very fortunate*. This telling involved Wendy's trip and, after the location of Niagara was elaborated (at 27-30), the *very fortunate* occurrence was reported: she had *got through the city before all that h'd happened*. Wendy's use of the locally subsequent reference form *all that* (cf. Schegloff, 1996b) suggests that she was pointing towards the events mentioned by Valerie and, consequently, that Wendy had (at some point between 18 and 34) realised what Valerie was invoking with her topic talk initiation. The promptness of Valerie's responsive assessment at 36 also indicates that the target of *all that* was transparent to her.

Wendy's response to Valerie's topic talk initiation utilised a dispreferred turn shape (i.e. it was significantly delayed) and implemented a dispreferred action (i.e. the initiation of repair, cf. Schegloff et al., 1977). Wendy's decision to initiate repair was likely motivated by Valerie's (seeming) use of an interrogative grammatical format, which meant that simple receipt was not possible⁵. In particular, had Wendy responded using a *yes*-like object as she did in Extract 4.4, it would have been heard as endorsing the design of Valerie's turn, and committing herself to a particular position (cf. Raymond, 2003; see Chapter 8, Section 8.2). As well, interrogative topic talk initiations often project primary speakership for their recipients. Therefore, a lone *yes* or the like had the potential to be doubly problematic.

Although both interactants attempted repair during this extract, neither displayed much commitment to it. Wendy's repair initiation at 15 did little more than show her receipt of the word *electricity*, and Valerie declined to progress repair in the following turn. With the talk stalling at 17-18, Valerie's inquiry at 19 guessed at the location of the trouble. When it turned out to be ill-directed, one might have expected Valerie to further explicate what was being mentioned, i.e. the fact that there was a blackout in the city. Instead, Valerie's post-expansive *mm* brought the sequence to a kind of empty closure, and provided for its abandonment. As it would turn out, there was still hope for its progression. Wendy's use of the reference *all that* represented a rather subtle way of signalling that she now appreciated the import of Valerie's topic talk initiation, as opposed to, for example, an overt formulation

⁴ The distinction here is between problems decoding the speech signal, versus problems understanding what is being done with some stretch of talk. See Bloch and Wilkinson (2004, 2009) for further details.

⁵ Conversely, the grammatical format of Valerie's topic talk initiations in the extracts above made the use of weak receipting responses possible. For elaboration on this point, see Chapter 6, Section 6.5.

of it (e.g. *oh you meant the blackout, did you?*). Further, commencing this telling with turn-initial *and* may have been indexing its emergence from the sequence set in motion by Valerie's topic talk initiation (see Chapter 6), while eliding further orientation to the trouble it caused⁶.

This section has examined instances where Valerie's topic talk initiations received dispreferred responses; primarily, weak receipting objects. The receipting work implemented by these responses, the sequential placement and the intelligibility of Valerie's topic talk initiations, and Valerie's failure to pursue further, related talk, were all implicated in their abandonment. These topic talk initiations were regularly followed by periods of primary speakership for Valerie's conversation partners.

4.2.2 Progressing topic talk

Extracts 4.8, 4.9, and 4.10 illustrate some practices implemented by interactants when Valerie initiated a spate of topic talk, and held primary speakership for an extended period. The analyses to follow in this section demonstrate that topic talk with this configuration could result in quite severe trouble. The conduct of Valerie's conversation partners was also strongly implicated in the kinds of trouble that eventuated.

Extract 4.8 provides an example of prevalent other-initiation of repair during topic talk in which Valerie was primary speaker. Prior to Extract 4.8, Evelyn had steered the interaction towards test questioning concerning Valerie's preferred television shows. The final two test questions are shown below in lines 1 and 4.

Extract 4.8 [023103] (01:56 - 03:38)

```

001  E  °(d-)° dy'know who's up for the gold logie?
002  V  (°°e- e-°°) °hh° (0.3) i don' know
003  E  it's the mother.
004      (0.3)
005  E  †dy'e remember her name?
006      [(0.4)                [(1.6)
      [((V gazes at E [then shifts & holds gaze to E's left))
      [((E gazes at V, smiling))
-> 007  V  °°(2 syll)°° .hh aw [(did) you see: (.)
      [((gazes to E))
-> 008      [sixty minutes? .hh
      [((points up to television))
-> 009      (0.5)
-> 010  V  on sunday?
011      (0.7)
012  E  °ah: what w's on sixty mi[nutes.°
=> 013  V      [li[z hay:es,
      [((lifts left arm))

```

⁶ Equally, though, Wendy's telling could have been occasioned by the lexical item *electricity*, with her altered orientation to Valerie's topic talk initiation occurring subsequently. On the evidence available here, it cannot be definitively determined either way.

014 [.hh where she put .hh like a cap on (h:o-) on head,
 [((extends index finger towards temple))
 015 (0.2)
 016 E mm:?
 017 (.)
 018 V [kgm (0.6) .hh (0.3) and eh, (0.8) °.hh°
 [((holds gesture))
 019 (0.6) uhm: (0.4) .tkhh (0.5) [when (each are) thinking,
 [((moves index finger
 circularly))
 020 [.hh (0.4) MIRAcle on it. .hh (en it-) y'know; (j'st)
 [((angles arm down, with index finger extended))
 021 puts that, [(0.4) en on the (wrote it-)
 [((extends arm slightly))
 022 [-m-i-r-a-c-l-e-,
 [((beats index finger up and down for each letter))
 023 [(0.5) ↑just incredible.
 [((rests hand back into lap))
 024 E (.tk) [>so it- tha-<]
 025 V [.hhh [<s>]O: (that um)> (0.7) .tkh (0.5)
 [((lifts arm))
 026 [put that uhm (0.9) cap (°°u- u-°°) on the- the brai:n
 [((moves hand higher, & points to top of head))
 027 [(there)] .hh [en it in- (0.3) dicate °(the)° (0.6)=
 [] [((takes hand down from head, but keeps
 [] it raised, with index extended))
 028 E [yes,]
 029 V =y'know: (0.3) (all the-) .hh so i'm going t' °.hhh°
 030 i (la-) rang: asked to, .hhh transcript .hh f'r liz
 031 hayes(°uh°). .hh so y' (n[ever know,)
 032 E [so what were they- what were
 033 they tryin' t' prove,
 034 [(0.6)
 [((V & E gaze at each other))
 035 V (°hhh°) (.) °°([])°°
 036 E [>they w'< watching her brai:n
 [((lifts arm, extends index finger &
 makes a circular gesture at temple))
 037 [function?
 [((drops gesture))
 038 (0.4)
 039 V ohw ye:s, [(and] new::-) (0.3) °u-uh° .hh i think,=
 040 E [mm hm,]
 041 V =(.) [they °sh-° (0.4) show the- (.) the. open hand
 [((holds out palm; closes then opens it))
 042 y'know;
 043 (0.2)
 044 E mm:?
 045 (0.3)
 046 V and uh (0.2)
 047 E >aw so they're< stimulating her brai:n;=
 048 V =m[m,-
 049 E [en making her [body move.]
 050 V [and (.) w's] able t' [rUN,
 [((moves hand
 circularly))
 051 [(0.4)]
 [((V continues gesture))]
 052 E ri:ght,=
 053 V =y'know.
 054 (0.3)
 055 V °.h s: 'at's good,°
 056 (0.3)
 057 E s' where w's this being ↓done;
 058 (0.9)
 059 V .hh ohw over in: (.) london some°(where).°=
 060 E =°oh: in london was it,°=
 061 V =°y[e:s.°
 062 E [°right.°

063 (0.2)
 064 V *↑m*m:_
 065 (0.6)
 066 E good. no it's interesting what- some of the things
 067 they're coming [up with; isn't it,
 068 V [(ehh)

Evelyn's test questions about a nominee for a television award (i.e. the *Gold Logie*) yielded little uptake from Valerie. After she claimed a lack of knowledge at 2, Valerie failed to clearly respond to the subsequent test question, although the very quiet, untranscribable two syllables in 7 may have addressed it in some fashion. Valerie then produced an *aw*-prefaced *yes/no* interrogative about the current affairs program *Sixty Minutes*, which she pursued with an increment at 10 when Evelyn did not respond. It seems highly likely that Evelyn was displaying some difficulty understanding how Valerie's query fit with the prior talk; was it responsive to the FPP at 5, or was it doing something else altogether⁷? Evelyn's response at 12 delicately navigated this rather vexed environment. By producing a non-conforming response to Valerie's *yes/no* interrogative (cf. Raymond, 2003), Evelyn avoided ratifying its design and action, but still addressed its propositional content, i.e. she revealed that she hadn't seen *Sixty Minutes*. Rather than a repairing insert expansion, Evelyn's turn at 12 appears to have been a SPP designed to resist strong commitment to its FPP, while also generating space for Valerie to prosecute the course of action she was projecting, whatever it may turn out to be. Having secured a go-ahead response, Valerie then introduced the name of a *Sixty Minutes* presenter (i.e. Liz Hayes), and began to describe the nature of the presenter's segment. The responsive *mm* (with strongly rising intonation) at 16 handed the floor back to Valerie, and she proceeded to progress her telling.

Retrospectively, it is clear that Valerie's turn at 7 was not addressing Evelyn's test question at 5, and was in fact a topic-talk-initiating preface, projecting subsequent talk about a segment on *Sixty Minutes*⁸. Although its function was unclear to Evelyn, Valerie was using it to establish how topic talk about the prospective mentionable could proceed. That is, if Evelyn had seen the same report, then the burden of talking could be more evenly distributed across the interactants. Because Evelyn had not seen the report, different speakership configurations, and courses of action, were made relevant. As well as establishing Evelyn's

⁷ It should also be noted that Evelyn's facial expression progressively altered from a broad smile—which she held during her test questioning at 5, though the silence at six, and into the beginning of seven—to a rather neutral expression. This was followed by a “quizzical” look during Valerie's interrogative at 7 and the subsequent increment.

⁸ Seemingly, Valerie's priority here was to exit the test questioning that had persisted over a number of turns.

informed-ness about the prospective mentionable, Valerie's use of a preface also laid the sequential ground for claiming primary speakership to deliver a multi-unit telling.

Turn-constructural difficulties and delays in progressivity were pervasive as Valerie moved the telling forward at 18-22. For example, there were a number of pauses, in-breaths, general-meaning lexical items, unclear pronominal referents, and incomplete grammatical constructions. Also absent were vocal responses from Evelyn. This is likely attributable to Valerie's turn-constructural difficulties making it difficult to gauge the kind of participation that was relevant, and where it could be positioned. After Valerie spelt out the word *miracle* (as had seemingly been done during the segment), she assessed the segment (and the telling) as *just incredible*. This provided a clear structural juncture at which Evelyn could produce a turn-at-talk. If Valerie's telling had successfully conveyed the nature of the segment, agreement and further assessment of the matters-at-hand would have been expected. As Valerie's assessment moved towards possible completion, the smile faded from Evelyn's face and, as previously, she adopted a more neutral, then slightly frowning expression, and proceeded to initiate a *so*-prefaced turn. Even with only a small fragment of this turn available, its shape strongly suggests that something other than agreement and consonant evaluation was in the works. In overlap with Evelyn's emerging turn, Valerie produced a pre-beginning in-breath at 25, and set about expanding the telling in aid of securing a preferred response⁹.

Delays to progressivity and turn-constructural difficulties were also common during Valerie's expansion of her telling from 25-29. Notably, while Valerie retained the term *cap* from her initial report, she substituted *head* for *brain*, and this secured a vocal, continuing response from Evelyn. The subsequent part at 27, however, was incomplete, with an object for the verb *indicate* projected, but never supplied. Next, Valerie abandoned the details of the segment, and reported her actions after viewing it; namely, that she (was going to, or had) requested a transcript of the story. As Valerie moved to disengage from the telling via a figurative, summary assessment at 31, Evelyn again prompted elaboration, questioning the telling's adequacy with a *so*-prefaced inquiry. After a significant delay at 34-35, Valerie began to respond, but Evelyn proffered for confirmation a formulation of the activities presented in the segment. Valerie's *oh*-prefaced response cast Evelyn's formulation as inapposite (cf. Heritage, 1998), likely because it addressed the very activities that Valerie had

⁹ Just when it became clear to Valerie that a dispreferred response was likely is not clear. Given that Evelyn's turn and Valerie's in-breath began simultaneously, Evelyn's emerging frown may have caused Valerie to orient to this possibility. Alternatively, perhaps Valerie had already planned further expansion of her telling (such as the upshot reported at 29-33), which her in-breath acted to project. However, once Evelyn's emerging turn pointed to troubles with the telling-so-far, Valerie may have then altered the shape of her projected turn, and expanded her reporting of empirical details about the news segment.

been attempting to convey during the telling. Valerie then returned to the empirical details of the segment, reporting that it had shown *the open hand*, as she simultaneously moved her own.

Evelyn's *mm* at 44 handed the floor back to Valerie once more, and Valerie projected some next-object with *and uh* at 46. Using the opportunity provided by a slight break in the progressivity of Valerie's talk, Evelyn proffered further confirmable formulations of the telling, which Valerie minimally receipted at 48, before adding another detail at 50. Evelyn's *right* at 52 claimed that this talk had added to the shared knowledge-store of the interaction (cf. Gardner, 2007), but provided little insight as to her evaluative stance on the significance of the telling; in particular, the significance of the telling for Valerie as a potential beneficiary of such breakthroughs. In the absence of such evaluation, Valerie provided her own, rather bland assessment of the telling's import. But, unlike before (i.e. 29-31), she did not pursue its relevance to her own situation. Instead of closing this spate of topic talk after Valerie's assessment at 55, Evelyn prompted further expansion of the telling via yet another *so*-prefaced inquiry. Once it was established that the activities had taken place in London, Evelyn receipted the talk with *right* once more. Following Valerie's passing of the floor with an *mm* at 64, Evelyn finally assessed the telling, and brought the topic talk to possible closure.

This spate of topic talk has three outstanding features. First, the environment of its commencement resulted in interpretive problems for Evelyn, meaning that its identifiability as a new spate of topic talk was, initially, compromised. Second, once Valerie had secured alignment from Evelyn and taken on primary speakership, delays to progressivity and turn-constructional difficulties significantly affected the course of the talk. In particular, Valerie's aphasia made the empirical details being conveyed decidedly unclear. During Valerie's time as primary speaker, trouble and self-repair were prevalent, which made her identity as "communication disordered" potentially relevant (cf. Wilkinson, 2007; Wilkinson et al., 2003). Third, because of these troubles, Evelyn's vocal responses to Valerie's telling were limited. When Evelyn did produce responsive turns, they impeded the progressivity of the topic talk by prompting expansion of prior components. On four occasions—at 24, 32, 47, and 57—Evelyn used *so*-prefaced turns to elicit from Valerie expansions of her preceding talk, before she eventually assessed the telling at 66-67. Had the initial part of Valerie's telling more successfully conveyed the details and import of the matters-at-hand, it is not difficult to imagine the assessment at 66-67 directly following Valerie's *just incredible* at 23.

Extract 4.9 provides an interesting counterpart to Extract 4.8. While Valerie displayed similar turn constructional difficulties during her period of primary speakership in this extract, other-initiated repair was almost entirely absent. Previously, Kath had been talking about her

fatigue, and potential ill-health, as a result of her busy daily schedule. Extract 4.9 begins with Kath bringing this topic talk to possible closure via an idiomatic summary assessment.

Extract 4.9 [051604] (06:52 - 08:22)

001 K °ah:m° (0.7) °anyway.° i- th- it's one e' the things
 002 that's happens en one e' the things like, (.) growing
 003 o:ld.
 004 (0.5)
 005 V ohw yea:[°(s)°,
 006 K [u(h)h-
 007 (0.6)
 -> 008 V .hh en: when (the) (.) kkh (0.6) lisa n' (.) end
 009 (matthew), [(.) °°()°° [(dow:n),] .hh and (.)=
 010 K [.hh °o(hh[h]w.]
 [((opens mouth widely, smiling))
 011 V =°(d' she)° <get my card,> °.hh° [en i: (natr'llly
 [((lifts hand, points
 left))
 012 thought) .h (/ʃoəs/ eas:t) (0.4) °t-° (.) (but) y'know,
 013 [(0.9) very nice, (0.3) (eas.ter.) °.hh° i >s'd< ohw
 [((drops gesture))
 014 yes. °(nheh)° [↑en o:nly tuesday,
 [((lifts hand, with thumb & index finger
 partially extended))
 015 [(0.7) of this week,
 [((angles hand left, pointing with thumb))
 016 [(0.7) <she brought (them);>
 [((gazes to & reaches for her table))
 017 [(4.0)
 [((V reaches for papers on her table))
 018 V fr'm [(f)ish) bay
 [((gazes to K, & points left))
 019 [.hh <fishermans bay:> an:y[way, °.hh° en
 [((rests hand in lap)) [((lifts hand))
 020 [they('ve) (be) [there: [on holidays;
 [((points left [then back [then left again))
 021 K ↓y(h)es,↓
 022 V so i [didn't have (the heart).
 [((circular movement with index extended))
 023 [°.hh° en i (use), °(six)° (0.4)
 [((angles hand backwards, and points over shoulder with
 thumb))
 024 [(i think °'t w's. post,) (0.5) on the six(t) (0.6) of
 [((keeps thumb extended but hand slowly moves forward))
 025 april,
 026 [(1.8)
 [((V drops her hand further, & extends index))
 ((V & K hold gaze; V smiling, K expressionless))
 027 V so [(they-)] [(0.7) °th-° they <must('ve)> (0.8) come=
 [[°o hh°] [((extends index towards K))
 028 K [°o hh°]
 029 V =back ↑on the: uhm, (0.4) [s:at'day en sunday,
 [((one beat for each day))
 030 K [y:e:s.
 [((V rests her hand in her lap))
 031 (0.4)
 032 V ehuh
 033 [(1.0)
 [((V & K hold gaze))
 ((V smiling, K expressionless))
 034 V [so, (0.7) °oh w- [would you uhm° (0.6) .tk
 [((V gazes down)) [((then lifts up a letter))
 035 [(0.6) [(0.4)
 [((gazing down, holding the letter [then gazes to K))

036 [like t' read
 [(K reaches for the letter))
 037 [(11.2)
 [(K takes the letter, opens it & looks at the contents
 while V looks to & manipulates items on her table))
 038 K ahm (0.3) thi- this is for lisa 'nd matthew is it,
 039 V ye:s,
 040 (0.3)
 041 K °okay.°

Unlike Extract 4.8, where Valerie's topic talk initiation trespassed in an ongoing course of action, Valerie's agreement with Kath's idiomatic stance-taking at 5 provided an appropriate place for a new spate of topic talk to begin. Valerie commenced this topic talk (and telling) with a phonetic variant of *and*, followed by a temporal word (cf. Jefferson, 1978), and the identification of potentially consequential figures (Maynard, 2003) (i.e. Lisa and Matthew, friends of Valerie's known to Kath). Kath receipted this talk with a voiceless, non-lexical object, which, in a (very) minimal fashion, established her reciprocity. Kath's initial smile was quickly replaced by neutral expression, which she held for the rest of the extract.

As Valerie moved the telling forward, turn-construction difficulties and delays to progressivity arose, but Kath refrained from participation in the talk, even to initiate repair. In Extract 4.8, Evelyn used the structural junctures created by assessments to launch *so*-prefaced inquiries. Valerie's short laugh at 14 created one place in the early part of this telling that Kath could have exploited to produce a backwards-looking turn. Instead, Kath resisted producing any conduct—vocal or otherwise—and Valerie continued with a next component of the telling. Valerie's subsequent disengagement from talk at 17 to search for something on her table generated another, clearer position in which Kath could have initiated repair. But, again, she chose not to. Once Valerie finished her search, she seemingly added an increment at 18, and introduced, then repaired, a place reference at 19. Next, Valerie produced two (apparently) clear pronominal references at 20—*they* (i.e. Lisa and Matthew) and *there* (i.e. Fishermans Bay)—and this secured a continuer from Kath.

A number of turns from 22-33 were designed to promote disengagement from the telling, and to elicit responsive talk. In particular, Valerie's *so*-prefaced turns at 22 and 27 were pursuing recognition of the telling's import, but both completely failed. After the *so*-prefaced turn at 22, Valerie provided further details of the telling at 23-25, likely with a view to addressing Kath's lack of uptake. The interactional tension that had been building is aptly embodied by the facial expressions of the interactants during the silence at 26; the smiling Valerie, awaiting appreciation, juxtaposed with the expressionless Kath, unsure of what to do, but unwilling to initiate repair. Valerie, once again, attempted to secure a response from Kath via a *so*-prefaced turn at 27. In the midst of the turn's beginning, Kath produced a quiet, non-

lexical object, then an acknowledging *yes* at its completion, but neither response provided the strength of appreciation required at the possible closure of such a telling. Following a brief (though notable) pause, Valerie's laugh token at 32 displayed her orientation towards the telling as, in some respect, laugh-able. Kath continued to abstain, and the impasse that had eventuated at 26 was mirrored at 33. The subsequent *so*-prefaced turn worked to abandon the telling, and proposed that Kath should look at an envelope, and its contents. Valerie's proposal resulted in further interpretive problems for Kath; in particular, whether it had emerged from (and was dependent on) the foregoing talk, or whether it was another, differently motivated project.

Like Extract 4.8, Valerie's turn-constructural difficulties were pervasive, and significantly affected the course of the topic talk. While Kath's decision to refrain from repair meant that Valerie was not required to re-do prior portions of her telling, it resulted in the import of the telling being utterly opaque to Kath. This meant that Valerie's topic talk was not sequentially implicative (cf. Wilkinson, 1999b), both on a TCU-by-TCU basis, and as a complete unit. This necessitated an explicit proposal for a next course of action but, because of the foregoing trouble, its understandability was also compromised.

Extracts 4.8 and 4.9 have demonstrated that Valerie's aphasia could substantially impact topic talk in which she was primary speaker. They have also depicted two polar extremes of conversation partner participation during these spates of talk: on one hand, Evelyn's repeated initiations of other-repair; on the other, Kath's resistance to responding at all. Evelyn's conduct severely impeded the progressivity of Valerie's telling, but resulted in its import being more clearly established, which facilitated the selection of responsive actions over its course, and next-actions at its conclusion. Kath's conduct did not result in Valerie having to revise components of her telling, but it meant that Kath was unable to select responsive actions over its course, and next-actions at its conclusion. As such, Valerie needed to propose how the telling should be receipted, and what should be done next.

Kath's participation during Extract 4.10 falls somewhere between Extracts 4.8 and 4.9. It is an extended and complex spate of talk, and it requires quite substantial analytic effort to begin accessing the practices that generated it. It will be analysed in five blocks: the first from 1-23, the second from 24-45, the third from 46-75, the fourth from 76-93, and the fifth from 94-108. The transcript is divided accordingly in the text below, but is presented as a whole in Appendix E. Readers are encouraged to inspect it as a whole before moving on to the analyses in this chapter.

Given the pervasive turn-constructural difficulties present in Extracts 4.8 and 4.9, there is a temptation to see the troubles that emerged as ones of reference only. Extract 4.10

demonstrates the consequentiality of another interpretive resource—identity—for the course of topic talk, and how Valerie’s impoverished linguistic materials could affect its particularisation. As Extract 4.10 begins (i.e. 1-5), Kath was bringing to possible closure some topic talk about the prevalence of manufacturing in China.

Extract 4.10 [051604] (38:13 - 40:51)

001 K f- ↑funny funny world it'is nowadays
 002 [°valerie° i think anyway,
 [(raises hand & rubs eyes))
 003 [(0.7)
 [(K continues rubbing))
 004 K [you hear these things_
 [(continues rubbing))
 005 [(0.9)
 [(K begins to move hand back to lap))
 006 K .hh (0.3) ↑so YOU DOn't know whether you've got your
 007 ni:ne hundred dollars?
 008 (0.7)
 009 V no:.,
 010 (0.5)
 011 K >per'↑aps you won't know. perh↑aps< dean j'st collects
 012 it;
 013 (0.6)
 014 K .h i MEAN [>he d- w- [when i say] he collects it he=
 015 V [well [(yes)]
 016 K =[d-<
 017 V [(i'll mention it.)
 018 (0.5)
 019 K °m[m:°
 020 V [(en coming) on saturday.
 021 K AWokay.
 022 (0.6)
 023 V °mm:..°
 024 (0.6)

With the prior topic talk (possibly) closed, Kath initiated a new sequence at 6-7. Her turn was confirmable and utilised turn-initial *so*, suggesting that that matters raised were, in some way, pending (cf. Bolden, 2006, 2008). At this point, it may not have been entirely clear what Kath was doing with this FPP. Would it turn out to be an action in its own right, or would it be preliminary to something else? If the latter, what would it be preliminary to? Perhaps sensitive to these considerations, Valerie responded with only *no*. If Kath’s turn at 6-7 was a pre-expansion, she would have proceeded with the projected FPP after Valerie’s response at 9. Instead, it turned out that the FPP was an action in its own right—the initiation of a new spate of topic talk—and, as such, it preferred sequence post-expansion. With no further talk forthcoming from Valerie, Kath undertook the post-expansion herself at 11, hypothesising that Valerie’s son (Dean) might collect the nine hundred dollar government stimulus payment

in question on Valerie's behalf¹⁰. Kath then oriented to the pause at 13 as signalling some trouble with the design of her turn; possibly because it implied that Dean could surreptitiously collect Valerie's money. Kath eventually abandoned the re-working of her prior turn, and Valerie pledged to raise the matter with Dean. At 20, Valerie (seemingly) informed Kath of Dean's next visit, and Kath receipted this turn with a composite, and closure-implicative *AWokay* (Schegloff, 2007c). Valerie then produced a falling *mm*, which passed the opportunity to produce a substantial topical turn, and further established the closure-readiness of the sequence.

025 K cause they're on easter h¹o¹liday now a:ren't they, with
 026 the [children.]
 027 V [°that's r]ight.°
 028 (0.3)
 029 K ye:s ↑WHEre did they go?
 030 [(1.3)
 [(K & V gaze at each other))
 031 V fi*j*i?
 032 (0.3)
 033 K .HH ↑↑OUW:: lovely::. °hh°
 034 (0.4)
 -> 035 V ye:s b't [that, (0.7) u(gh)m (0.6) (they- °r: °)
 [(lifts hand, index partially extended))
 036 [(0.3) ri:sky °t- u-°
 [(extends other fingers, & twists wrist))
 037 [y'know:, (0.7) the:: (0.4) m:an
 [(slowly withdraws all but index))
 038 [step [down:, (0.9)
 [(beats finger towards K)) [(then left))
 039 re[tire:s; (0.5) and [(a)nother put in (0.8)
 [(points again)) [(drops hand slightly, then
 points right))
 040 [his position.
 [(raises hand slightly, then beats finger towards K))
 041 [(1.2)
 [(holds hand steady, with index extended))
 042 V en [(there's-) that (0.5) *uh:* (1.5) they've (0.3)
 [(extends middle finger))
 043 <got (lot [alert)>
 [(dips hand slightly, then angles to right))
 044 (0.8)
 045 V so you [don know.
 [(extends other fingers, twists wrist))

After the gap at 24, Kath uttered another confirmable FPP, which Valerie met with a confirming *that's right* (see Chapter 8, Section 8.2). Kath followed her minimally post-expansive *yes* at 29 with a new FPP concerning the holiday destination chosen by Dean and his family. Given the mutual orientation between the interactants, the delay at 30 prior to the SPP at 31 is likely attributable to Valerie's aphasia. Kath's post-expansive assessment at 33

¹⁰ In late 2008, the Australian Commonwealth (federal) government provided all pensioners with a one-off stimulus payment of \$1400 as part of their response to the global financial crisis. This was followed in early 2009 (after the present recording was made) by a one-off payment of \$900 to most every Australian taxpayer.

was a dramatic, prosodically marked endorsement of the holiday destination. Whatever Valerie produced in the turn following would, therefore, be strongly constrained by, and heard as responsive to, the assessment just prior. The initial components of Valerie's turn at 35 (likely abetted by the slight pause at 34) made it hearable as delivering a dispreferred action; namely, a second assessment with an "agreement-plus-disagreement" format (Pomerantz, 1984, p. 75). However, instead of alternative assessment terms (e.g. *very hot*, *expensive*, *too commercial*), Valerie produced the indexical *that* after *yes b't*. As it would turn out, rather than simply contesting the design of Kath's assessment, Valerie was attempting to initiate a telling and, in doing so, implement a stepwise transition in topic talk by recontextualising the matters-at-hand.

Valerie's use of *that* as one of the initial elements in her response seems to have been engaged in (at least) two tasks. Namely, it projected the introduction of a particular mentionable, and something other than a brief, disagreeing assessment¹¹. Had Valerie produced the assessment term that arrived later in her turn—*risky*—in place of *that*, speakership transition may have been more readily achieved, and she may have ceded the opportunity to introduce the matters-at-hand; either because she lost primary speakership, or because they were no longer fitted to the ongoing talk. Thus, the early use of *that* may have helped project an impending multi-unit turn. The telling elements that Valerie produced at 37-40 progressed discontinuously but, for the most part, were lexically and grammatically complete. Kath resisted responding at 41, and Valerie added further details at 42-43. This talk was, analytically at least, more opaque than her talk at 37-40. After another long silence, Valerie moved to disengage from the telling at 45 using a *so*-prefaced, summary assessment.

```

046      [(1.0)
=> 047      K  this is wi- this is in dea:n's job;
048      V  ↑mm::.
049      [(0.5)
      [(K gazes away from V))
050      K  °mhh°
051      [(2.0)
      [(K gazes away from V))
052      K  mm::.
053      [(1.6)
      [(K gazes away from V))
054      K  yes it's a bit of a worry isn't it.
055      [(0.4)          [(0.5)
      [(K shifts her gaze)) [(gazes at V))

```

¹¹ It may have also been inviting Kath to recognise the mentionable being projected, i.e. recent political unrest in Fiji. One might query, though, why Valerie did not use a preface to establish Kath's knowledge state, as she did with Evelyn in Extract 4.8. First, as noted above, Valerie's talk at 35 was constrained by Kath's assessment, so introducing mentionables under the auspices of the assessment represented a more economical way of proceeding. Second, the content of Kath's assessment may have been indicative of her (deficient) knowledge state, i.e. her assessment would likely have been weaker had she been aware of any turmoil.

056 V yeah,
 057 K bit of a worry,
 058 [(0.4)
 [(K gazes to V's left))
 059 K .hh cause the reCession is- (0.4) [is hitting a lot of
 [(gazes to V))
 060 people.
 061 (0.5)
 062 V yes_ °.hh° [no, (p-) no-=
 [(raises hand, extends index))
 063 K =NOT DEAN,
 064 V no, [(b't the)] <fiji:,>
 [(moves hand up & back, then points left))
 065 K [ohw Sorry]
 066 K .HH o(h)hw in f(h)i:[ji:]
 067 V ['es-] e's [step aside
 [(beats finger left
 then right))
 068 K A:::W yes [that's]
 069 V [and th]en (0.3) appoint,
 [(beats finger left then right))
 070 [(0.8) the: [theh: (0.4)
 [(drops hand into lap)) [(then raises it))
 071 [prime minister.
 [(beats finger down slightly, then points left))
 072 K [YES, (.) i'm sorry [yes yes,]
 [(V drops hand)) []
 073 V [and (.) and] so, (0.2)
 [(lifts hand))
 074 K mm,=
 075 V =y' know,

Kath's failure to respond at 41, 44, and 46 suggests that she was having difficulty interpreting Valerie's talk. But, unlike Extract 4.9, she did not completely eschew reparative actions. At 47, Kath produced a confirmable formulation of Valerie's talk: *this is wi- this is in Dean's job*. Valerie met this turn with a prosodically marked (but still minimal) *mm*. Kath then gazed away from Valerie and, alternating with long silences, produced a quiet, non-lexical vocalisation (50), a falling *mm* (52), and an assessment with a tag (54). Kath's return of gaze elicited a polarity-matching *yeah* from Valerie, which Kath followed with partial repetition of her prior assessment. In contrast to the backward-looking turns from 49-58, Kath's turn at 59-60 progressed the substance of the topic talk by linking it to the *recession*; a hitherto unaddressed entity. Valerie initially receipted 59-60 with *yes*, but quickly followed it with *no*, (*p-*) *no-*, causing Kath to initiate further repair. Kath's repair initiation specifically identified Dean, and called for Valerie to reject his involvement in the matters addressed by her telling. Valerie produced yet another *no* and *Fiji* in the next turn. Kath's turns at 66 and 68 acted to display the change of state she had undergone, with Valerie's turns at 67 and 69-71 adding further specification of her prior talk. Interestingly, these turns made use of richer lexical items (e.g. *Fiji*, *appoint*, and *Prime Minister*) than the equivalents in her initial telling (e.g. *man*, *put in* and *position*). Kath's apologies at 65 and 72 also highlight the morality of the trouble. That is, particular interactants could be held accountable for the communication

breakdown that had occurred and, in apologising, Kath apportioned at least some of the fault to herself. Hence, these troubles not only placed Valerie at risk of being seen as incompetent. Kath's apologies demonstrate that Valerie's periods of primary speakership could also bring into question her conversation partners' competence as recipients.

Of central concern for this analysis is how the interactants found themselves talking at cross purposes. In responding to, and contesting the adequacy of, Kath's assessment, Valerie introduced mentionables, and progressed a spate topic talk in a direction that was not projected at its outset. When this talk proved problematic for Kath, she proffered a formulation that characterised it as involving Dean's employment. Given that Valerie's talk would turn out to concern matters altogether distinct, the pressing question then becomes how Kath came to hear it in the way she did. Rephrased, how did Kath decide that Valerie's talk could be relevantly heard as "concerning *Dean's job*", rather than any other matter? The lexical items *step down*, *retires*, and *position* conceivably have a semantic relationship with *job*, but how did Kath hear it as relating to Dean? Intuitively, one might argue that the referencing of Dean in the early parts of this extract made him "the topic"; some kind of focus for subsequent talk. Indeed, when Kath initiated repair she specifically identified the involvement of Dean for disconfirmation. There are, however, other lexical items that have similar "topical potential", such as *they* (i.e. Dean's family) and *Fiji*, which, in addition, were proximal to Valerie's introduction of mentionables. Why not select them? It seems that the interpretive resource Kath relied upon to generate her formulation can be found in the design of prior talk, and the identities it made relevant for Valerie. Kath's FPPs at 6-7, 25-26, and 29 concerned aspects of Valerie's life world. These FPPs not only invoked matters that Valerie knew about, but matters that she properly knew about; that she had privileged rights to know (cf. Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Raymond & Heritage, 2006). For example, the [declarative + tag] format of the FPP at 25-26 displayed Kath's independent knowledge of Dean's family's activities, but ceded ultimate authority to Valerie (see Chapter 8, Section 8.2.2), likely because of her familial relationship with them (cf. Raymond & Heritage, 2006). It is against this identity-rich backdrop that Valerie introduced mentionables, and that Kath was faced with the task of interpreting them. Thus, given the content of Kath's formulation, an important consequence of Valerie's linguistically impoverished talk from 35-43 was its failure to dislodge from relevance her own life world, and her identity as a privileged arbiter of those matters. Valerie's invocation of *Fiji* in her repairing turn at 64 was, therefore, not only a referential reorientation; it acted to make relevant matters outside her protected knowledge, and prevented her talk from being filtered through previously relevant identities.

Before moving to the next block of talk (i.e. 76-93), there are two, interrelated, occurrences in the current one that require comment. The first is Valerie's response to Kath's formulation, and the second is Kath's repair initiation at 63. Valerie's response at 48 (i.e. ↑*mm*::.) was taken as an endorsement by Kath, and prolonged the breakdown in intersubjectivity between the interactants. Given the talk that followed, it seems highly unlikely that Valerie was agreeing with Kath's formulation, so it must have been addressing other contingencies. Problems with intelligibility and/or understandability seem the most probable explanations for Valerie's turn design. That is, either she was unable to decode the constituent parts of the prior turn due to difficulty hearing/understanding; or, despite adequate receipt, she could not adequately establish the turn's sequential import, i.e. why Kath was bringing up Dean and his employment there and then. In both circumstances, responding with *mm* avoids the initiation of repair, while providing only weak endorsement of the prior turn.

The fragility of intersubjectivity subsequent to Valerie's *mm* was reflected in the interactants' reluctance to take substantial turns-at-talk from 49-58, and in Kath's willingness to participate in repair at 63. With regard to the latter, the *nos* in Valerie's turn at 62 could have been heard as disagreeing with Kath's stance on the *recession*, rather than rejecting its fittedness to ongoing talk. But, in light of the problems Kath had with Valerie's earlier talk, and Valerie's swift inversion of her response at 62, Kath (correctly) decided to treat Valerie's *nos* as signalling that there were broader troubles in motion.

076 [(0.4)
 077 V [((V drops hand into lap))
 (b't the-) (.) ah:m (0.8) .tk [th- ah: (0.2) °hh° (1.7)
 [((lifts hand, index
 pointing up))
 078 °(what is it)° (0.9) [the (/kalməs/), (0.8) bāŋkɔk
 [((extends all fingers))
 079 [(0.6) al[right. so [that's] °.hh° at leas:=
 [((twists wrist [then drops hand))]
 080 K [mm::..]
 081 V =(some) [(°°joy.°°)]
 082 K [ye:s.] yes [u- yes it's calmer there now,
 [((begins to withdraw gaze))
 083 (0.2)
 084 V °yeah.°
 085 [(0.6)
 [((K gazes away from V))
 086 K uh[m] (0.4) .hh (0.5) ye(thh) (0.2) .hh yes=
 087 V [°mm:.°]
 088 K =[i think there were a few people killed;
 [((gazes to V))
 089 [(1.0)
 [((K & V gaze at each other))
 090 V (uaw) ye:[s,
 091 K [mm:_
 092 (0.7)
 093 V °°mm:.°°

From 76-81, Valerie haltingly progressed the topic talk. She added further details about the matters-at-hand, but encountered significant turn-constructive difficulties on the way. During this stretch of talk, *Bangkok* was one of the few identifiable, semantically-rich lexical items produced. As Valerie's turn neared completion, Kath began to agree, and then claimed that it was *calmer there now*. Kath's assertion at 88—that *there were a few people killed*—further displayed her own knowledge of these events, and perhaps the increasing security of intersubjectivity. Valerie's agreeing response made use of an *oh*-like object as its first element, which worked to claim her independence in knowing the details conveyed in Kath's prior turn (cf. Heritage, 2002). Following receipting *mms* from both interactants at 91 and 93, this spate of topic talk appeared ripe for closure.

```

094 K .hh b't THAT's ta- thaila:nd is[n't it.]
095 V [ (mm:. ) ]
096 [ (1.0)
    [ ((K & V gaze at each other))
097 V w'll uh, (.) the:. (0.5) [the picture: (.) in the
    [ ((lifts hand))
098 [°paper,° (0.8) (how he's) (1.0) j(h)us .hh
    [ ((hand slowly angles forward))
099 [s:la(people 'n) [ (0.7) face,
    [ ((extends all fingers)) [ ((then lowers hand))
100 [i don know. (0.4) en then uh (0.7) (kicks) ( ) (0.6)
    [ ((twists hand left))
101 [this is the- (0.5) p'lice°man,°
    [ ((lifts hand, then beats right & left))
102 [ (0.8) en j:ust y'know, (0.9) terrible.
    [ ((drops hand into lap))
103 K M[M:- ]
-> 104 V [b't] WHAT- [ (0.2) (a)bout that (0.4) WES(T)field,
    [ ((lifts hand, index extended))
105 (0.9) ARMed [robber(h)y.
    [ ((drops hand))
106 K AAOH (.) (in [in the) jewel]ler:y shop=
107 V [ (3 syll) ]
108 V =ye::s:.

```

Kath's turn at 94 represents another interesting juncture in this extract. After her participation in the development of topic talk from 82-88, the [*but* + declarative + tag] turn format used at 94 pointed to trouble arising from Valerie's talk at 77-81. That is, Kath apparently conflated Valerie's production of *Bangkok* with the matters raised in the course of contesting Kath's assessment of Fiji. In actuality, there had been political unrest around the time of recording in both Fiji and Thailand. Although the import of Valerie's talk from 77-81 is largely fuzzy, it seems likely that she was raising events in Bangkok relative to events in Fiji. The long silence at 95 indicated that Kath's turn at 94 also caused some interpretive problems for Valerie. These troubles likely originated in the apparent restoration of

intersubjectivity from 62-93. In particular, Kath's change of state displays at 66 and 68, as well as the agreement tokens in 72, may have been taken by Valerie as claims to knowledge of events in Fiji¹². Coupled with her participation in the development of subsequent topic talk, this may have made both the action of Kath's turn, and its basis, opaque to Valerie. That is, the problematicity of "events being in Thailand" was premised on Kath's difficulty integrating talk involving Fiji with talk involving Bangkok, and her (erroneous) hearing of them as one and the same. Given that Valerie's talk was likely highlighting separate events, just why "events being in Thailand" needed accounting for would, therefore, have been unclear.

The turn-constructual difficulties that arose in the course of Valerie's talk from 97-101 makes it difficult to ascertain precisely how she oriented to Kath's turn at 94, and how the details she added were coherent with prior talk. At 102, Valerie produced an assessment, and Kath took up the chance to respond. In light of the compromised intelligibility and understandability of Valerie's talk, Kath elected to receipt it with only *mm*. By this time, the ongoing topic talk had persisted (and been persistently problematic) for quite an extended period. With this likely in mind, Valerie then exploited the structural juncture created by her assessment to put forward another topic talk initiation.

The event Valerie mentioned points toward some of the troubles that plagued the prior topic talk. The *Westfield armed robbery* was a matter that Kath was likely to be knowledgeable of given its prominent coverage in the media at the time of recording. Further, Valerie could reasonably infer that she and Kath would have largely symmetrical knowledge of, and rights to talk about, the details of this event. As such, different speakership configurations were possible following this topic talk initiation. In particular, Kath could take on greater speakership responsibilities than she had during the prior spate of topic talk, which would substantially decrease the likelihood of self- and other-repair disrupting its progressivity.

Section 4.2.2 has examined some problems that recurrently emerged when Valerie initiated topic talk, and held primary speakership for an extended period during its progression. Valerie's turn-constructual difficulties when progressing topic talk were often significant, and resulted in substantial trouble. The foregoing analyses have dealt with these spates of talk in quite some detail. The objective of these observations was to provide the reader with an appreciation of how delicate and taxing Valerie's periods of primary speakership could be for her and her conversation partners.

¹² Golato and Faygal (2008) argued that some double *jas* in German can work to claim prior knowledge. Kath's double *yes* in 72 may have functioned similarly.

4.3 Partner-initiated Valerie-oriented topic talk

The spaces of topic talk examined in Section 4.2.2 involved Valerie selecting herself as primary speaker. Section 4.3 examines instances in which Valerie's conversation partners initiated topic talk that implicated Valerie's life world and knowledge (i.e. it was Valerie-oriented), and projected Valerie should take on primary speakership (i.e. that topic talk would be Valerie-progressed). These partner-initiated Valerie-oriented topic talk initiations were recurrently met with dispreferred responses. As well, the kinds of troubles described in Section 4.2.2 also occurred when Valerie became primary speaker. Partner-initiated Valerie-oriented topic talk was most successful when Valerie's conversation partners took on some of the speakership burden over its course.

4.3.1 Dispreferred responses

The contrast between practice-based and structure-based preference provides a useful way of approaching the dispreferred responses that were engendered by partner-initiated Valerie-oriented topic talk. As noted in Chapter 3, Valerie's responses to Kath's news inquiries in Extract 3.4.1 were dispreferred on both counts, i.e. they involved dispreferred turn shapes, and delivered no-news responses.

Extract 3.4.1

```
005 K [en h:ow's (°°y-°°) mister dea::(h)n.
      [((gazing at V's hand))
-> 006 [(0.7)
      [((K continues filing; V watches))
=> 007 V (ohw) fi:ne thank you,
008 [(0.9)
      [((K continues filing))
009 K goo:d?
010 [(6.3)
      [((K continues filing))
011 K °(en) that looks°
012 [(5.4)
      [((K examines V's hand, then continues tending to it))
013 K ↑is he still looking in-to a computer for you?
-> 014 [(1.9)
      [((K continues tending to V's hand))
=> 015 V °°tk °° (0.5) aw: (n-) i don't know [what. ]
016 K [°↓you don't] know
017 no.↓°
```

The motivations for Valerie's dispreferred responses here are not entirely transparent. The silences at 6 and 14 may have been indexing problems with the design of Kath's turns, or even the delicacy of the matters-at-hand (e.g. there had been a falling out between Valerie and

her son). While Valerie's eventual responses are not explicitly indicative of any such grounds, it is not impossible that her unelaborated responses were related to these factors. Given her aphasia, it also seems possible that Valerie could have had difficulty hearing and/or understanding Kath's topic talk initiations. That is, the dispreferred next-action foreshadowed by these silences was the initiation of repair. Alternatively, the interactants' engagement with monitoring nail-filing may have simply lessened the pressure to produce SPPs promptly, and progress talk substantially¹³. In any case, there is insufficient evidence here to draw firm conclusions in any direction.

Valerie's responses to, and the silences following, Valerie-oriented topic talk initiations in Extract 4.11 are much more clearly related to breakdowns of intersubjectivity. As this extract commences, topic talk concerning the ill-placement of a metropolitan water reservoir was being brought to possible closure.

Extract 4.11 [072910] (21:55 - 23:07)

001 B >yeh heh h:a ha ha< .HH funny people.
002 (1.1)
003 B .HH h[h
004 K [i: >don't [know.=i think] they're wicked,<
005 V [(°mm:.°)]
006 (.)
007 K [they're stupid they don't (c[are)
008 B [.hhh [WHO 'RE
009 [((lifts arm)) [((points between V & K))
010 K [THOSE three people the:re.=
011 [((K gazes to her left))
012 K =.h[hh HH th↑a[t hh uh: (.) that's
013 [((V gazes to her right [then to K))
014 [audrey hepburn in the middle,
015 [((V slowly gazes to the right, scanning))
016 B *↓ohw*=
017 K =.hh an::d °hh° (1.0)
018 B [mm.
019 [((V gazes to K))
020 [((0.6)
021 [((V holds gaze on K; B & K gaze at the photo))
022 K they're: f:- they're film stars, i don't know
023 [the- °°uh°° (1.2) [uhm=
024 [((V gazes to her right)) [((then to K))
025 V =is that -d-v-t-;
026 (0.7)
027 K .hh (d'y-[y-) n:]o there's a: (.) there's a=
028 V [(°movie°)]
029 K =photo[graph j'st above the tap=
030 [((V gazes right, turning further than before))
031 K =[there valerie:.]
032 V [ohw i s[ee yeah,
033 B [i c'n se][e (three-)]
034 K [EN THAT'S-] I'm sure
035 that's audrey hepburn.
036 (0.3)
037 B [(°yep.°)]

¹³ Valerie's attention to this task may have been heightened by Kath's previously errant work with the scissors (see Chapter 3).

030 V [ye]:s,=
 [((V gazes to K))
 031 B =>w'll s[ee i can see thr-<]
 032 V [(bing /kɪps]i/).
 [((shifts gaze to B))
 033 (.)
 034 B [three pe]ople, b't i can't see wh[o (.) they are.]
 035 K [(no:.)] []
 036 V [<bing:]
 037 [(/kɪps]i/)?>
 [((B gazes to V))
 038 K [no:_]
 039 [(0.3) [(1.4)
 [((V & B hold gaze [then V gazes back to the photo))
 040 V and ehm, [(1.5)
 [((all gaze at the photo))
 041 [(0.4)
 [((B gazes to V))
 042 B valerie [(doesn't) wear gl[↑]asses does she.=
 [((B gazes to K))
 ((V gazes to B))
 043 K =.hh no she's got [implants,
 [((B gazes to V))
 ((B & K both point to their eyes))
 -> 044 (0.2)
 => 045 V mm:..
 046 B ↑ohw:..
 047 [(1.2)
 [((B & K gaze at V))
 048 V and uh:: (0.2) what's ('is [°n-°) (0.3)
 [((gazes to the photo))
 049 K °.hh° when i [first m-]
 050 V [(frank] sinata).
 [((gazes back to B & K))
 051 (0.4)
 052 K mm:..
 053 [(0.2)
 [((K gazes to the photo))
 054 K .h[h OHW] FRANK sinatra.
 055 B [(how d' yu)]
 [((gazing at V))
 056 V [(°mm°)=
 [((wiping nose with a tissue))
 057 K =oh:okay,=
 058 B =°oh.°
 059 [(1.2)
 [((B & K gaze at the photo))
 -> 060 B [°.h° how d'you [find] the implants;
 [((gazes to V)) []
 061 V [()]
 -> 062 [(0.9) [(0.3)
 [((V gazes at K)) [((then shifts to B))
 => 063 V [pardon,
 [((K lifts her hand & points to her eye))
 -> 064 B how do you find the implants.
 -> 065 (0.5)
 -> 066 K [in y[our eyes,]
 [((both B & K lift their hands towards their eyes))
 => 067 V [ye:s] (/kɒni:/),
 068 [(2.1)
 [((B & K gaze at V))
 ((V & B both nod slightly))
 069 V en (the-) (.) [there's uhm [(0.9)]
 [((points to left eye)) [((?swallows?))]
 070 (.TK) (0.4) i'm blind in that [eye. ...
 [((drops hand))



Figure 4.1. Valerie, Betty, and Kath (left to right) gazing at the photo.

At 8, Betty directed the interactants' attention towards a framed photo on a bookshelf, and queried the identities of the three people depicted in it. Kath took up this redirection swiftly, shifting her gaze leftwards at 9, before Betty had brought her turn to possible completion. Valerie also turned towards the area in which the photo was located at 10 but, as Kath began to name people in the photo, Valerie still could not locate the target of the others' attention. She queried what the others were looking at, asking whether it was a *DVT* (i.e. likely meaning DVD). Kath's response resulted in Valerie gazing further to her right, and finding the photo in question (see Figure 4.1, and Figure B [Appendix C] for the interactants' typical orientations). Kath then, again, nominated Audrey Hepburn as the identity of one person, which Betty and Valerie receipted with *yep* and *yes* respectively. In the following talk, Valerie twice put forward what appears to have been the name Bing Crosby. On the second occasion, she used the rising terminal intonation characteristic of try-marked person reference (cf. Sacks & Schegloff, 1979; Schegloff, 2007c, p. 237). This candidate answer received no vocal alignment from Betty or Kath on either occasion of its production. While it is possible that Kath's *nos* at 35 and 38 were responsive to Valerie's talk, Kath's use of a preferred turn shape, and her failure to elaborate a basis for rejection, makes it seem unlikely. Instead, these *nos* appear to have been addressing the problematicity of the search, i.e. that Kath was unsure who the other two people were.

Betty's turn at 42 raised other matters: whether Valerie wore glasses. Although these matters were properly within Valerie's epistemic territory, Betty sought confirmation about them from Kath. Kath's agreeing response introduced further information about Valerie's vision, i.e. that she has (corneal) *implants*. During this time, Valerie had oriented away from

the photo, and back towards Betty and Kath. Given adequate receipt of their talk, and her (potential) authority over the matters-at-hand, one might have expected Valerie to progress related topic talk in subsequent turns. Instead, she quickly responded with *mm*, which acted to receipt the prior turn, but little more (cf. Gardner, 2001). Betty's stand-alone *oh* at 46 suggests that she oriented to the ongoing sequence as incomplete (Gardner, 2001; Schegloff, 2007c), and both she and Kath allowed Valerie space at 47 to expand her response. Instead, Valerie continued searching for the names of the people in the photo. Following Valerie's withdrawal of gaze, Kath began to progress topic talk herself, perhaps projecting a telling via the temporal word *when* (cf. Jefferson, 1978). Valerie returned her gaze to Betty and Kath at 50 and, in overlap with Kath's talk, put forward another candidate answer to the identity of a person in the photo: seemingly, Frank Sinatra. Just as Valerie had before, Kath receipted Valerie's talk with *mm*, but then looked back to the photo, produced a change of state *ohw* (Heritage, 1984a), and repeated her candidate answer. In overlap, Betty began, and aborted, an action directed towards Valerie, and then followed Kath's lead in attending to the photograph once more. Betty's turn at 60 renewed her aborted action, initiating talk relating to Valerie's *implants* again, and projecting primary speakership for her. A lengthy silence ensued, followed by repair initiation from Valerie, and a non-vocal prompt of sorts from Kath. Betty then repeated her query at 60, and Kath added an increment to it when Valerie did not immediately respond. Valerie's talk at 67 was ill-fitted to Betty's FPP, and was followed by another, extended silence. In the next turn, Valerie finally took on primary speakership, and began to progress topic talk relating to her vision.

There are two junctures in this extract where Betty and Kath were orienting to the possibility that Valerie would take on primary speakership. They both received dispreferred responses, but they were of contrasting types. The space immediately following Betty's turn at 42 and Kath's response at 43 is the first. Here, Valerie's response had a preferred turn shape, but failed to substantially progress topic talk. It is possible that Valerie simply declined to take up talk relating to this mentionable, but it seems more probable that intersubjectivity had been compromised. Betty's decision to orient her talk towards Kath (rather than Valerie), the incompleteness of the ongoing name search, and problems hearing and/or understanding on Valerie's part were all likely implicated in this breakdown. The second occurred after Betty's queries at 60 and 64. Betty's treatment of *the implants* as a transparent reference was likely a source of trouble for Valerie¹⁴. Her response to Betty's query at 60 involved a dispreferred turn shape (i.e. it was delayed), and the implementation of a dispreferred action (i.e. she

¹⁴ That fact that it was problematic for her also supports the position that she did not hear or understand Betty and Kath's talk at 42-43.

initiated repair). Valerie's response at 67 was also delayed, and did not implement the action projected by Betty's FPP (i.e. an account, or an assessment of, her experience with *the implants*). With the interaction stalling at 68, Valerie treated the extended silence as an opportunity to take the floor, and she began an extended turn-at-talk broadly related to the matters proffered by Betty. In summary, then, the Valerie-oriented topic talk initiations in Extract 4.11 were both met with dispreferred responses that pointed towards significant trouble in the talk.

Some of Valerie's dispreferred responses were also indicative of resistance to how Valerie-oriented topic talk initiations were implemented, and the matters they addressed. Prior to Extract 4.12, Evelyn had been questioning Valerie about television shows that she enjoyed.

Extract 4.12 [023103] (06:28 - 07:12)

```

001 E   so y' like channel two best;
002     (0.3)
003 V   (y[es.]
004 E     [where there's no ads,
005     (0.3)
006 E     [(mm.)]
007 V     [ mm]:.
008     (0.9)
009 E   >↑what dy' think about all this< bikie war that's
010     going on.
-> 011     [(0.8)
        [(E & V gaze at each other))
=> 012 V   °.h[h° [i don      ] know:. °( )° ye:s:.
013 E     [°been [(following)°]
014     (0.2)
-> 015 E   °been° following that a bit?
=> 016 V     [(1.3)
        [((gazing down, & nodding slightly))
017 E     what can they do ↓d' yo:u think,
-> 018     [(2.2)
        [((both are still; V gazing down, & E at V))
=> 019 V     i don know, °(about it)°.
020     [(1.6)
        [((both are still; V gazing down, & E at V))
021 E     >they're talkin' about< changing the laws, so they
022     can't congre[gate together;=
        [((V gazes to E))
023 V     =↑are they?↑
024     (0.3)
025 E     ↑mm:.
026     (0.5)
027 E     .tkh b't it's sort've y' wonder how much: °(th't)° goes
028     inte [sorta pe]ople's civil liberties.
029 V     [(yeah,) ]
030     (.hh)/(0.5)
031 E     y'kno[w: like,] what is- what is a- (.) y'know, three=
032 V     [.tkh      ]
033 E     =people on- on bikes? does 'at- khh[hh      ] (0.3)=
034 V     [o'course,]
035 E     =$'s(h) th(hh)at c(h)onstitute a bikie gang;$.
036     [.hh heh .hh ]
037 V     [yes w'll uh-] °.hh° you know wendy, °.hh°
038 E     ye[s,
039 V     [has (his) son, .hh ove- in berlin (oversea°s°), ...

```

Evelyn's topic talk initiation at 9-10 projected primary speakership for Valerie, but there was quite a lengthy delay before her pre-beginning in-breath, and the denial of knowledge that followed. Evelyn began to pursue a response in overlap with Valerie, but then renewed her turn in the clear at 15. Another silence ensued, with Valerie withdrawing her gaze, and responding non-vocally in a very minimal fashion. Evelyn continued to seek a preferred response at 17 and, after another extended delay, Valerie claimed a lack of knowledge again. Like the examples presented in the previous extracts, Valerie's responses were dispreferred actions (i.e. they did not progress talk in the fashion projected by Evelyn's topic talk initiations), done with dispreferred turn shapes (i.e. they were significantly delayed).

Valerie's responses during Extract 4.12 appear to have been directed toward resisting Evelyn's test-type questioning, and indexing her disinclination—nearing inability—to progress topic talk relating to the mentionables put forward. Evelyn's rather forceful pursuit of topic talk relating to the *bikie war* amounted to a thinly veiled attempt to thrust Valerie into primary speakership, and was mostly insensitive to the implications of Valerie's delayed responses, and her claims to being uninformed. When Evelyn relented, and progressed this spate of topic talk herself at 21-22, Valerie was more willing to align. She returned her gaze to Evelyn at 22, and produced a newsmarking response at 23. However, Valerie's stronger alignment in the latter parts of this extract seems to have been laying the sequential ground for movement away from Evelyn's test-questioning topic talk, and towards other matters. After what was likely an incipient bid for the floor at 32, Valerie successfully initiated topic talk relating to the medical problems (and subsequent death) of Wendy's son¹⁵.

4.3.2 Partner-initiated Valerie-progressed topic talk

The problematic patterns that were discussed in Section 4.2.2 were largely replicated when Valerie took on primary speakership in response to her conversation partners' topic talk initiations. Extract 4.11.1 overlaps with the end of Extract 4.11, and continues past it.

Extract 4.11.1 [072910] (22:55 - 23:56)

064 B how do you find the implants.
 065 (0.5)
 066 K [in y[our eyes,
 [((both B & K lift their hands towards their eyes))
 067 V [ye:s] (/koni:/),
 068 [(2.1)
 [((B & K gaze at V))
 ((V & B both nod slightly))

¹⁵ One might argue, though, that Valerie required stronger (and/or further) closing components, and enhanced markers of disjunction to ensure that her topic talk initiation was heard as diverging from the prior talk.

069 V en (the-) (.) [there's uhm [(0.9)]
 [(points to left eye)] [(?swallows?)]
 070 (.TK) (0.4) i'm blind in that [eye.
 [(drops hand)]
 071 (0.7)/(hhh)
 072 V °(>is it<) i- (0.4) i:- i th:ink. .hh° (0.7) when: i
 073 w's et h e:t work, [(0.6) >one day,< °(th- wu- u)°
 [(wipes face)]
 074 (0.4) just [(2 syll), (.) °.hh° end (i sa[id)]
 [(beats finger near left eye)]]
 075 B [it wi]nks
 076 al|ot.
 077 V ye:s.
 078 (0.2)
 079 B ye:s.
 080 V (e' °said° i 'oud) °.hh° (he'd=i'd u-) >(i'd) take you
 081 you to the-< °.hh° eye hospital.
 082 [(0.4)
 [(V swallows)]
 083 V .t[k
 084 B [ohw.=
 085 V =.hh (so: °t°) () (0.4)
 086 B (mm hm)=
 087 V =he took (me there), .hh en °(2 syll)° oa:h you've
 088 got, .hh (corneal ulcer). (0.4) () (0.2) °.hh° so:
 089 (.) (cause) that (0.9) was a s:train on (.) the eye;
 090 .hh 'n:d (0.3) every °t° (0.3) (the be-) (0.4) uh: june
 091 en december, (0.8) (fair enough it flar:es).
 092 [(1.2)
 [(B & K gaze at V)]
 093 V so tha[t's ba:d.]
 094 K [mm::..]
 095 (0.5)
 096 B s-
 097 [(1.3)
 [(B & K gaze at V)]
 098 K when: (.) valerie had her stroke, ...

The breakdown in intersubjectivity prior to this extract caused Valerie to progress topic talk in a fashion that was not projected by Betty's topic talk initiation(s). Instead of producing an account relating to, or assessment of, her corneal implants, Valerie seemingly began to detail the status of her sight (69-70), and then took up a related telling (72-74). As was the case for the extracts in Section 4.2.2, Valerie's turn-constructural difficulties over the course of this telling were pervasive, and resulted in significant interpretive difficulties for Betty and Kath. Betty's formulation of Valerie's talk at 75-76, for example, appears to have (at least partially) originated in Valerie's non-vocal conduct; the lifting of her finger up and down near her eye. Valerie's prompt agreement with this formulation (whatever its precise motivation) was quickly followed by a resumption of the telling at 80, which, after minimal responses from Betty at 84 and 86, she continued to progress at 87-91. With no response forthcoming from Betty or Kath at 92, Valerie bounded the telling with an assessment at 93. Kath receipted this assessment with an *mm*, and no further talk relating to the telling was produced at 95-97. Thus, Valerie's attempts to progress this topic talk were not sequentially implicative. Kath

then mentioned distinct matters with a view to renewing topic talk, i.e. to providing the next-objects that Valerie's talk had failed to generate.

Kath took a more collaborative approach to progressing Valerie-oriented topic talk in Extract 4.13. Previously, talk concerning Kath's grandson's irresponsibility with money had been brought to possible closure. As Extract 4.13 begins, Valerie was asking Kath for assistance with manipulating her watch.

Extract 4.13 [051604] (20:21 - 21:45)

```

001  V  [>(aw b't)< would'you mi:nd,  [(0.6) (twisting
002      [(holding out her watch arm)) [(K stands up))
003      round,)=
004  K  =↑↑OAH-↑ (0.2) °yeah,°
005      [((turns V's watch around on her arm))
006      [(0.9)
007      [(K continues turning the watch))
008  K  °(>it's cau-<)°=
009  V  =ohw that's good.
010  K  that's ↓better. [( ) ]
011  V  [( ) ] (0.2) [yes thank°s: very (mu-.)°
012      [((K begins to sit))
013  (.)
-> 014  K  yu- you Don't LIKE it [(.) that way [now;
015      [((gazes to R arm [then to V))
016      ((twists underside of R arm up))
017  [(0.5)
018      [((K gazes to L arm, also with underside facing up))
019  V  [i d:on't [(mi:nd it)] y'[know. ]
020      [((angles palm down, towards V)) ]
021  K  [no:. ] [(°no.°)]
022  (0.2)
=> 023  K  .hh °no:° ↑i SEE ALOT of people (.) ↓reverse their
024      [ watch]es=
025  V  [yeah:,]
026  K  =↑.hh °°i-°° (0.8) ] I: WoULDN'T LIKE ↓that i don't
027      [((holds mouth open))]
028      [((looks at & twists her L wrist))]
029  think,
030  (.hh)/(0.4)
031  V  no: (i'd-) [i wouldn't like °°t-°° (0.3) but
032      [((gazes to down to L wrist))
033      sometimes:; (0.8) when the [nurse, (0.2) y'know,=
034      [((rotates L wrist once))
035  K  =OHW ↓yeah.=
036  V  =(>puts it.<)
037  (0.4)
=> 038  K  °.hh° yeah. .hh >en uh-< i guess your (.) wrist is
039      getting a bit smaller?
040  (0.2)
041  V  ye[:(s);
042  K  [.hh >en it< slips round?
043  V  that's right,
=> 044  K  .hh ↑HOW THAT- (.) HOW THAT keeps going on i- .hh ↑↑aw
045      w'll wait a moment ↓dean put a new b:attery in didn't
046      he;
047  (0.3)
048  V  yes.
049  K  or someb'dy did,
050  (.)
=> 051  K  ↑wasn't that around christmas [time?↑
052  V  [ye:s, uhm.

```

041 [(1.4) °m- m-°= [because uh- i know (0.6) (don't
[((gazing to K's R)) [((raises hand, thumb & index
extended))
042 °>uh<° /ɹɪs/), [they uh(m) (1.0)
[((slight head shakes))
((angles hand down, retracts fingers))
043 (a cap[sule),] ('nd [it w's] black s- °.hh°
[((rotates hand))] [((twists hand, thumb &
((gazes to K)) index extended)]
044 [(suede cap).
[((beats hand forward, then drops hand))
045 [(0.5)
[((K leans back))
046 K ye::s[:.
047 V [°so that's (good).°
048 (0.7)
=> 049 K 's a good little WAtch; isn't [↓ it;
050 V [but that's
[((lifts arm & gazes L)]
051 [↓the: [um (1.3)
[((turns head R, [gazes to K])
((index extended, pointing L))
052 [>u- d- °u-°< time clock,
[((moves hand R, extending thumb))
053 [(1.2)
[((V drops hand))
((K & V gaze at each other))
054 V there's (.) you [know,] [(0.6) you still [(e- hear)=
[] [((gazes L)) [((then to K)]
055 ? [()]
056 V =(1 syll)=
057 K =<OH:w: ye:s,>=
058 V =ten o'clock [↓°()°]
=> 059 K [°yeah-°] YOU WOUL- ↑YOU LIKE IT?↑
060 (0.2)
061 V ↑m[m:.]
062 K [°s:° son-] ye:s,
063 V (°mm:.°°)
-> 064 K .hh ↑ye:s,↑ .hh uhm (0.5)°.h° i have a- (0.6) a
065 grandmother clock et ho:me, ...

With Valerie's watch successfully adjusted (1-8), Kath put forward a confirmable turn at 10. This turn provided Valerie with an opportunity to progress topic talk relating to her preferred watch orientation. Like most of the examples in Section 4.3.1, there was a period of silence before Valerie began a vocal response. Once it was in motion, Kath quickly interposed, producing polarity-matching *nos* at 13 and 15. Her subsequent talk at 15-16 progressed the topic talk by juxtaposing Valerie's watch preferences with the preferences of others and, at 18-19, she reported her own. Valerie's turn at 21-22/24 appeared to claim agreement with Kath, and then seemingly went on to implicate the conduct of the nursing staff in the eventual orientation of the watch. Hence, Valerie introduced a factor other than personal preference that affected how her watch was positioned. Kath's turns at 26-27 and 30 continued to

progress topic talk in this direction by linking the watch's orientation with incidental movement, and this drew agreement from Valerie at 29 and 31¹⁶.

Following Valerie's strong, closure-implicative agreement via *that's right*, Kath then commented on her disbelief at the longevity of Valerie's watch. This was quickly altered to a confirmable turn regarding its maintenance by Valerie's son, and followed by another concerning the timing of this maintenance. Valerie receipted Kath's confirmable turn at 39 with *yes* and, after a long silence, began a multi-unit turn-at-talk. The import of Valerie's talk from 40-44 was largely opaque due to difficulties with turn construction, and Kath receipted it with a prosodically marked *yes*. Like her assessment at 93 in Extract 4.11.1, Valerie's assessment at 47 brought her extended turn to possible completion, and heralded the possible closure of the ongoing topic talk. But, unlike Extract 4.11.1, Kath did not mention other matters in the following turns. Instead, she produced an assessment of the watch, which (likely) replicated the valence of Valerie's assessment just prior. Valerie then seemingly put forward another, associated matter: the clock on her bedside table¹⁷. Kath did not immediately align with Valerie's talk, and this led Valerie to continue expanding her turn at 54/56/58. This expansion elicited stronger alignment from Kath at 57, and then a formulation at 59. After receipting *yeses* at 62 and 64, Kath launched a telling relating to a clock at her own home that was similarly boisterous.

During Extract 4.11.1, both Betty and Kath largely refrained from participating in Valerie's talk relating to her vision. In part, this was a consequence of the problematic circumstances in which this topic talk began, and the nature of the matters-at-hand, i.e. Valerie's senses and life experiences. Still, the matters raised in Extract 4.13—that is, how Valerie liked to orient her watch—were also properly known by Valerie, although somewhat more trivial. Kath's willingness to assess, inquire about, and formulate Valerie's talk in Extract 4.13 helped to propel the topic talk forward, despite problematic contributions from Valerie. Kath's responses to Valerie's turns at 41-44 and 50-54/56/58 ensured that sequentially-next-objects were implicated, and that Valerie had some basis for inferring how Kath had receipted her talk.

Section 4.3 has examined instances in which Valerie's conversation partners produced topic talk initiations that projected primary speakership for Valerie. These (typically interrogative) topic talk initiations were often met with dispreferred responses, and a number were attributable to compromised intersubjectivity. When Valerie did take the floor, turn-constructional and sequential difficulties tended to arise. Partner-initiated Valerie-oriented

¹⁶ See Chapter 8, Section 8.2 for a differently motivated account of this portion of the extract.

¹⁷ "Talking clock" was likely the target of Valerie's *time clock* at 52.

topic talk was more successful when Valerie's conversation partners were willing to take on speakership to assist with progression.

4.4 Summary and discussion: Chapter 4

Chapter 4 has described some features of topic talk during Valerie's interactions. It identified speakership asymmetry as the most outstanding aggregate feature of the topic talk collected for the present study. That is, Valerie's conversation partners tended to take on primary speakership more frequently, and for longer periods of time. Recurrently problematic topic talk configurations were then examined. Initiating topic talk was demonstrated to be troublesome for Valerie, as was topic talk that involved primary speakership for her. Section 4.2.1 illustrated a number of instances in which Valerie's topic talk initiations were met with dispreferred responses; principally, weak receipting objects. Section 4.2.2 demonstrated that turn-constructual and sequential difficulties ensued during Valerie-initiated Valerie-progressed spates of topic talk. In particular, this topic talk often failed to elicit preferred responsive objects from her conversation partners, and failed to implicate sequentially next objects at points of possible closure. Section 4.3 discussed topic talk initiated by Valerie's conversation partners that projected she take on primary speakership. Valerie regularly met these topic talk initiations with dispreferred responses. If she did take on primary speakership, the problems that ensued were similar to those during spates of topic talk that she initiated herself.

This chapter has identified some strong motivations for distributing speakership to Valerie's conversation partners. It seems likely that the troubles engendered by Valerie-oriented and Valerie-progressed topic talk motivated her to align as a recipient more often than not, and encouraged her conversation partners to take on primary speakership. It has also identified one mechanism involved in the accomplishment of speakership asymmetry. Valerie's conversation partners' weak receipting responses were disaligning with topic talk in which Valerie could have taken on some, if not most, of the speakership burden, and were often followed by her conversation partners assuming the floor.

4.5 Subsequent analyses

Chapter 4 has focused on topic talk configurations that engendered trouble. Chapters 6 and 8 will demonstrate that there were spates of topic talk during Valerie's interactions that were considerably more successful. This topic talk tended to implicate her conversation partners' life worlds, and involved primary speakership for them.

Chapters 5-8 address particular linguistic forms and action types that Valerie implemented during topic talk. Actions that Valerie implemented using turn-initial *and* are described in Chapter 6; principally, topic talk initiation. Actions that Valerie implemented using *that's right* are described in Chapter 8; principally, agreement. Prior to these analyses, relevant aphasiological and conversation-analytic research is outlined in Chapters 5 and 7. These discussions set the scene for the analyses that follow by characterising the phenomena under scrutiny. The precise motivations for investigating *and*-prefaced turns and *that's right* are detailed at the beginning of Chapters 6 and 8 respectively. While the primary objective of these chapters is describe how Valerie implemented particular actions during topic talk via specific linguistic forms, these analyses also serve to illustrate the successfulness of partner-progressed spates of topic talk.

Chapter 5 Using *and* in talk-in-interaction

Chapter 5 discusses *and* as an interactional object, and previous investigation of its use during talk-in-interaction. The purpose of this chapter is to delimit the varieties of *and* that will be subjected to analytic scrutiny in Chapter 6. It also puts forward a preliminary characterisation of its import for the actions Valerie implemented via turns with *and* in initial position.

5.1 *And*'s distribution in talk-in-interaction

Historically, sentence-oriented linguists have treated *and* as a coordinating conjunction, whose role is to bind sentences that do not stand in subordinate or contrastive relationships (see Schiffrin, 1986; and Turk, 2004, for reviews). But, as Turk (2004) convincingly argued, there are significant problems with applying these conceptions of *and* to its actual use during talk-in-interaction. Perhaps the most fundamental problem, though, is that much of this previous work has treated the sentence as the organisational unit that *and* is designed to manage. While interactants do use sentence-like objects during talk-in-interaction, sentences cannot be considered a basic interactional organisation in the same way that, for example, sequences, turns, and TCUs can (cf. Schegloff, 1996c; Selting, 2000). As such, any consideration of *and*'s functionality in talk-in-interaction should aim to formulate an account of its role in these (and other) fundamental organisations of practice.

The distribution of *and* was surveyed in the data collected, including *ands* produced by Valerie's conversation partners. More than 650 *ands* were identified. This survey revealed that some *ands* were more strongly involved with TCU organisation, while others were more strongly involved with turn, and sequence organisations. For the most part, *and* was found to occur on the grammatical edges of TCUs. Some *ands*, however, were used in TCU-internal positions, as shown below in Extract 5.1. Here, Kath had been telling Valerie about post-surgery restrictions on Sonia's behaviour, and her own fatigue, perhaps as a consequence of caring for Sonia.

Extract 5.1 [051604] (05:54 - 06:19)

```
001 K uahm, (0.8) 'n s'mebody said t' me y(h)esterday; °.h°
002 (0.5) †are you alri:ght kathleen, °°u-°° °and i said
003 u:hw yes: yes° †i'm alright, [.hh ] he said y'=
004 V [ (mm hm) ]
005 K =don't look very well.=>en i (th)ink< uhw (0.3) golly
006 [gee, kh]h heh huh .HH $th(h)at's not t(h)oo=
007 V [eh huh huh]
008 K =g(h) [ood:ç$]
009 V [no:, ] (.) (°mm hm, °)=
-> 012 K °.hhh° †so: (.) anyway i- (0.4) must try en cut down
-> 013 (i'm) (.) ('n going-) .hh (i'll) go en see the doctor
```


component of Kath's telling. Compared with the TCU increment at 14, the noun phrase following *and* at 10/11 was less grammatically integrated with the prior talk, but it was still working to progress the ongoing course of action, i.e. Kath's multi-unit telling. This *and* was, therefore, involved with turn organisation; more specifically, the expansion of a multi-unit turn-at-talk.

The *and* at 5 was engaged in praxis distinct from the *ands* at 10 and 14, but is somewhat harder to define. This *and* appears to sit at the nexus between turn and sequence organisation. Kath's turn at 1-2 was possibly complete and, combined with Valerie's assessment at 3, brought the prior telling to possible closure. This created a juncture where the introduction of sequentially-next objects was achievable, if not due. Kath's *and* was therefore acting to commence such an object. She used this *and* to mention distinct matters, and initiate a sequentially-next telling. In doing so, Kath maintained her hold on primary speakership; that is, she continued expanding her ongoing, multi-unit turn-at-talk¹.

Extracts 5.1 and 5.2 have demonstrated a number of ways that *and* can be used in talk-in-interaction. The analyses to follow in Chapter 6 focus on *ands* involved with both turn and sequence organisation. These turns have the following characteristics:

- *And* was used in turn-initial position.
- *And* preceded the first TCU of the turn.
- Generally, the turn was designed to include a single TCU (cf. Schegloff, 1996c, p. 61; Selting, 2000).
- The turn was a FPP and/or aligned with a larger sequential unit.

5.2 Previous investigation of *and* in talk-in-interaction

Schiffrin (1986) associated *and* with particular ideational and actional work in discourse. She suggested that *and* is an unmarked device for connecting "idea structures" in a text, and that the use of *and* can signal the beginning of a new "idea segment". Actionally, Schiffrin (1986, p. 57) claimed that "...*and* often displays an upcoming utterance as part of a not yet completed interactional unit". She also noted that it can be used to continue a discourse unit after its progression has been impeded, e.g. after an interruption, or an aside. More broadly, Schiffrin (1986) characterised the (interactional) function of *and* as "speaker continuation", and argued that the precise nature of what is being continued is only discoverable via examination of where *and* is used. Crucially though, Schiffrin (1986) treated *and* as a homogeneous object, and made no distinction between, for example, the different

¹ See Schegloff (2007c, p. 215-216) for discussion of a similar spate of talk.

ands identified in Section 5.1. Can the work done by TCU-internal and sequence-initiating *ands* be characterised as speaker continuation? If so, do they do it in the same way as turn-expanding *ands*? A more nuanced approach to *and* is clearly required.

Barth-Weingarten (2010) discovered substantial nuance in the phonetic form of *and*². She found that phonetic compactness was strongly correlated with the “semantic-pragmatic distance” between elements linked by *and*. For example, TCU-internal *ands* in her dataset tended to have a significantly reduced vocalic quality (e.g. [ən]), whereas *ands* that occurred at stronger discourse boundaries tended to be more phonetically expansive (e.g. [end]). While Barth-Weingarten (2010) noted that there is no one to one relationship between phonetic form and function, her quantitative analyses revealed that reduced vowels were overwhelmingly associated with short semantic-pragmatic distances. Reduced vowels were also absent when *and* reached over longer distances. Barth-Weingarten’s (2010) observations, while insightful, would have benefitted from a more detailed explication of “semantic-pragmatic distance”. In particular, further specification of the courses of action *and* was being used to support, as well as the interactional units with which *and* was aligned, would have been welcome.

Turk (2004) followed her extensive review of sentence-oriented conceptions of *and* with a discourse-oriented proposal about the function of clause-bridging *ands*. Following Givón (1993), Turk (2004) argued that discourse is inherently linked and continuous, and that the role of *and* is, therefore, not to create links, but to specify links of particular kinds. Further, Turk (2004) observed that *and* is often used in environments that are, in some way, discontinuous, e.g. TCU³ beginnings, referential changes, shifts in temporal frames, interruptions (cf. Schiffrin, 1986), and returns to interactional agendas (cf. Heritage & Sorjonen, 1994)⁴. She therefore suggested that *and* restores continuity to environments in which it has been compromised. Turk’s (2004) critique of prior work addressing *and* is penetrating, but her own position—while meritorious in many respects—is also problematic. Take, for example, her analysis of the following storytelling⁵:

Extract 5.3 (Turk, 2004, p. 243-244)

01 M ...she said,
02 <Q oh Kenneth said I could have some lemons Q>
03 P .. Right.
04 M I said,

² See Local (2004, p. 391) for some broad observations on *and*’s phonetic characteristics.

³ It should be noted, however, that Turk’s (2004) definition of TCUs is different from that used by conversation-analytic investigators.

⁴ See below for discussion of similar findings by Local (2004). Also see De Stefani and Horlacher (2008) on the use of *et (alors)* in French as a practice for back-linking.

⁵ See Turk (2004) for transcription conventions.

05 .. <Qhe di=dQ>.
 06 P @[@@@@]
 07 M [She goes],
 08 (H) <Q Yeah= Q>.
 -> 09 ... **And** I said,
 10 <Q oh Q> -
 -> 11 **And** she goes,
 12 <Q do y- -
 13 you don't mind,
 14 do you Q>?
 -> 15 **And** I said,
 16 <Q well yeah,
 17 in fact I do mind Q>.
 18 Cause I thought the lemon tree was dying.

Turk (2004) suggested changes in grammatical subject, moving to and from direct and indirect reported speech, and shifts from describing thoughts to describing actions as possible sources of discontinuity in talk. As such, one might expect interactants to use *and* at the beginning of turns that implement these (and analogous) changes to ensure smoothness of transition. Sure enough, as Turk (2004) observed, M used *and* at 9, 11, and 15 when shifting from reporting her own speech to that of another figure in the telling. However, just why these shifts should be considered discontinuous is not entirely clear when approaching the extract from an action-oriented perspective. M's alternating reported speech was a recurrent, and largely projectable feature of the telling she had been engaged in. Rephrased, shifts in reported speech were expectable features of M's telling—which (seemingly) progressed unproblematically—so why would they require a restoration of continuity via *and*? Further, one might query why *and* was not used for the alternating reported speech at 1-7, i.e. in an apparently equally “discontinuous” environment. Thus, while *and* is often used in environments that could be considered discontinuous (e.g. Local, 2004), it is likely not the primary (or only) motivation for the use of *and*. As will be argued below, instead of continuity, a more profitable way to approach *ands* that are involved with turn and sequence organisation might be in terms of nextness (Schegloff, 2006a, p. 86; see Chapter 1).

Heritage and Sorjonen (1994), Nevile (2006), and Bolden (2010) have all examined sequence-initial uses of *and*. Heritage and Sorjonen (1994) focused on institutional interactions involving nurses and mothers of newborns. They observed that nurses' questioning turns often utilised turn-initial *and*, and argued that this design feature invoked the relevance of, and progressed, the ongoing institutional activity. In particular, they argued that these turns were designed to be hearable as a “next unit” (p. 6) in the courses of action carried out during these consultations. They found that *and*-prefaced questions were used after the prior question received an unproblematic response. By contrast, questioning after expanded and/or problematic responses was rarely *and*-prefaced. Heritage and Sorjonen

(1994) argued that the absence of *and*-prefacing for these questions reflected their ad-hoc, unanticipated nature. *And*-prefacing, on the other hand, worked to cast questions as expectable, and consistent with the “agenda” of business to be transacted during the interaction. Heritage and Sorjonen (1994, p. 14-22) noted that *and*-prefacing could be used to re-invoke this interactional agenda when talk had progressively moved away from it due to stepwise changes in focus, or the emergence of delicate/problematic lines of talk.

Neville (2006) also reported on the use of turn-initial *and* during institutional interactions; namely, cockpit talk between pilots. Much of the communication that goes on between pilots is heavily influenced (and often strictly prescribed) by pre-prepared procedures. Neville (2006), however, found that pilots regularly positioned *and* at the beginning of otherwise formulaic turns. He argued that, when initiating (sequentially) new tasks via *and*-prefaced turns, pilots were casting the unfolding action as a next one in a larger, ongoing activity, of which prior actions had been appropriately completed. The status of tasks as complete/incomplete, and next/not-next is crucial for adherence to pre-determined protocols, and to ensuring that flights proceed unremarkably. However, when strictly following the prescribed wording, the pilots’ understandings of how the tasks were progressing remained implicit. Neville (2006, p. 282) argued that the use of turn-initial *and* made the pilots’ orientations explicit, and displayed “...their understandings of timing for their work, of what they have done, and where they are up to right now”. While *and*-prefaced turns were used to initiate tasks that were directly dependent on the successful completion of prior ones, Neville (2006) noted that this was not always the case. *And*-prefacing was used to begin tasks that were separate from those immediately prior, but nonetheless properly next in the organisation of some larger activity (e.g. landing the plane). Finally, Neville (2006) also noted that pilots used *and*-prefaced turns as SPPs. These sequences involved pilots visually assessing some set of circumstances that was only available to them (e.g. the visual scene on one side the plane), but was consequential for the other pilots’ activities. The nature of these tasks meant that there was often a significant delay between FPPs and their SPPs. The speakers’ use of turn-initial *and* ensured that SPPs were maximally hearable as connected to the preceding FPPs, rather than some independent action.

Unlike Heritage and Sorjonen (1994) and Neville (2006), Bolden (2010) examined the use of turn-initial *and* during everyday talk-in-interaction. She discussed instances in which recipients of an “extended informing” proffered for confirmation an *and*-prefaced formulation of the foregoing talk. Bolden (2010) argued that these declarative formulations worked to “articulate the unsaid” by claiming that the addressed matters were absent, but inferable from, the prior informing. The use of turn-initial *and* ensured that these formulations

were heard as explicitly dependent on, and promoting continuation of, the informing that the speaker had been progressing. Bolden (2010) also suggested that these formulations displayed recipients' orientation towards the informing as somehow incomplete. Given that this practice was typically utilised at the possible closure of an extended unit, it could therefore index recipient resistance to providing a sequentially-implicated, closure relevant response (e.g. an assessment), and promote further expansion of the unit. In general, though, this resistance was affiliative, and acted to endorse a speaker's perspective on the matters-at-hand. When used before possible closure, these *and*-prefaced formulations were often disaligning with an ongoing or projected course of action, and in effect, pre-empted its interactional objectives.

Finally, Local (2004) examined the use of *and* in a non-initial sequential position. He found that interactants often produced *and uh(m)* at the beginning of turns that revived a course of action after it had been disrupted by a side sequence. Rather than implementing practices to re-begin the course of action that had been displaced, these turns acted to continue it. That is, the turns prefaced by *and uh(m)* progressed the disrupted sequential unit by introducing subsequent components of it, rather than re-doing earlier parts. Local (2004), therefore, argued that *and uh(m)* acted to break the upcoming turn's link with the turns immediately prior, and invited inspection of it as a continuation of a sequentially distant course of action.

5.3 Summary and discussion: Chapter 5

Together and individually, this empirical work has implicated *and* in the introduction of sequentially-next actions. That is, these investigations suggest that *and* can be used to mark the talk-to-follow as a next-part in some course of action that is available for progression. There are, however, other objects that interactants can use to preface next-actions (e.g. *so, oh, but, well, anyway*), or they may elect to leave them unprefaced. The question then becomes: how does *and* invite its recipients to hear the action that is being delivered? Following the work described in this chapter, the analyses offered in Chapter 6 provide evidence that Valerie's *and*-prefaced turns invited inspection of an action as not only "next", but as "straightforwardly next".

Chapter 6 Valerie, topic talk, and turn-initial *and*

Chapter 6 examines Valerie's use of turn-initial *and* to implement topic-talk-related actions; principally topic talk initiation. It analyses how *and*-prefaced topic talk initiations differed from the topic talk initiations examined in Chapter 4, and suggests how this turn-constructional format was advantageous for Valerie as a person with aphasia; both in general, and for initiating topic talk in particular. Finally, connections are drawn between the phenomena described in Chapter 6 and broader patterns in Valerie's topic talk.

6.1 Selecting turn-initial *and* for analysis

The topic talk initiations examined in Chapter 4 involved a number of different turn-constructional formats. *And*-prefaced turns were selected for analytic attention because they were (by far) the most common way that Valerie implemented this action during the recordings collected for the present study (see Table 6.1). This, in and of itself, makes them a potentially worthwhile analytic target in the context of this investigation. The prevalence of *and*-prefaced topic talk initiations also raises the possibility that *and*-prefacing was, in some respect, an advantageous way of initiating topic talk (and constructing a turn) for Valerie.

Table 6.1
Frequency of Prefaces for Topic Talk Initiations

Preface	Frequency
<i>And</i>	25
<i>But</i>	14
<i>Oh</i>	5
<i>Well</i>	3
Unprefaced	16

6.1.1 Collections

With a view to understanding how *and*-prefaced topic talk initiations operated in Valerie's talk, transcripts were examined for turns involving *and*. Instances in which *and* was positioned at, or near, the beginning of Valerie's turns were then isolated, and common features were identified¹. Next, turn-initial *ands* with the characteristics outlined in Chapter 5, Section 5.1 were collated. This yielded a core collection of 38 turns, of which 25 were topic talk initiations. Topic talk initiations were then divided into two groups based on the

¹Most typically, *and* was the first lexical item in these turns. There are also cases where *and* was used in what Heritage (1998, p. 293) termed "effective turn-initial position". This includes instances where a prior turn beginning was altered or abandoned in favour of a turn that had *and* as its first lexical item. See Heritage (1998, p. 328) for some examples of *oh* used in effective turn-initial position.

grammatical format of subsequent turn elements. See Table 6.2 for frequency counts of interrogative and declarative *and*-prefaced topic talk initiations.

6.2 Valerie's use of turn-initial *and* during topic talk

This chapter will now analyse Valerie's use of turn-initial *and*, with a focus on topic talk initiations. It begins by examining topic talk initiations with an interrogative grammatical format, followed by those with a declarative format. Next, Valerie's use of *and*-prefaced turns to progress topic talk is briefly addressed. Last, some problematic *and*-prefaced topic talk initiations are examined, followed by discussion of the interactional advantages offered by this turn-constructual format.

Table 6.2

Frequency of Grammatical Formats for And-prefaced Topic Talk Initiations

Grammatical format	Frequency
Interrogative	15
Declarative	10
Total	25

6.2.1 Interrogative topic talk initiations

Sacks et al. (1974, p. 719-720) briefly discussed “appositional” turn beginnings, such as *well*, *but*, *so*, and *and*. They argued that these objects can be used to commence a turn, but they do not constrain the grammatical format of subsequent turn elements. When Valerie used turn-initial *and*, it was most commonly followed by an interrogative. Extract 6.1 is an expanded version of Extract 3.2, and provides a canonical example of Valerie using [*and* + interrogative] to initiate a spate of topic talk. Here, Kath and Valerie were closing a telling about Kath's previous GP. It begins with Kath commenting on the behaviour of the GP's receptionist, who did not disclose to Kath that the GP had in fact been suspended from practicing medicine due to mental health issues.

Extract 6.1 [051604] (27:21 - 28:10)

001 K i suppose sh:e w's j'st trying t' °protect him,°
002 V ye:s.
003 (1.9)
004 ? °°(>yeah she's uh<)°° (0.5)
005 V keeping (.) quiet i suppo:se.
006 K ye:s,
007 (.)
008 K yes i think so.
009 (.)

010 K °ye[s.°
 011 V [°mm:°
 012 K .hh well it's nob'dy's business except pete's why=
 013 V [yes.
 014 K =he's of[f,
 015 V [(°°mm°°)
 016 (0.3)
 017 K .hh °b't u[h°
 -> 018 V [↑en how was your turkey,
 019 K .HHH °v(h)alerie° it w's delicious.
 020 (0.3)
 021 K <IT was delicious.>
 022 (0.3)
 023 V °beautiful.°
 024 (0.3)
 025 K it (.) rea:lly was: °u-° a[h:m:,] .hh it- °(d-)°=
 026 V [mm(,)]
 027 K =(1.0) it w's (0.2) qu:ite a big one; >it w's< four en
 028 a half <ki[los.>]
 029 V [ye:s,] (°°mm:°°)=
 030 K =.hh so:- (0.4) they said- (.) (they,) (.) the- (0.2)
 031 on the packet it- (.) ↓o- on the- [(1.9)]
 [(gestures shape))]
 032 plastic covering it said, °.hhh° (2.1) f- f- uh: (0.3)
 033 °↓now i've forgotten.↓° .hh so much per:, (0.2) half
 034 kilo. .hh anyway, (.) i put it ...

As observed in Chapter 3, the failing progressivity of topic talk relating to the GP meant that, despite the brief revival at 12/14, its closure was likely imminent. At this juncture, there were a number of possible actions that the interactants could have implemented next. For example, they could have turned their attention back towards practical activities, or even began closing the conversation. Another available option was to put forward mentionables, and continue topic talk. This was the action that Valerie selected, and she implemented it using an [*and* + interrogative] turn format. Unlike the majority of the examples analysed in Chapter 4, Valerie's topic talk initiation in Extract 6.1 is partner-oriented; that is, it implicated Kath's life world, and projected primary speakership for her. The tense of the interrogative cast the matters mentioned as a particular, completed, and non-ongoing event. In fact, one week prior to the interaction from which this extract is drawn, Kath told Valerie (at length) about her plans to have turkey as a main meal on Easter Sunday. Valerie's selection of mentionables was therefore sensitive to the history of interaction between them, and displayed what she knew about Kath and her activities. Kath took up Valerie's topic talk initiation by assessing and describing the turkey (lines 19, 21, 25, and 27-28), before launching what would turn out to be an extended telling about it (line 30). Therefore, again dissimilarly to a number of the extracts in Chapter 4, Valerie's topic talk initiation was sequentially implicative, and resulted in the successful progression of related topic talk.

Valerie's [*and* + interrogative] topic talk initiation in Extract 6.2 also yielded a preferred response. Here, Kath had been telling Valerie about refusing an invitation to a

friend's fiftieth anniversary party, which she (primarily) attributed to her duties caring for Sonia after surgery.

Extract 6.2 [030204] (08:07 - 09:02)

001 K ahm (1.2) >i 'aven't< seen: jess f'r about forty uh:
 002 twenty years, because i- i can't drive (0.2) through
 003 the cit[y.
 004 V [n:o[:..
 005 K [or i won't °it's° (1.0) it's uh it's uh
 006 too much for me now vale[°rie°.
 007 V [(mm:..
 008 (0.2)
 009 K °.hh° so: it would've been a nice opportu[nity:,] b't=
 010 V [(°mm:°)]
 011 K =it's j'st these things h↑appen >en i mean:< (0.4)
 012 ? °°(mm:..)°°
 013 (0.4)
 -> 014 V ↑en how's °.hh° bob an(d) alice?
 015 (0.4)
 016 K .HHH alice is fi::n:|e. alice is fi:ne. ahm:. .hh she's
 017 (0.4) GOing well at university?
 018 (0.3)
 019 K .tkhh an(d) (.) loves ↑it? which is great;
 020 (0.4)
 021 K an:d (0.3) she's very thrilled b'cause ↑i >don't think<
 022 i told you this last time, .hh she has t' do: (.) one
 023 day ↓practical work,
 024 (0.2)
 025 V oh yes:.,
 026 (0.5)
 027 K .hh an:d (0.2) uhm(h) (0.5) °.hh° s(gh)he: thought th't
 028 she might be sent over t' western melbourne or
 029 some[where;] y'know t' do it; .hh b't she's been given=
 030 V [°mm:..°]
 031 K =king:ston. h °.hh°
 032 (0.2)
 033 K [et (lambton).]
 034 V [↑ohw verly good, (ye:[ah),

Topic talk relating to Kath's friend's party had persisted for almost three minutes, and had detailed the reasons for Kath's refusal, the plans for the party, and the health of Kath's friend's husband (not shown). Kath summary assessment at 9, and her idiomatic stance-taking at 11, foreshadowed the possible closure of this topic talk. However, it appears that Kath was attempting to progress it past this point. Her production of rushed-through (Schegloff, 1982, 1987a) *en I mean*: displayed her orientation to the possibility of (primary) speakership transition, and projected expansion of, at least, her closure-implicative stance-taking. Despite these measures, Valerie exploited the lack of progressivity from 11-13 to put forward mentionables. Without Kath's *en I mean*:, Valerie's topic talk initiation at 14 would have been rather unremarkable; with it, this action seems sequentially misplaced. Although the reason for Valerie's insensitivity to Kath's projected expansion is unclear, difficulties hearing

and/or understanding, again, appear possible, if not likely². In Chapter 4, sequential misplacement of this kind often contributed to weak alignment with Valerie's topic talk initiations. By contrast, after a brief silence at 15 and a loud in-breath at 16, Kath responded to the inquiry (i.e. *alice is fine*) and then began to detail her granddaughter's (and later her grandson's) activities in an extended fashion. Like Extract 6.1, Valerie's [*and* + interrogative] turn implicated Kath's life world, and projected that she take on primary speakership, while simultaneously displaying Valerie's knowledge of Kath's circumstances. The matters mentioned here, however, were less particular. Valerie's use of present tense cast the targeted matters as (potentially) ongoing, and did not restrict Kath's response to specific events, as her topic talk initiation did in Extract 6.1. Valerie's inquiry was, therefore, somewhat generic. That is, by virtue of who Kath is to Bob and Alice, and who Valerie and Kath are to one another, this inquiry was potentially usable on similar occasions of interaction in the future. On the other hand, the mentionability of a turkey dinner (albeit, one occurring on a notable day) would have likely expired soon after the event.

In Extract 6.3, the mentionables Valerie put forward via [*and* + interrogative] were more closely tied to the foregoing topic talk. Previously, Kath had been describing bus services leaving from near her home for the annual Easter show. At line 1, she expressed her unwillingness (nearing inability) to attend this event.

Extract 6.3 [041004] (48:12 - 49:21)

```

001 K whhahw i couldn't do that now valerie i'm too o(h)ld
002 (0.4)
003 V eh[uh
004 K [it w's enough when i used t' take alice n' bob,
005 (0.3)
006 V that's right,
007 (.)
008 V °ye[ah.°
009 K [o(hh)
010 (0.5)
011 K .h[h BO]Bby w's al:ways °>a little<° monster.
012 V [°(mm-)°]
013 (0.5)
014 V mm:_=
015 K =you get- (.) you('d) get in there, 'nd he'd say, .hh
016 †i want a show bag;
017 (0.4)
018 V ye:s,=
019 K =>↓(fay used) t' say.<=you're n:ot having a show bag
020 until we leave, .h[h [ ] (0.2) w'll i want- °>i=
021 V [°mm.°]
022 K =wanna<° drink, en i wa[nt °↓this.° [o(h)h)
023 V [eh huh hoh [hoh]
024 (0.4)
025 V (°°yeah°°)=

```

² The interactants' bodily conduct would probably provide some insight into what occurred here, but video of them is not available for this recording (see Appendix C).

026 K =.hh 'nd i want t' go on the ri:des.=
 027 V =y(h)eah,
 028 (0.7)
 029 ? °°()°°=
 030 K =hhh
 032 V >ehuh °huh°<
 033 (0.4)
 034 K .hh the end ev [a day,] (0.6) a day et the easter=
 035 ? [°()°]
 036 K =show, fay [en i would be (w:ack°ed°).
 037 ? [°()°
 038 (0.8)
 039 K en it would c:ost a fortune. [(b't even)]
 -> 040 V [en uh (.)] would (he:)
 -> 041 (0.5) ↑fly (v)over to south, °o-° (0.4) australia?
 042 (0.6)
 043 K .hh y:es he's still there:,
 044 (0.3)
 045 V ↑o:hw:;
 046 (0.2)
 047 K he's still there:,
 048 (0.4)
 049 K ↓uahm:. [(0.4)] °.tkhh° oio th↑ink fay ↓is quite
 [(swallows)]
 050 glad th't he's staying there t' be honest.
 051 (0.3)
 052 V yes,
 053 (0.4)
 054 K uhm: (1.4) i h:aven't spoken t' fay for about, (0.4)
 055 °.hh uhw:° s'pose ten days,
 056 V yea:°(s)°,
 057 (0.6)
 058 K might be e' (0.8) .h ahm so i d:on't know the latest
 059 new:s but .hh (0.4) <he w's staying> with his (0.2)
 060 girlfriend 'nd her mother;

Kath followed her stance-taking relating to the Easter show at 1/4 with a telling that detailed her past experiences there, and Bob's undesirable conduct as a child. Valerie aligned with the telling weakly, using only *mm* at 14. This was likely attributable to the delicate nature of Kath's turn at 11, and its claim that Bob was *a little monster*. Valerie aligned with Kath's telling more strongly as it progressed, producing laughter tokens at 23 and 32. At 34/36/39, Kath moved away from the empirical details of Bob's conduct, and listed the effects of spending time at the Easter show on herself and her daughter (Fay). Valerie's topic talk initiation followed at 40-41, but there are aspects of its format that, acontextually at least, appear problematic. Her (likely) use of the locally subsequent person reference form *he* (Schegloff, 1996b), and the past tense modal auxiliary *would*, seemingly tied the interrogative to the telling-world, i.e. it appeared that Valerie was querying Bob's telling-world conduct (see Extract 6.10 for a similar action). This interpretation became more unlikely as the turn unfolded given that *flying to South Australia* would, commonsensically, be an unusual thing for a young child attending the Easter show to do. Further, the fact that Bob had been in (the state) South Australia with his girlfriend had been discussed in the previous week's interaction, if not before. Thus, Kath likely had reason to believe that Valerie was mentioning

South Australia relative to Bob's current activities, rather than past ones. Her response was consistent with these hypotheses. Kath's use of present tense extricated the interactants from the telling-world, while *still* underscored the ongoing nature of Bob's residence in South Australia and, perhaps, their prior discussion of it. Valerie's prosodically-marked *ohw*, however, displayed her orientation towards the content of Kath's turn as in some way novel, and unexpected (Heritage, 1984a). Given that Valerie mentioned Bob's being in South Australia, this *ohw* seems rather unusual. Speculatively, what may have been in question here was the permanency of Bob's move. That is, Valerie may have thought that Bob had only been visiting South Australia and, at 40-41, she was querying whether he had gone back to visit once more. Kath's response, which cast Bob's time there as ongoing, would therefore have been unexpected for Valerie. Regardless, her *ohw* promoted sequence expansion (cf. Gardner, 2001; Schegloff, 2007c, p. 127-142) and, in subsequent turns, Kath duly took up primary speakership, and progressed topic talk relating to these matters. Once again, despite turn-constructural difficulties, Valerie successfully initiated a spate of topic talk using [*and* + interrogative].

Extracts 6.1, 6.2, and 6.3 have a number of features in common. First, they were all partner-oriented, i.e. they implicated Kath's life world, and projected that she take on primary speakership to progress talk relating to them³. Valerie's use of an interrogative turn format positioned Kath as informed about, and properly knowledgeable of, the matters-at-hand (cf. Heritage & Raymond, in press). Second, they displayed Valerie's knowledge of Kath's life world, and the history of social engagement between them. Third, they were all sequentially implicative, and successfully engendered related topic talk. Finally, they all emerged from topic talk, rather than some other course of action. But what, one might query, was the import of using *and* to initiate these actions?

With a view to delimiting her target practice, Bolden (2010, p. 9-10) briefly commented on the use of [*and* + interrogative] to "...initiate new action sequences linked to a larger activity". She provided the following example:

Extract 6.4 (Bolden, 2010, p. 10)

```

001 Abby:    How about you.
002 Bella:   Oh: same thing,
((45 seconds omitted))
003 Abby:    ↑Oh very good.↓
004          (0.5)
-> 005 Abby:  And how is Le↑roy?
```

³ In fact, all but two of Valerie's topic talk initiations that projected the delivery of recipient news were *and*-prefaced. See Extract 4.7 and Extract 6.8, line 63, for the exceptions.

006 (0.5)
 007 Bella: He's ↑okay↓.=um (0.5) .h H(h)e fmoved into
 008 Fillipo's apartment.f

Bolden (2010) argued that:

[T]he *and*-preface question (line 5) is used to assemble a larger activity ('getting updated') across action sequences of the same type: here, a series of personal state inquiries: 'How about you.' (at line 1) and 'And how is Le↑roy?' (at line 5). (p. 10)

Abby's [and + interrogative] turn in Extract 6.4 and Valerie's in Extracts 6.1, 6.2, and 6.3 are (at least) highly similar, particularly in the case of 6.2. Both Abby and Valerie used their turns to initiate partner-oriented, news-inquiry-type actions that projected primary speakership for their recipients. Further, both Abby and Valerie's [*and* + interrogative] FPPs were progressing courses of action that were operative in the ongoing talk. As noted above, in each case, Valerie's turns were initiating a spate of topic talk after another one was approaching possible closure. Thus, these turns functioned to introduce next mentionables when the activity occupying the interactants was, broadly, doing topic talk.

A corollary of these observations is that, when interactants are (or have been) engaged with courses of action other than doing topic talk, then [*and* + interrogative] FPPs may be oriented to differently. Some evidence for this position is provided by Extract 6.5. As this extract commences, Kath was standing, and both interactants were scanning the room in search of Valerie's rubbish bin.

Extract 6.5 [041004] (03:00 - 03:54)

001 V °(that's) [()°
 002 K [↑uhw there it's, it's under here.
 003 [(3.0)
 [(K walks over to pick up the bin))
 004 K °>here it is,<°
 005 [(3.2)
 [(K picks up & moves the bin))
 006 V (on there.)
 007 (0.4)
 008 K i'll put it down there valer(h)ie.
 009 [(3.4)
 [(K walks back towards her chair))
 -> 010 V [en how m:uch do i owe you,
 [(K leans over & picks up rubbish from the floor))
 011 K [AHM (1.0) TWENTY [seven dollars;
 [(continues leaning over))[(becomes upright))
 012 [(0.7)
 [(K moves toward the bin))
 ((V manipulates her purse))
 013 K two cARds, (0.2) an:d (0.3) [four scratchies.
 [(leans towards bin))

One general form of practice that one finds in various incarnations in conversation and other forms of talk-in-interaction takes the following form: give an alert of a general or formal sort and leave it to other(s)/recipients(s) to figure it out in situ. (p. 100)

In the case of Extracts 6.1, 6.2, and 6.3, Kath's situated reasoning led her to treat Valerie's [*and* + interrogative] turns as topic talk initiations; in the case of Extract 6.5, she treated a compositionally similar turn as implementing an altogether different action.

As noted in Chapter 5, the alert provided by *and* must be more substantial than just pointing to the sequential nextness of an action. This is because adjacency can be sufficient for turns to be heard as "prior" and "next", and because interactants use a variety of functionally distinct turn-initial lexical objects to mark how next-actions should be heard relative to prior ones. Schegloff and Sacks (1973) and Bolden (2006, 2008) have discussed how other preface types can shape recipient orientations toward topic-talk-related sequence-initial actions. Schegloff and Sacks (1973, p. 319) identified a class of objects that were involving in "misplacement marking" (e.g. *by the way*), and argued that they can be used to signal that the talk to follow is in some way ill-fitted to the interactional environment. With regard to topic talk, they observed that interactants often preface topic talk initiations with *by the way* when they are produced at, or near, possible conversation closure. *By the way* acts to cast the unfolding next-action (i.e. topic talk initiation) as ill-fitted to the course of action (i.e. conversation closing) that interactants are engaged with progressing. Bolden (2006, 2008) has examined the use of *so* and *oh* in the production of next-actions relating to topic talk. She found that interactants used *so* to mark topic talk initiations, and the matters mentioned, as incipient or pending in some fashion. On the other hand, *oh* was used to mark topic talk initiations, and the matters mentioned, as contingently occasioned in an interactional here-and-now. Bolden (2006) observed that *so* is overwhelmingly used for topic talk initiations that were other-oriented, and *oh* for ones that were self-oriented. She argued that this asymmetry reflects the potential hazardousness of initiating self-oriented topic talk. By casting self-oriented topic talk initiations at just-now occasioned, and other-oriented ones as interactionally pending, or on the speaker's "agenda", interactants can minimise the risk of being seen as self-involved, and display their orientation to the occasion-transcending nature of their social relationships. Bolden (2008) elaborated on the functionality of *so*, providing evidence that it is used to preface turns that launch the business of an interaction—often, topic talk—after it has been displaced by other courses of action. She argued that this *so* is aligned with the overall structural organisation of interaction and, therefore, that topic talk initiated

with *so* (in this position) is heard as being pending since, at least, the beginning of the interaction.

Turns prefaced by *and* are not cast as misplaced, nor contingently occasioned, nor pending. Heritage and Sorjonen (1994), Nevile (2006), and Local (2004) have all found that *and* is regularly used to introduce next-actions that are largely expectable (but not necessarily foreshadowed), in environments where prior actions have been unproblematically completed. Put another way, this work suggests that *and* is used when there is a distinct lack of problemat�city with progressing a course of action in the fashion proposed, and at the time proposed. It is therefore argued that Valerie's use of turn-initial *and* encouraged her recipients to hear an action as "straightforwardly next" relative to some organisation that was operative in ongoing talk⁵. When Valerie initiated a spate of topic talk with *and*, it is argued that she used the *and*-preface to mark topic talk initiation—and the matters mentioned—as straightforwardly next relative to prior topic talk. An interesting parallel can be drawn here with Heritage and Sorjonen (1994), who found that [*and* + interrogative] was used to invoke the relevance of, and progress, an institutional "agenda", or course of action. In doing so, the nurses made relevant who they were to the new mothers: most broadly, advice-giving professionals. As noted above, selecting mentionables is implicated in the construction of who interactants take one another to relevantly be (cf. Bolden, 2006; Drew & Chilton, 2000; Kellerman & Palomares, 2005; Maynard, 2003). Thus, when Valerie produced *and*-prefaced topic talk initiations, she was invoking the relevance of topic talk as a larger sequential organisation, and who she and her conversation partners were to each other: most broadly, friends.

How a spate of topic talk progresses once it is initiated is, in part, guided by the composition of the turn elements following *and*. This section has demonstrated how [*and* + interrogative] turns can be used to put forward partner-oriented topic talk initiations. When other turn-constructural formats are used, different patterns in topic talk can arise.

6.2.2 Declarative topic talk initiations

Valerie also initiated spates of topic talk using [*and* + declarative]. These topic talk initiations cast her as having authoritative knowledge of the matters mentioned. In general,

⁵ This lexical choice was inspired by Schegloff and Lerner's (2009) discussion of the non-straightforward nature of *well*-prefaced responses to *wh*-interrogatives. Although the sequential positions of the actions described here and those addressed by Schegloff and Lerner (2009) are contrastive, their broad depiction of *well*-prefaced responses provides an interesting reference point. That is, *well*-prefaced responses invite inspection from their recipient as projecting a turn that will, in some way, be non-straightforward relative to the action set in motion by the preceding FPP. The sequence-initiating *ands* examined here appear to do something approaching the opposite: they project a turn that should be heard as, in some way, progressing a course of action in a manner that is expectable and unproblematic, i.e. straightforward.

[*and* + declarative] was associated with Valerie-oriented topic talk, and implicated primary speakership for Valerie. The example presented in Extract 6.6, however, bears more similarity to [*and* + interrogative]. As it begins, Kath and Valerie were discussing matters relating to video recordings for the present research project.

Extract 6.6 [030204] (12:48 - 13:41)

001 K right well, °.h° (0.2) but i:- (0.3) when- (0.7)
 002 whichever 's the first >cause (i)< haf t' leave et
 003 eleven,
 004 V (ye[ah:])
 005 K [ahm: (0.3) or chris comes for you,
 006 (0.5)
 007 K i'll [turn it] off when i go.
 008 V [(mm-)]
 009 (1.1)
 -> 010 V en you don't °have,° .hh the -k-y-b-s?
 011 K .hhh t'morrow i do, °hh°=
 012 V =e- ohw: gosh:,
 013 (0.7)
 014 K ah[:m,
 015 V [that's aw[↓ful.
 016 K [khh
 017 (0.3)
 018 K °.hh° (0.2) °h .hh° o.i(h) o. t(h)ell you val(h)erie s-
 019 .hh HH .h ↑sometimes i'm so tired ↓y'know >en i< .hh i
 020 sit at my desk °en i° th:ink i'm j'st go:ing t' dr:op
 021 if i d(h)on't (0.2) .h[h rela]x before long, i'm=
 022 V [mm:_]
 023 K =r:unning, .hh b't that's alright, (.) god gives me
 024 enough health to- (0.3) (en) strength °t'° do it, .hh
 025 en then o' course the following frid'y: is good frid'y
 026 >so then there< won't be any -k-y-[b-.=b't] there'll=
 027 V [mm:,]
 028 K =be, °.hhh° one more lesson after that, then there'll
 029 be a little brea:k.
 030 (0.4)
 031 K i thi[nk].
 032 V [yes.
 033 K per'↑aps there won't ↓i don't know.
 034 (1.0)
 035 K b't SONia will certainly be with me for:: (.) ...

Valerie's topic talk initiation at 10 was composed of [*and* + declarative question] (cf. Heritage & Raymond, in press; Stivers, 2010a). Valerie's use of a declarative in place of an interrogative flattened the "epistemic gradient" (cf. Heritage & Raymond, in press) constructed by her talk. That is, it cast Valerie as more knowledgeable, and certain of Kath's circumstances; in this case, Kath's participation in the *Know Your Bible* study group. Valerie responded to Kath's disconfirmation with *ohw gosh*. This turn registered a change of state, and evaluated the import of the disconfirmation. Valerie continued her stance-taking at 15, suggesting that attending *Know Your Bible tomorrow* would be *awful*. Valerie's willingness to assess these circumstances before Kath had (verbally) done so, again, reflected her claim to

authoritative knowledge of matters mentioned, and their import. In the turns that followed, Kath produced an extensive account of how this commitment, and presumably others, had affected her. At 25, she returned to specifically addressing her future attendance at *Know Your Bible*, before mentioning distinct matters at 35. As with the extracts examined in Section 6.2.1, Valerie's topic talk initiation implicated Kath's life world, and Kath subsequently took on primary speakership. Valerie's infrequent use of [*and* + declarative question], however, makes it difficult to gauge how this method for initiating topic talk was distinctive from [*and* + interrogative], over and above their differing epistemic gradients.

Clearer differences between [*and* + interrogative] and [*and* + declarative] are evident in Extracts 6.7 and 6.8. Extract 6.7 is a canonical example of [*and* + declarative] being used to initiate a spate of Valerie-oriented topic talk. Here, as projected by Valerie's [*and* + interrogative] turn in Extract 6.1, Kath had been telling Valerie about her turkey dinner. The extract commences as Kath was reporting her dogs' positive reactions to being fed some turkey.

Extract 6.7 [051604] (31:53 - 33:45)

```

001 K  they enjoyed the TITbits they had.
002 V  (o-) ye:s.
003      (0.7)
004 V  that's lovely,
005      (0.5)
006 K  climbing up your l:eg t' get them.=y'know,
007 V  [ye:s.
      [(K smiles at V))
008      (0.3) [(1.5)
      [(K gazes to V's left, smiling))
-> 009 V  end i didn't get (0.4) my idea:,
      [(lifts hand, index
      finger extended))
010      [(0.9)
      [(V keeps her hand raised))
      ((K, initially still, raises her eyebrows & tilts her
      head backwards slightly))
011 V  on [the- (0.2) ahm (1.9) (note) °°u-°° (0.6) °°u(h)°°
      [(points left))
012      (0.4) it u:s'ally comes, (0.2) °(on the)° (0.4)
013      [tuesday;
      [(beats finger))
014 K  [.hh AOH w'll don't forget it w's (.) ban-
      [(V drops hand))
015      [>a- a-< a public holiday valerie. .hh >so it< could
      [(V lifts hand, points left))
016      be late,
017      [(2.4)
      [(V slowly drops her hand))
      ((K & V gaze at each other))
018 V  aw (w'll:)=well yes,=
019 K  =y- [cause] >there w's-< [there's-] b- you see e==
020 V      [(we-)] [( ) ]
021 K  =there- .hh there w's (.) m- uh: hh .hh th- w- they:
022      (.) post office w's closed saturd'y sund'y n' monday;
023 V  °*aw [(yes)!*°]
024 K      [.hh s]o (there's a) be a <big backlog>

```

025 V ye:s:.
 026 (0.8)
 027 K so i think it will come,
 028 (0.2)
 029 V °mm:°
 030 (0.9)
 030 V °ye:s:°
 031 (0.2)
 031 K b't ahm, (.) there'ouda been a big backlog over
 032 easter.
 033 (0.9)
 034 K .tkhh=
 035 V =ye:s, well i:- (0.5) °i donknow:° .hh ↑did you get a
 036 swansea daily?
 037 (0.9)
 038 K .h ↑yes i hadda swansea daily t'day, ye:s:;
 039 (0.5)
 040 [(0.9)
 [(V nods slightly, angling her head left))
 041 V well uh [°>e-<° the: (0.8) (n- ah:) <nursing staff,>
 [(lifts hand, points right))
 042 [(0.4) °↓she s'd° [n:o:,
 [(twists hand, palm down)) [(quickly lifts up, &
 waves, palm facing K))
 043 [(1.6)
 [(V drops hand))
 044 V [so i donknow.
 [(lifts hand, then drops it))
 045 (0.9)
 046 V (°*mm:.*°)
 047 K °.hh° yes: there's been a s- (0.3) a swansea- (0.3)
 048 there w's- (0.9) °yes >(3 syll)<°.hh (0.4) there
 049 w's one: (0.4) yeah tuesd'y wednesd'y
 050 th↑urs↓d' [y=ye:(ah).]
 051 V [at's r]ight,=
 052 K =.hh THERE'S Nothing in t'day's swansea daily it's ...

Talk relating to the turkey progressed towards possible closure at 1-8. Valerie's [*and* + declarative] topic talk initiation at 9 concerned her failure to receive a magazine to which she subscribed (i.e. *New Idea*). No vocal response was forthcoming from Kath at 30, but she did provide a delayed, and extremely weak non-vocal one. Nonetheless, Valerie progressed this line of talk by (seemingly) noting when the magazine usually arrived (i.e. Tuesday). Kath's response at 34-36 was prompt, and she suggested that, rather than being lost altogether, the magazine may simply be late due to the Easter public holidays. Kath treated the extended silence that followed at 37, and Valerie's *well*-prefaced agreement at 38, as indicative of some resistance to her position, and she expanded it at 41-42 and 44. Valerie responded with (mostly, weakly) agreeing tokens at 43, 45, and 51. At 53-54, Kath reiterated her claim that the post office would have experienced a *big backlog* during this period. Valerie appeared to resist Kath's explanation once more at the beginning of 57, and she then queried whether Kath had received the local newspaper (i.e. the *Swansea Daily*). When Kath indicated that she had, Valerie reported that a member of the nursing staff had told her there wasn't one. Kath

elected to elide this matter and, at 47-50/52, progressed talk relating to her own receipt of the Swansea Daily, and its content.

Unlike the [*and* + interrogative] turns discussed above, Valerie's [*and* + declarative] turn in Extract 6.7 concerned her own circumstances, and events that she had directly experienced. This meant that, at the initial boundary of topic talk at least, Valerie would likely need to take on speakership in order to present further details of the events in question, and their import. Valerie did just that at 11-13, and this talk spurred greater involvement from Kath in subsequent turns. Thus, despite Kath's failure to strongly align at 10, Valerie's topic talk initiation was eventually sequentially implicative, i.e. it engendered related topic talk in subsequent turns.

Valerie also used [*and* + declarative] to put forward self-oriented matters in Extract 6.8. In the preceding talk, Kath had been reporting on expensive repairs to her dishwasher and plumbing.

Extract 6.8 [041004] (34:05 - 35:58)

```

001 K  ↑so hundred n' thirty; (0.4) en five twenty:, egh- .hh
002      (th-) (0.3) that w's- (0.3) (i(gh)n) (0.8) .H $ONE
003      MORning, $
004      (0.5)
005 V  [↑ohw: ye:s:..
      [((V shakes her head, then nods slightly))
006      [(0.8)
      [((V continues nodding slightly))
007 K  .hh=
008 V  =mm[:..
009 K      [↑↑i t'll y' va:lerie i can't win,
010      [(1.0)
      [((K & V gaze at each other, smiling))
011 V  en ('re) °y- you° going to fay's?
012      (0.5)
013 K  [.tk °↓no.°
      [((gazes away from V))
014      [(0.5)
      [((K gazes to V))
015 K  °↓no.°
016      (0.3)
017 V  ↑m[m: (-)
018 K      [i wENt t' church this morning >cause it's<
      [((V wipes her nose))
019      [good friday.
020 V  [aw (ye:s)
      [((continues wiping nose))
021      [(1.5) ]
      [((continues wiping nose))]
022 K  ah[ (m)
023 V      [mm:;
024      (0.3)
025 K  <it w's,> (0.4) it w's full;
026      (0.3)
027 K  °it w's [full.°]
028 V      [ ↑was] (n't) it. [that's] good,
029 K      [mm::; ]

```

030 (0.5)
031 K ↓>en e'course< easter sund'y: °(i-)° (0.2) °(e)° more
032 people go t' [ch:urc]h, b't .hh for good frid'y:¿=
033 V [yeah,]
034 K =(0.3) ahm: °it w's° (0.3) .hh ↑i alw'ys↑ fi:nd good
035 frid'y it's so sad.
036 V ye:s; (th)at's °right,°
037 (.)
038 K y'know, (0.4)
039 V m[m
040 K [ahm, (0.2)
-> 041 V [and uh- (0.5) (in), with the [um (1.0) °°(g-)°° (.)
[((lifts hand)) [((slowly extends index))
-> 042 ahm (.) [th- the girl (°.hh°) came (1.1) to give
[((points down))
-> 043 [me [communion,
[((points to self)) [((then forward))
[((K nods down))
044 (.)
045 K [.h[h
[((nods up & opens mouth widely))
046 V [en she b(r)ought the °°c-°° °.hh° (cath week),
047 [°.h[h°
048 K [[°(yeah,)°
[((K nods))
[((V gazes down))
049 V and uhm (2.6) in uhm (0.8) there's [an /akl/ f: (om)
[((lifts hand,
[index extended))
[((gazes to K))
050 .hh s:tem c:ell:s, [°.hhh° en you] (0.5) they °()°
[((K nods))]
051 (pill from them) ((voicing constricted))
052 [(1.4)
[((V gazes down))
[((K gazes at V))
053 V [°.hh° over y- -u-:-S-,
[((points over right shoulder))
054 [(1.3)
[((V & K gaze at each other))
[((K nods slowly & slightly))
055 K °m(h)m:..°
056 (0.5)
057 V so: [t' get (it en get) °u-° ah. [(0.2) °↑()↑°
[((lifts hand)) [((looks down to
papers in her lap))
058
059 [(10.3)
[((K watches as V looks through papers in her lap))
060 [(21.7)
[((V turns to her table, moves it closer, & searches
it))
061 V °n(h)o.°
062 (0.5)
063 V [aw did you get y' (f-) (0.4) nine hundred dollars?
[((gazes to K))
064 K NO:?
065 (.)
066 K NO[T YET¿]
067 V [(yeah),]

After Kath's summary of her tellings at 1-3, and her idiomatic assessment at 9, Valerie produced a topic talk initiation, likely via [*and* + interrogative]. She queried whether Kath was going to see her daughter, Fay. Kath's type-conforming responses at 13 and 15 satisfied the constraints of Valerie's interrogative, but were minimal enough to foreshadow her

disinclination to progress topic talk along the precise lines proffered. Kath's turn at 18-19 revived topic talk, but directed it away from potential engagements with Fay. Kath retained the focus on her own life world and immediate activities by mentioning her visit to church earlier that day. Valerie aligned with a newsmarker at 20, but topic talk continued to progress discontinuously from 21-30. Valerie agreed with Kath's stance-taking about the sadness of Good Friday at 36 but, with no further elaboration forthcoming from Kath at 37-40, she elected to mention other matters with [*and* + declarative]. Despite severe delays in progressivity following *and* at 41, Valerie eventually produced the sentential construction *the girl came to give me communion*. She continued expanding her turn at 46, noting that the girl had brought her something else too; likely, the newspaper *The Catholic Weekly*. This yielded a *yeah* from Kath at 48, and Valerie continued expanding her turn at 49-53. Turn-constructional difficulties and breaks in progressivity were, again, pervasive. From an analyst's perspective at least, it seems that Valerie was initiating talk relating to an article that discussed medicinal uses of stem cells in the United States. Valerie then attempted to search for this article amongst her papers from 57-62. When her search proved unsuccessful, she produced another topic talk initiation concerning Kath's receipt of lump-sum payments as part of the federal government's fiscal stimulus package.

Similarly to the extracts presented in Chapter 4, Section 4.2.2, turn-constructional difficulties, and Kath's resistance to initiating repair, were all implicated in the failure of Valerie's telling to generate sequentially-next objects. The absence of vocal responses from Kath also makes it difficult to gauge how she receipted Valerie's talk; in particular, whether she had difficulty understanding Valerie's telling. While it seems possible (if not probable) that she did, there were likely other factors at play as well. When Valerie eventually remembered where she had placed the article in question, she gave it to Kath who, after reading it, assessed it as follows:

Extract 6.8.1 [041004] (38:00 - 38:07)

```

001  K  ohw: there's no- there's no doubt th't (.) et some
002      st[age in th]e future,=
003  V    [°(yes)° ]
004  K  =[ (0.6) great pro:gress will be] ma:de;
        [((begins to stand with V's tray))
005  V                                [y↑es.          ]

```

It seems that, as discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4.1, Kath may have been declining to promote topic talk relating to Valerie's unwellness. Just as she did during Extract 4.2, Kath took up practical activities (i.e. she stood up, and moved Valerie's morning tea tray) with a

view to withdrawing from the topic talk. Further, as Evelyn did in Extract 4.3, Kath sought to extricate her stance-taking about the stem cell article from the particulars of Valerie's life, and to render the article as having general, non-immediate import.

The topic talk initiations in Extracts 6.1, 6.2, 6.6, and 6.7 all involve disjunctive transitions in topic talk⁶. Valerie's [*and* + declarative] turn in Extract 6.8, on the other hand, effected a stepwise topic talk transition. In fact, the procedure that Valerie used fits closely with Sacks' (1992b) description of stepwise movement:

Now, the character of the *stepwise movement for topics* is that if you have some topic which you can see is not connected to what is now being talked about, then you can find something that is connected to both and use that first (p. 300, italics original).

Faced with talk about Kath's Easter activities, and having reached a point at which progressivity was slightly failing, Valerie initiated a spate of topic talk concerning her own Easter-related activities. But, as it would turn out, this telling would direct the talk towards other matters, i.e. the stem cell article. By launching the telling in this way, Valerie was likely attempting to ensure that the shift over the telling's course would be heard as organically occasioned, rather than abruptly and self-attentively raised (cf. Jefferson, 1984; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). Valerie's use of turn-initial *and* also helped navigate this juncture. Kath's *ahm* at 40 was probably projecting further expansion of her turn so, if Valerie was to effect stepwise movement and take on primary speakership, she needed to get her turn underway promptly. Her use of *and* as a turn beginning projected the arrival of subsequent turn elements (but did not constrain them), and allowed her to retain the floor despite breaks in progressivity. As the turn incrementally emerged, its grammatical shape positioned Valerie as having authoritative knowledge of the matters-at-hand. *The girl came to give me communion* was also a hearably preliminary component of a (self-oriented) multi-unit turn, and Kath allowed Valerie to take on primary speakership in the moments that followed⁷. As well, Valerie's use of *and* may have made her talk more readily identifiable as doing topic talk initiation. That is, by positioning the talk to follow as a (straightforwardly) next-action, she may have lessened the likelihood of Kath hearing this turn as actionally integrated with the prior spate of topic talk. At the same time, Valerie's foregrounding of the telling with the fact

⁶ Extract 6.3 is a rather severe example of recontextualisation (cf. Svennevig, 1999), which is categorised amongst stepwise methods for the purposes of the present discussion (see Chapter 3). Valerie took the misbehaving child in Kath's telling, thrust him into the present day, and projected talk relating to his current activities.

⁷ Thus, unlike the majority of the *and*-prefaced turns examined in Chapter 6, Valerie's talk at 42-44 was designed to be the first TCU of a multi-unit turn, rather than a single-unit one.

that she acquired the article from a person giving her *communion* ensured that it would be heard as occasioned by it.

Extract 6.9 provides another example of Valerie using [*and* + declarative] to effect stepwise topic talk transition. Here, Kath and Valerie had been discussing criminal activities and unsettling events in nearby suburbs, and the wider metropolitan area. This first of these events was the *Westfield armed robbery* mentioned by Valerie at the end of Extract 4.10 (see Chapter 4, Section 4.2.2, or Appendix E). The talk presented below continues on from Extract 5.2 (see Chapter 5), in which Kath had been detailing a local church minister's encounter with an unruly crowd outside a hotel.

Extract 6.9 [051604] (43:36 - 44:42)

```

001 K now [that's all they did,]
002 V [(isn't it) dreadful.]
003 (0.7)
004 K so: (0.3) he j'st kept going slowly,
005 (.)
006 V °yeah,°
007 K and (.) th- they were shouting obscenities en spitting
008 en:.
009 V ↑oah [dear. ]
010 K [↑i mean<] (.) NO- NOT against jeff (0.2) es (.)
011 es a person, >b'cause they didn't know who it was< j'st
012 f'r a (.) bit've [fun,
013 V [↑yes,
014 (0.3)
015 K .hh en he: said he w's terrified.
016 [(0.6)
    [(V nods quickly & then shakes her head))
017 V goodness,=
018 K =nd (0.3) jeff, is a (.) <very large man.>
019 h[e is] about, .hhh uow (a) good s:even=
020 V [(yeah,)]
021 K =eighteen stone?
022 V m[m:.
023 K [he's a- (.) big chappie.
024 (0.5)
025 V °°(yeah.)°°
026 (0.4)
027 V °(yeah)° terrible.
028 (.)
-> 029 V .h[h e]n (uh-) (.) [the: (uh) (1.0) (g-) the girl=
    [ ] [((lifts hand, extends index))
030 K [°(mm?)°]
-> 031 V =(who's) (.) [in the park?
    [((drops hand))
032 (0.4)
=> 033 K .tk .hh AHW: THAT w's found t' [be a h]oax:¿
034 V [ (yeah:,)]
035 (0.4)
036 V .hh ↑ahw dear was it?↑=
037 K =ye: (.) ye:s,
038 [(1.3)
    [(K & V gaze at each other))
039 V °gosh!°
040 K .hh that w's a hoax, they question n' question n'
041 questioned °her,°
042 V °°yeah°°
043 K an::(d). (0.3) it w's made up;

```


the turns that followed. One might query, though, how Kath was able to establish this. After Valerie's turn at 29/31, Kath decided that Valerie was uninformed about the girl's report being a hoax. But, based on Valerie's turn alone, there seems little reason to assume so. Valerie's (linguistically deficient) talk could have just as easily been mentioning "the girl *who falsely reported an attack* in the park", rather than "the girl *who had been attacked* in the park". One possibility is that Kath oriented to Valerie's turn as keeping in operation commonsense knowledge that had been organising the prior topic talk; roughly, that the matters previously mentioned were all "terrible events". This position has two corollaries. First, Kath must have heard Valerie's *and*-prefaced turn as not only introducing next-mentionables relative to topic talk as a general course of action, but as introducing next-mentionables relative to the "terrible events" topic talk (e.g. the *Westfield armed robbery*, hooligans in the church car park, and the church minister being accosted). Consequently, she treated Valerie's turn as putting forward *the girl in the park* as yet another such instance. Second, by informing Valerie that this event was a *hoax*, Kath excluded *the girl in the park* from the commonsensical class incrementally formed by previous mentionables, i.e. that *the girl in the park* was an inauthentic "terrible event". In summary, then, Valerie used an *and*-prefaced turn to mention distinct matters, while keeping in operation organisationally-relevant commonsense knowledge from the prior topic talk. In doing so, she effected stepwise transition in topic talk. Kath's moves to exclude this mentionable from the class formed by prior ones provides insight into the organisations she heard *and* articulating with, and the consequentiality of such commonsense knowledge for topic talk.

Sections 6.2.1 and 6.2.2 have examined the use of *and* to initiate a spate of topic talk. It was argued that Valerie used turn-initial *and* to cast topic talk initiation, and the matters mentioned, as straightforwardly next. Valerie used [*and* + interrogative] to initiate topic talk that implicated the recipient's life world, and projected primary speakership for them. She used [*and* + declarative] to cast herself as knowledgeable of the matters mentioned, and this often implicated primary speakership for herself.

6.2.3 Progressing topic talk with turn-initial *and*

In addition to topic talk initiations, the core collection also included *and*-prefaced turns that functioned to progress an ongoing spate of topic talk. Like Valerie's topic talk initiations, her use of interrogative and non-interrogative turn formats affected the kinds of actions these turns were heard as implementing.

In Extract 6.10, Valerie used [*and* + interrogative] to participate in a telling that her conversation partner had been undertaking. Previously, some topic talk relating to a recent

storm had been brought to possible closure. As this extract commences, Kath was mentioning other matters; namely, that the vacuum she used for cleaning her car had broken.

Extract 6.10 [051604] (34:13 - 35:39)

001 K .hh ↑>OH AND THEN THE OTHER thi(hh)< huh hh there's
002 al- there's alw'ys something with me valerie,
003 ↓it-↓ (.) it never ever st(h)ops (0.3) week by week,
004 [.hh] ahm (0.3) thg- (.) vacuum cleaner, (0.5)=
005 V [(°mm°)]
006 K =which i: °eh-° keep in the garage for my car
007 V °mm:..°
008 K ah:m:.. (0.4) .tk and i've had f'r <donkey's years.>
009 donkey's years an it w's second °hand then.° .hh such a
010 good little volta (0.3) .h °thing° (.) beautiful
011 >little vacuum,< .hh ↑anyway, it died. °hh°=
012 V =↑oah:: n:o.
013 (0.2)
014 K [it d]ied. °↓yes:..°=
015 V [tch]
016 V =gos[h,
017 K [so:: .hh i r:ang up ↓godfreys en said,
018 [(1.0)] have you got any: (.) y'know, .hh el
019 [((swallows))]
020 V chea:pos, you alw'y[s have s]econd hand vacuums. .hh=
021 K [mm::..]
022 =no we don't we don't do that anymore.
023 b'c[ause they're so] cheap °now.°
024 V [↑↑oh↓w:..]
025 [(0.8)
026 [(K turns her head right & closes her eyes))
027 K .hh hō(hh)=
028 V =°↑mm:..°
029 [(0.7)
030 [(K opens her eyes, & turns her head left slowly))
031 K an:(d) (0.2) s:onia said w'll couldn't you <take your
032 indoor one out.> en i said, .hh ↑no i don't feel like
033 doing that, [b'cause tha]t's a really good one.=
034 V [↑ye::s.]
035 K =[that w's ↓a:] .hh (0.9) °>i think it w's<° seven=
036 V [(mm:..)]
037 K =hundred dollar miele [one.]
038 V [ye]::s,
039 K .hh so: (0.3) i didn't want to- (0.5) °y'know,° (0.4)
040 j'st f'r the car:,
041 (0.5)
042 K [<so i bought myself one on ebay,>
043 [((leaning forward, with her head torqued to the right,
044 & gazing away from V))
045 [(0.6) [(0.6)
046 [(holds posture [then lifts head & gazes to V))
047 V en [how] much °(is it)°=
048 K [°(auc-)°]
049 K =.hh TH[AT W'S] (1.1) eighty six dollars.
050 V [(costs)]
051 [(0.5)
052 [(K & V are still, gazing at each other))
053 [(0.4)
054 [(V begins a head shake))
055 V °(they're) dreadful.°
056 (0.6)
057 K WELL (.) ↑i mean, (.) it is very very cheap b'cause
058 most vacuums aroun:d five en six hun[dred do]llars now.
059 V [yes.]
060 (.)
061 K .hh so: (.) i'm- (.) j'st- (1.8) >well it's-< it's a

Valerie receipted Kath's troublesome news sympathetically at 12 and 16, and Kath then began to detail the steps she took to find a replacement vacuum for her car. She reported being unable to secure a second-hand one from a retailer (i.e. *Godfreys*), and that Sonia had suggested using the indoor vacuum instead. Kath apparently rejected Sonia's proposal and, after providing the rationales for doing so, she then reported purchasing a replacement on EBay. An extended silence ensued at 40, and at 41 Valerie seemingly queried the cost of the new vacuum via [*and* + interrogative]. Following Kath's response at 43, and another silence at 45-46, Valerie then produced an assessment. Kath essentially rejected Valerie's assessment at 49-50, and resumed describing her newly purchased vacuum.

Valerie's [*and* + interrogative] turn worked to progress the course of action that Kath was engaged with, i.e. a troubles telling (cf. Jefferson, 1984). Prior to the target turn, Kath had put forward the nature of the trouble (a broken vacuum), one failed solution (buying a second-hand vacuum from Godfreys), one rejected solution (using her indoor vacuum for the car), and the solution she decided to pursue (buying a replacement from EBay). With the progressivity of the telling stalling at 40, Valerie used [*and* + interrogative] to move the telling forward by selecting, and projecting the production of, a potentially relevant next-detail, i.e. the cost of the new vacuum. The use of an interrogative turn format reflected Kath's superior access to the matters-at-hand, and that progression of this telling was a task that only she could properly complete.

A contrastive pattern is evident in Extract 6.11. Here, Valerie produced an interrogative turn in a similar sequential position, but omitted the *and*-preface. As this extract commences, Kath was describing the behavioural restrictions on Sonia after surgery, as per her surgeon's instructions.

Extract 6.11 [030204] (14:05 - 15:09)

001 K =ahm (0.3) she is not t' carry anything;
 002 V mm:.=
 003 K =she is not t' garden: °>↓(aw 't the moment) i mean she
 004 couldn't do a thing,< kheh°
 005 (0.5)
 006 K (it's) all she c'n do t' get (up,)
 007 (0.9)
 008 K ah:m °hh° (0.4) so:, (0.9) <i don't want her> t' go
 009 home:, (0.5) until:, (0.3) after easter.
 010 (2.1)
 011 V (somebody.)
 012 (0.3)
 013 K () that w's chris was [it,]
 014 V [no]: (0.2) °(tice.)°

015 K mm:. .hh †aehm: (0.5) so th't uh .hh (0.3) y'know,
 016 she's got hh et °>1- 1-<° least another ten days, with
 017 me.
 018 (0.3)
 019 K be[fore she'll s]tart, .hhh thinking about going home.
 020 V [ye:s.]
 021 (0.3)
 022 V °mm:..°
 023 K ahm (0.2) †>she's- she's-< she couldn't look after
 024 herself. .hhh an:d uhm (0.6) es far es shopping is
 025 concern:[ed
 -> 026 V [†(doesn't) she have (uh) (0.4) any friends, or
 -> 027 rela- (1.1) relations?
 028 K °.tkhh° (1.4) °.hh° ELLE her daughter is absolutely
 029 u::seless.
 030 V yeah,
 031 K [†heh huh ho: ho °heh uh°] .hh
 [((singing))]
 032 (0.4)
 033 V mm:.
 034 (0.4)
 035 K su- in MYO- i- (0.5) by my book. en i shouldn't say
 036 this; she's superficial, .hh en insincere.

Kath detailed the severity of Sonia's restrictions at 1/3-6 and, at 8-9, her desire to have Sonia wait until after Easter before returning home. The talk in the subsequent moments suggests that Valerie (and perhaps Kath) may have glimpsed a passing staff member. This noticing yielded little talk, and Kath resumed her telling soon after. At 23-24, Kath claimed that Sonia could not care for herself, and projected some talk relating to shopping. Valerie then entered Kath's turn space, and queried whether Sonia had any *friends or relations*. Unlike the [*and* + interrogative] turn in Extract 6.10, which projected the production of a next-detail in the ongoing course of action, Valerie's interrogative turn here interrupted the production of just such a detail. Instead, Valerie's interrogative targeted the very premise of Kath's telling; why Sonia should have to fend for herself in the first place. Evidence for this position can be found in the shape of Kath's (delayed) response at 28-29, which not only reported that Sonia had a daughter, but that she was *absolutely useless*. Thus, Valerie's interrogative turn in Extract 6.11 was backwards-looking, and treated prior talk as potentially incomplete. By contrast, her [*and* + interrogative] turn in Extract 6.10 cast prior talk as complete enough for the introduction of nexts, and projected that (and how) the telling should move forward.

Valerie also used non-interrogative *and*-prefaced turns to progress partner-initiated topic talk, although less frequently than [*and* + interrogative]. Extract 6.12 provides an example of Valerie using [*and* + declarative]. As argued in Section 6.2.2, [*and* + declarative] positioned Valerie as having authoritative knowledge of the matters-at-hand. Extract 6.12 begins towards the end of some talk relating to Valerie's former home (see Chapter 8, Extract 8.35).

Extract 6.12 [072910] (19:36 - 20:04)

001 B =be:auti[ful.]
 002 K [°(mm):. m[m,)]°
 003 B [↑NICE n' high up,
 004 V ye:s th:at's right, [two st]or:ey;
 005 B [lovely.]
 006 (.)
 007 B yes.
 008 (0.6)
 009 K sh:: [did you [hear:] about that, (0.3) body in the=
 [((B begins to turn her head towards K))
 010 V [(mm:)]
 011 K =bag found [et blARney] heights;
 012 V [↑↑ye::s]
 013 B dreadful.
 014 (0.3)
 -> 015 V 'n they found a purse:,
 016 (0.4)
 017 V °th't be-long to (some).° (0.2)
 018 K oh[w: rea°lly,°]
 019 V [so (they)] follow that up, (0.5) today;
 020 (0.6)
 021 B ↑ohw,
 022 (0.4)
 023 K b't [WHY:] would the body be in a- kind've a=
 024 V [(°mm:°)]
 025 K =[body bag.]
 026 V [↑isn't it dreadful.
 027 K en then someb'dy said yesterday it w's beheaded or
 028 something.
 029 B °↑aw n[o.°
 030 V [(mm:,)]
 031 K [↑huh↑]
 032 (0.7)
 033 K .hh (h)u- whether that's ↑true or not i don't
 034 [know.]
 035 V [ohw] ye:[s:,
 036 B [(drea[du]ful.)]
 037 K [↑b't B]LARNEY HEIGHTS↑ i mean ...

Following Betty's responsive turns at 5 and 7, Kath exploited the break in progressivity at 8 to initiate topic talk about the local discovery of a large bag containing a deceased person. Valerie aligned with Kath's talk using a prosodically marked *yes*, while Betty responded with *dreadful*. Valerie's [*and* + declarative] turn at 15 (and her subsequent talk at 17 and 19) provided further details relating to the body's discovery, and cast Valerie as knowledgeable of the matters-at-hand. Both Betty and Kath receipted Valerie's talk as news but, in the absence of further substantial talk from Valerie at 20 or 22, Kath resumed primary speakership at 23. Valerie's [*and* + interrogative] turn in Extract 6.10 and her [*and* + declarative] turn here were both involved with the forward motion of topic talk. However, while the former projected the production of a next-component by another speaker, the latter actually delivered it. In doing so, Valerie affected the future course of topic talk by marking herself as a potential consociate in its progression (cf. Goodwin, 1987; Lerner, 1992).

Extract 6.13, like Extract 6.11, links the absence of an *and*-preface with a more backwards-looking action. Prior to the talk presented below, Kath had been detailing the preparations undertaken to ensure that Sonia could live independently after surgery without injuring herself.

Extract 6.13 [051604] (05:07 - 05:49)

001 K .hh (0.3) b't ahm (0.4) she's been given such strict
 002 instructions °°u-°° (0.3) over these next f:ew weeks;
 003 .hhh that she is n:ot >t' do it< otherwise it might do-
 004 (0.5) it might [>haf t' have] it< rep:air again.
 005 V [yes,]
 006 (0.4)
 007 V [mm:,]
 008 K [.hh] (0.5) ↓'n: >she s'd aw w'll i< c:ertainly don't
 009 want that. so, (0.4) (.tk) .hh anyway she- she really
 010 is trying. so, .hhh uh(HH) i 've been very very tired.
 011 (0.4)
 012 V °↓ye:s, i°
 013 K 'normously tired i c'n, (0.3) .hh i- i'm going'u haf
 014 t' go t' the doctor, because; (0.2) i'm feeling worn
 015 out.=
 -> 016 V =just exhaus(t)ed.=y[eah:.]
 017 K [ye]S:,
 018 (.)
 019 K yes:..
 020 (0.2)
 021 K .hh [i hard]l- i mean: (.) i do sleep; but. .hh i wake=
 022 V [mm.]
 023 K =up en i feel, (0.9) totally exhausted.
 024 V ye:s,

After Kath's summary assessment of Sonia's conduct 9-10, she directed the talk towards her own feelings of fatigue. Valerie responded with *yes* at 12, and Kath then noted her plans to see a doctor because she had been feeling *worn out*. Valerie's turn at 16—*just exhaus(t)ed yeah*—did not include a subject noun phrase, but it seems highly unlikely to have been addressing anything other than Kath, and her fatigue. This unprefaced, non-interrogative turn amounted to a characterisation of another's privileged knowledge (i.e. how Kath felt). It worked to display Valerie's familiarity with Kath's circumstances, while adopting her own independent (but consistent and affiliative) perspective on these matters. Hence, Valerie used this turn to receipt the prior talk, rather than put forward a next-component in its course.

Extracts 6.10 and 6.12 illustrate how Valerie utilised *and*-prefaced turns to progress topic talk initiated by her conversation partner. Perhaps one of the most common uses of *and*, however, is for turn expansion during self-oriented topic talk, and Valerie frequently used it in this fashion (see, for example, Extract 4.9, lines 9, 11, 14, 19, and 23). Given the present study's focus on *and*-prefacing of first TCUs (rather than subsequent ones; see Chapter 5), the

importance of turn-expanding *ands* can only be registered here. The practices associated with this particular *and* are substantially complex, and require investigation in their own right.

This section has briefly examined the use of *and*-prefaced turns to proffer next-objects in as yet incomplete spates of topic talk. It examined Valerie's use of [*and* + interrogative] and [*and* + declarative] to respectively project and deliver nexts in an ongoing course of action, and linked unprefaced turns with more backwards-looking actions.

6.2.4 Problematic topic talk initiations involving turn-initial *and*

Extract 6.8 aside, a notable feature of the extracts examined so far in Chapter 6 is the (relative) lack of trouble engendered by Valerie's *and*-prefaced topic talk initiations. This section addresses instances in which topic talk initiations of this type were treated as problematic by Valerie's conversation partners. As with the extracts presented in Chapter 4, sequential positioning and linguistic impairment were, separately and together, strongly implicated in the trouble that emerged.

Extract 6.14 demonstrates the importance of sequential positioning to the intelligibility of *and*-prefaced topic talk initiations. It commences towards the end of some talk relating to Kath's experience with an influenza injection, and influenza injections more generally.

Extract 6.14 [051604] (24:50 - 25:40)

```

001 K .hh ah:m:, (0.3) [i: ]
002 V [it do:esn't cos:t: (0.5) you
003 any:[thing?]
004 K [no:; ]
005 (.)
006 K [no:. ]
007 V [°mm:.°]
008 K not if you're a pensioner.
009 (0.2)
010 V °mm:.°
011 K no: °you j'st.° .hh ↑I suppose you have one here?
012 V yes.
013 (0.3)
014 K ↑mm;
015 (1.6)
016 K and uh- (0.2) my n:ew doctor (.) °h° ahm (1.0) °°( )°°
017 (.) ha- hh what's his ↑name:°,=PACker. (0.3) >-p- -p-a-
018 -c-k-e-r- harold-< (0.5) °harold packer¿° .hh ahm (0.6)
019 °.hh° he said when did you have your last pneumoni:a
020 jab. en i said i think- .hhh (0.5) i c(h)an't quite
021 remember b't it w's about two years ago:¿
022 V ye:s,
023 (0.3)
-> 024 V en h:ow's the doctor,
025 K °.hhh° (0.5) [the:-]
026 V [th't ] re-place:,
027 K °u-° pete, hh
028 V ye[:s, ]
029 K [(yuh-)] (.) he's back et wor- i- (.) course i

```


030 do[n't see:] him now. [.hh h]e came back t' work,=
 031 V [↑ohw:,] [mm:.]
 032 K =b't [he was off for: (0.3)] a good three months.=
 033 V [that's good (for 'im).]
 034 K =b't, .hh ↑i g:uess he's lost a lot of patients ...

Kath began a telling relating to her *new doctor* at 16 using turn-initial *and*. After searching for, spelling out, and fully producing the doctor's name, she detailed how he had queried her about her most recent *pneumonia jab*, which she thought was two years prior. At this point, it seems likely that there were more components to come before Kath's telling reached possible closure. For instance, Kath had not yet revealed how the doctor reacted to her being without a pneumonia injection for two years, i.e. she had not made the import of this detail explicit. Telling incompleteness appears to be the strongest influence on the trouble following Valerie's [*and* + interrogative] turn at 24. This turn's sequential placement lent itself to being heard as progressing the ongoing course of action (like the *and*-prefaced turns in the previous section) but the content of the interrogative undermined this interpretation. That is, "how the doctor was" was not a projectably next-part of this telling. The design of turn components following *and* likely also caused some trouble for Kath. Valerie's use of the definite article pointed to the mutual availability of the doctor being referenced, but the basis of this availability remained unclear. Was Valerie referencing *the doctor* who had been (quite elaborately) established as a consequential figure in the ongoing telling, or was she identifying another one who was known to both parties? Valerie's increment at 26 seemingly targeted this ambiguity by specifying the doctor *that replace*. As it would turn out, Valerie was referencing a former doctor of Kath's who had left work suddenly, and was proposing topic talk relating to him. Valerie's increment, however, may have preserved the ambiguity by failing to clearly select the replaced doctor over the replacing one. Kath then proffered the name of the replaced doctor at 27, and Valerie confirmed it in the following turn. With these actional and referential difficulties resolved, Kath took up the proposed topic talk, and began to describe the replaced doctor's activities, and the circumstances of his departure (not shown). In summary, in this instance, Valerie's production of an [*and* + interrogative] topic talk initiation in a mid-telling position, combined with an ambiguous person reference, made the action being implemented equivocal.

Difficulty calibrating linguistic resources is more plainly implicated in the trouble that emerged in Extract 6.15. Here, Betty had been telling Valerie about two of her daughters and, in particular, where they resided.

Extract 6.15 [072910] (03:37 - 04:27)

001 B they're- (.) they're OVER HERE VALERIE or UP THERE,
002 V (yeah:.)
003 B en the other girl's in brooome.
004 (0.3)
005 B so 's a long way away;
006 K °mm:, °
-> 007 V en wh:at (did you,) (.) work °.hh° (0.3) do:?
008 (0.6)
009 B >(what dear,) <
010 (0.6)
011 V what °e-° do you ah:m, (0.4)
012 B what did I [(°do°)]
013 V [have] you been at [work?
[(B turns head left))
014 [(0.7)
[(B turns & gazes to K))
015 B [()]
016 K [>have you-< ha|ve you been at workz
017 [(1.1)
[(B & K gaze at each other))
018 [(0.2)
[(B turns to her right, towards V))
019 B no darlin. °.h° i haven't >been 't work< f'r year:S:.
020 (0.3)
021 V ↑awh,
022 (0.2)
023 (.hh)/(0.5)
024 (.)
025 V b't did you ever work?
026 K uhw (y[e-])
027 B [O]HW YE:S .hh ohw yes, .hh i w's J'ST A short
028 hand typist.
029 (.)
030 V ye:s,=
031 K =.hh well, °hh°=
032 B =they called th'm- (0.3) y'know i mean °(t-)°=
033 V =[S:TENE- (SENOG)-]
034 K [S:TENE- STEN]OGRAPHER: or:;
035 V that's righ[t,
036 B [y[ou (go) to] (business) college you get=
037 K [yeah,]
038 B =a [job.]
039 V [or (a)] -p-[a:- huh,]
040 B [nothing-] Noth[ing=
041 K [-p-a:-=
042 B =exci[ting darlin' no]thing exciting, .h[hh]=
043 K [(°yes that's righ-°)] []
044 V [°mm, °]
045 B =no]thing exciting.
046 (1.0)
047 B what'did you do.
048 (0.8)
049 V .hh ohw well i (got) ...

Betty's summary assessments at 1 and 5 made the ongoing topic talk closure-relevant and, after Kath's *mm* at 6, Valerie delivered a topic talk initiation via [*and* + interrogative]. This turn, like the previous spate of topic talk, implicated Betty's life world, and projected primary speakership for her. Despite their mutual friendship with Kath, this was the only the second

time that Valerie and Betty had met one another. Having already discussed the closeness of Betty and Valerie's dates of birth, and Betty's children (not shown), Valerie selected Betty's history of employment as straightforwardly next matters for topic talking by virtue of the previous matters discussed, and who they were to each other (i.e. unfamiliar). Valerie's turn, however, took a non-canonical syntactic form, with the verb *do* following the verb *work*. After a silence at 8, Betty seemingly initiated repair. Another silence ensued, and Valerie attempted to reformulate her interrogative at 11, altering the past tense *did* to the present tense *do*⁹. Betty then proffered a candidate interpretation (that retained *did*) and, in overlap with Betty, Valerie produced another interrogative. This one—*have you been at work?*—utilised present tense, as well as perfect progressive aspect. Betty then altered the participation framework (cf. Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004; Rae, 2001), turning to Kath for assistance with resolving the trouble. Kath repeated Valerie's turn verbatim, and another silence followed before Betty indicated that she hadn't *been at work for years*. Thus, Betty's response suggests that she heard Valerie's turn at 13 as inquiring about current, ongoing circumstances. Valerie receipted Betty response with an *oh*-like object that, in addition to registering a change of state, kept the ongoing sequence open. With no talk forthcoming from Betty or Kath at 22-24, Valerie produced [*but* + interrogative]. On this occasion, Valerie's interrogative was in the past tense, and included the adverb *ever*. Both Kath and Betty swiftly produced *oh*-prefaced responses, indexing the inappropriateness of Valerie's inquiry (Heritage, 1998). Betty then reported that she was a *short hand typist*, but searched for another term at 32. This set off a flurry of talk from all the interactants, with Kath and Valerie both supplying *stenographer* (and Valerie *PA*, i.e. personal assistant), while Betty began to assess the nature of this work. After a silence at 46, Betty made a reciprocal inquiry, which Valerie took up in subsequent talk.

For this topic talk initiation, the primary source of trouble appears to have been Valerie's difficulty calibrating the syntax, tense, and aspect of her interrogatives. The non-canonical word ordering of Valerie's *and*-prefaced turn, and her use of present tense and perfect progressive aspect for her reformulated interrogatives, contributed to the interpretive difficulties faced by Betty (and Kath) in a sequential environment ripe for topic talk initiation.

Both sequential position and turn-constructive difficulties contributed to the persistent trouble that followed Valerie's *and*-prefaced turn in Extract 6.16. This extract begins at the end of a telling relating to a young child that came to visit Valerie. According to

⁹ It should also be noted that Valerie did not recycle *en* in her subsequent interrogative, i.e. she treated it as "dispensable" (Schegloff, 2004). This likely reflects Valerie's orientation to Betty's difficulties with her turn as non-sequential. That is, Valerie treated the trouble as originating in the design of her turn, rather than its relationship with the surrounding talk.

042 [father, (1.1)
 [((points left, then down))
 043 [(aw) >th-th-< th't lived t'gether.
 [((points left, forward & down))
 044 [(2.0)
 [((E & V gaze at each other))
 045 [(0.6)
 [((V lifts her hand to her chin))
 046 E sorry i'm <not quite> with you.
 047 [(2.1)
 [((V gazes down, holding her hand at her chin))
 048 [(0.8)
 [((V drops her hand to her lap & gazes to E))
 049 V you member when [uh .hh they come in here, °.hh°
 [((lifts hand, moves index circularly))
 050 [say (oh[w:ɔ])
 051 E [mm. [↑Q::H[W I KNOW MARTHA.
 [((leans back, turns head right))
 [((V flashes a smile))
 052 (0.3)
 053 E yes sorry.
 054 (.)
 055 E [marth[a:. martha th't i used t' play tennis with. yes,
 [((leans & gazes toward V))
 [((V nods))
 056 .hh [>↓i (h)aven't< b]een down, .hh they play on the=
 057 V [mm:.]
 058 E =same day th't i do unfortunately. [n' i keep saying,]=
 059 V [o:h yeah.]
 060 E =th't i must go down an have a coffee with th'm.=
 061 V =yea:,
 062 E s:i've >sorta lost t:ouch< with th- (.) (that)
 063 [whole grou]p,
 064 V [°mm:.°]
 065 (1.0)
 066 E no, martha's mother; (0.2)
 067 V ye[:s.
 068 E [yeah. died.
 069 (0.5)
 070 E °yeah.°=
 071 V =.hh (0.7) and you: eh (0.2) °.tkh° play golf,
 072 (0.8)
 073 E .tk i played golf last week?

Evelyn's mentioning of *whooping cough* at 1 engendered talk about the *flu*; in particular, Valerie's receipt of a *flu injection*, and Evelyn catching a cold from her daughter. Evelyn then reported that she had been to watch the wedding of Eliza's friend at the weekend. Valerie aligned via *aw yes* at 19, and Evelyn produced an increment at 20 that identified the wedding's location. This elicited an assessment from Valerie at 21, which Evelyn followed with one of her own, and further talk that detailed her participatory status in these events. There was a silence at 26, and Valerie then began an *and*-prefaced turn. The first lexical item after *and* was the pronoun *you*, with the next clear one a cut-off *en*. Some further unclear talk was followed by the noun phrase *tennis players* and, seemingly, the interrogative *did you ring Jill?*. At 30, Valerie proffered the name *Jill* for confirmation, but Evelyn responded by initiating repair.

The course of the trouble in this extract is characteristic of the “hint and guess” sequences described by Laakso and Klippi (1999). As it became clear that Valerie was having difficulty implementing the action she had set in motion at 27, she appealed to Evelyn for assistance via her interrogative at 29. Combined with Valerie’s earlier use of *you*, this indicated that the matters-at-hand were at least known by Evelyn—perhaps properly known by her—which meant that she could participate in the incipient word search. Evelyn’s first intervention (*tennis*) was seemingly rejected by Valerie at 36. When Valerie produced *died recently* later in this turn, Evelyn then oriented to searching for a person’s name, rather than anything else. Valerie seemingly proffered another name at 39, but an extended silence ensued at 40, and she returned to describing the targeted person at 41-43. Evelyn’s next turn at 46 was not a guess, but an explicit formulation their failure to resolve the trouble; that she was *not quite with* Valerie. Valerie’s next turn seemingly prompted Evelyn to remember when some people had visited Valerie’s nursing home. Evelyn initially responded with *mm*, but then produced a change of state *oh*, and claimed to know that Martha was the person in question. Valerie responded with a quick smile, and a nod once Evelyn returned her gaze. Evelyn’s talk at 53 began the confirmation phase of the “hint and guess” sequence, which included clarifying who Martha was to Evelyn (i.e. *Martha that I used to play tennis with*). At 56, she took up talk along the lines originally put forward by Valerie, but indicated that she had lost contact with group of people to which Martha belonged. Evelyn then engaged in further confirmation of Valerie’s prior talk by stating that Martha’s mother had died. At 70, the sequence had reached possible closure, and Valerie put forward another *and*-prefaced topic talk initiation that implicated Evelyn’s life world.

Valerie’s inability to produce the name of a person that figured in the proposed topic talk was central to the trouble in this extract. Had she produced *Martha* rather than *Jill* at line 29, Evelyn may have had less difficulty understanding the import of Valerie’s talk at 27-28. There were, however, other factors that likely affected Evelyn’s alignment with Valerie’s topic talk initiation. Valerie’s quiet *yeah* and the silence at 26, juxtaposed with Evelyn’s rather compact account of the wedding, created a relatively weak juncture in the ongoing topic talk. This, combined with the indeterminate grammatical shape of Valerie’s turn at 27-29, probably made it unclear how this talk should be heard relative to that immediately prior. That is, Evelyn needed to assess if Valerie’s turn was progressing the ongoing topic talk, or if it was beginning something new; if the latter, she also needed to decide if it was keeping in operation aspects of the prior topic talk, or not. When Evelyn was unable to do so, she initiated repair, and persistent trouble ensued.

The patterns of trouble observed in this section are highly similar to those found during other Valerie-initiated topic talk, as described in Chapter 4, Section 4.2. That is, where topic talk initiations were sequentially placed, and whether they were linguistically well-formed, could significantly affect subsequent uptake. The finding that sequential misplacement and linguistic errors can inhibit alignment with topic talk initiations (or any other action type) should be of little surprise. However, some of the *and*-prefaced topic talk initiations presented in Sections 6.2.1 and 6.2.2 also involved linguistically deficient turn elements (Extracts 6.3 and 6.9) and (mild) sequential misplacement (Extracts 6.2 and 6.3), but still successfully engendered related topic talk. The question then becomes, why did they secure alignment from Valerie's conversation partners? Perhaps more generally, though, one might query why Valerie recurrently used turn-initial *and*, and what advantages it offered.

6.3 Interactional advantages of turn-initial *and*

Before turning to the advantages that turn-initial *and* offered Valerie as a speaker with aphasia, it seems pertinent to review the observations made about turn-initial *and*, and its role in topic talk.

And has the potential to articulate with a number of different organisations of practice for talk-in-interaction. The sequential environment in which *and* is used, and the linguistic elements that precede and follow it, point toward the organisations that *and* articulates with. First TCUs in a turn are regularly prefaced with *and*. It was argued that Valerie's *and*-prefaced turns encouraged recipients to hear the action being delivered as straightforwardly next relative to some organisation that was operative in ongoing talk. The identifiability of an *and*-prefaced turn as a topic talk initiation—as well as the identities, knowledge, and speakership configurations made relevant by it—were elaborated as subsequent turn elements unfolded.

Perhaps the most apparent advantages of *and*-prefacing for speakers with aphasia are turn-constructural. The potential payoffs associated with this practice are akin to those described by Wilkinson et al. (2003) and Beeke, Wilkinson, and Maxim (2007) in relation to fronting. As noted above, Sacks et al. (1974, p. 719-720) characterised *and* as a turn entry device, which can be used to get a turn underway without constraining the turn elements to follow. Because *and* projects the arrival of further turn elements, it can therefore accommodate some breaks in a turn's progressivity, whilst promoting a speaker's claim to the floor. This means that a speaker with aphasia can prospectively compensate for the possibility of turn-constructural difficulties, and increase the likelihood of retaining the floor if they do occur. As well, because *and* does not constrain the grammatical shape of subsequent turn

elements, it may make turn beginning, and turn progression, a less grammatically (and lexically) demanding task. That is, *and* can exist in grammatical isolation from subsequent turn elements, while other methods for turn beginning (e.g. a numbered noun phrase) often cannot (cf. Schegloff, 1987b, 1996c; Wilkinson et al., 2003).

As well as turn organisation, turn beginnings are an important locus of sequence organisation. Schegloff (1987b, 1996c) has argued that, amongst other things, turn beginnings display how the turn-being-commenced should be heard relative to prior talk. Rephrased, turn beginnings display the sequential status an unfolding turn. Objects like *and*, *but*, *so*, *well*, and *by the way* are recurrently used at turn beginning for this very task (cf. Schegloff, 1987b), but what advantages might their use offer a speaker with aphasia, in particular? Like Wilkinson (1999b) and Bloch and Wilkinson (2004, 2009), inter alia, this study has found that other interactants can have difficulty adjudging how a communication-disordered speaker's turn articulates with prior talk. By using objects like these in turn-initial position, a speaker with aphasia can make "maximally salient" (Neville, 2006, p. 286) the sequential status of a turn, and this may reduce the likelihood of it being heard as sequentially equivocal. As the extracts in Section 6.2.4 demonstrated, though, this practice is not failsafe, and still requires (sometimes much) inferential work from recipients. However, in some fashion delimiting the sequential status of a turn-at-talk at its beginning seems preferential to leaving it for recipients to infer as the turn unfolds, especially if problems with turn construction are likely to arise.

The unique sequential salience created by *and*-prefacing seems especially useful for topic talk initiation as an action type. The extracts presented in this chapter and in Chapter 4 have demonstrated that topic talk initiations are regularly preceded by prior topic talk being brought to possible closure. Interactants can take up a variety of next-actions at this juncture; they can initiate another spate of topic talk, begin closing the conversation, or direct their attention to other activities. They can also choose to revive the foregoing topic talk; possible closure is just that (cf. Schegloff, 2007c, p. 142). The diversity of actions available in this sequential environment creates particular problems for speakers wishing to implement a topic talk initiation, as well as their prospective recipients. Speakers must ensure that their turn is heard as departing from prior talk, but not so far that it is understood to be a differently motivated project (e.g. conversation closing). Recipients must be sensitive to the strong likelihood of sequentially-new actions, while not discounting the potential for prior topic talk to persist. Both sets of tasks are undoubtedly complexified by the presence of aphasia (cf. Bloch & Wilkinson, 2004, 2009; Laakso & Klippi, 1999; Wilkinson, 1999b).

Turn-initial *and* may be especially suited to addressing these contingencies, and ensuring the identifiability of a topic talk initiation. The findings of the present study suggest

that *and*-prefacing points toward the nextness of the action being implemented, while simultaneously positioning it relative to an operative course of action. It is proposed that Valerie used turn-initial *and* to invoke the relevance of topic talk as a broader activity, and cast the unfolding action as a next object in its course. When Valerie's conversation partners were confronted with turn elements that were difficult to integrate with prior talk, an *and*-preface likely encouraged them to hear Valerie's turns as topic talk initiations, rather than continuations of prior talk, or other, differently motivated actions. As we have seen, the degree to which a topic talk initiation departs from the preceding talk can also be softened via lexical and grammatical resources. The extracts above provided evidence that tying practices (such as pronominal reference and lexical recycling), and the grammatical shape of turn elements subsequent to *and* can preserve aspects of prior topic talk. For instance, Valerie used [*and* + (determiner) declarative] in Extracts 6.8 and 6.9 to bind her topic talk initiations to prior topic talk. Finally, by making her turns more readily identifiable as topic talk initiations, Valerie may have hastened her conversation partners' reference to interpretive resources relevant at the initial boundary of topic talk (e.g. identity, shared knowledge, and category), which likely helped contextualise potentially problematic elements in her turns. Thus, *and*-prefacing addressed sequential and referential contingencies associated with initiating a spate of topic talk.

One might also query how Valerie came to select this practice; that is, how she came to use *and*-prefacing so prevalently in her talk. One possibility is that it was part of her pre-morbid conversational-style. This cannot be clearly established one way or another. A second possibility is that Valerie was taught this practice by a therapist following her brain injury. Given the typical linguistic targets pursued by clinicians (see Chapter 9, Section 9.2.3), this seems very unlikely. A third is that Valerie took up turn-initial *and* because her routine conversation partners also used it. Lesser (2003), for instance, has noted that people with aphasia tend to recycle the linguistic forms used by their conversation partners. It is therefore interesting to (cautiously) note that Kath produced a number of *and*-prefaced topic talk initiations (e.g. Extracts 3.4, 8.3, and 8.31). Another is that—as Wilkinson et al. (2003) suggested, and the discussion above has attempted to demonstrate—Valerie adopted *and*-prefacing as an adaptation to talking-in-interaction as a person with aphasia. On this view, Valerie's use of turn-initial *and* became increasingly prevalent over time because it addressed multiple contingencies indigenous to interaction, and interacting with aphasia. More speculatively, if we take this pattern to be a progressive change in Valerie's talk, this also raises the possibility that Kath's *and*-prefacing developed in concert with Valerie's, rather than the other way around.

In summary, this section has put forward some generic (i.e. non-action-specific) turn-constructural and sequential advantages associated with turn-initial *and*, as well as some specifically relating to topic talk initiations as particular action type. It was argued that *and*-prefacing projects the arrival of subsequent turn elements, but does not constrain their form. As such, it can be used to get a turn under way, while lessening the turn-constructural pressures associated with turn beginning. It also explicitly proposes a particular sequential status for the turn, and this may reduce the likelihood of it being heard as sequentially equivocal. It was argued that turn-initial *and* made turns that were difficult to integrate with prior talk more readily identifiable as topic talk initiations by linking them to topic talk as a larger sequential organisation. Finally, the recurrence of *and*-prefacing in Valerie's talk was suggested to be an adaptation to talking-in-interaction with aphasia.

6.4 Summary: Analyses presented in Chapter 6

The foregoing analyses have focused on Valerie's use of turn-initial *and* for actions relating to topic talk, and topic talk initiations in particular. It was argued that turn-initial *and*, when it occurred in the first TCU of a turn, and was a FPP and/or aligned with a larger sequential unit, cast a turn as straightforwardly progressing the course of action with which it was aligned. Sections 6.2.1 and 6.2.2 examined Valerie's use of [*and* + interrogative] and [*and* + declarative] to initiate topic talk. It was found that these turn formats embodied differing epistemic conditions, and often led to different trajectories for topic talk. [*and* + interrogative] implicated the life worlds of Valerie's conversation partners, and projected primary speakership for them. [*and* + declarative] cast Valerie as authoritatively knowledgeable of the matters at hand, and often implicated her life world, and primary speakership for her. Section 6.2.3 briefly discussed Valerie's use of these turn formats at points of topic talk incompleteness in order to progress the course of action her conversation partner was engaged with. Section 6.2.4 examined instances in which the actions delivered via turn-initial *and* were treated as problematic. Like Chapter 4, it was found that turn-constructural difficulties and sequential misplacement could affect recipient alignment with Valerie's talk. Finally, Section 6.3 proposed some interactional advantages associated with turn-initial *and* for Valerie as a speaker with aphasia.

6.5 Valerie-initiated topic talk and speakership asymmetry

It is no coincidence that some of the most troublesome *and*-prefaced topic talk initiations involved Valerie taking on primary speakership. Returning to Chapter 4, it should be noted that Valerie used turn-initial *and* to commence multi-unit turns in Extracts 4.9 and

4.11.1, and significant trouble also ensued. Turn-initial *and* is no panacea; speakership in general, and speakership implicating a multi-unit turn in particular, were potentially hazardous for Valerie. The kinds of topic talk initiations presented in Chapter 6 also provide some indirect evidence of this hazardousness. The majority of them implicated primary speakership for Valerie's conversation partners, rather than herself. By recurrently producing topic talk initiations that projected partner-progression, Valerie was able to influence the direction of topic talk, while minimising her exposure to an interactional role (i.e. primary speakership) that was likely to result in trouble, and make her communication disorder procedurally relevant¹⁰ (cf. Wilkinson, 2007; Wilkinson et al., 2003).

Chapter 4 began with the observation that speakership was distributed asymmetrically during topic talk involving Valerie, with her conversation partners holding the floor more frequently, and for longer periods of time. Chapter 4 identified some factors that motivated Valerie's alignment as a recipient, and her conversation partners' willingness to take on primary speakership:

- Valerie may have had less mentionables at her disposal, and her conversation partners may have been less willing to take up topic talk relating to particular kinds of mentionables (e.g. Valerie's unwellness).
- When Valerie took on primary speakership and produced a multi-unit turn to progress topic talk, this resulted in significant trouble, and talk that was not sequentially implicative.
- Partner-initiated topic talk that projected primary speakership for Valerie engendered dispreferred responses, and/or the troubles associated with Valerie's production of multi-unit turns.

Chapters 4 and 6 have identified two mechanisms involved in the generation of speakership asymmetry:

- Valerie-initiated topic talk was often met with dispreferred responses; in particular, weak receipting tokens. These responses stunted topic talk in which Valerie could

¹⁰ It may also be that topic talk initiations involving interrogatives were useful to Valerie for preventing the weak receipting responses analysed in Chapter 4. As well as being more "response mobilizing" than declaratives (Stivers & Rossano, 2010), the constraints set in motion by interrogatives make the consequences of ill-calibrated responses more severe. Thus, even if they don't engender preferred responses, topic talk initiations involving interrogatives are far harder to dismiss than declarative ones, and, at the very least, may more readily elicit repair.

have taken on some, if not most, of the speakership burden, and were often followed by her conversation partners taking the floor.

- Valerie recurrently produced topic talk initiations that projected partner-progression. These were regularly taken up by her conversation partners, and resulted in the successful production of related topic talk.

Attention will now turn towards partner-progressed topic talk, and some actions that Valerie implemented while acting as a recipient. Chapter 8 will identify one further practice through which speakership asymmetry was generated.

Chapter 7 Reciprocity

Chapter 7 reviews conversation-analytic research relating to reciprocity. The purpose of this chapter is to characterise the practices that will be subjected to analytic scrutiny in Chapter 8. It discusses brief vocal recipient responses, with a focus on those involved with claiming knowledge and agreement. In particular, it examines previous conversation-analytic work targeting the responsive form analysed in Chapter 8: *that's right*. This chapter also briefly discusses aphasiological research relevant to the study of aphasia and reciprocity.

7.1 Speakership and reciprocity

A major contribution of conversation-analytic approaches to interaction has been uncovering how speakers and recipients engage with one another to produce social action. The payoffs of this undertaking are perhaps most evident in the work of Charles Goodwin (1981, 1984, 1986a, 1986b, 1987, 2000, 2006, *inter alia*). Goodwin (1981), for example, provided a groundbreaking account of the ways in which speakers can alter the linguistic shape of an unfolding turn in order to secure orientation from recipients. This work illustrated the thoroughly interactive nature of the turn; that its integrity rests on the conduct of speakers and recipients together, rather than speakers alone (see also Sacks et al., 1974, p. 727). Recipient orientations to talk as it is emerging have also proven important for the investigation of action more generally (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987, 1992). Recipients' (primarily, non-vocal) conduct as a turn is temporally unfolding can make accountable how they are analysing a turn's action before it has reached possible completion. For speakers, recipients' visible responses may allow them to reformulate an emerging action in concert with, for example, harbingers of (dis)preference, like nods and headshakes, and frowns and smiles¹. For analysts, the visible activities of recipients reveals a more dynamic view of how action is ascribed by interactants, and the burden on next turns as a source of evidence for this task is somewhat lessened (see Goodwin and Goodwin, 1987, p. 3-4). For work along these lines, see M. Goodwin (1980), Goodwin and Goodwin (1987, 1992), Goodwin (1984), Ruusuvuori and Peräkylä (2009), and Stivers (2008).

Although it is analytically useful to draw a static, categorical distinction between speakers and recipients, these roles can be extremely fluid during actual instances of talk-in-interaction. The turn-taking system for everyday talk-in-interaction provides for the transfer of speakership on TCU by TCU basis (cf. Sacks et al., 1974). When interactants wish to

¹ Caution must be displayed, however, with regard to conventionalised, acontextual characterisations of such conduct (cf. M. Goodwin, 1980).

produce a multi-unit turn-at-talk, they often implement practices to gain consent from would-be recipients, with a view to ensuring that they will not make bids for the floor (cf. Goodwin, 1996; Sacks, 1974; Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 1980, 1982, 1996c; Selting, 2000). As discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, courses of action that require an asymmetrical distribution of speakership (e.g. tellings, descriptions, explanations) are common during topic talk. They are also where recipients' use of brief vocal responses is most prevalent (Gardner, 2001, p. 6).

7.2 Vocal recipient action

Courses of action that require speakership asymmetry represent a practical problem for parties in the role of recipient. That is, recipients must find ways of supporting the course of action, while still maintaining the asymmetry required for it to effectively progress. Further, different kinds of responses will become relevant as the course of action evolves, i.e. no single response, nor class of response, can be exclusively used. The combination of these pressures means that recipient responses tend to be brief, and that a number of different classes of response are utilised. Therefore, extended spates of reciprocity offer an analyst access to an ecology of responses, engaged in various praxis across the life span of the unit-in-progress. This responsive diversity is visible in Extract 4.1.1, a slightly expanded version of Extract 4.1 from Chapter 4.

Extract 4.1.1 [030204] (09:01 - 10:48)

001 K so: she's h:ighly delighted about that. .hh a::nd
 002 uh:m <she is (0.5) well> tied up with the scripture
 003 union [there: and um .hh does bible study there.=
 -> 004 V [ye:s.
 005 K =>which is< typically alice. .hh B'T (0.6) f'r the
 006 fi:rst time since katrina, (0.3)
 -> 007 V mm hm,
 008 (0.4)
 009 K a girlfriend and alice, °hh° °uh- aw(h) alice (un) a
 010 girlfriend. (.) whichever way, .hh ↑ahm° (0.4) .hh want
 011 t' go back to the states,
 012 (0.5)
 -> 013 V ohw yes;
 014 (0.4)
 015 K .hh So: (0.5) ah:m: (0.2) fay w's talking to me about
 016 it the other night 'nd. .hhh >she said< e'course
 017 y'know, alice's not working now. so: (0.2) y'know
 018 mon[ey's a b:it short, b't- .hh >fay said it's< a pity=
 -> 019 V [n:o:,
 020 K =really b'cause the- (0.6) <air fares,> (0.3) t' the
 021 states 're the cheapest they've ever be[en,
 -> 022 V [°>yeah<°
 023 (0.5)
 024 K .hh so:: (.) uh:m. (0.8) .hh i said well, (0.9) uhm.
 025 (.) >it would be< my pleasure t' give 'er a th[ousand=
 -> 026 V [mm:.
 027 K =dollars.

028 (1.3)
029 K [so:] fay said ↑uhw would y(h)ou, °>(so) i said<°=
-> 030 V [mm:,]
031 K =ye:s: y'know i mean, .hh i'd- (0.7) far rather give
032 it her t' now than when i'm dead;
-> 033 V that's ri:ght ↓yeah.
034 K s' she c'n make use of it; ahm:=
-> 035 V =(mm[:])
036 K [an:d uh. .hh anyway. ecst↑atuic email back fr'm
037 alice.
038 (0.4)
039 K so excited. y'know,
040 (0.6)
-> 041 V cour: [se,
042 K [an:d. (0.4) b'cause, (0.3) alice d'sn't get,
043 (1.1) bobby h's had everything;
044 (0.4)
-> 045 V ye(ah:)=
046 K =>b't alice< hasn't had all that much. y':know.
047 (0.4)
-> 048 V mm:
049 (0.4)
050 K meanwhile our bobby is in par:kes:? with his girlfriend
051 (and) 'is girlfriend's mo[ther?
-> 052 V [°aw ye:ah.°
053 (0.4)
054 K °ahm:..° (0.9) ↑when he's not wor:king: as a wait(h)er.
055 (0.3)
-> 056 V mm:,
057 (0.4)
058 K khhh .hh <he is> helping around the h:ouse would'ju:
059 believe.
060 (0.5)
061 K and [the garden.
-> 062 V [↑jo:.
063 (0.6)
064 K h's looking after the garden; and vacuuming?
-> 065 V ↑aw:h
066 (0.6)
067 K doing- putting washing ou:t? pu- [bringing it in?]
-> 068 V [↑my goodness,

Extract 4.1.1 demonstrates that Valerie had at her disposal a variety of different responsive objects. Intuitively, though, one may be tempted to conclude that responses like *yeah* and *mm hm*, for example, are doing similar, if not identical, interactional work. In fact, previous conversation-analytic research has demonstrated that interactants use them (and tokens like them) in systematically different ways.

7.2.1 Response tokens

Historically, brief vocal responses like *yeah*, *mm*, *mm hm*, and *uh huh* were neglected by language- and discourse-oriented scholars, or intuitively and simplistically categorised (see Gardner, 2001, p. 1-24, for a review). Conversation-analytic research has paid closer attention to and differentiated some recipient responses in English (e.g. Beach, 1993; Drummond & Hopper, 1993a, b; Gardner, 2001, 2007; Goodwin, 1986b; Guthrie, 1997; Heritage, 1984a;

Jefferson, 1985, 1993, 2002; Local, 1996; Schegloff, 1982, 1993; Zimmerman, 1993), as well as similar tokens in other languages (e.g. Clancy, Thompson, Suzuki, & Tao, 1996; Golato & Faygal, 2008; Golato, 2010; Müller, 1996; Sorjonen, 2001; Sorjonen & Hakulinen, 2009). Gardner (2001) likely represents the most comprehensive work on vocal recipient responses in English. Drawing together previous research, he examined and contrasted four classes of response: acknowledgment tokens (e.g. *yeah*, *mm*), continuers (e.g. *uh huh*, *mm hm*), newsmarkers (e.g. *really?*), and change-of-activity tokens (e.g. *okay*, *alright*). Collectively, Gardner (2001) referred to these objects as “response tokens”, and argued that they primarily act “...not to make reference to the world, but to provide some information on the course that the talk is taking” (p. 14). Conversation-analytic research has provided evidence that continuers, acknowledgement tokens, newsmarkers, and change-of-activity tokens are typologically different responses to other-talk, with different implications for subsequent turns. For instance, continuers treat the talk being produced as preliminary to further talk (Goodwin, 1986b; Schegloff, 1993; Stivers, 2008), and pass the opportunity to take a more substantial turn or initiate repair (Gardner, 2001; Schegloff, 1982). Acknowledgement tokens, on the other hand, act to “...claim adequate receipt of the prior turn” and are “...more retrospective than continuers” (Gardner, 2001, p. 34). That is, while both of these response types can be used to pass the opportunity to take a more substantial turn-at-talk, acknowledgement tokens do not project more-to-come from the prior speaker as strongly (see also Jefferson, 1985, 1993; and Drummond and Hopper, 1993a, b).

Newsmarkers and change-of-activity tokens are used to accomplish other kinds of interactional work. Broadly, recipients use newsmarkers to claim that some aspect of the prior turn has been registered as novel, and to promote expansion of the course of action projected by it (Heritage, 1984a; Gardner, 2001; Maynard, 2003). Canonical examples of newsmarkers include objects like *really?*, and *did you?*, and often occur as a composite turns, with *oh* in turn-initial position (cf. Local, 1996). Gardner (2001) argued that the change-of-activity tokens *okay* and *alright* create junctures by closing some previous aspect of the talk, and projecting the possibility of a next object, e.g. a new spate of topic talk, conversation closure (cf. Beach, 1993; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Schegloff, 2007c).

Lexical form, however, may not be the primary determinant of interactional function for many response tokens. Instead, prosody appears to play a key role (Gardner, 2001; Golato & Faygal, 2008; Goodwin, 1986b; Local, 1996; Müller, 1996; Zimmerman, 1993). For example, Gardner (2001) found that, most commonly, *mm* has a falling intonation contour, and acts as weak acknowledgement token. But, if *mm* is produced with a fall-rising contour, or a rise-falling contour, it can function as a continuer and an assessment respectively. Thus,

although individual response tokens tend towards certain interactional functions, careful examination of a response token's prosodic form, in conjunction with its sequential environment, can reveal substantial functional intricacy (cf. Gardner, 2001; Golato & Faygal, 2008; Zimmerman, 1993).

7.2.2 Assessments

Unlike many response tokens, recipient assessments explicitly engage with the “particulars” (Goodwin, 1986b, p. 207) of the talk, and often have substantial lexical-semantic meaning. Responsive assessments explicitly propose how a recipient has evaluated the matters-at-hand independently of the speaker (Goodwin, 1986b; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1992; Pomerantz, 1984). By contrast, acknowledgement tokens and continuers, for example, do not explicitly encode a recipient's perspective. When a recipient's assessment follows a speaker's assessment, recipients regularly implement practices to display how their assessment fits with the one prior; in particular, whether it is in agreement, or otherwise. Pomerantz (1984) argued that upgraded agreement is typically preferred, and that weakly agreeing, or disagreeing assessments lead to sequence expansion. Thus, by bringing an assessment sequence to possible closure, agreeing assessments provide for transition to next-objects (cf. Goodwin, 1986b; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1992).

7.2.3 Recipient claims to knowledge

Some recipient responses point towards a recipient's epistemic state. Amongst response tokens, as noted above, newsmarkers index a recipient's orientation towards the prior turn as conveying novel information (cf. Gardner, 2001; Heritage, 1984a; Maynard, 2003), and *right* can be used to mark the talk immediately prior as having progressed the epistemic store (i.e. loosely, common ground) being accumulated through the interaction (Gardner, 2007). With these response tokens, recipients can index the “just-now-ness” of their epistemic state (Gardner, 2007). Assessments also implicate interactants' knowledge of the matters-at-hand (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1992; Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Pomerantz, 1984; Raymond & Heritage, 2006), but often rather differently to newsmarkers and *right*. Assessments can be used to index knowledge that recipients hold outside an interactional here-and-now².

Heritage and Raymond (2005) and Raymond and Heritage (2006) have argued that what interactants know and how they know it (i.e. epistemic access) entails particular

² Although, see the collection of papers introduced by Lindström and Mondada (2009) for observations on assessments grounded in interactants' ongoing orientations.

privileges when assessing (i.e. epistemic rights). Asymmetries in access and rights regularly result in interactants implementing practices to show that they know an assessable as well, or better, than others (i.e. that they have epistemic authority). Heritage and Raymond demonstrated that the nature of an interactant's epistemic access, the sequential position of an assessment, and interactant identity are strongly implicated in claims to epistemic rights and authority. Direct and unmediated experience of an assessable (first order access) entails primary rights to assess, while indirect and mediated experience (second order access) can weaken interactants' rights. Sequentially-first assessments (and sequentially-first assertions more generally, cf. Stivers, 2005) also imply a claim of primary rights, with sequentially-second ones implying diminished rights relative to a first. As well, social roles occasioned by the matters-at-hand may also shape how interactants formulate assessments, e.g. a grandmother may be treated as having epistemic authority when her grandchildren are being assessed (cf. Raymond & Heritage, 2006).

7.2.4 Recipient claims to alignment

Responsive objects also display a recipient's orientation to the design of the prior turn, and the action(s) implemented by it. This study will follow Stivers (2008) in referring to a recipient's support for the action(s)-in-progress as "alignment". Claims to alignment are separable from claims to epistemic access and rights. For example, continuers can be used to support a course of action while marking it as incomplete, but they do not make claims relating to a recipient's knowledge of the matters-at-hand (cf. Stivers, 2008). Change-of-activity tokens similarly omit claims to knowledge, but firmly point towards the possible completion of an ongoing course of action. An acknowledging *mm* is even weaker than both continuers and change-of-activity tokens, claiming receipt of the prior turn, and little more (Gardner, 2001). Other responsive objects, however, simultaneously index a recipient's knowledge state, and their orientation towards the action(s) implemented by prior turns. As noted above, in addition to their epistemic claims, newsmarking response tokens promote expansion of the course of action projected by the prior turn (cf. Gardner, 2001; Maynard, 2003); *right* treats the ongoing activity as still incomplete (Gardner, 2007); and agreeing assessments provide for transition to next-objects (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1992).

7.2.5 Agreement, knowledge, and alignment

Recipients recurrently take up stances that are consonant with speakers', i.e. they agree with them. As Stivers (2005) observed, agreement is a second position action. Agreement is, therefore, always in the shadow of a first position action, and the claim to

primary epistemic rights it implies (cf. Heritage, 2002; Heritage & Raymond, 2005). Stivers (2005) also suggested that *yes* and its variants are amongst the most neutral methods for agreeing. These tokens simply do agreeing, and do not make explicit claims relating to the responding interactants' knowledge of the matters-at-hand. On occasion, though, recipients may be authoritatively knowledgeable of the matters addressed by a first position action, and may wish to index this knowledge in the course of their agreement. As such, they will need to implement practices to overcome the secondness inherent to agreements. Heritage (2002) and Stivers (2005) discussed two such methods for agreeing. Heritage (2002) established that *oh*-prefaced agreements index a recipient's independence in knowing the matters-at-hand, and are regularly implicated in claims to epistemic authority. Stivers (2005) demonstrated that agreements via modified repeats (e.g. A: *Peter was lucky* → B: *He was lucky*) represent recipient claims to epistemic rights and authority, and argued that they are overtly competitive with first position actions. In the case of responsive assessments, Heritage and Raymond (2005) observed that recipients utilise a number practices for "upgrading", such as repeats of first assessments followed by acknowledgement tokens (e.g. *it is horrible, yes*), *oh* prefaced responses (e.g. *oh it's great*), tag questions (e.g. *he is good, isn't he?*), and negative interrogatives (e.g. *isn't that wonderful?*).

In addition to knowledge, agreements that assert epistemic authority make concurrent claims to alignment. When recipients use practices like *oh*-prefaced agreements, modified repeats or upgraded assessments, they are often pointing towards issues with the design and/or action of the prior turn, and how their agreement should be heard relative to it. For example, Stivers (2005) found that partial modified repeats were used when first position actions included epistemic downgrading (e.g. A: *I think John is Peter's son* → B: *he is*), and full modified repeats were used when first position actions were unmarked (e.g. A: *John is Peter's son* → B: *He is Peter's son*). Thus, these responsive forms can be used to index (potentially subtle) issues with the design of a first position action, while generally contesting the speaker's grounds for producing it.

7.2.6 Previous investigation of *that's right* in talk-in-interaction

Responding with *that's right* has not been extensively addressed in conversation-analytic literature, with only a handful of empirical analyses available. Most researchers have characterised it as a practice implicated in a particular type of agreement: "confirming" (e.g. Clift, 2005; Gardner, 2001, 2007; Heritage, 1984a, 1998; Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Lerner, 1996a; Schegloff, 1996a, 2007c; Stivers, 2005). In fact, Schegloff (2007c, p. 8) described

that's right as a “conventional” method for confirming a prior turn. On confirming, Schegloff (1996a) wrote:

...the speaker of the initial saying, in saying it, is offering a candidate observation, interpretation, or understanding of the *recipient's* circumstances, current or past. ... It is *this* feature that lends the specific aspect of ‘confirmation’ to what would otherwise be more broadly characterised as ‘agreements’. (p. 180, italics original)

Heritage and Raymond (2005, p. 26) also cast *that's right* in terms of confirmation. They provided an empirical example of *that's right* being used to assert epistemic authority in an assessment sequence, and noted that, by producing *that's right* as the first part of a composite response, the speaker: “...treats confirmation as the primary business of the response, before going on to agreement with ‘Yes.’” (ibid). Stivers (2005) and Gardner (2007) have also registered observations about the epistemic properties of *that's right*. Stivers (2005, p. 137) claimed that confirming with *that's right* acts to embrace the epistemic authority set up by a turn-for-confirmation. Gardner (2007, p. 327) argued that, unlike *right*, which claims that epistemic progression has occurred “just now”, *that's right* claims that a recipient has prior knowledge of the matters-at-hand.

Clift (2005) provided further empirical examples of *that's right* being used a response, but in two different contexts. The first example was produced by a recipient of a telling in response to the speaker's assessment of the telling's protagonist. The production of *that's right* by this recipient (Mary) was closely followed by *absolutely*, after which she made a bid for speakership, and began a telling of her own. On the use of *that's right*, Clift (2005) argued that it was an explicit attempt:

...by one speaker to align with the other. ... ‘That's right’ is commonly used by speakers to affirm something that they already know... and provides a portent of the experience Mary will relate (p. 1658).

The second example saw Mary using *that's right* in response to the other interactant (Adam) pre-emptively producing a component of her telling; specifically, some reported speech. As Clift (2005) noted, although the production of reported speech to which one has no access might seem strange (if not impossible), the aim here for Adam was to display (rather than claim, cf. Sacks, 1992b, p. 252) that he and Mary shared a perspective on the telling-in-

progress. Clift (2005) then characterised Mary's use of *that's right* as a means of endorsing Adam's version of her telling, and their joint perspective on the matters at hand.

Finally, Heritage (1984a, p. 338-339) briefly examined the use of *oh that's right* in response to accounts that prefigured the rejection of invitations. He argued that *oh that's right* enacted a "remembering of previously known information" on the part of the account recipient, and that this recollection had occurred "just-now". In addition, Heritage (1984a) noted that *oh* and *that's right* contextualised each other, working to produce an action that neither could independently support³.

Each of these studies provides some sense of the ways in which *that's right* can be used, and the work it can be enlisted to accomplish. In summary, this research has indicated that *that's right*:

- Is used for agreement in general, and confirmation in particular (Schegloff, 2007c; Stivers, 2005).
- Is used to claim independent knowledge of the matters-at-hand (Clift, 2005; Heritage, 1984a; Heritage and Raymond, 2005; Gardner, 2007; Stivers, 2005).
- Can be combined with other responsive talk (Clift, 2005; Heritage, 1984a; Heritage & Raymond, 2005).
- Can be used in response to different kinds of actions (e.g. assessments, accounts).
- May be involved with transition of primary speakership (e.g. the move from telling recipient to teller reported by Clift, 2005).

7.2.7 Summary and subsequent analyses

Section 7.2 has examined a number of brief vocal responses used by recipients. In particular, it has discussed response tokens, assessments, agreeing responses, and *that's right*. The analyses presented Chapter 8 analyse the epistemic and actional conditions set out by the turns prior to *that's right*, and describe five functional variants of *that's right* identified in Valerie's talk: 1) confirming; 2) mutual stance; 3) recognition; 4) compliment; and 5) restored intersubjectivity. Although the confirming *that's right* has been frequently referred to in previous research, no singular, detailed account for this functional variant is available. Heritage and Raymond's (2005) and Clift's (2005) observations resonate with the account to follow of the mutual stance *that's right*, while Heritage (1984a) and Shaw and Kitzinger (2007) have also discussed the functionality of the recognition *that's right*. To this author's

³ These two examples involving *oh* are also reported on in Heritage (1998, p. 302-303). Here, they were also framed as displays of "remembering". See also Heritage (2005, p. 189) and Shaw and Kitzinger (2007).

knowledge, no previous work has discussed uses akin to the compliment or the restored intersubjectivity *that's rights*. Before turning to these analyses, some discussion of previous aphasiological work relevant to reciprocity is required.

7.3 Reciprocity and aphasia

Studies of language comprehension in general, and discourse comprehension in particular (e.g. Brookshire & Nicholas, 1993a; Hough, 1990; Łojek-Osiejuk, 1995; Stachowiak, Huber, Poeck, & Kerschensteiner, 1977; Yasuda, Nakamura, & Beckham, 2000), might seem an appropriate point of departure for the examination of aphasia and reciprocity-in-interaction. There are, however, significant theoretical and methodological differences between the research traditions this work has drawn upon and conversation-analytic investigation. Studies of language and discourse comprehension have been overwhelmingly experimental, and designed to probe theoretically-postulated cognitive mechanisms. Many aphasiologists would also argue that language comprehension (as they conceptualise it) cannot be effectively studied outside these conditions, because the required control over contextual variables cannot be adequately exerted. By contrast, conversation-analytic practices are designed for the empirical study of authentic, naturally-occurring phenomena, and are—at best—agnostic towards the unseen activities of a mind/brain. Further, conversation-analytic research treats the conduct of recipients as directed towards the public management of interactional contingencies, rather than an incidental by-product of internal states (e.g. Heritage, 2005, p. 201-202). As such, the examination of recipient action by people with aphasia should not be treated as a second-order reflection of language and/or discourse comprehension⁴. Instead, reciprocity should be explored on its own terms; as a phenomenon that is qualitatively different from language and/or discourse comprehension. Perhaps more properly, reciprocity should be thought of as a distinct form of social action, just as producing a telling, or initiating topic talk, or participating in a word search are considered to be consequential (and analytically interesting) tasks that people with aphasia accomplish via talk-in-interaction.

The study of reciprocity holds more relevance for investigations of aphasia and formulaic speech⁵. This line of work has been conducted most prominently by Chris Code (e.g. Code, 1994, 2010; Code et al., 2009) and Diana Van Lancker Sidtis (e.g. Sidtis, Canterucci, & Katsnelson, 2009; Van Lancker Sidtis, 2004; Van Lancker Sidtis & Postman, 2006). Conventionally, aphasiologists would view most of the responsive objects discussed so

⁴ Nor should comprehension be assumed to be in direct correlation with competent reciprocity.

⁵ Thanks to Suzanne Beeke for a push in this direction.

far in this chapter as types of automatic/formulaic speech. Investigation of formulaic speech has been primarily concerned with the dissociation between “propositional” speech and (lexical and non-lexical) “non-propositional speech”, and the implications of this for the cognitive-linguistic and neuroanatomical bases of language (see Code, 2010; or Van Lancker, 2004, for an introduction). Further, the recurrent use of formulaic speech by people with aphasia has been largely attributed to impaired access to propositional speech, and in some cases (e.g. speech automatisms) characterised as inherently pathological (Code, 1994). However, from a conversation-analytic standpoint, this work has been too reliant on experimentation and elicitation, and critically lacking in sensitivity to functional variation between responsive forms, and the contexts in which they are used. Therefore, the study of reciprocity would help ground observations about formulaic speech in the everyday conduct of people with aphasia, and provide detailed insight into its interactional functions.

7.3.1 Previous investigation of reciprocity and aphasia

Most of the studies that have applied CA to talk-in-interaction involving people with aphasia have been primarily (and quite understandably) concerned with their activities as speakers. Only a handful of investigations have specifically examined the conduct of people with aphasia while receiving extended spates of talk. Most studies that have described people with aphasia as recipients have been focused on environments of trouble in which conversation partners were providing formulations of problematic conduct, such as during word searches (e.g. Laakso & Klippi, 1999; Oelschlaeger & Damico, 2003) or when severe impairment required that others produce talk on their behalf (e.g. Goodwin, 1995; Lind, 2005). Two exceptions are Perkins (1995) and Linell and Korolija (1995), who have both made comment on reciprocity and aphasia in the context of speakership asymmetry. Perkins (1995) reported that a woman with aphasia (EN) frequently produced “minimal turns” in response to a male relative’s extended periods of primary speakership. When EN did produce a non-minimal turn, troubles within it were often “gloss[ed] over” (Perkins, 1995, p. 380) by her conversation partner, who took up the floor once more. Following Jefferson (1985), she labelled this phenomenon the “perverse passive”. Linell and Korolija (1995) examined multiparty interactions, and similarly found that people with aphasia often aligned as recipients and produced minimal responses. Further, they observed that conversation partners tended to usurp primary speakership after people with aphasia had initiated a spat of talk and, in doing so, relegated them to reciprocity. There are, however, some clear limitations to the analyses presented in these studies. First, neither Perkins (1995) nor Linell and Korolija (1995) engaged in detailed sequential analysis of particular responses used by the people with

aphasia. For example, Perkins' (1995) objective was to develop a method for quantifying the distribution of minimal and major turns between speakers with aphasia and their conversation partners. As such, she chose to ignore differences between (and within) particular response tokens, simply coding objects like *yes*, *right*, and *mm hm* all as minimal turns. Second, both studies emphasised negative aspects of reciprocity and minimal responses, equating them with disempowerment and interactional exclusion. Of course, these are near certain consequences of denying speakership to people with aphasia, but this is not the only circumstance in which people with aphasia elect to align as recipients.

Simmons-Mackie and Damico (1996), Laakso (1997), and Oelschlaeger and Damico (1998) have all highlighted some of the interactional advantages of reciprocity for people with aphasia. Simmons-Mackie and Damico (1996) examined the use of various "discourse markers" by two people with aphasia (DC and NN), and identified some practices they termed "affiliation markers"⁶. For NN, this constituted the use of responsive objects like *yes yes yes*, *very nice* and *really*, whereas DC used the phrase *is good*. Simmons-Mackie and Damico (1996) suggested that NN's practices in particular:

...conveyed a positive tone and attention to the speaking partner, and simultaneously encouraged the speaking partner to continue talking. Not only did these utterances establish a warm social bond, but also they shifted the burden of communication to the partner and kept up the flow of the conversational interaction. (p. 41)

Laakso (1997) also observed that minimal turns reduce the likelihood of aphasia-related trouble occurring in an aphasic speaker's turn-at-talk. However, she suggested that this sort of participation was more suited to (and more likely during) multiparty interactions, and that dyadic interactions create increased pressure for people with aphasia to produce non-minimal talk. As well, Oelschlaeger and Damico (1998) examined some actions enacted via repetition by a recipient with aphasia (Ed) in multiparty interactions. They argued that, when Ed repeated a portion of the prior turn during assessment sequences, this worked to "show alignment", and claim that he also held the view expressed by the primary speaker. When the prior turn was part of a story being told by his wife, his repetition worked to "show acknowledgement", and mark himself as a knowing recipient⁷.

⁶ It should be noted that "affiliation" here, and "alignment" and "acknowledgement" in the subsequent part of this paragraph, are the terms used to describe these practices by the original authors, and should not be read as consistent with the ways these terms are used in this study.

⁷See also Klippi (1996) and Leiwo and Klippi (2000) for some observations on repetition by people with aphasia when acting as recipients.

Finally, Beeke, Wilkinson, and Maxim (2007) briefly discussed the use of *exactly*—a response with an intuitive similarity to *that's right*—by a man with aphasia (Roy). An example is shown below in Extract 7.1.

Extract 7.1 (Beeke, Wilkinson, & Maxim, 2007, p. 264)

```

10   D   yea:h [not          eve]ryone can do it
11   R           [>°definitely°<]
12           n[o:::]
13   D   [can ] they
14       (0.4)
-> 15   R   u- u- i- i::: exactly[=yeh
16       D           [=nah

```

Beeke, Wilkinson, and Maxim (2007, p. 270) characterised Roy's use of *exactly* as a practice for agreeing and confirming. The latter sense was particularly prominent in environments where intersubjectivity had been under threat, and Roy wanted to claim that what his conversation partner had said was precisely what he had been saying, but that his turn-constructional difficulties had made unclear. Inspection of the extended transcripts presented in Beeke (2005) indicated that Roy also used *exactly* as a response in trouble-free environments.

7.3.2 Summary: Section 7.3

Section 7.3 has discussed previous aphasiological research relevant to the present investigation's focus on reciprocity. It was argued that studies of language and/or discourse comprehension have been concerned with qualitatively different phenomena, and that examination of reciprocity would provide insight into the interactional functions of formulaic speech. Overall, studies that have applied CA to interactions involving people with aphasia have tended to focus on their activities as speakers. While some observations have been registered about recipient action undertaken by people with aphasia, few detailed, sequential analyses of particular responsive forms are available. The present study contributes to this body of research by examining Valerie's use of *that's right*.

Chapter 8 Valerie, reciprocity, and *that's right*

Chapter 8 focuses on spates of topic talk in which Valerie's conversation partners produced multi-unit turns, while Valerie aligned as a recipient, and uttered numerous brief vocal responses. The analyses to follow explore how Valerie used a particular brief vocal response during these periods of reciprocity: *that's right*. The sequential contexts in which Valerie utilised *that's right* are explicated, and a number of functional variants of *that's right* are identified. The utility of *that's right* for Valerie, as a person with aphasia, is also elaborated, and well as its role in topic talk.

8.1 Valerie as a recipient during topic talk

As has been noted throughout the foregoing analyses, Valerie was frequently in the role of recipient during topic talk. Rather than being relegated to this role, or passively embracing it, Valerie's repeated production of topic talk initiations that projected partner-progression (see Chapter 6) suggests that she may have actively pursued reciprocity. Partner-initiated partner-progressed topic talk provides additional evidence for this position. By and large, Valerie strongly aligned with her conversation partner's self-oriented topic talk initiations, and the talk that followed. This alignment is evident in Extracts 8.1, 8.2, and 8.3, though somewhat differently in each.

8.1.1 Partner-initiated partner-progressed topic talk

Extract 8.1 overlaps with the end of Extract 3.3. At 2-3, Evelyn announced that she had been invited to play at a local golf course. Valerie's strong alignment with this topic talk initiation was immediate.

Extract 8.1 [023103] (16:45 - 17:15)

```
001      (2.5)
-> 002  E  >so (i'm)< actually, (.) ahm (0.4) been asked t' play
-> 003      et swa:nsea on friday.
004      (0.3)
=> 005  V  aw ye:[s,
006      E      [an i (hadn't) played there >b'se it's<
007      [pri:°vate.°]
-> 008  V  [no:      ] ↓(2 syll)=
009      E  =ah:m (0.2) .tk en the only way i c'n play there is if
010      someone invites me to a: like an open day? [.hh ] ahm=
-> 011  V      [ye:s;]
012      E  =but i've got a friend who's a member en they have-
013      they're having a twilight golf; on a fr[iday. ]
-> 014  V      [(mm hm),]
015      (0.2)
016      E  .hh so y' go en h- j'st play eleven hol:es;
017      (0.2)
```

-> 018 V oh[w ye:s,]
 019 E [°so it's nice.°] >en then y' go en have< dinner,
 020 (0.4)
 021 V mm: ,=
 022 E =in the club[house.]
 -> 023 V [↑that's] very ni[ce, ye:]ah.
 024 E [↑ye:s,]
 025 (0.2)
 026 E so she asked me la:st wee:k, ...

Valerie's initial response to Evelyn's announcement was the composite newsmarker *aw yes*. This object registered Valerie's receipt of, and alignment with, Evelyn's news, and provided for its continued expansion in subsequent talk (Gardner, 2001; Maynard, 2003). By contrast, the function of Valerie's prosodically-marked *no* at 8 is, from an analyst's perspective, rather equivocal, as are the untranscribable two syllables that followed. Evelyn did not directly address these responses, and she simply proceeded to the next detail of her telling at 9. Valerie then produced a slightly falling *yes* at 11, continuers at 14 and 21, another newsmarker at 18, and an assessment at 23. Excluding the potentially problematic talk at 8, Valerie's responses throughout this extract were positioned towards the possible completion of Evelyn's TCUs, and were supportive of her continued speakership. However, at first glance, one might argue that Valerie's assessment at 23 could be heard as curtailing this topic talk. While Evelyn did use the juncture created by Valerie's assessment to change the course of her telling, she did not treat it as foreshadowing disengagement from this topic talk altogether. That is, Evelyn stopped describing the circumstances surrounding the golf course, and what constituted *twilight golf*, and began to detail the matters projected at the beginning of the sequence, i.e. her invitation to play. Thus, she oriented to Valerie's assessment as aligning with this spate of topic talk, while facilitating movement towards a new phase in her telling¹.

In Extract 8.2, Valerie's initial alignment with Kath's topic talk initiation was weaker than Extract 8.1. Rather than ambivalence towards this action, Valerie's responsive choices were well suited the characteristics of Kath's talk. Here, Kath had been telling Valerie about a turkey she had purchased for her Easter Sunday meal. In response, Valerie nominated cranberry sauce as a desirable condiment to serve with turkey.

¹ As well, rather than a move towards closing this topic talk, Valerie's assessment appears to have been a late response to Evelyn's assessment at 19. The delay is attributable to Evelyn's assessment being in overlap with Valerie's newsmarker, and Evelyn's subsequent talk being rushed-through. While Valerie did have an opportunity to produce an assessment at 20/21, her decision to produce *mm* was likely sensitive to the continuative intonation of Evelyn's talk at 19, and the possibility that it was projecting another detail about *twilight golf*. When it became clear that only an increment would follow, Valerie took the opportunity to produce an assessment consistent with, and upgraded relative to, Evelyn's prior one.

Extract 8.2 [041004] (43:39 - 44:17)

001 K ↑i don't think i've got any [↓(cranberry).
 002 V [(ye:s.)
 003 (1.1)
 004 V it's love[ly,
 -> 005 K [(<I WENT IN TO:.> (.) °uhm° woolieS (0.8) on:.
 -> 006 (0.7) th:urSday morning. (0.8) yes: (.) yes. yesterday
 -> 007 °morning.°=
 => 008 V =yeah,
 009 (0.2)
 010 K .hhh <at about,> quarter past seven?
 011 (0.5)
 012 K i bought the dogs in:,
 => 013 V mm:
 014 K j- u- (0.4) dumped them in en then (.) [went s]traight=
 => 015 V [yeah,]
 -> 016 K =out shopping? °.hhh° (0.4) ↑and- (0.3) quarter past
 -> 017 seven? it w's packed.
 018 (0.5)
 => 019 V ↑jo: really;
 020 [(1.3)
 [(V smiles & nods; K is expressionless))
 021 V m[m:.
 022 K [↑it w's packed.
 023 (0.7)
 024 K people with (0.3) .hh trolleys, [(0.5) f:: (0.2)
 [(raises right hand
 vertically above left))
 -> 025 V ↑goodness.=
 026 K =piled high, .hh=
 -> 027 V =m[m:.
 028 K [their bill:s were three en four hundred dollars.
 029 (0.4)
 -> 030 V ↑jo:

Kath exploited the break in progressivity at 3, and the absence of alternate mentionables from Valerie at 4, to initiate a spate of self-oriented topic talk. Valerie's decision to receipt Kath's topic talk initiation at 5-7 with *yeah*, and subsequent talk with *mm* and *yeah* respectively, reflects its hearably preliminary nature. In particular, Kath's talk prior to 16-17 was yet to address matters that were particularly mentionable; she had only reported the empirical details of rather unremarkable activities². Once she reported something more notable—that the supermarket was *packed* early in the morning—Valerie began to use different responsive objects. The first was a composite turn headed by an assessing *jo*³, and followed by the newsmarker *really*. Valerie then passed the opportunity to take the floor at 21 via *mm* and, after repeating her initial assertion, Kath detailed the amount of groceries these people had bought, and the cost of their purchases. Again, Valerie receipted (and aligned with) this talk

² As well, Kath's stymieing of her TCU's progressivity at 5-6, and her insertion of a parenthetical, made it difficult for Valerie to receipt this talk with anything stronger than an acknowledgement token or a continuer.

³ This particular response, on the evidence available, appears to be an extremely clipped version of the phrase "you're joking". This form strongly resonates with Goodwin's (1986b, p. 214) observation that the work of many assessments is supported primarily by an appropriate intonation contour, rather than lexical content.

using further assessments⁴. Thus, Valerie's responsive choices in this extract were sensitive to the nature of Kath's talk, with more strongly aligning responses utilised when the import of the matters-being-mentioned was clearer.

A final example of Valerie's alignment with her conversation partner's self-oriented topic talk is presented in Extract 8.3. Here, the interactants had been engaged in sporadic topic talk while Kath was tending to Valerie's fingernails. Throughout this extract, Kath was standing in front of Valerie as she looked at and filed her thumbnail.

Extract 8.3 [051604] (02:42 - 03:17)

```

001      [(15.7)
-> 002      K  °'n° sonia finally went ho[me,
-> 003      V                                     [aw yes,
-> 004      (0.5)
-> 005      K  ahm (.) on tuesday,
-> 006      [(1.1)
=> 007      V  en how's she getting on;
008      K  oh: w(h)ell hh .hh okay, she's still feeling pretty
009      weak
010      (0.3)
011      V  ye:s,
012      (0.4)
013      K  so:- (0.6) i went ho- >obviously< i (.) drove her
014      home:, en i did a hu:ge shop for her,

```

Valerie immediately receipted Sonia's *and*-prefaced topic talk initiation with a newsmarking *aw yes*. A silence ensued at 4, followed by an increment at 5, and another, longer silence at 6. Hence, despite Valerie's strong alignment with this topic talk initiation via a newsmarker, its progressivity stalled. Valerie addressed this issue with an [*and* + interrogative] turn at 7. This turn is very much like the one in Extract 6.11, analysed in Chapter 6. That is, it projected the production of a next-object in the current course of action; in this case, how Sonia was coping with returning to her own home. Further, it projected that Kath should continue her hold on primary speakership, thereby ensuring further reciprocity for Valerie.

In summary, this section has revealed another mechanism involved in the generation of speakership asymmetry. Like her production of partner-oriented topic talk initiations (see Chapter 6), Valerie's strong alignment with partner-initiated partner-progressed topic talk promoted repeated and extended periods of primary speakership for her conversation partners. Chapters 4 and 6 argued that the problems engendered by topic talk configurations involving primary speakership for Valerie likely made reciprocity an appealing interactional role for her.

⁴ Valerie's *mm* at 27 likely reflected the fact that Kath's non-vocal display had made clear that the trolleys were *piled high*. Furthermore, she had already assessed this matter at 25, so simple receipt via *mm* was ample.

Chapter 6 and Section 8.1.1 have demonstrated that Valerie engaged in conduct during topic talk that was directed towards promoting primary speakership for her conversation partners, and reciprocity for herself. Thus, speakership asymmetry was not happenstance; it was the product of recurrent difficulties that emerged during topic talk, the practices Valerie implemented to hand her conversation partners the floor, and her conversation partners' willingness to take on primary speakership.

8.1.2 Selecting *that's right* for analysis

As Extracts 4.1.1, 8.1, 8.2, and 8.3 have demonstrated, Valerie utilised a variety of different tokens during extended periods of reciprocity. As such, there were many responsive objects that could have been subjected to analytic inspection for the purposes of the present study. The selection of *that's right* was motivated by:

- Its regularity. As the data below will show, Valerie used *that's right* extremely frequently, across a number of different sequential environments.
- Its linguistic qualities. *That's right* is an interesting way of responding because it shares properties with both response tokens and assessments. Specifically, it has a static lexical form (like most response tokens) but also has some lexical-semantic content (like most assessments).
- Its epistemic claims. Previous work has consistently implicated *that's right* in claims to knowledge. What kind of knowledge was Valerie claiming when she used it?
- Its combination with other responsive objects. Valerie often combined *that's right* with other response objects. What significance did this have?
- Investigative feasibility. Developing a sufficiently rigorous account of more than one responsive object would have been difficult in the context of the broader investigation being undertaken.
- And, more arbitrarily, investigative curiosity. That is, of all the ways that Valerie could have responded, why did she consistently respond in this way, and what was she doing when she did?

8.1.3 Collections

Transcripts were examined for turns in which Valerie produced *that's right*. A collection of 104 turns featuring *that's right* was assembled. Of these 104, four were excluded because they were responsive to non-verbal actions, leaving a core collection of 100 turns. The environments prior to *that's right* were then classified into three types: confirmation,

stance-taking, and neither confirmation nor stance-taking (i.e. “other”). The frequency of each environment is summarised in Table 8.1⁵. Valerie also combined *that’s right* with other responsive objects to form composite turns; primarily, *mm* and *yes/yeah*⁶. Responses were considered to be composite when both components were consecutively produced and, in general, responsive to the same TCU. Turns of the format [responsive object + *that’s right*] will be referred to as pre-TR composites; turns with the opposite configuration—[*that’s right* + responsive object]—will be referred to as post-TR composites. The frequency of each response format is summarised in the Table 8.2.

Table 8.1

Frequency of Sequential Environments Preceding that’s right

Environment	Frequency
Confirmation	11/100
Stance-taking	70/100
Other	19/100

Table 8.2

Frequency of Composite Turns Featuring that’s right

Response format	Frequency
Pre-TR	16/100
Post-TR	37/100
Both pre- and post-TR	5/100
No pre- or post-TR	42/100

Sections 8.2, 8.3, and 8.4 will now provide a detailed specification of the sequential contexts in which Valerie used *that’s right*. Given that previous research has primarily associated *that’s right* with confirming, confirmation environments seem an appropriate starting point for these analyses. Sections 8.3 and 8.4 will then examine stance-taking and other environments respectively.

8.2 Confirmation environments

As was detailed in Chapter 7, *that’s right* has been commonly characterised as a practice for doing confirming. In these environments, the recipient of a turn-for-confirmation

⁵As will be demonstrated below, there are a handful of instances where classification is not entirely clear cut, but the overall patterns are robust.

⁶ The term “composite” is derived from Schegloff (2007c, p. 127).

is cast as having epistemic authority, even if both interactants have some access to the particulars of the matters-at-hand (cf. Schegloff, 1996a). The construction of epistemic asymmetry in Valerie's favour was therefore the primary criterion used for coding prior turns as designed-for-confirmation. This variant of *that's right* was, perhaps surprisingly, relatively uncommon in the core collection. Although any conclusions drawn about this type of *that's right* will therefore be preliminary (at best), a number of observations can still be registered about how Valerie used the confirming *that's right*.

8.2.1 *Yes/no* interrogatives

An appropriate point of departure for this discussion is the work of Raymond (2003) on *yes/no* interrogatives (YNIs). Raymond observed that FPPs with interrogative components generate multiple constraints for the production of SPPs. First, most generally, YNIs make relevant the production of either a *yes* or a *no*. Second, YNIs set in motion distinct actional and grammatical preference structures. On the grammatical side, speakers can manipulate the polarity of YNIs to prefer either a *yes* or *no* in the SPP, quite aside from (though often sensitive to) the preference structure of the action that is being undertaken. For example, the polarity of *are you coming over?* prefers a *yes*, while *aren't you coming over?* prefers a *no*. Hence, YNIs strongly project the form that responsive turns should take, and essentially restrict recipients to a binary choice (i.e. *yes* or *no*). If a recipient embraces these constraints (i.e. produces a SPP involving *yes* or *no*), they will have produced a "type-conforming response"; if not, (i.e. they produce something other a *yes* or *no*), they will have produced a "non-conforming response". By selecting a type-conforming response, a recipient:

...accepts the terms and the presuppositions embodied in a YNI. That is, type conforming responses accept the design of a YNI—and the action it delivers—as adequate, while non-conforming responses treat the design of a YNI—and the action it delivers—as problematic in some way. (Raymond, 2003, p. 949)

There is a preference for the production of type-conforming responses to YNIs. This is reflected by their frequency relative to non-conforming responses, and the consequences of their non-production. YNIs are designed by speakers, in the first place, for the very purpose of eliciting type-conforming responses from particular recipients. Given that, overwhelmingly, speakers will have successfully designed YNIs for an interactional here-and-now, recipients will have fewer opportunities to respond using non-conforming responses, because the design of most YNIs will not offer grounds upon which they can be contested (Raymond, 2003, p.

950)⁷. As such, Raymond (2003, p. 947) claimed that type-conforming responses are the “default response form” for YNIs. Selecting one response type over another also promotes differing sequential trajectories. Specifically, type-conforming responses promote sequence closure, while non-conforming responses often engender sequence expansion. The choice between type- or non-conforming responses, therefore, provides recipients with an intricate resource for embracing or resisting the design and/or actions advanced by YNIs.

8.2.2 Confirmable turns and *that’s right*

Confirmable turns are often designed as declaratives appended with a tag (e.g. *that’s your car isn’t it?*). Speakers of confirmable turns make stronger claims to knowledge of a recipient’s circumstances than do speakers of YNIs, while still casting the recipient as properly knowledgeable. In Heritage and Raymond’s (in press) terms, the epistemic gradient between speakers and hearers is much steeper for YNIs. These epistemic conditions also have consequences for the selection of subsequent actions. Most prominently, confirmable turns project agreement/disagreement in the immediately following turn, whereas YNIs do not. Thus, although confirmable FPPs often utilise interrogative components that can project a *yes* or a *no*, they impose distinct constraints on the production of SPPs (Raymond, 2003, p. 944). On the evidence available in this dataset, *that’s right* has two principal characteristics as a practice for confirming. First, unlike epistemically weak responses such as *yes/yeah*, a recipient can use *that’s right* to make an explicit claim to knowledge of the matters-at-hand, thereby embracing the epistemic authority indexed by a confirmable turn (cf. Gardner, 2001, 2007; Stivers, 2005). Second, unlike repetitional confirmations, which can be used to contest aspects of a turn’s design (e.g. Schegloff, 1996a; Stivers, 2005), *that’s right* can be heard as strongly aligning with the prior turn, and ratifying its design and action.

A canonical example of a confirmable turn met with *that’s right* is shown below in Extract 8.4. Here, Kath proffered for confirmation an assertion about the activities of Valerie’s son and his family.

Extract 8.4 [051604] (38:37 - 38:46)

```

-> 001  K  cause they’re on easter h↑oliday now a:ren’t they, with
-> 002      the [children.]
=> 003  V      [°that’s r]ight.°
    004      (0.3)
    005  K  ye:s ↑WHEre did they go?
```

⁷ Raymond (2003, p. 950) continued: “Since the connection between the principle of recipient-design and type-conformity lies at the heart of the preference for type-conforming responses (and the social organization managed though the range of practices named by it) this connection should be made explicit.”

006 [(1.3)
007 [[(K & V gaze at each other))
007 V fiji?
008 (0.3)
009 K .HH ↑↑OUW:: lovely:: °hh°

Valerie's confirmation via *that's right* embraced who she had been proposed to be by the prior turn (Raymond, 2003, p. 963), and explicitly indexed that she was knowledgeable of her family members' holiday activities. As well, *that's right* did not contest the design or action of the confirmable turn (cf. Stivers, 2005), nor point towards prior conveyance of the matters addressed (cf. Schegloff, 1996a). As such, it promoted sequence closure⁸.

The strength of *that's right* as practice for embracing the design and action of confirmable turns is also evident in Extracts 8.5 and 8.6. Extract 8.5 involves Valerie recasting her response in its course so as to avoid ratifying the prior turn's design⁹. Here, Kath was about to enter into Valerie's address book the details of a man that Valerie had been trying to contact.

Extract 8.5 [062304] (10:20 - 11:21)

```

001 K .hh ↓do you want met' write this address in here?
002 (0.2)
003 V ye:s alright,
004 [(1.2)
    [((K puts down a newsletter she is holding))
005 K [°>u-<° what dy' want it under.
    [((gazes down to the address book & opens it))
006 [(1.2) [(0.7)
    [((K gazes at the book)) [((then back to V))
007 V da[ve_
    [((K gazes back down to the book))
008 [(0.7)
    [((K gazes at the book))
009 K [-d- -d- f'r david.
    [((gazing at the book))
010 [(1.8)
    [((K begins to turn the pages))
011 K °okay, °
012 [(10.2)
    [((K turns to the correct page & prepares to write))
-> 013 K [(the) children 've written all over this b:ook
    [((gazing down & preparing to write))
-> 014 haven't? the:y,
-> 015 [(1.7)
    [((K writes in the book))
=> 016 V that's ri(hheh) terrible,
017 [(32.2)
    [((K reads the address aloud as she writes it down))

```

⁸ Kath's minimally post-expansive *yes* at 5 was followed by a new FPP.

⁹ Because Valerie alters the shape of her turn before *right* is fully realised, there is a little uncertainty as to whether she was in fact going to produce *that's right*. However, given the audible beginning of the vowel in *right*, and the fact that Kath's turn made confirmation relevant, it seems likely that she was.

Extract 8.5 is unusual in the core collection in that it is the only instance in which *that's right* occurred in the same turn as an assessment. This is not the only unusual feature of this stretch of talk. For example, the delay between Kath's confirmable turn and Valerie's response was particularly lengthy, and the target of Kath's comment may not be immediately transparent. As such, the "thick particulars" (Lerner, 2003, p. 190) of this interactive scene require further explication for the import of Valerie's response(s) at 16 to be fully appreciated. As Kath looked through Valerie's address book, she saw messy handwriting throughout, and credited it to *the children* (presumably, Valerie's grandchildren). In fact, the messy writing in the book was Valerie's; its child-like appearance the result of using her left hand (due to right-sided paralysis). The pause then, appears most likely attributable to some difficulty on Valerie's part in understanding the import of Kath's turn¹⁰. By aborting confirming Kath's turn with *that's right*, Valerie resisted the presupposition that it was in fact *the children* who had written in the book. Instead, she altered the shape of her turn so that it delivered an independent stance on the matters-at-hand, rather than agreement.

In Extract 8.6, Kath treated Valerie's use of *that's right* as endorsing the design and action of a confirmable turn, but treated *yes* as more indeterminate. Previously, Valerie and Kath had been discussing how Valerie's watch came to be reversed (see Chapter 4, Extract 4.13).

Extract 8.6 [051604] (20:51 - 21:05)

```

001  K  °.hh° yeah. .hh >en uh-< i guess your (.) wrist is
002      getting a bit smaller?
003      (0.2)
-> 004  V  ye[:(s);
005  K  [.hh >en it< slips round?
=> 006  V  that's right,
007  K  .hh ↑HOW THAT- (.) HOW THAT keeps going on i- .hh ↑↑aw
008      w'll wait a moment ↓dean put a new b:attery in didn't
009      he;
010      (0.3)
-> 011  V  yes.
012  K  or someb'dy did,
```

Kath produced confirmable utterances at lines 1-2, 5, and 8-9, but Valerie only met the one at 5 with *that's right*. Of particular interest here is how Kath heard Valerie's *yeses* at 4 and 11. In the former instance, Kath continued to pursue her confirmable turn with an increment; in the latter, she did not treat Valerie's response as firmly establishing that Dean did in fact

¹⁰ The pressure for Valerie to respond was also likely depressed by Kath's engagement in writing.

replace the watch battery, i.e. she heard it as epistemically weak¹¹. By contrast, Kath treated Valerie's *that's right* at 6 as authoritatively settling how Valerie's watch came to be displaced, and she moved onto other matters via a new FPP at 7. Thus, in Extracts 8.5 and 8.6, both Valerie and Kath demonstrably oriented to the strength of *that's right* as a practice for embracing the design of, and actions implemented by, confirmable turns.

Extracts 8.7 and 8.8 provide some evidence that Valerie did not use *that's right* when the action implemented by a confirmable turn was problematic or equivocal. Extract 8.7 is located towards (what would turn out to be) the close of some topic talk relating to Betty's difficulties reading due to macular degeneration.

Extract 8.7 [072910] (13:28 - 13:47)

```

001  B  i couldn't see.
002      (0.4)
003  K  m[m:..]
004  V  [no:..]
005      (0.4)
006  B  °en° (0.4) it won't get any better you see b't s(t)ill,
-> 007  K  no:.. .hh b't [va- valerie listens ] t' the radio=
-> 008  V      [(w'll you never know)]
-> 009  K  =alot; don't you,
=> 010  V  mm:..
011  K  °.h° ↑(you're a:) you- you l:ike, (.) -2-p-d-, or
012      -2-v-m-;
013      (0.2)
014  V  -p-d-.
015      (.)
016  B  th[a-
017  K      [-p-d-,
018      (0.3)
019  B  °me [too.°]
020  V      [ °ye]s.°=
021  B  =me too.=
022  K  =mm:..
023  B  go[od.]
024  V      [ m]m:..
025      (0.8)
026  K  m[m:
027  B      [well we've got something in common.
028      (0.3)
029  V  that's right [ ye:]s,
030  K      [yeah]
031      (.)
032  K  i- I have all my radios at home, .hh i've gotta ...

```

There are a number of possible grounds for Valerie's reluctance to align with Kath's confirmable turn at 7/9. First, Kath overran Valerie's attempt to continue pursuing talk concerning Betty's vision. Second, Kath's topic talk initiation was a rather forceful attempt to thrust Valerie into primary speakership; a role that often resulted in trouble. Alternatively,

¹¹ As well, the prosodic flatness of Valerie's *yes* was rather ill-fitted to Kath's prosodically variable prior turn. In combination with the pause at 10, this likely accentuated the indeterminateness of her response.

because of the overlap, Valerie may not have clearly heard or understood Kath's turn. Therefore, responding with *that's right* would have either represented an endorsement of Kath's aggressive bid to initiate a new spate of topic talk, or a risky claim to adequate appreciation of the prior turn. By contrast, the neutrality of *mm* helped Valerie gently navigate this rather vexed environment (cf. Gardner, 2001).

In Extract 8.8, it seems that Valerie resisted responding with *that's right* because the course of action projected by Evelyn's confirmable turn was not yet clear. Just prior to this talk, Valerie had been attempting to tell Evelyn a story, but was unable to remember the name of a protagonist, and abandoned the telling.

Extract 8.8 [023103] (09:57 - 10:30)

```

001  V  °mm.°
002      (2.2)
-> 003  E  .hh so tho- °y-° THO library books you get- (0.5) you
-> 004      get those regularly do you¿=
=> 005  V  =ye[s.
006  E      [d'you need big print books?
          [(V wipes her nose with a tissue))
007      [(0.4)
          [(V takes the tissue away from her face))
008  E  [do you use big print?          or [not.
          [(V silently moves her mouth)) [
009  V                                          [↑aw ye::s;
010  E  mm?
011      (0.3)
012  E  >they [haf t' be] big print?<
013  V      [mm:          ]
014  V  [(0.4)          ye:[s; ( ) some (are) there.
          [(nod))          [(gazes & points to books))
015  E  okay; cause k:en works for HOPEline now doing the book
016      sorting;
017  V  ah:w y[e:s,
018  E      [en they <do get large print books, b't eh>
019      what [sorta books dy' like t' read,=
020  V      [oh: ( )
021  V  =°mm:.°
022      (0.3)
-> 023  E  what sort've if uh- >keep get 'im to keep< an e:ye out
-> 024      for you,
025  V  (°°.hh°°) autobiogra[(phy) ((voicing fading))
026  E                                          [au:tobiogra[phies, o]kay large=
027  V                                          [(°mm hm°)]
=> 028  E  =print autobiographies. i'll >put a< or:der [in.]
029  V                                          [mm.]

```

Evelyn's confirmable turn at 3-4 would turn out to be a pre-offer (Schegloff, 2007c, p. 34-36) that culminated in the (rather covert) initiation of a base FPP at 23. While there are a range of responses throughout Extract 8.8 that are of interest, the primary concern in the context of the present discussion is why the confirmable turn at 3-4 received only a lone, prosodically flat *yes*, rather than *that's right*. The key factor appears to be the pre-ness of Evelyn's confirmable turn. Specifically, the work being done by Evelyn's confirmable turn was potentially unclear.

Was it a base FPP, or was it (as it turned out to be), a pre-expansion? If the latter, what would it be “pre” to (an offer, request, telling)? As such, it would have been somewhat fraught for Valerie to strongly align via *that’s right* when the nature of the actions being implemented was still somewhat opaque. An assenting *yes* was much more suited to the task.

8.2.3 Summary and discussion: Section 8.2

This section has addressed Valerie’s use (and non-use) of *that’s right* in response to confirmable turns. In sum, the analyses presented suggest that the confirming *that’s right* embraces the epistemic authority indexed by a confirmable turn, explicitly claims knowledge of the matters-at-hand, and ratifies the prior turn’s design and action. Before proceeding to the mutual stance *that’s right*, however, some general comments on confirming as an action are in order. While the present study has only used the term “confirming” to describe agreements in response to turns that index a recipient’s epistemic authority, other authors have used it more inclusively (e.g. Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Stivers, 2005). For example, Stivers (2005) characterised modified repeats as doing confirming although first position actions did not (strongly, or at all) point towards a recipient’s knowledge of the matters-at-hand. The point here isn’t to nitpick terminological inconsistencies, but to reflect on what confirming is, and what motivates an analyst to call something “confirming” rather than (or in addition to) some other description¹². If the present study had followed this terminological lead, the differences between confirmation and stance-taking environments would have been obscured. What the confirming *that’s right*, the mutual stance *that’s right*, and Stivers’ (2005) modified repeats all have in common is that they are second position actions that index a recipient’s knowledge, while agreeing with a first position action. Perhaps “agreement” is, therefore, a better starting point for analytic characterisations of these responses, followed by technical descriptions of their varying epistemic claims. It may turn out that the term “confirming” (and its intuitive connotations) is best omitted in aid of analytic clarity and specificity. In any case, future investigation of the confirming *that’s right* requires the development of a more differentiated and nuanced conception of confirming (if confirming is to prove a viable technical construct). As well, an account of this practice should examine how the actions confirmable turns are engaged in and the grammatical shape of the confirmable turn (e.g. declarative vs. [declarative + tag]) contribute to recipients’ response selection (see Heritage and Raymond, 2005, p. 26, for some discussion of the latter). Thus, further study of the confirming *that’s right* must be supported by a fuller description of what confirming is, how it is done, and where it occurs.

¹² Nor should it be read as a criticism of Stivers’ (2005) lucid analyses of modified repeats.

8.3 Stance-taking environments

By far the most common way that Valerie used *that's right* was in response to stance-taking by her conversation partners. This environment provides an interesting contrast to confirmation environments because the epistemic conditions were typically inverted. That is, Valerie's conversation partners had been telling her about the goings-on in their lives and, as such, had authority over the matters-at-hand. The analyses to follow will provide evidence that Valerie's used *that's right* to agree with her conversation partner's reported stance. When Valerie did so, she claimed independent knowledge relating to the matters-at-hand, and aligned with the prior turn, but did not claim epistemic authority, nor undermine the prior turn's design or action. Instead, she used *that's right* to claim epistemic access and rights, while ratifying the design and action of the prior turn, thereby promoting interpersonal affiliation.

8.3.1 Mutual stance

This study will adopt Du Bois' (2007) definition of stance(-taking) as:

...a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field. (p. 163)

Du Bois (2007) characterised "positioning" as subject (actor)-centric and "evaluating" as object-centric, with "alignment" concerning the relationship between social actors' stances (i.e. agreement/disagreement¹³). When speakers position themselves, they are setting out their "responsibility for a stance" (e.g. epistemically and/or affectively) (Du Bois, 2007, p. 143). When evaluating, speakers are assigning a "specific quality or value" to a stance object (ibid). From a conversation-analytic perspective, this definition of stance-taking implicates a number of different action types, while excluding some others. This study will follow Stivers (2005, p. 132) in glossing one set of actions that it encompasses as "assertions". Asserting actions can explicitly implicate a speaker's evaluative perspective, (e.g. Extract 8.9), or their perspective on facticity (e.g. Extract 8.16, lines 21-22) or their affective state (e.g. Extract 8.19, line 11), or some combination of these (e.g. Extract 8.20). Stance-taking by Valerie's conversation

¹³ It should be noted that Du Bois was careful to state that this is not a polar contrast.

partners was accomplished via assertions of various kinds¹⁴. On the other hand, there are actions that interactants do not treat as involving stance-taking, as defined in this way. For example, delivering the empirical details of a telling can convey a speaker's perspective on the matters-at-hand, but agreement/disagreement by a (naive) recipient is not typically projected, nor available, as response.

Turns prior to *that's right* were therefore coded as "stance-taking" if they had the following features: 1) the turn did not cast Valerie as authoritatively knowledgeable; 2) the turn cast the current speaker as knowledgeable; 3) the turn involved the current speaker explicitly adopting a perspective relating to the matters-at-hand; and 4) agreement/disagreement with the proffered stance was possible, if not relevant, in the following turn.

In Extract 8.9, Kath put forward a stance via an assessment, and Valerie responded with *that's right*. This was the most common asserting action that preceded the mutual stance *that's right*. Here, talk had turned towards Greg, a young male acquaintance of the interactants, who they had all encountered not long before the recording began.

Extract 8.9 [072910] (00:15 - 00:31)

```

001 V no: °e-° i wa- referring to his .hh hair,=
002 K =.hh oh(hw) dts- greg's hair:, y[e:s, ]
003 V [beaut'ful.]
004 K .hh [ye:s it's (.)] beautiful isn't it,=
      [((gazing at B))
005 B [°beautiful.° ]
006 B =↑lovely for a b[oy?↑]
-> 007 K [ANY ] (.) ANY GIRL WOULD (0.2)
-> 008 [DIE F'R THAT][wouldn't they.]
      [ [((gazes to V))]]
009 B [↑↑YE:S:↑↑ ] [ ]
=> 010 V [ ( ) ] [(th)at's r]i:ght,
011 (.)
012 B h'e's such a↑ nice young [man. ]
013 K [he's a l]ovely young
014 f[ellow. .hh] he's a ...
015 V [ye:s, ]

```

Kath's assessment at 7-8 severely constrained the responses available to Betty and Valerie. The rather extreme stance (Pomerantz, 1986) she adopted meant that upgraded, agreeing second assessments would have likely been heard as absurd, or even mocking. On the other hand, had Valerie or Betty produced assessments that drew upon different, less extreme lexical items, they might have been heard as downgrading, which is regularly implicated in

¹⁴ This rather intuitive characterisation is not ideal, but will have to suffice in the absence of a more detailed account for these actions (assessments being the obvious exception). Moreover, this highlights a significant pitfall of using linguistic form as an analytic point of departure, rather than action.

incipient disagreement (Pomerantz, 1984). Further, if they simply agreed with the assessment via an acknowledging *yes*, or receipted it with *mm* (cf. Gardner, 2001), the whiff of disagreement may have been even stronger. An alternative to upgrading and downgrading is making the same evaluation (e.g. Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Pomerantz, 1984; Sorjonen & Hakulinen, 2009; Stivers, 2005) and this was, roughly, the course that both Valerie and Betty took. Although Betty ostensibly produced only an agreeing *yes*, she matched (or even exceeded) the extremities of Kath's prosody, effectively claiming Kath's assessment as her own. Valerie's *that's right*, while not as prosodically marked as Betty's *yes*, similarly duplicated Kath's stance. Thus, instead of producing her own, independent assessment of Greg's hair, Valerie used *that's right* to implement a claim of mutual stance between herself, Kath, and Betty.

Mutual stance claims via *that's right* are also evident in Extract 8.10. Here, Valerie, Kath, and Betty had been talking about the federal government's policies relating to people seeking asylum in Australia.

Extract 8.10 [072910] (16:07 - 16:34)

```

001 B it- it's got the (government).
002 (0.3)
003 K ye::s,
004 B en they won't admit it;
005 (0.5)
006 V no,
007 (0.3)
008 B dreadful.=
-> 009 K =w'll mister howard had it- (0.3) down
-> 010 [pat °↑(didn't)↑°]
=> 011 V [↑that's ri:gh]t, ye:s,
012 (0.6)
013 K ↑h[e had] it down pat;
014 B [b't ]
015 (.)
016 K (he'd do [a FAR- MUCH BE-) ]
017 B [b't you CAN'T COMPARE,]
018 (.)
019 B you CAN't com- p(h)- compare- m: mister howard with
020 these lunatics.
021 K ↑o(h) (.) no.
022 (0.4)
023 B o(h)h
024 K no,
025 B s:'is: (.) dreadful [government. ]
-> 026 K [all they c'n] do is t' (.) throw
-> 027 money around.=
-> 028 B =ex[actly. ]
=> 029 V [(at's) right,]
030 (0.3)
031 K throw money around.
032 B dr[eadful. ]

```

Valerie responded to two of Kath's assertions in Extract 8.10 using *that's right*. The first claimed that the previous government handled the issue of asylum seekers well (i.e. *Mister Howard had it down pat*), and the second derided the present government's spendthrift tendencies (i.e. *all they can do is t' thrown money around*). These assertions projected agreement/disagreement in the following turn. The selection of an agreeing response, however, was far less vexed than it was in Extract 8.9. A number of different agreeing responses were potentially available for Valerie to use in these instances. Betty's *exactly* at 29 in overlap with Valerie's *at's right* demonstrates as much, showing that either of these responses was appropriate for the sequential context furnished by Kath's assertion. Analytically, then, the question becomes: what was Valerie doing when she agreed via *that's right*, and why select it over other practices for agreeing?

A more detailed treatment of the stance-taking environments in which Valerie used *that's right* will be now be undertaken. In particular, the epistemic and actional conditions set out by prior turns will be examined and, in doing so, the discussion will elucidate the claims *that's right* was used to make along these lines. It will be argued that Valerie's use of *that's right* in response to stance-taking turns made strong and simultaneous claims of epistemic access and rights and alignment with the prior action, which worked to promote interpersonal affiliation.

8.3.2 Epistemic access and rights

Stivers (2005, p. 133) suggested that *yes* and its variants are amongst the most neutral methods for agreeing. These tokens simply do agreeing, and do not make explicit claims relating to the responding interactant's knowledge of the matters-at-hand. Following Heritage (2002), Stivers (2005) also noted that they were vulnerable to being heard as manufactured on the spot; as agreeing simply because agreement/disagreement was occasioned by the prior turn. To insulate against this, interactants can implement practices to show that they know the matters-at-hand independently, and that their agreement originates outside an interactional here-and-now (cf. Heritage, 2002; Stivers, 2005).

Previous work has consistently implicated *that's right* in agreement and claims to knowledge (e.g. Clift, 2005; Gardner, 2001, 2007; Heritage, 1984a; Schegloff, 1996a). Hence, when Valerie responded with *that's right*, she was claiming that the stance advanced by her conversation partner was knowable for her as well. However, what she knew, and how she knew it, was left unexplicated. The indexicality of *that's right* meant that the nature of the epistemic claims put forward by Valerie was left for others to infer via reference to the prior turn, and other mutually available resources (cf. Stivers, 2005, p. 141).

Extract 8.9 is unusual amongst stance-taking turns in this data set because the stance object (i.e. Greg's hair) was symmetrically available to all the interactants, and no interactant had authority over it. More commonly, Valerie's conversation partners had authority over the matters-at-hand. A number of factors contributed to this asymmetry, often concurrently. First, because agreement is inherently a second-position action (Stivers, 2005), *that's right* was always heard relative to the firstness of the prior stance, and the claim to primary rights it implies. Second, the turns Valerie met with *that's right* regularly concerned her conversation partners' life worlds, i.e. matters that they knew best. Third, having lived in a nursing home for more than a decade, Valerie was unlikely to have recent, direct experience with many of the matters targeted by her conversation partners' stance-taking. In some cases, she may have had no experience of them at all (e.g. current films, newer technologies). Thus, Valerie's agreements were vulnerable to being heard as implausible or inappropriate due to her mediated experience, and/or subordinate rights. It is against this backdrop that Valerie's claims to knowledge were recurrently proffered, and interpreted by her conversation partners.

When Valerie responded with *that's right*, it invited her conversation partners to infer what she was claiming to know, and how she knew it. If *that's right* could not be heard as a credible claim to knowledge of the particulars addressed by the prior stance, this encouraged her conversation partners to hear *that's right* as invoking knowledge that Valerie could lay credible claim to. In these circumstances, Valerie regularly used *that's right* to claim that the prior stance was drawing upon commonsense knowledge that she held as a competent member of the culture. Further, *that's right* worked to claim that, not only was the prior stance knowable for her, its commonsensical availability meant that she had sufficient rights to adopt the same stance as her conversation partner. As noted above, the nature of the knowledge drawn upon—that is, the membership, or identity it invoked—was left unexplicated, but inferable.

In summary, then, claiming independent knowledge can insulate agreements against being heard as hollow, but this brings into question what interactants know, and how they know it. *That's right* claims independent knowledge, but leaves its basis unexplicated. Valerie's subordinate epistemic status recurrently encouraged her conversation partners to hear her claims to epistemic access and rights as originating in her commonsense knowledge.

Valerie's claims to commonsense knowledge via *that's right* were most transparent when stance-taking turns explicitly utilised membership categories (cf. Sacks, 1972a, b; Schegloff, 2007b). This is because, by their very nature, they invoke aspects of members' shared culture. Just prior to Extract 8.11, Wendy had been telling Valerie about her accommodation plans for an upcoming overseas trip.

Extract 8.11 [013103] (15:18 - 15:49)

001 W b't ↑tha- tha't's:,↑ (0.4) been a bit difficult,
 002 >because< .hh eh:m (.) when i w's-=looking fer
 003 accommodation, .hh in- (0.2) in:. portsmouth; °.hh° ehm
 004 (0.3) .tk there's no longer ehm:, (.) a british:, (.)
 005 tourist, (0.6) (.tk)
 006 V ↑(oh[:.])
 007 W [bureau. .hh i mean [that's dreadf]ul inn'it-,]
 008 V [(at's) sh:]tra:nge]
 009 V yeah:,
 -> 010 W everyb'dy gets on the internet now:; [.hh en] people=
 011 V [*mm:;*]
 -> 012 W ='re- .hh .hh every year now we're gettin' left f'er-
 -> 013 further en fur[ther behind, [↓yeh.]
 => 014 V [that's right(t) [(m:M)]
 015 (5.0)

Wendy reported difficulty finding holiday accommodation because a government agency she had presumably used in the past had now become defunct. Her assessment at 7 (and Valerie's overlapping one at 8) signalled potential withdrawal from the empirical details of this telling. Wendy expanded her stance-taking at 10 and 12-13, and she put forward two contrasting categories. She asserted that *everybody gets on the internet* and that *we're getting left further and further behind*. The first category (*everybody*) was not self-referential given that, unlike Wendy, members of this category use the internet. The second category she proffered was *people*, but this was quickly replaced with the self-referential category *we*. At this point, the scope of this category was potentially ambiguous. Did it refer to "people who don't book accommodation over the internet", or "people who don't use the internet in general", or some other cohort of which Wendy was a member? By responding with *that's right*, Valerie treated Wendy's stance as properly knowable for her too, thereby locating the category *we* in a broader, commonsense epistemic territory, outside the particulars of Wendy's telling. Thus, Valerie used *that's right* to invoke the categorical resources available in prior talk, and invited Wendy to infer how the matters-at-hand were knowable for her. In doing so, Valerie provided evidence that she heard these categories as being grounded in knowledge that she properly held.

A similar pattern is evident in Extract 8.12. But, rather than elaborating the nature of a category, Valerie's use of *that's right* helped establish the prior stance as categorical. Here, Kath had been telling a story about a car service that was booked to take her and a friend to a medical appointment, but didn't arrive on time.

Extract 8.12 [041004] (29:00 - 29:22)

001 K so: (.) i said well-, (.) now- i've still got time t'
002 get down t' eun[gai;
003 V [ye:s
004 (1.0)
005 K uhm (0.2) i could do the back route.
006 (1.3)
007 K en >she said< w'll we can't j'st (.) go en leave it, en
008 i said [w'll if they don't appear on time, .hh=
009 V [°(mm hm)°
-> 010 K =we['ll have to; °.h° <you can't keep=
011 V [yes,
-> 012 K =[the> (0.3)] a [surgeon wai:ting.
=> 013 V [that's right,] [(°mm:°)
014 (0.7)
015 V mm:,=
016 K =so:, (0.4) we jumped in the c- (.) my car(h), en i
017 drove her down there.

At this stage in Kath's story, she and her friend (Sonia) were deciding whether to continue waiting for the car service, or transport themselves to the appointment. Kath's reported speech encapsulates the difference of opinion between them; she argued in favour of driving themselves, while Sonia wanted to keep waiting. Kath then provided a rationale for abandoning the car service, which Valerie receipted with *that's right*. For a scientific observer, the ambiguity of the pronoun *you* at 10 is of immediate interest. That is, it was hearable as referring to Sonia in the telling-world, as well as any competent person (i.e. *one mustn't keep surgeons waiting*, cf. Scheibman, 2007). There is evidence that the interactants also oriented to this layering. Valerie's production of *that's right* suggests that she heard Kath's talk as more than another empirical detail of the telling, and that agreement was a possible next-action. Her early entry into Kath's turn space also coincided with a change in the shape of Kath's turn; from likely projecting *the surgeon* to the final realisation *a surgeon*. The shift here appears to have been, loosely, from "the surgeon we were going to see" to "any surgeon anyone goes to see". Thus, it seems that Kath altered her emerging turn to better fit Valerie's epistemic claim, i.e. to make her stance hearably categorical. Extract 8.12, therefore, provides evidence that Kath oriented to the epistemic claims embodied by *that's right* as originating in Valerie's commonsense knowledge.

Extracts 8.11 and 8.12 have demonstrated how Valerie used *that's right* to claim that a prior stance was drawing upon commonsense knowledge. These examples involved stance-taking that explicitly utilised membership categories. In Extract 8.13, however, category was not explicitly coded in the stance-taking turn prior to *that's right*. Here, Kath had been reporting on a conversation with her daughter, Fay, about the activities of Bob, Kath's

grandson. Bob was in his twenties at the time of recording, and had been working interstate while living with his girlfriend and her mother.

Extract 8.13 [051604] (47:40 - 48:08)

```

001 K b't uhm. (0.4) °°( )°° (1.1) (a:-) (.) alisha's mother
002 h's gone away,
003 (0.2)
004 V ye:s.
005 (0.3)
006 K for a- (.) two week's holiday. .hh so:; (0.5) °↓ahm↓°
007 bobby en alisha 've got the house t' themselves.
008 V [nh[u:h, ]
009 K [ °tch°
    [((moves head vertically & rolls eyes quickly))
010 [(1.0)
    [((K withdraws gaze, & does a small, quick headshake))
011 V huh [hu:]
012 K [ h]hh
013 [(0.6)
    [((K continues to look away from V))
014 V (ah:.)
015 (0.3)
016 K >(un) i: said< ohw i see,
017 [(.)
    [((K returns gaze to V))
018 K [i mean ↑wha- what↑ >do i< s↓ay:..↓=
    [((moves hand down from face to her side, & holds palm
    out towards V))
019 V =ye:s;=
-> 020 K =i don't- (.) i mean, (.) i think it's all wrong
-> 021 t' be hon[est. ]
=> 022 V [that's] ri:ght,
    [((nods down & up))
023 [(0.3)
    [((V nods))
024 V [mm:(,) ]
    [((continues nodding))]
025 [(1.0)
    [((K & V gaze at each other))
026 K °.h° en i said, (0.3) have they seen anything of
027 melissa en steven ...

```

Kath's delivery of the "controversial" news at 7 was met immediately with a laugh token from Valerie. Kath's click and non-vocal behaviour (e.g. eye rolling, withdrawal of gaze, long out-breath) signified her disapproval, which Valerie receipted with further laughs, and a non-lexical vocalisation. Kath emphatically assessed the situation at 20, claiming that it was *all wrong*¹⁵. She followed this with an "honesty phrase", which can be used to intensify evaluation, and assert genuineness and independence in environments where joint stance is

¹⁵ Responding with *that's right* in this environment might seem somewhat odd given that it could potentially be heard as agreeing with "what Kath thinks", and this is not open for agreement/disagreement. This is mostly an artefact of *that's right*'s indexicality; a repetitional agreement utilising evidentials (e.g. *I should think so too*) seems eminently usable as a response here. See Section 8.6.3 for some elaboration on this point.

implicated (Edwards & Fasulo, 2006)¹⁶. Together, Kath's assessment and her honesty phrase underscored the seriousness of this situation, and perhaps contrasted with the rather playful treatment that Valerie had given it in prior talk.

Here, Kath was unambiguously speaking on her own behalf about people and happenings that she knew best, but Valerie still chose to respond with *that's right*. By agreeing in this way, Valerie treated Kath's stance-taking as grounded in knowledge that she also held and, therefore, that she had the right to adopt this particular perspective too. Although it is not overtly mentioned in the talk, one may be tempted to delimit the nature of Valerie's claims in Extract 8.13, e.g. traditional values, religion, or mistrust of young people. However, the indexicality of *that's right* left this unexplicated. Instead, what was key for the interactants (and for analysts) was that Valerie's epistemic claims were inferentially permeable without further expansion of the sequence in aid of repair, or explication of the commonsense knowledge that they were grounded in (Stokoe, 2010).

Extract 8.14 demonstrates that Valerie avoided using *that's right* in environments where the matters-at-hand were located in non-commonsense epistemic territories protected by a relevant social identity. Like Extract 4.1, Kath had been telling Valerie about her decision to give her granddaughter (Alice) a substantial amount of money for an overseas trip.

Extract 8.14 [041004] (51:57 - 52:33)

```

001 K  so:, (.) i said w'll, (0.8) <j'st don't tell: bob,> or
002 let him know i've. °f-° funded alice;
003 (0.4)
004 V  ye:s,
005 [(1.1)
      [(K swallows & gazes at V, while V smiles & nods))
006 K  *so:- (.) uhm,* (0.6)
007 V  aw >it w's< very nice: of you,
-> 008 K  .hh (0.3) ↑well valerie u:hm (0.3) °.hhh° she's a v:ery
-> 009 good girl ↓that gran[ddaughter] of mine.
=> 010 V                                     [yea(h). ]
011 (0.2)
-> 012 K  s'ch a contrast to her brother.=
=> 013 V  =(°m[m:.°)
014 K      [KKghh (0.4) [huh
      [(V smiles))
015 [(0.5)
      [(K gazes down))
016 K  .hh ↑$that's uhm,$ .hh i- it- (1.1) i mean, (.) if it
017 gives her happiness now, it's far better th'n .hh when
018 i've gone i:sn't it.
019 (0.2)
=> 020 V  that's right;
021 (.)
022 V  ye:s,
023 (0.3)
024 K  °mm:,°

```

¹⁶ It should be noted that Edwards and Fasulo (2006) examined pre-positioned honesty phrases in assessment environments (e.g. *quite honestly*, *I think he's dreadful*), but the example above is post-positioned.

025 (0.5)
 026 V b't she (d:ɒn't) (0.2) getting, (0.4) any work? over
 027 there?

Valerie would have heard about the activities of Kath's grandchildren many times over the years that she and Kath had known one another. As such, she would have had a reasonable basis for developing either an independent stance relating to them, or for claiming that Kath's stances at 8-9 and 12 were mutual. But, in response to Kath's positive evaluation of Alice, Valerie produced only *yeah*. She also receipted Kath's negative evaluation of Bob with a neutral *mm*, and smiled after Kath's choke-like laugh. Unlike previous examples, the matters-at-hand (i.e. the attributes of Kath's grandchildren) were located within a privileged store of knowledge outside commonsensicality (cf. Raymond & Heritage, 2006). To use *that's right* in this environment might therefore have been heard as claiming rights incongruent with Valerie's mediated access, and who Kath relevantly was.

One might argue that Valerie's willingness to mirror Kath's stance in Extract 8.13 undermines this analytic position, but these two examples are substantially contrastive. In Extract 8.13, Kath stated Bob's circumstances, and how the behaviour of others had led to them. Bob was not explicitly implicated in what was *all wrong*. In Extract 8.14, Kath's explicit evaluations of her grandchildren's personal attributes—Alice as *very good* and Bob as not—required a greater degree of sensitivity. Valerie's resistance to producing *that's right* in Extract 8.14 reflected the incompatibility of the claims to epistemic access and rights it would have embodied. By contrast, Kath's turn at 15-17 elaborated her perspective on giving money to Alice through a rather idiomatic assertion. By combining it with an authority-diluting tag (Heritage & Raymond, 2005), this generated a canonical environment for Valerie to claim mutual stance¹⁷.

Finally, there were a small number of instances in which Valerie's claims to epistemic access and rights were hearable as originating in territories other than her commonsense knowledge. This principally involved stance-taking turns in which Valerie's conversation partners were addressing their own activities, or those of their families. As such, responding with *that's right* made relevant Valerie's history of interaction with her conversation partners, and the knowledge she had accumulated through it. Extract 8.15 commences at the final line of Extract 8.14.

¹⁷ Kath's use of a tag here may in fact reflect Valerie's weak responses to her prior, sensitive stance-taking.

Extract 8.15 [041004] (52:29 - 53:16)

001 V b't she (d:ɒn't) (0.2) getting, (0.4) any work? over
002 there?=
003 K =°hh° (0.3) no[: , no this is- this would just be a=
004 V [(throat clear))
005 K =short ɪholi[day.
006 V [yeah,
007 (0.9)
008 K ↑I- I GUESS:: (0.3) during the:: (0.3) uni, (0.4) ɪahm
009 (0.5) v'c:ation.
010 V oah (yeah,) (1.1)
011 K °i guess.° (0.9)
012 K b't uh:m (2.3) sonia said (.) do you think fay will
013 come over this easter; >i said< ohw: n:o:, no: she
014 won't, °b'cause.° (0.4)
015 V o(hh)huhz
016 K ahm (0.2) y'know,=
017 V =°mm[: ,°
-> 020 K [her time is so prec[ious.
=> 021 V [°that's right.°
022 [(0.7)
023 K [(V nods slightly))
024 K (en) i don't expect t' see ↑(i-) i don't worry about
025 not seeing fay_ [(0.7)
026 [(a door slams in the background, possibly obscuring a
response token from V))
-> 027 K my: life is ↑equally full.
=> 028 V that's right, °*↑ye:s;*°
029 (1.0)
030 K equally full. (0.9)
031 K i s'p:ose i better [get (running,) [(lifts arm & looks at watch))
032 [(0.3)
033 [(V lifts her hand & gazes to her fingernails))
034 V (ohw would ye-) (0.3) fil:e that;

Kath's attempt to re-exit the ongoing talk at 14 via *b't uh:m* was followed by a long silence. Kath then produced a self-oriented topic talk initiation, in which she reported Sonia's query as to whether Fay would *come over* for Easter. Kath quickly rejected this possibility, and projected an account for this rejection using *b'cause* at 16. Valerie responded with a laugh token at 17 and, at 18, Kath's account stalled slightly. Here, Kath may have been providing Valerie with an opportunity to display her knowledge of Fay's activities, and why Kath had (in her reported speech, anyway) cast Sonia's inquiry as inapposite. While Valerie did treat this talk as seeking a response from her, she elected to produce only *mm*. This compelled Kath to deliver the account herself—that Fay's time is *so precious*—which Valerie receipted with *that's right*. Kath expanded her stance-taking at 23-24/27, asserting that she was in fact unconcerned by Fay's absence, and that her own life was *equally full*. As before, Valerie receipted this assertion with *that's right*. In each of these instances, the matters-at-hand were

not knowable to Valerie simply as a competent member of the culture. In order for her claims to epistemic access and rights to be credible, they needed to be hearable as originating in another epistemic territory. Here, it seems that Valerie used *that's right* to invoke the knowledge of Kath's (and Fay's) life circumstances that she had accumulated through her history of interaction with Kath. The scope of "history" here need not be broad. In the case of the second assertion, Kath had been demonstrating the *full*-ness of her life over the course of the ongoing interaction (e.g. her troubles with the car service, her dishwasher and plumbing malfunctioning, and caring for Sonia)¹⁸. But, as before, the precise epistemic grounding of Valerie's agreement was left unexplicated due to the indexicality of *that's right*.

This section has demonstrated how Valerie used *that's right* to claim that prior stance-taking drew upon knowledge that was properly available to her, i.e. that she had adequate epistemic access and rights. This set an inferential task for her conversation partners. It encouraged them to infer how the matters-at-hand were knowable for Valerie, i.e. the particular knowledge, and identity, it invoked. Most often, the knowledge invoked by *that's right* originated in Valerie's commonsense understandings of stance-objects. On occasion, though, it pointed towards knowledge that Valerie had accumulated through prior social engagement with her conversation partners.

8.3.3 Alignment

Like *oh*-prefaced and repetitional agreements, *that's right* simultaneously indexes a recipient's orientation towards the epistemic and actional conditions set out by prior turns. In addition to (and at the same time as) claiming epistemic access and rights, Valerie used the mutual stance *that's right* to endorse the design and action of the turn to which it was responsive, marking it as straightforwardly say-able in an interactional here-and-now. *That's right* was also found to facilitate transition. That is, Valerie used it to cast the action(s) implemented by the prior turn as complete enough for the introduction of nexts within the same, or a new sequential unit. Finally, *that's right* tended to occur towards the possible end of extended spates of other-talk. The extracts to follow will be used to demonstrate these analytic claims.

Evidence for the first actional feature identified above—that *that's right* endorses the design and action of the turn which it is responsive—can be derived from instances in which

¹⁸ There is also a sense that Kath's talk at 27 was on double duty; that perhaps Kath and Valerie came to hear it as an apt summary for much of the Kath-oriented topic talk throughout this interaction. As such, it may have provided a bridge to her turn at 32, which was aligned with the overall structural organisation of the interaction. This observation is more of a musing than a principled analytic position, but it does provide some support for the description offered above of the epistemic grounding for the second *that's right*.

Valerie agreed with her conversation partners' stance-taking using objects other than *that's right*. Extract 8.16 is taken from the latter part of the storytelling sequence shown in Extract 8.12, regarding Kath and Sonia's encounter with an errant car service. Valerie's resistance to producing *that's right* in this extract pointed toward troubles with the design and placement of Kath's stance-taking turns at 18 and 21-22.

Extract 8.16 [041004] (29:43 - 30:22)

```

001 K e(g)h (1.3) i got her there on ti:me, en he did it en
002 we went back, ↑and- .hh we didn't hear a w↑ord
003 [↓fr'm them.
    [(V makes a surprised face))
004 [(0.5)
    [(V continues surprised expression))
005 V o:h↓w;
006 (0.3)
007 V go:shɿ
008 (1.0)
009 V that's no wonder you. (0.3) drive yourself,
010 (0.4)
011 K y:es ↓so:, (.) i mean if i:- >if i hadn't didn't-<
012 (0.8) if (0.4) i didn't (0.3) hadn't had a carɿ (0.3)
013 we'dve (0.7) j'st ↑waited?↑
014 V that's r:ight,
015 (0.3)
016 K en been late f' the appointment. [at which tIme, (0.2)=
017 V [(yeah),
-> 018 K =y'know you- you can't k:eeP those people
-> 019 wait[ing.
=> 020 V [°mm[:°
-> 021 K [°.hh° they're f:- (0.4) <booked right
-> 022 ou[tɿ>
=> 023 V [°uhw° yes,
    [(1.3)
    [(K & V maintain gaze as V nods slightly, & then
    shakes her head & smiles))
024
025 K so:: hh that's [(all),
026 V [so that is not re- .hh reliable.
027 (0.2)
028 K >yeh< n:o: not at all, so: i said w'll if you ever
029 haf'to, (y-) .hh use them again, ...

```

Kath put forward assertions relating to the fullness of surgeons' schedules in both Extract 8.16 and Extract 8.12. Previously, Valerie receipted this stance-taking with *that's right*. By contrast, she met a highly similar assertion at 18 with *mm*, and then responded with *uhw yes* when Kath pursued this stance at 21-22. Given the similarity of Kath's stance-taking in these extracts, one might query why Valerie did not respond with *that's right* in Extract 8.16. Her eventual selection of *uhw yes* as a response provides significant insight into this decision. The independence-in-knowing (cf. Heritage, 2002) indexed by *oh*-prefaced responses appears, in this instance, to be pointing towards the fact that Kath and Valerie's mutual stance had already been placed on the "interactional record" earlier in the sequence. Here, Kath was

running the same stance on essentially the same premise as Extract 8.12. Valerie's use of *uhw yes* (rather than *that's right*) protested against the design and placement of Kath's turn, marking it as socioepistemically and sequentially ill-fitted.

A similar pattern is evident in Extract 8.17. Here, Kath had been reporting on a miniature tea set she had listed for auction on EBay.

Extract 8.17 [062304] (02:29 - 03:02)

001 K ↑they bid up t' two hundred en fifty seven for it.
 002 [(1.1)
 [(K & V gaze at one another; K with her mouth open, &
 003 V with her head tilted))
 004 V [fancy, °(that.)°
 [(K continues posture, but slowly leans back))
 005 K [(hhh) (0.3)
 [(continues posture))
 006 V [(it's) am:azing.
 [(K slowly narrows the openness of her mouth))
 007 (0.2)
 008 K °.hh° ↑wasn't it astonishing?↑
 009 V m[m:(,)
 010 K [so: tha- that w's that and then they- >th- the-<
 011 the buyer has t' pay the postage.
 012 V ye:s; ohw yes_
 013 (0.3)
 014 K so: (.) <↑that then< h .h w- *e*h:m >wo- i- i mean,
 015 th- b's- it w's still,< .hh ↓i got two 'undred en
 016 fifty seven do:llars for it.
 017 (0.4)
 018 V ↑w:onderful.
 019 (0.3)
 020 V ↑m:[m.
 -> 021 K [so that w's nice.
 => 022 V ↑ohw ye::s, [(2 syll) [°.hh° [(gracious)]
 023 K [that w's lovely. [(0.3) b' [cause °uh°]
 024 .h i've had a lot of exp(hh)ense l(hh)atel(h)y
 025 V y:↑e:s,

After reporting the price garnered for the tea set, Kath began a non-vocal embodiment of her shock at the highness of the bids¹⁹. Valerie produced assessments at 3 and 5, and Kath responded by reasserting her epistemic authority via the negative interrogative at 7 (cf. Heritage & Raymond, 2005). Valerie's *yes ohw yes* at 11 is perhaps the most puzzling aspect of this stretch of talk. One possibility is that the initial *yes* was a misfire, and that the *ohw yes* following was intended as a replacement. Based on its prosodic shape, the fact that it cleared the way for further expansion of Kath's telling, and that Kath had not yet explicitly told Valerie that the *buyer has to pay the postage*, it seems most likely that this *ohw yes* was newsmarking. Agreeing with Kath's assessment at 20 via *that's right* (thereby claiming

¹⁹ In isolation, this non-vocal display may seem potentially ambiguous, i.e. it could be either pleasure or disappointment with the auction price. However, in earlier parts of the telling, Kath cast the tea set as a rather mundane object, and one that she wasn't particularly fond of. In this context, the non-vocal display seems far more likely to have been embodying shocked pleasure rather than disappointment.

mutual stance) would seem appropriate given that both interactants had repeatedly established their joint perspective on the matters-at-hand. Instead, Valerie's prosodically-marked *ohw yes* at 22 (in combination with further assessment tokens) strongly underscored that her stance was held independently, and that it was already explicitly available in prior talk. In addition, Valerie's *ohw yes* was likely also addressing Kath's use of the rather tepid assessment term *nice*. Kath's upgrade to *lovely* at 23 provides some evidence that she oriented to Valerie's response in this fashion.

Oh-prefaced agreements were not the only response type that Valerie used to index issues with the design and action of her conversation partners' stance-taking turns. In Extract 8.18, Kath had been reporting at length on the worries of Sonia, who had been staying with Kath after major surgery. Sonia expressed a desire to return home as soon as possible but, according to Kath, had underestimated the degree of support she would require to care for herself properly.

Extract 8.18 [041004] (40:47 - 41:20)

```

001 K  ahm. (0.4) b't (0.7) you know, oyhh-° .hhh oyü-°
002      you've >got t' be< sensible.
003 V  m:m:
004 K  .hh >°y-° †en you °g-°< i mean, (0.2) you can:t rely
005      on other people.
006      [(0.4)
007      [(V nods))
008 V  no:,
009      [(1.0)
010      [(V nods, then turns to & reaches for her table))
011 K  †>i mean< she c'n reLY on me because i'm her friend?
012      °b't° (hh)
013      [(0.6)
014      [(V withdraws her hand & looks back to K))
015 V  ye:s,
016      (0.3)
017 K  b't you c:an't expect (0.6) y'know the other, (.)
018      [people in the] village [t' lo]ok after °her?°
019 V  [that's right.] [°mm:..°]
020      [(1.2)
021      [(K & V gaze at each other))
022 V  °mm[:..°
023      [(begins a slight head shake))
024      [(0.6)
025      [(K & V gaze at each other))
-> 026 K  [.hhh (0.3) so >we've gOt a bit of a< problem there
027      [(gazes to V's left))
-> 028      valer(h)ie.=
=> 029 V  =o'course, ye::[s.
030      [bit of a prob.
031      [(2.3)
032      [(V & K gaze at each other))
033      ((V nods slightly, then both are still))
034 K  ah[(m)
035 V  [b't y' must be tir::ed.

```

Kath's position—that Sonia must be able to care for herself before she goes home (i.e. that she *can't rely on other people*)—was supported by Valerie throughout this stretch of talk. The reason for Valerie's brief attention towards her table at 8 is unclear, but she quickly re-engaged with Kath, and produced *that's right* at 16 in response to Kath's assertion. After quite a long period of silent mutual gaze, Kath produced a summary assessment, which Valerie met with an agreeing *o'course yes*. Stivers (2010b) characterised the use of *of course* in response to YNIs as a method for contesting “askability”, and it seems to have functioned similarly here. Given that Kath and Valerie had been talking about Sonia's post-surgery troubles for approximately two minutes, Kath's portrayal of the situation as a *bit of a problem* risked both understatement and banality. Valerie's *o'course yes* indexed these issues with the design of the assessment, and its consequent ill-fittedness to the position it occupied in the sequence; that is, she contested its “sayability”.

A second actional feature of *that's right* identified in this data set is that it promotes transition. Logically, the strong ratification of a prior turn's design and action provides ideal grounds for the movement towards nexts. A cursory scan of the extracts presented so far in Section 8.3 demonstrates the transitional import of *that's right*. In Extract 8.9, the interactants moved on from assessing Greg's hair to his other qualities; in 8.11, Wendy did not pursue her stance any further, and a lapse occurred; in 8.12 and 8.13, Kath moved onto the next empirical detail of her telling; in 8.14, Valerie made a bid for the floor; in 8.15, Kath produced a next part of her telling after the first *that's right*, then moved end the interaction after the second. Extracts 8.19 and 8.20 provide evidence that Valerie utilised *that's right* to facilitate forward movement in an ongoing course of action. Just prior to Extract 8.19, Valerie initiated topic talk relating to Kath's former general practitioner, who had left work very suddenly (see Chapter 6, Extract 6.14).

Extract 8.19 [051604] (25:38 - 26:10)

```

001 K  =b't, .hh ↑i g:uess he's lost a lot of patients
002      b'cause, .hh you can't- ↓well (.) it dep:ends how often
003      you s:ee a doctor dō:esn't it.
004 V  ↓ye:s,
005 K  b't ahm (1.3) .tk: .hh i: wasn't prepared t' wait en
006      wait en wait. y'know, en i [needed] 'im, so,
007 V                                     [mM: ]
008      (0.8)
009 K  ahm b't i [hear      ] he's back, ah:m. (1.7) °and=
010 V                                     [ (°°mm°°) ]
-> 011 K  =[uh      ] .hhh° (0.9) [↑QHW I ] HOpe he's well:?: ↓now.=
012 V      [°( )°]                                     [ (ohw) ( ) ]
013 K  =(hh)=
=> 014 V  =ohw ye:s:,
015      (0.2)

```

016 V °mm:.°
 017 (.)
 -> 018 K i j'st hope e's well?
 => 019 V °°(at's) right.°°
 020 (0.6)
 021 K ah:m °.hhh° i think he had a complete en utter
 022 <breakdown.>

As with Extracts 8.16 and 8.17, Valerie's use of *ohw yes* was likely addressing the fittedness of Kath's turn. In particular, it seemed to be indexing that Kath's stance (i.e. wishing for the doctor's wellness) was one that Valerie (and perhaps anyone) would hold independently of Kath's particular circumstances. Interestingly, Kath then repeated this turn (minus the *oh*-preface), which Valerie receipted with a quiet *at's right*. Although the precise basis for Kath pursuing her stance is not clear, one possible motivation was to stress the fittedness of her initial turn, i.e. to claim that she was (authoritatively) speaking on her own behalf, rather than producing a general, semi-idiomatic sentiment. Therefore, Valerie's use of *that's right* can be seen as something of a back-down; an admission that *ohw yes* had misfired in undermining the design and placement of Kath's assertion. But, as well as retreating, *that's right* also worked to bring Kath's pursuit of her stance to a close. In doing so, however, Valerie ignored (or revised her orientation towards) the features of the turn that made her initially respond with *ohw yes* in order to facilitate transition to a next object.

In Extract 8.20, the need to endorse the design and action of the assertion prior to *that's right*, and move toward nexts, was more acute. Here, Valerie used *that's right* to strategically conceal troubles with the design and action of Kath's stance-taking turn in order to prevent the recurrence of trouble. As the extract begins, Kath had just finished removing a bandaid that was covering a needle-prick near the inside of Valerie's elbow, and was walking towards the bin. This touched-off talk from Kath about an influenza injection she had recently received.

Extract 8.20 [051604] (24:00 - 24:40)

001 K [i had my flu injection the other day,
 [((K slowly moves toward the bin))
 002 (0.2)
 003 V ohw ye:s;
 004 [(3.6)
 [((K continues, then bends down to drop a bandaid in))
 005 [(1.3)
 [((K bends down lower))
 006 K u(hh)h
 007 [(1.0)
 [((K rises up & starts moving back towards her chair))
 008 K WHICH I SUPPOSE IS A WISE thing t' have val[erie.]
 -> 009 V [(it's:] s:

```

-> 010      ju[st ja:bs ya,)
          [((raises left arm up & down, perhaps to shoulder))
-> 011      [(1.8)
          [((K is now sitting; both gaze at each other))
-> 012      V      (did e' just,)
-> 013      [(1.2)
          [((both hold gaze at each other))
-> 014      V      [<(did put up this, [s:]>
          [((lifts left hand, likely to shoulder area again))
-> 015      K      [yes j'st there y[es;
                  [((points to upper left arm with
                    right hand))      [
016      V                  [°mm:.°=
017      K      =yes,
018      [(0.9)
          [((K rubs her upper arm))
019      K      son[ia      ] said, (0.3) when i came back she said=
020      V      [(°mm,°)]
021      K      =↑does 'at hurt you it's v:e:ry red, (0.4) i s'd n:o i
022      can't feel a thing.=
023      V      =mm:,
-> 024      K      .hh no it's a v:ery fi:ne needle [>en y' j'st go< KGHH
                  [((mimes injection))
025      (0.3)
=> 026      V      that's rig[ht,
027      K      [ukhh .hh hh n(h)- $n(h)o ceremony ab(h)out
028      i(h)t [at all$]
029      V      [mm:,      ]
030      (0.2)
031      K      °°huh°°

```

At 8, Kath suggested that it would be wise for Valerie to be vaccinated too. Valerie's response did not directly address this advice, but seems to have been displaying her experience with influenza injections, and that the person administering them *just jabs ya*. Kath's lack of alignment indicates that this turn was problematic for her but, because repair was not initiated, the nature of the trouble remained inexplicit. Valerie's subsequent turn at 14 appears to have treated the trouble as an asymmetry of experience; that Kath mightn't have been *just jabbed* by the person administering the needle, as Valerie was. With uptake still not forthcoming, Valerie tried again to address the trouble by indicating toward the bodily location of the injection, which Kath successfully recognised and agreed with at 15. Kath then began a telling (likely projected by her turn at 1) about her injection, which informed Valerie (at 24) about the type of needle used, and enacted the injection process.

The difficulties in this sequence revolve around the trouble that occurred from 9-18. Kath's unwillingness to initiate repair at 11 and 13, combined with Valerie's misreading of the kind of trouble implicated, culminated in both parties simply agreeing where the injection site was, but avoiding any further reparative work. The trouble also resulted in Kath producing an ill-designed turn at 24, which informed Valerie about a process that she too had seemingly undergone. Valerie's turn at 26 would therefore seem an appropriate place for contesting the socioepistemic adequacy of Kath's assertion; perhaps using a modified repeat,

or a response like *I know* or *that's what I was saying*. However, this would have likely constituted a serious threat to alignment and progressivity (as well as affiliation) in light of the difficulty that Kath displayed in taking up Valerie's turns at 9-10 and 12. What was at stake here was not just Valerie's competence as a speaker, but Kath's as a recipient. If Valerie had chosen to respond with an object that asserted her independent knowledge, while undermining the design and action of Kath's turn, there was a chance that the prior trouble would be revisited. This would have likely raised issues of competence and accountability (i.e. who was morally responsible for the trouble, cf. Jefferson, 1987), placing both interactants in jeopardy. By responding with *that's right*, Valerie was able to claim independent knowledge, while concealing the deficiencies of the prior turn's design and action. It also edged the interaction further away for the proceeding trouble, and the threats to alignment and affiliation its resurrection would have occasioned. Thus, Extracts 8.19 and 8.20 have demonstrated that the ratification of a prior turn's design and action can be a strategic decision for a recipient, and potentially disconnected from any problems they have detected in it.

For many of the extracts presented so far, agreeing assessments would seem possible (if not fitted) alternatives to responding with *that's right*. Extract 8.21 provides evidence that Valerie did not use these responses symmetrically, and that the mutual stance *that's right* had a more restricted sequential distribution. The transitional import of *that's right*, along with the common sequential positions in which stance-taking occurs, meant that mutual stance claims made via *that's right* typically occurred towards the end of extended periods of other-talk, and was regularly implicated in edging spates of topic talk towards possible closure. By contrast, Valerie used assessments much earlier in these courses of action. Extract 8.21 is taken from the conclusion of the "car service" telling shown in Extracts 8.12 and 8.16.

Extract 8.21 [041004] (30:32 - 31:13)

```

001 K  ↓s[o:. (.) ] anyway, >th- tha- that< we khh (0.3)=
002 V      [(°mm:°,°)]
003 K  =[got through] that one °( )°. .hh and the (.) day:=
004 V      [ye:s,      ]
005 K  =befor°e:,° (tch) [.hh hha(h)w the dishwasher;
                                [((rolls eyes))
006      [(1.4)                pa[cked up.
                                [((raises both hands in front of her body with palms
                                facing, & then drops her fingers inward))
-> 007 V                                [aw: no:_
008      (0.4)
009 K  so: i >ha'to have< the dishwasher man.
010      (0.9)
011 K  an::d that w's a hundred en thirty two dollars.
-> 012 V  [goodness,]
013 K  [.hhh      ] an:d (1.0) he fixed it;
014      (0.6)

```

015 K which w's fi:ne?
 016 (0.3)
 017 K en he went,
 018 (0.3)
 019 K .hh an:d, (1.0) i w's in the laun (.) my laundry; (0.3)
 020 V ye[s,
 021 K [ahm (0.4) °the° (.) washing machine w's on, (0.4)
 022 .hh en suddenly the water started (.) bubbling out
 023 through the floor.
 024 (0.8)
 025 K (up) through the [drain.
 -> 026 V [↑go:sh,
 027 (0.3)
 028 K en all this filthy muck [came *up,*
 [((closes eyes, & raises hand))
 029 [(0.9)
 [(K leans her head forward, & covers her eyes))
 -> 030 V aw dear;
 023 through the floor.

Kath closed the prior telling at 1-3, and then commenced talk relating to another trouble that had arisen: her dishwasher had stopped working. Valerie receipted this news with *aw no*; a token which seems to functionally straddle newsmarking and assessing. The telling continued, and Kath's report of the cost to fix the dishwasher was met with another assessment from Valerie at 12. With the dishwasher's problems resolved, Kath then detailed the next troublesome occurrence (i.e. malfunctioning laundry plumbing), and Valerie responded with further assessments at 26 and 30. Had Valerie produced *that's right* where assessments were used here, it would not have been heard as claiming mutual stance, but (likely) as claiming knowledge of the events being reported. Further, this would have been disaligning with the telling-in-progress (see Section 8.4.1). Thus, Extract 8.21 demonstrates that, as practices for producing a responsive stance, Valerie could utilise assessments in a wider range of sequential environments than she could *that's right*²⁰.

This section has examined how Valerie used *that's right* to align with an ongoing course of action. She used the mutual stance *that's right* to endorse the design and action of the prior turn. It was also found to facilitate transition, and most often occurred towards the end of extended spates of other-talk.

8.3.4 Affiliation

The organisation of talk-in-interaction is intrinsically geared towards the maintenance of social solidarity, and the minimisation of conflict (Heritage, 1984b, p. 265-280; Raymond, 2003, p. 963-964). The previous sections have demonstrated how *that's right* can be used to

²⁰ This is not to say that the mutual stance *that's right* did not occur in other sequential positions during extended spates of other talk, simply that these courses of action (and the individual actions therein) often constrained where it could be used. When local demands made its use relevant in non-terminal sequential positions, Valerie could (and did) use it there (e.g. Extracts 8.12).

agree with a prior turn in agreement-preferred environments (cf. Pomerantz, 1984; Schegloff, 2007c). Thus, the action implemented by the mutual stance *that's right* is generically supportive of affiliation. However, the affiliative potential of this response can be magnified by the particular environment in which it occurs. As noted above, stance-taking turns explicitly convey a speaker's perspective on the matters-at-hand. Depending on a speaker's positioning, and the nature of the stance object (cf. Du Bois, 2007), disagreeing responses are vulnerable to being heard as personal rebukes. On the other hand, agreeing via *that's right*—as the extracts above have demonstrated—is likely to be heard as an endorsement of the speaker as a moral social actor. For example, Kath's stance-taking in Extracts 8.12 and 8.13 positioned Kath relative to the conduct of other individuals, and cast the consequences of their stances as potentially adverse. By agreeing via *that's right*—and thereby claiming to be independently and properly knowledgeable of the matters-at-hand—Valerie not only endorsed Kath's stance-taking in an interactional here-and-now, she effectively sided with Kath against the other social actors involved, and supported Kath's claims to moral primacy.

8.3.5 Summary: Section 8.3

Valerie used *that's right* to agree with her conversation partners' stance-taking, and claim that she also held the proffered perspective, i.e. that their stance was mutual. It was argued that this response made simultaneous claims of epistemic access and rights, and alignment with an ongoing course of action, thereby promoting interpersonal affiliation. Epistemically, Valerie used *that's right* to claim that she was independently and properly knowledgeable of the matters-at-hand. The indexicality of *that's right* encouraged her conversation partners to infer how the matters-at-hand were knowable for her. The epistemic claims embodied by *that's right* and the environment provided by stance-taking turns meant that *that's right* was regularly hearable as claiming that the prior stance drew upon commonsense knowledge. *That's right* also acted to validate the design and action of stance-taking turns, and facilitate transition. Sequentially, this variant of *that's right* most often occurred towards the (possible) end of extended spates of other talk. Together, these claims to knowledge and alignment promoted interpersonal affiliation between Valerie and her conversation partners. Overwhelmingly, this variant of *that's right* was the most common in Valerie's talk, which suggests that the action it supported was consequential for her participation in everyday talk-in-interaction.

8.4 Other environments

The extracts presented so far in this chapter have demonstrated that the functionality of *that's right* is heavily dependent on the actions implemented by prior turn(s). It should therefore be of little surprise that *that's right* can be used to carry out other, distinct actions in response turns that are not seeking confirmation, nor stance-taking. Three functional variants were found to occur in “other” environments in the core collection. These include: the recognition *that's right*; the compliment *that's right*; and the restored intersubjectivity *that's right*. The frequencies of these variants are shown below in Table 8.3. Given their infrequency in the core collections, proposals about their functional characteristics (and distinctiveness) are necessarily preliminary.

Table 8.3
Frequency of that's right Variants in “Other” Environments

Variant	Frequency
Recognition	8/19
Compliment	5/19
Restored Intersubjectivity	5/19
Uncategorised	1/19

8.4.1 Recognition *that's right*

Valerie used the recognition *that's right* to index her prior knowledge of the matters addressed by the foregoing turn. Unlike confirmation and stance-taking environments, the turns prior to the recognition *that's right* did not project agreement/disagreement as a response. Moreover, this variant was often (mostly gently) disaligning with the prior turn's action. In the core collection, the clearest examples involved prior turns that were doing reference. Extract 8.22 commences at the end of Extract 8.13, where Kath had been objecting to her grandson Bob being left unsupervised with his girlfriend.

Extract 8.22 [051604] (48:05 - 48:25)

```
001 K °.h° en i said, (0.3) have they seen anything of
-> 002 melissa en steven that's .hh sam's br[other-]
-> 003 V [ ye]s.
-> 004 (0.5)
-> 005 K who uh- [(.) they live over the[re, °.hh°] (0.4) and=
=> 006 V [that's right, [mm:. ]
007 K =fay said >i d;on't< think so no:. °uhg°
008 [(1.7)
[ ((K grimaces & closes her eyes, tilts her head down &
009 lifts her hand to her head))
010 V HH huh?
011 (0.3)
```

012 K .hh anyway fay is going, (0.3) over there:; f- >t' run
 013 a< marathon,
 014 (0.5)
 015 K in july..

Although Kath avoided directly addressing Bob's behaviour in Extract 4.8, her indictment of him was more direct here. She reported that Bob and his girlfriend hadn't visited Bob's aunt and uncle (Melissa and Steven) despite their living close-by. After the introduction of these recognitional person references at 2 (cf. Schegloff, 1996b), Kath quickly expanded them to explicate Melissa and Steven's relationship with more immediate members of her family; namely, her son-in-law (and Bob's father) Sam. In response, Valerie produced a prosodically marked *yes*, but Kath's *who uh-* at 5 projected the continued expansion of these person references. At this point, Valerie entered Kath's turn-space, and produced *that's right mm*. Kath's person references in this extract were not available for agreement/disagreement. Instead, they required a display of knowledge from Valerie, so as the empirical details of the ongoing telling could be resumed. Valerie's use of *that's right* acted to claim (perhaps sufficient²¹) recognition of the people in question, and their import, while promoting closure of the person reference, and a return to the telling-in-progress. In contrast to her treatment of Valerie's *yes* at 3, Kath oriented to *that's right* as a satisfactory claim of recognition from Valerie, and she resumed the hitherto postponed telling.

A similar pattern is evident in Extract 8.23. Here, Valerie had been asking Kath about whether she had received government stimulus payments (see Chapter 6, Extract 6.8).

Extract 8.23 [041004] (36:11 - 36:45)

001 V °u-° do you get th(at) two thous- (0.4) four hundred,
 002 (0.3) dollars?
 003 (0.2)
 004 K °.hhh° I GOT (0.6) as a pensioner last year i got one
 005 thousand four hundred.
 006 V ohw ye:s.
 007 (0.2)
 008 K °.hh° (0.3) eh- that w's in about decem- (0.3) no when
 -> 009 w's 'at; .hh >W'LL I< spent all that on my computer.
 -> 010 (0.2)
 -> 011 V ye:s.=
 -> 012 K =i bought a computer for that. y'know,
 -> 013 [that <°(new-) [new computer.°> .hh so:, (0.3)=
 => 014 V [°that's righ:t.° [°mm:°
 015 K =a(k)hm (1.0) the nine hundred (.) mr rudd, (0.5)
 016 might give me; (1.0) .HH .Hh \$h's already been spent on
 017 the dishwasher en the plumbing.§

²¹ This qualification is intended to denote that the priorness of Valerie's recognition claim need not be grounded in familiarity with the people in question. Instead, it may be simply indicating that the reference-so-far sufficiently denoted who these people were, and their import for the telling. Thanks to John Rae for this small, but consequential point.

At 9, Kath introduced a reference to an object she had purchased with this money: a computer. The sequence of turns that followed in lines 11-15 closely resembles what occurred after the introduction of the person reference in Extract 8.22. That is, Valerie receipted the first reference with *yes*, followed by expansion of the reference by Kath, production of *that's right mm* by Valerie, and then a resumption of the telling-in-progress. Again, *that's right* provided a method for claiming recognition of a referred-to object, which Kath treated as more robust than *yes*. Unlike the “just-now-ness” of recognition embodied by *oh that's right* (Heritage, 1984a, 1998), the recognition claims made by Valerie in Extracts 8.22 and 8.23 indexed the epistemic availability of the objects addressed by Kath's referencing prior to the moment of Valerie response.

Recognition claims via *that's right* did not only occur in mid-telling positions. In Extract 8.24, Valerie implemented a recognition claim in response to a sequence-initial action: a topic talk initiation. Just before the talk presented below, Valerie had been consuming her morning tea. It included a hot cross bun that turned out to be dry, and generally unpalatable. As such, Valerie gradually threw it in the bin. This extract begins with Valerie looking down into her lap, and organising further scraps for disposal.

Extract 8.24 [041004] (19:51 - 20:10)

```

001  K  that w's disappoi:nting?
002  V  y:es;
003      [(5.8)
-> 004      [(K watches as V drops food scraps in the bin))
004  K  they m↑ake hot cross buns now with, (0.6) ahm; (0.2)
-> 005  choc'late in th[em °>en stuff.<°]
=> 006  V      [that's          r]i:ght,
007      (.)
008  V  mm:,
009  K  ↑i don't like [°(that).°]
010  V      [      that]'s (it) yes. [°( )°
011      [(K stands up))
012      [(0.5)
      [(K moves toward V's table holding a card))
013  K  °i'll put this >one up< here.°

```

Kath's topic talk initiation at 4-5 asserted that hot cross buns are now made with chocolate (as opposed to only fruit). The declarative format of Kath's turn indexed her own, authoritative knowledge of chocolate hot cross buns, but did not point towards any experience Valerie may have had with them, nor did it provide Valerie with the opportunity to claim that she had encountered them too (e.g. *have you seen those chocolate hot cross buns?*). As noted in Section 8.1.1, Valerie regularly aligned with her conversation partners' topic talk initiations, often with newsmarking responses. Had she produced an object like *oh yes* at 6, she would

have been indexing some degree of uninformedness in relation to chocolate hot cross buns, and promoting sequence expansion that (likely) involved description of them. Instead, Valerie used *that's right* to assert her knowledge of this foodstuff, and undermine the design of Kath's topic talk initiation. Given that non-minimal post-expansion is preferred for topic talk initiations (Schegloff, 2007c), Kath's minimally post-expansive turn at 9, and her resumption of practical activities at 11-12, suggests that she heard Valerie's *that's right* as disaligning, and undercutting the mentionability of the matters put forward.

8.4.2 Compliment *that's right*²²

Valerie also used *that's right* to deliver an unsolicited, complimentary endorsement of her conversation partners' reported conduct and/or implied perspective. There were three characteristic features of the environments preceding the compliment *that's right*. First, like recognition claim environments, prior turns did not project agreement/disagreement as a response. In all instances, the talk prior was an empirical detail of an ongoing telling. Second, unlike recognition claim environments, Valerie did not have prior knowledge of the matters-at-hand. And third, prior turns (either explicitly or implicitly) addressed an attribute of the speaker, or conduct undertaken by them, that was virtuous in some respect.

Extract 8.25 commences during a telling relating to Sonia's transition back to her own home, and the post-surgery restrictions on her behaviour. Valerie made a mutual stance claim via *that's right* at 10, and Kath then proceeded to describe measures she had taken to ensure that Sonia would not injure herself during routine tasks.

Extract 8.25 [051604] (04:24 - 05:00)

```

001  K  =en it re↑ally=hh i mean:, i feel f' huh b'cause it
002      really is awfully; (0.4) difficult,
003      (0.3)
004  K  [to remember.
          [(gazes at V))
005      (0.2)
006  V  [(0.9)
          [(V nods slightly as both hold gaze at each other))
007  K  [y'know] you kind've do things=
008  V  [mm: ]
009  K  =automatic[ally. ]
010  V  [°that's r]ight,°=
-> 011  K  [=hh so:, (.) i when i took 'er home, i put her (0.2)
          [(withdraws gaze))
-> 012      [iro:ning board up;
          [(gazes to V))
-> 013  V  m[m:,
-> 014  K  [=hh [en i got (.) (the) steps out, (0.2) °(the)°
          [(withdraws gaze))

```

²² "Compliment" is used in a rather commonsense fashion here, rather than with reference to the practices described by, for example, Pomerantz (1978) or Golato (2002).

```

-> 015      things she might need from the top cub'd; .hhh an::d,
-> 016      [s'ch things as potatoe:s en. (0.2) veg'ta[bl:es, .hh
          [((holds left arm out from body with          [((gazes to
          palm flat, facing down))                      V))
-> 017      [i've put on the bench top,=
          [((moves left arm laterally, parallel to the floor))
=> 018      V =[that's right,
          [((K continues gesture))
          019      (0.2)
          020      V m[m:,      ]
          021      K [so th't] (she-) (0.2) [°*y:*° y'know, she j'st [has=
          [((continues gesture)) [((pinches fingers together))
          022      V [yes,
          023      K =[t' take one or two
          [((moves hand from left to right & back))
          024      K [not bend down
          [((drops left hand toward the floor, fingers first))
          025      K [or pick them up;      ]
          [((raises left hand to side with palm open & moves
          026      right hand in parallel, as if holding an object)) ]
          027      V [ye:s,
          [((K's hands have returned to resting in her lap))
          028      K °.hh° so we tried t' think of everything we ca:n:,

```

At 11-17, Kath's listed of the contingencies she had put in place at Sonia's home. After Valerie produced a continuing *mm* at 13 in response to the first detail, Kath listed further measures, and returned her gaze to Valerie at 16. She then reported that she had placed various vegetables on the bench top, and Valerie receipted this talk with *that's right*. This detail (like the ones before it) was not available for agreement/disagreement by Valerie; nor could she have credibly claimed recognition of them given that Kath implemented these measures after her last visit to Valerie's nursing home. Instead, it seems that Valerie's production of *that's right* at 18 acted to endorse Kath's conduct; to compliment Kath on her efforts to help her friend cope after surgery. By responding with *that's right*, Valerie implemented an action that was less neutral than an acknowledgement token or a continuer, but rather more subdued (and indeterminate) than an assessment. Valerie's *that's right* supported Kath's telling while providing an unsolicited, complementary endorsement of her telling-world conduct.

8.4.3 Restored intersubjectivity *that's right*

Spates of talk in which intersubjectivity had been failing were another environment in which Valerie produced *that's right*. Unlike Extract 8.20, where both Valerie and Kath were content (and able) to gloss over trouble, in these instances all parties oriented to the need for repair in order for the interaction to effectively progress. Valerie used *that's right* as a method for closing the trouble, and claiming that intersubjectivity had been sufficiently restored. In these environments, Valerie used *that's right* to make strong claims to agreement and alignment.

Extract 8.26 followed quite a long period of disagreement between Kath and Valerie about Valerie's dietary preferences (see Extract 8.34). During this time, Valerie claimed that she now preferred to drink water rather than juice. Here, Betty continued to question Valerie about her juice-drinking habits.

Extract 8.26 [072910] (29:24 - 29:47)

```

001  B   in theb- (0.4) breuakfas: tray:, [(0.3) don't y]ou get,
                                [((V nods))   ]
002      (.) juice in the mornuing?
003      (0.3)
004  B   .hh >do you< hauve breakfas in beud?†
005      (1.2)
006  V   °°tk .h°°=
007  B   =>do you< hauve breakfas in your rouom.
008      (0.6)
009  V   no:; whu: [at w's 'atu
                                [((B leans back))
010      [(0.3)
                                [((V shifts gaze to K))
011  B   °°(no:)°°
012      [(0.3)
                                [((B nods down))
013  V   [what's thautu
                                [((B nods up))
014  K   .hh you h- you do have breakfast [in beud,
                                                [((V opens her mouth))
015      [(0.3)
                                [((V holds her mouth open))
016  V   aw yes,
017      (0.2)
018  B   well- (0.4) wouldn't you hauve- (0.3) or:an juuice or
019      [>↓something.<] ye:S.
020  V   [°(ye:s,)°   ]
021      (0.3)
022  B   [ (°°↓mm:..↓°°)
                                [((gazes down))
023      (0.4)
-> 024  V   that's ruight,
025      (0.4)
026  B   good.

```

Betty's first two YNIs at 1-2 and 4 did not secure a response from Valerie. The reasons for this are not entirely clear, but hearing and/or language impairment, in combination with Betty's alteration of her YNIs, are chief suspects. After a long pause at 5, Valerie seemingly began to respond at 6, but Betty produced yet another YNI at 7. Valerie then initiated repair at 9, and recruited Kath to help resolve the trouble (10-13). Kath put forward a confirmable turn at 14, and Valerie's agreement with it was quickly followed by a return to Betty's line of questioning. Betty's YNI at 18-19 yielded a type conforming response from Valerie, which Betty receipted with a falling *yes* and (likely) an *mm*. After a notable silence at 4, Valerie produced *that's right*, which Betty met with *good*.

Kath's confirmable turn and Valerie's subsequent agreement was the first sign that intersubjectivity was beginning to be restored. One might query, then, why Valerie did not

respond with *that's right* at 16. It seems likely that Valerie heard Kath's turn at 14 as preliminary to other actions, especially in light of Betty's prior involvement, and the sheer number of YNIs that had been delivered. As was argued in relation to Extract 8.8, Valerie may therefore have resisted producing *that's right* at 20. By contrast, Betty's acknowledging responses at 19 and 22 (following Valerie's type-conforming response) did not strongly point towards any next-action. With *that's right*, Valerie strongly agreed with Betty, and aligned with the action her turn implemented. But, given that a type-conforming response accepts the design and action of a FPP (Raymond, 2003), Valerie's *that's right* at 24 might seem rather redundant. It appears that Valerie was also using *that's right* to address the foregoing sequence as a whole, rather than only responding to the immediately prior YNI. Valerie's *that's right* simultaneously pointed towards the prior trouble, and claimed its resolution, which provided for transition to next-objects.

The sequence of primary interest in Extract 8.27 involves another period of disagreement between Valerie and Kath. Prior to this extract, the interactants had been engaged in an extended period of topic talk relating to unsettling and criminal events in the local area (see Chapters 4 and 6, Extracts 4.10 and 6.9). At 5, Kath mentioned that her granddaughter was having a birthday celebration on the *twenty fifth*. Valerie then produced (*ahw*) ANZAC and a laugh token. With this turn, Valerie was indicating that this was also the date of ANZAC Day; a public holiday to celebrate Australian (and New Zealand) armed forces. In response, Kath indexed a change of state, and her independent knowledge of ANZAC day via *uhw yes* and *that's right*, but trouble soon ensued.

Extract 8.27 [051604] (44:58 - 45:50)

```

001  K  b't uhm [(1.3)          ] °.hhh° i i don't go out at night
           [((swallows))]
002    valerie.=
003  V  =no:.
004    (0.3)
005  K  .h now:, (0.5) ahm. (0.2) ali:ce's, (0.4) is having a
006    birthday, .h celebration on the twenty fifth_
007    (0.6)
008  V  (ahw) anzac, huh?
009    (0.7)
010  K  [↑UHW YES,↑=
           [((K gazes to V's left))
011  V  =mm:.
012    [(1.7)
           [((K continues to gaze away from V))
013  K  ↑ye:s, [that's right:t ihadn't thought of that, not this
           [((gazes to V))
014    weekend the weekend [after. ] .hh [ahm:; ]
015  V  [ ( ) yes.]          [(the) sunday,
```

016 (0.8) (mon- uh) was it-
017 [(2.1)
[(both are still, gazing at each other))
018 K i [don't °n-°] (.) i- f:ay mentioned the twenty fifth=
019 V [()]
020 K =so:, .hh i think [that's a s:aturda:y.
[(V gazes to the calendar on the
wall to her right))
021 [(1.9)
[(V continues gazing at calendar))
((K gazes at V))
022 V no the twenty seventh.
023 (.hh)/(0.4)
024 V [monday,
[(gazes back to K))
025 [(1.4) [(1.5)
[(V nods at the calendar)) [(then gazes back to K))
026 K yeah the twenty fifth,
027 [(0.8)
[(V gazes back to the calendar))
028 K [that's the saturday.
[(V continues gazing at the calendar))
-> 029 V [yes (th)at's [°right.°]
[(nods & gazes to K))]
030 K [>(so) < that's] the [saturday] yes.=
031 V [°mm:,°]
032 K =.h[hh ↑s]o:., (0.4) i just hope that it's not=
033 [°mm:..°]
034 K =going t' be at night;

Although the exact nature of the trouble from 15-30 was never explicated, one possibility is that Valerie was attempting to address the day of the public holiday associated with ANZAC day, rather than ANZAC day itself. In particular, because ANZAC day fell on a Saturday in 2009, the public holiday would typically be carried over to the next Monday, and this was why Valerie raised *Monday the twenty seventh*²³. Initially though, Valerie produced *Sunday*, followed by a cut-off *mon-* and a tag-like object. A long silence ensued at 17, and Kath eventually responded by reporting the date given to her by Fay, and that she thought it was a Saturday. During the latter part of Kath's turn at 16, Valerie began to gaze towards her calendar (see Figure 2.2). After a long silence, she uttered *no the twenty seventh* and then *Monday*. Kath again displayed difficulty aligning with Valerie's talk, which suggests that the target of Valerie's disagreement was unclear. Instead of initiating repair, Kath mirrored Valerie's flat assertion of the date in question. Valerie consulted her calendar again, and Kath asserted the day in question, just as Valerie had done before. At this point, Valerie and Kath had reached something of an impasse. Both had stated their case in a near identical fashion at 22-28. Further, their turns did not include any epistemic concessions via evidentials, nor any attempt to explicate what was motivating their respective positions. Instead of pursuing this

²³In fact, the state government elected not to carry over the public holiday for ANZAC day in 2009. Perhaps this was also a factor in Kath's failure to understand the relevance of Valerie's talk. Another possibility is that Valerie simply mistook the date of ANZAC day. This seems quite unlikely given that she spontaneously associated *the twenty fifth* with this holiday.

line of talk and extending the trouble, Valerie acquiesced to Kath's position using *yes that's right*, which facilitated a return to the telling-in-progress. Valerie's turn-initial *yes* ensured that her talk was heard as agreeing with Kath's immediately prior assertion. This token also encouraged Kath to hear *that's right* as doing something in addition to agreement with the prior turn; in this case, pointing towards the resolution of the previous trouble. In overlap with Valerie's response, Kath repeated this assertion at 30 and, at 32, resumed talk relating to Alice's birthday celebration.

8.4.4 Uncategorised *that's right*

Of the one hundred tokens that make up the core collection, there was only one instance of *that's right* that could not be functionally categorised. This instance is presented in Extract 8.28, and appears to have been a misfiring response. Previously, Valerie assessed Betty's hair as *nice* (not shown), and Betty receipted this compliment (cf. Pomerantz, 1978; Golato, 2002) with *thank you* at 2.

Extract 8.28 [072910] (00:49 - 01:06)

```

001 V °mm[:.°
002 B [thank you?
003 K [ye:s it's lovely isn't [it,
      [(gazing at B's hair)) [(then to V))
004 (.)
005 K betty [had it-] .hh [cut here;
      [(gazes left then points left)) [(gazes to V))
006 V [°mm.° ]
007 [(0.4)
      [(V nods))
-> 008 K [aw i don't- [(.) ↑did you c:ome [ upst]airs?=
      [(K gazes to B)) [ ]
      [(B gazes to V, [opens her mouth & touches her hair))
      [(V moves her mouth silently)) [ ]
009 ? [ (mm:)]
-> 010 K [=<to this hair> dresser up here,=
      [(points left & gazes away from, then back to, B))
      [(B gazes between V & K, then quickly to V, then
      holds gaze in the direction K is pointing))
-> 011 K =or [did they come] t' y[ou.]
=> 012 V [that's right;] [ ]
013 B [ n]o:_ (0.2) sh- go- i had t'
014 come ups- here, .hh (0.5) >wait a minute< (0.2) en,
015 (0.8) SHe >CAME DOWN on (fri:↓d'y last frid'y).<=
016 K =OH:[W yes] yeah,=
017 V [ (mm,) ]

```

After Kath assessed Betty's hair at 3, she asserted that Betty had it cut at the nursing home. She then inquired as to the circumstances of her haircut; in particular whether the hairdresser went downstairs to Betty's room, or whether Betty came upstairs to the hairdresser's. As Kath began to put forward the second of these options, Valerie produced *that's right*. Valerie's talk

was not oriented to by either of the other interactants, and Betty commenced her response to Kath's YNI in the moments immediately following.

Valerie's *that's right* is problematic in a number of respects. Kath's interrogative selected Betty as next-speaker, meaning that, even if Valerie had knowledge of the particulars addressed by Kath's turn, Betty would still have first rights to respond (cf. Sacks et al., 1974; Stivers & Robinson, 2006). As well, if Valerie's *that's right* was responsive to Kath's YNI, it was inspectable as a non-conforming response because it did not include a *yes* or a *no*. Therefore, it is difficult to ascertain what this *that's right* could have been doing. One possibility is that it was a claim to knowledge of the process for seeing the hairdresser at the nursing home. But, given that Betty was selected as next-speaker, and the absence of further talk elaborating why Valerie chose to respond (e.g. *that's right, you always go to the hairdresser's room for a haircut*), it seems unlikely that it was being used in this way. Instead, it appears more probable that Valerie had mistaken herself as the party selected by Kath. The potential ambiguity of *you* in Kath's turn at 8, and Betty's lack of gaze towards Kath during the interrogative's production, likely contributed to this confusion²⁴. Kath and Betty's decision to elide Valerie's *that's right* is also instructive. It suggests that they too identified it as a misfiring and, by not orienting to it, they conspired to delete it from the interactional record.

8.4.5 Summary: Section 8.4

Section 8.4 has examined the functionality of *that's right* in environments other than confirmation and stance-taking. It discussed three functional variants identified in this data set: the recognition *that's right*, the compliment *that's right*, and the restored intersubjectivity *that's right*. Valerie used the recognition *that's right* to index her own prior knowledge of the matters addressed by the prior turn, and it could often be heard as disaligning with the action implemented by it. Valerie used the compliment *that's right* to provide an unsolicited endorsement of her conversation partners' conduct and/or implied perspective as conveyed through the details of a telling. Finally, Valerie used the restored intersubjectivity *that's right* to strongly agree and align with a prior turn, while pointing towards a preceding period of trouble, and claiming its resolution. Section 8.5 will now discuss how Valerie combined *that's right* with other responsive objects, and the interactional contingencies this addressed.

²⁴ It is difficult to be sure due to the camera angle, but it seems that Valerie held her gaze at Kath from line 5 onward. As well, although Kath was gazing towards Betty for most of 8-11, her head was not completely torqued towards her. Instead, it was almost pointing between Valerie and Betty.

8.5 Composite turns involving *that's right*

Valerie formulated composite turns involving *that's right* very commonly (see Table 8.2). Principally, she combined *that's right* with the response tokens *mm* and *yes/yeah*. One might intuitively conclude that the work being undertaken by *that's right*, *that's right yes*, and *yes that's right* for example, are not meaningfully contrastive. Previous conversation-analytic research, however, has demonstrated that interactants do treat the occurrence of multiple responsive tokens differently from single ones (e.g. Gardner, 2001; Golato & Faygal, 2008; Stivers, 2004). Further, if multiple token types are used, their arrangement in a turn is consequential (e.g. Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Schegloff, 2007c). For example, Schegloff (2007c, p. 130) argued that composite sequence closing thirds like *oh okay* address the “multiple tracks the preceding sequence has been running on”, with each token engaged in distinct receipting work. In the case of rejected invitations met with *oh okay*, Schegloff (2007c, p. 128) noted that “[t]he ‘oh’ registers receipt of the information; the ‘okay’ registers and accepts the declining of the invitation which that information implements”.

Heritage and Raymond (2005, p. 26) discussed the use of *that's right yes* as a claim to epistemic authority in response to an assessment. The instance they examined is shown below in Extract 8.29. Here, Vera and Jenny were discussing Vera's son and his children. By virtue of her grandparenthood, Vera had epistemic authority over these matters (cf. Raymond & Heritage, 2006). This is indexed in Extract 8.29 by Jenny's decision to append a tag to her first position assessment in order to dilute the authority that first position implies.

Extract 8.29 (Heritage & Raymond, 2005, p. 25: *that's right yes*)

```
001  J   Yeh .h well of course you see Bill is so good wih th'm
002      ez well is[n't h[e:.
003  V           [.kl  [That's ri:ght yes.
```

About this example, Heritage and Raymond (2005) wrote:

...Vera's 'That's right' response treats 'confirmation' as the primary business of the response, before going on to agreement with 'Yes.' ... An assessment with a tag question appended offers the recipient an opportunity to disentangle confirmation and agreement as distinct activities in a responding turn. Speakers can simply agree (e.g., 'Yes' or 'Yes, they are'). Alternatively, by inverting the order of a confirmation and an agreement token, speakers can treat answering and agreement as separable activities and can exploit their separation to assert their epistemic supremacy. (p. 26)

Thus, according to Heritage and Raymond, the arrangement of components in composite turns involving *that's right* can index features of the surrounding socioepistemic environment²⁵. Although the present analysis cannot do justice to all the complexities that motivated the shape of Valerie's composite responses, it will provide evidence that: 1) pre-TR composites indexed that aligning with the prior turn using turn-initial *that's right* was somehow problematic; and that 2) post-TR composites managed the projection of next-actions.

8.5.1 Pre-TR composites

The positioning of responsive objects before *that's right* was far less frequent in the core collection than the positioning of responsive objects after *that's right*. With the inclusion of non-composites, the number of turns involving *that's right* in turn-initial position is increased further (i.e. 79/100 vs. 21/100, see Table 8.2). Given this heavy asymmetry, it seems reasonable to infer that the interactional conditions in which pre-RT composites were required arose less commonly than those in which *that's right* could be used as a first (cf. Raymond, 2003, p. 950). Inspection of the sequential environments preceding pre-TR composites suggests that Valerie employed them to index that aligning with the prior turn using turn-initial *that's right* was problematic in some fashion.

In a number of instances, Valerie's ongoing analysis of her conversation partners' talk resulted in a responsive object being positioned before *that's right*. Just prior to Extract 8.30, Betty had been telling Kath and Valerie about her preferred activities in the nursing home in which she and Valerie resided.

Extract 8.30 [072910] (12:55 - 13:12)

```

001 K .hh b't y' see, (.) be[tt̩:,] (0.2) hasn't got much=
002 B [ (ghm) ]
003 K =eye sight left.
004 V yeah,=
005 K =cause she's got this (.) macular degenerat[ion. .h]h=
006 B [mm. ]
-> 007 K =so:, whereas you c'n:; (0.3) ahm:. (.) watch your
-> 008 television, (.) .h[h betty [can:'t? ]
=> 009 V [mm:, [that's right,]
010 B >i put the< radio on.↓=
011 V =sh:ame, ye:s (°yeh.°)
012 B love it; i love the radio.

```

The close proximity of *mm* and *that's right* was an artefact of Kath's assertion at 7-8 being a compound TCU (cf. Lerner, 1991; 1996b). Valerie's production of *mm* (instead of *that's*

²⁵ This is not to say, however, that Valerie used composite turns involving turn-initial *that's right* to claim epistemic authority (see Section 8.3).

right) at the conclusion of the first component reflected the preliminary nature of Kath's talk, and Valerie's unwillingness to offer stronger alignment when (to her, at least) the nature of Kath's assertion was not yet clear. But, once the second component began to emerge in overlap with her *mm*, Valerie was able to more clearly project the import of Kath's talk, and she then claimed mutual stance via *that's right*. Thus, the adjacency of *mm* and *that's right* in Extract 8.30 was a consequence of Valerie's ongoing analyses of the prior turn, with the production of each component fitted to the moment in which it was produced.

In Extract 6.1.1, Valerie's pre-TR composite did not occur in overlap with the prior turn. It seems that, in this instance, the displacement of *that's right* was occasioned by Valerie's delay in producing an action that Kath had been attempting to elicit. This spate of talk featured in Chapters 3 and 6. Previously, Valerie had initiated topic talk relating to a turkey that Kath had eaten for her Easter Sunday meal.

Extract 6.1.1 [051604] (27:42 - 28:40)

```

001  K  <IT was delicious.>
002      (0.3)
003  V  °beautiful.°
004      (0.3)
005  K  it (.) rea:lly [wəs: °u-° a[h:m:,] .hh it- °(d-)°=
           [((gazes to V's left))
006  V      [mm(,)]
007  K  =(1.0) it w's (0.2) [qu:ite a big one; >it w's< four en
           [((gazes to V))
008      a half <ki[los.>]
009  V      [ye:s,] (°°mm:°°)=
010  K  =[.hh so:- (0.4) they said- (.) (they,) (.) the- (0.2)
           [((gazes to V's left))
011      on the packet it- (.) lo- on the- [(1.9)
           [((gestures shape))]
012      plastic covering it said, °.hhh° (2.1) f- f- uh: (0.3)
013      °,now i've forgotten.↓° .hh so much per:, (0.2) half
-> 014      kilo. .hh anyway, (.) i put it (.) en only at a hundred
-> 015      en [eighty [degrees;
           [((gazes to V & begins to frown))
           [((V nods slightly))
-> 016      [(0.7)
           [((V nods slightly, while K frowns))
           ((K & V gaze at each other))
-> 017  V  m[m:.
-> 018  K  [↑that's kind've ] slo:w,
           [((V stops nods))]
-> 019      (0.3)
=> 020  V  ye:s: [at's right,
           [((K gazes to V's left))
021  K  so::, (0.4) i thought w'll? (.) i'd better, (0.4) do as
022      they say;
023      [(1.7)
           [((K swallows))
024  K  a(gh)nd th(g)en, (.) i(g) (.) a(g)hm, (0.2) uncovered
025      it f'the lAst fourty minute[s,
026  V      [mm:.
027  K  .hh and then, (0.8) because i think i- °°i- i-°° (0.3)
028      and then turned the oven off. en i alw:ays think it's

```


029 better- .hh t' do: that because the:, (0.8) the flesh
 030 is easier t' car:ve?=
 031 V =aw yes,

Kath's telling began with an assessment of the turkey, followed by a description of its size and how it was prepared. As Kath started to describe the preparation instructions on the packet, she encountered quite significant turn-constructional difficulties (10-14). At 14, Kath began to detail how she had prepared the turkey, reporting that she *put it* (presumably, in the oven) at *only ... a hundred en eighty degrees*. Kath returned her gaze to Valerie during this detail, and also began to frown. The interactants then held gaze at one another throughout the silence at 16, with Kath continuing to frown, and Valerie nodding slightly. Next, Valerie produced a falling *mm* and, in overlap, Kath began an assessment: *that's kind've slow*.

Kath's facial expression and the silence at 16 appear to have been encouraging Valerie to show some recognition of this detail's import; that the recommended temperature would cook the turkey very slowly. In doing so, she treated Valerie as someone for whom this detail should be transparent, i.e. its import was something that Valerie should properly know²⁶. Valerie's failure to proffer substantial evidence that she did—despite ample opportunity to do so—meant that agreeing with Kath's assertion at 18 via (turn-initial) *that's right* would have been highly vulnerable to the inference that it was manufactured on the spot (cf. Heritage, 2002). On the other hand, this failure made epistemically strong agreement all the more important if Valerie was to be heard as credibly knowledgeable of the matters-at-hand, and consistent with who Kath had constructed her to be. These duelling pressures motivated Valerie's use of a pre-TR composite.

It is interesting to note that Kath began to withdraw her gaze after the *yes* component had clearly emerged. This suggests that Kath treated it as adequate enough to resume her telling. As such, she likely heard *yes* as doing (weak) agreement with her assertion. However, as we have seen, *that's right* also does agreement in this kind of sequential environment (see Section 8.3). Why, then, did Valerie produce two tokens that were ostensibly in the business of agreement when a single token (as Kath's orientations demonstrate) would have sufficed? One possibility is that her turn's metamorphosis into *that's right* may have worked to retrospectively cast *yes* as doing something other than agreement. That is, the weakness and multifunctionality of *yes* allowed Valerie to get her turn underway in a conservative (and slightly ambiguous) fashion, before seamlessly moving into *that's right*, and the stronger

²⁶ In fact, Valerie's slight nods towards the end of Kath's talk at 15 (which continued until 18), may have provided some indication that she did appreciate the perspective Kath was advancing (cf. Stivers, 2008). As such, this may have made her lack of response at 16, and *mm* at 17, even more glaring.

claims it embodies. The phonetic realisation of Valerie's response points towards another possibility. The continuity of frication between these tokens bound them together in a pivotal fashion (cf. Schegloff, 1979; Walker, 2007), with *yes* transforming into *that's right* over the turn's course. Therefore, this response might be best thought of as a single, phonetically-integrated agreement token, whose shape Valerie dynamically revised in order to accommodate the conflicting pressures created by prior talk²⁷. Either way, Valerie's positioning of *yes* in turn-initial position absorbed the pressure created by her delayed response, while *that's right* indexed the independent knowledge that Kath treated Valerie as possessing.

Extract 8.31 provides another example of an assimilated pre-TR composite. As before, both sequential and socioepistemic pressures converged to influence the shape of Valerie's turn. Previously, the interactants had been preparing an Easter card for sending to Valerie's friends, and discussing their activities.

Extract 8.31 [051604] (12:31 - 13:19)

```

001 K .hh en did they >have a< lovely holid'y up theire?
002 (0.4)
003 V .tk .hh [mm:, very nice;
      [(K stops writing & closes the card))
004 (0.2)
005 K yes:,
006 (0.2)
007 V coach, °>e- e-<° to[ur: ( ) ]
-> 008 K [a coa:ch tour yes.]
-> 009 K [.hh I LIKE fisherman's bay all down there:, .hh
      [((gazes to V's left))
-> 010 urunga:, cherry[brook:, (0.3)
      [((gazes to V))
=> 011 V ye:s: a:t's right,=
012 K =uh:[m°:..° tch .hh (a::d) <and going further south
      [((gazes to V's left))
013 t'wards e:[bor¿>
      [((gazes to V))
014 (0.2)
015 V ye:s.
016 K ↑lov- love[ly coastline:,
017 V [beautiful.]
018 (.)
019 V m[m: ]
020 K [lovely] coastline;
021 V ye:s.
022 (0.8)
-> 023 K ahm: (1.0) it's st:ill largely unspoi:lt down there i
-> 024 think.=
=> 025 V =that's right, ye:[s.]
026 K [ y]e:s.
027 V b't still who knows:,
028 K ye[ah:.

```

²⁷ There is, therefore, an iconic relationship between their phonetic realisation of Valerie's turn and the pressures present at that point in the sequence. Local and Walker (2004) reported an analogous pattern in their analysis of "abrupt-joins". Speakers phonetically integrated separate turn components in order to close a prior sequence and initiate a new one in the same turn. See Local and Walker (2004) for further details.

029 V [it might've gone up,
 030 (0.5)
 031 V (4 syll),
 032 K .hh y:↑e:s,

Kath's topic talk initiation at 1 relating to Valerie's friends' holiday was met with a composite response from Valerie (*mm very nice*), and followed by further information about it (i.e. it was a *coach tour*). Kath receipted Valerie's elaboration at 8, and then claimed that she liked locations near where Valerie's friends had holidayed. In doing so, Kath identified a number of towns in the area, and Valerie responded with *yes at's right*. Kath then produced another geographical reference, and asserted that the coastline was *lovely*, which occasioned further assessments and receipts from both interactants (17-21). Valerie met Kath's next assertion—that these places are *largely unspoilt*—with *that's right yes*, and Valerie then moved to assume primary speakership. This culminated in an audible but untranscribable turn at 31. Kath receipted this talk with a prosodically marked *yes*, after which there was a lapse in talk while Kath engaged in other activities (not shown)²⁸.

At first glance, the functional asymmetry of Kath's talk at 9-10 makes it difficult to classify Valerie's *that's right* at 11. That is, the initial, asserting portion of Kath's turn made agreement/disagreement a (possibly) relevant next-action, whereas the place references *Urunga* and *Cherrybrook* (in combination with Kath's rather pointed return of gaze) seemed to be soliciting a display of recognition from Valerie. Because Kath was initiating a new (but related) spate of topic talk, Valerie's familiarity with the stated locations would be consequential for the kinds of actions that were subsequently relevant. For example, if Valerie was unfamiliar with these places, Kath would have needed to engage in substantial descriptive work to establish where they were, and why they were likeable. As such, it seems more likely that Valerie was using *that's right* as a claim to recognition of them²⁹. At the same time though, as was demonstrated in the analysis of Extract 8.24, the use of the recognition *that's right* in response to a topic talk initiation can be heard as disaligning, and contesting the mentionability of the matters-at-hand. Once again, then, there were conflicting pressures on Valerie at 11; claiming recognition of the places mentioned, while maintaining alignment with the course of action projected by Kath's talk. With an assimilated *yes at's right*, Valerie was able to, firstly, align with Kath's proposed talk, before segueing into a claim of

²⁸ Although it is possible that Kath adequately heard and understood the prior turn, her emphatic agreement at 32 (in the absence of any other talk) appears more likely to be a method for avoiding the initiation of repair.

²⁹ Also, unlike Extract 6.1.1, where Kath withdrew her gaze as *yes* was approaching completion, she maintained her gaze on Valerie here. This suggests that she was seeking something more substantial than agreement/disagreement, or a simple aligning response.

recognition, which acted to propose the kinds of actions that Kath should (and need not) undertake during its progression³⁰.

The socioepistemic conditions set out by Kath's sequence-initial action at 9-10 also provide some insight into Valerie's alignment at 11, and her use of turn-initial *that's right* at 25. Given Valerie's long term residence in nursing homes, it was extremely unlikely that she would have recently experienced the locations that Kath was referring to. Further, Kath's talk at 9-10 projected more-to-come about these locations, and the possibility that she had recent, newsworthy experience of them. Therefore, producing the recognition *that's right* in turn-initial position at 11 would have been incongruent with both the projected epistemic positioning of the interactants, and disaligning with the projected course of action. As it would turn out, however, such a display was not forthcoming; Kath assessed the area in question rather generally at 16/20, and her assessment at 23-24 included an epistemic downgrade via *I think* (cf. Heritage & Raymond, 2005). Thus, at the possible completion of her turn at 24, Kath was yet to provide any clear evidence of recent, newsworthy experience with these places, and had downgraded her immediately prior (and possibly sequence-closing) assessment. Valerie's use of turn-initial *that's right* at 25 reflected both the sequential position of this assessment, and the accumulating evidence that she and Kath had (something approaching) symmetrical epistemic rights with regard to these locations³¹.

In summary, pre-TR composites involve displacement of *that's right* from turn-initial position, and make it inspectable as a "second" in the turn. Valerie employed them to index characteristics of the surrounding environment that made alignment with prior talk using turn-initial *that's right* problematic.

8.5.2 Post-TR composites

At first consideration, post-TR composites might seem even more perplexing than pre-TR composites. Why, having receipted some talk with *that's right*, would an interactant need to append a second, minimal action to it? On this issue with regard to *mm*, Gardner (2001) wrote:

It [*mm*] is unlikely to occur after other talk such as an agreement or an assessment, as the production of this would already have marked adequate receipt of the talk to which it is oriented, thus rendering an *Mm* redundant. (p. 185)

³⁰ Thus, rather than a single, integrated agreement token like in Extract 6.1.1, this instance might be best thought of as a single, integrated alignment token.

³¹ This position is further supported by Valerie's talk at 27 and 29, where she constructed both herself and Kath as insufficiently knowledgeable about the matters-at-hand to draw definitive conclusions.

One basis for the production of particular responsive tokens in addition to others is the grammatical format of the prior turn. As Heritage and Raymond (2005) and Raymond (2003) have argued, FPPs with interrogative components can occasion the use of *yes/yeah/no* in a SPP.

Extract 8.14.1

```

016 K .hh ↑$that's uhm,$ .hh i- it- (1.1) i mean, (.) if it
017 gives her happiness now, it's far better th'n .hh when
-> 018 i've gone i:sn't ↓it.
019 (0.2)
-> 020 V that's right;
021 (.)
=> 022 V ye:s,
023 (0.3)
024 K °mm:,°

```

Kath's use of a tag (like Jenny's in 8.29) provided Valerie with an opportunity to assemble a turn that separately addressed its interrogative and non-interrogative components. This, however, does not explain Valerie's frequent production of post-TR composites in response to turns without a tag.

Extract 4.1.2

```

029 K [so:] fay said ↑uhw would y(h)ou, °>(so) i said<°=
030 V [mm:,]
-> 031 K =ye:s: y'know i mean, .hh i'd- (0.7) far rather give
-> 032 it her t' now than when i'm dead;
=> 033 V that's ri:ght ↓yeah.
034 K s' she c'n make use of it; ahm=

```

Here, a highly similar assertion without a tag was met with a lexically similar composite response. One might also query why, if *that's right* was being used for (strong) agreement in these instances, another agreeing token like *yeah* was required. As Schegloff (2007c) observed, composite turns can implement distinct receipting work, so it seems unlikely that both *that's right* and *yeah* are doing agreement, despite the positive sense of *yeah*.

The projection of next-actions appears to have been one motivation for Valerie's production of post-TR composites. Interactants must design their talk so that it projects (and constrains) the kinds of actions that can properly occur next, and who can properly do them (Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Schegloff, 2007c). As the data presented by Clift (2005) demonstrated, responding with *that's right* can foreshadow a bid for the floor (see Chapter 7). By positioning a token like *yes/yeah* or *mm* as the second component of a

composite response, Valerie was able to colour the projective qualities of *that's right* with the projective qualities of the response tokens that followed. The praxis supported by these turns was therefore partitioned, with *that's right* acting to receipt the prior talk, and objects like *yes* and *mm* projecting the kinds of next-actions (if any) that could be expected. In Extract 8.32, the weak projective qualities of *mm* are evident. Previously, Kath had been talking about her plans to get her granddaughter some perfume for her birthday.

Extract 8.32 [051604] (47:05 - 47:21)

```

001 K  °c'se-° .h she does love per:fume.
002      (0.4)
003 V  ye:s.
004      (0.8)
005 K  [we ↑all ↓do.
      [((shifts gaze from V to V's left))
006      (0.3)
007      [(0.5)
      [(K gazes to V))
008 K  we al[l do, ]
-> 009 V      [that's] right,
-> 010      (.)
-> 011 V  mm:.
=> 012      (2.8)
=> 013 K  .tk .hh so: °hh° uh:m ↑i hope bobby remembers it's his
014      sister's birthd'y ...

```

Kath's assertion at 5 initially received no response from Valerie but, just subsequent to the (rather pointed) return of Kath's gaze, *that's right* was quickly forthcoming. After a micro-pause, Valerie then produced a post-TR token—*mm* with a falling intonation contour—which heralded a long pause, then a topic talk initiation by Kath. The positioning of *mm* acted to index that *that's right* was not a harbinger of any next-object from Valerie, and that the action she had implemented with *that's right* was claiming mutual stance, and nothing more. A falling *mm* does not project any next-action, nor does it strongly select a next-speaker (Gardner, 2001). This meant that talk from Valerie or from Kath could have followed, but Kath eventually claimed the floor in the absence of a bid from Valerie. Therefore, the work that this post-TR token was engaged in might be best thought of action projection, rather than receipt of other-talk.

Here, and in most instances, the projective indeterminateness of post-TR composites allowed—or perhaps encouraged—Valerie's conversation partners to take-up speakership once more. If Valerie's post-TR composites were in the business of handing the floor back to her conversation partners, one might query why she did not utilise canonical continuers like *mm hm* or *uh huh* as second components in these turns. A number of observations are relevant here. First, Valerie did not use *mm hm* very commonly in the recordings collected, nor *uh huh*

at all³². Instead, in continuer environments she tended to produce *mm* and *yes/yeah*, which can function as continuers given an appropriate prosodic shape; usually, a rising terminal contour (cf. Gardner, 2001). Interestingly though, Valerie used falling tokens in post-TR composites far more frequently than rising ones (i.e. only 9/37 were rising). Second, the mutual stance variant was the most prevalent type of *that's right* in Valerie's talk, and it tended to occur towards the possible closure of extended spates of other talk. As such, producing a continuer (or a continuer-like token) in this environment may have been heard as treating the foregoing talk as incomplete, whereas a falling *mm* or *yes/yeah* would be less vulnerable to this inference. Bearing these observations in mind, it seems possible that Valerie elected to use tokens and intonation contours typical of acknowledgers in post-TR composites because a broader range of possible next-actions (and next-speakers) could follow them. For example, acknowledgement tokens can accommodate both speakership transition and current-speaker-continuation, whereas continuers only project further same-speaker talk.

If Valerie did in fact use post-TR composites to colour the projective qualities of *that's right*—and, in doing so, dampen any incipient claims to the floor embodied by it (e.g. Clift, 2005)—a logical first step in building an analytic case for this position would be to search for differences in speakership incipency between *that's right* alone and *that's right mm/yes/yeah*. Specifically, one would expect that Valerie would be less likely to bid for primary speakership following post-TR composites. The frequency of primary speakership transition following turn-initial *that's right* is presented below in Table 8.4.

Table 8.4

Frequency of Speakership Bids Following Turn-initial that's right

Response	Frequency
<i>that's right</i> alone	5/42
<i>that's right yes/yeah</i>	3/20
<i>that's right mm</i>	0/16
<i>that's right</i> other	0/1
Total	8/79

Valerie made very few bids for the floor after the production of turn-initial *that's right*, regardless of the presence or absence post-TR tokens (8/79). Although they were more common after *that's right* alone (5/42) and *that's right yes* (3/20) than after *that's right mm* (0/16), the occurrence of each variant in qualitatively similar environments, combined with

³² The absence of *uh huh* is consistent with Gardner (2001), who found that *uh huh* is much less common in Australian (and British) English than in American English.

the small numbers of bids for the floor in general, undermines any attempt to draw firm conclusions here.

Instances in which Valerie incurred into her conversation partner's turn space with *that's right* also offer some support for the role of post-TR composites in the projection of next-actions. Entry into another's turn outside possible (or just pre-possible) points of completion can be seen as competitive with, or disaligning from, the talk-in-progress. As such, one would expect Valerie to use post-TR composites in these environments in order to protect against her response being heard as a claim for the floor. For the most part (i.e. in 11/15 instances), this was what occurred³³. Some examples from previous extracts are shown below.

Extract 8.12.1

```

010 K =we['ll have to; °.h° <you can't keep=
011 V [yes,
012 K =[the> (0.3) ] a [surgeon wai:ting.
-> 013 V [that's right,] [(°mm:°)
014 (0.7)
015 V mm:,=
016 K =so:, (0.4) we jumped in the c- (.) my car(h), en i
017 drove her down there.

```

Extract 8.18.1

```

014 K b't you c:an't expect (0.6) y'know the other, (.)
015 [people in the] village [t' lo]ok after °her?°
-> 016 V [that's right.] [°mm:..°]
017 [(1.2)
[(K & V gaze at each other)]
018 V °mm[:..°
[(begins a slight head shake)]

```

Extract 8.22.1

```

002 melissa en steven that's .hh sam's br[other-]
003 V [ ye]s.
004 (0.5)
005 K who uh- [(.) they live over the[re, °.hh°] (0.4) and=
-> 006 V [that's right, [mm:.. ]
007 K =fay said >i d:on't< think so no:.. °uhg°

```

Extract 8.23.1

```

009 w's 'at; .hh >W'LL I< sp:ent all that on my compu:ter.
010 (0.2)
011 V ye:s.=
012 K =i bought a computer for that. y'know,
013 [that <°(new-) [new computer.°> .hh so:, (0.3)=
-> 014 V [°that's ri:ght.° [°mm:..°
015 K =a(k)hm (1.0) the nine hundred (.) mr rudd, (0.5)

```

³³ Deviant cases can be found in Extracts 4.3, 8.28, and 8.33.

In each of these extracts, Valerie used post-TR composites in positions where speaker-transition was not (or turned about to be not) relevant. The choice of token here is likely consequential, with the minimalism of *mm* acting to severely curtail the projective potential of *that's right* and, in doing so, disclaim that Valerie was attempting to wrest the floor.

This section has argued that Valerie's post-TR composites were involved with the projection of next-actions. Post-TR tokens acted to dampen the projective qualities of *that's right*, and regularly provided her conversation partners with an opportunity to maintain speakership. While Valerie's generally low speakership incipency makes this claim tentative, and difficult to clearly substantiate, her regular use of post-TR composites in environments of non-terminal overlap offers some supplementary evidence.

8.5.3 Atypical composites

There was only a very small number of responses other than *mm* and *yes/yeah* that Valerie used in combination with *that's right*. One of these was *no*, which Valerie produced in pre-TR composites on two occasions. Jefferson (2002) examined the use of *no* as a response to (non-interrogative) other-talk. Her aim was to investigate whether it could be used as a (relatively) neutral, receipting response token (akin to *mm* and *yes*) or whether (as her intuition suggested) it more strongly claimed endorsement of a speaker's stance. Jefferson (2002) found that, in everyday talk, American recipients more commonly used *no* for stance endorsement, but that British recipients performed both neutral receipt and stance endorsement. In the present data-set, Valerie's use of *no* was more akin to American recipients. She quite often agreed with stance-taking turns that had negative polarity with only *no*.

Extract 8.18.2

```

001  K  ahm. (0.4) b't (0.7) you know, oyhh-ø .hhh øyu-ø
002      you've >got t' be< sensible.
003  V  m:m:.
-> 004  K  .hh >°y-° †en you °g-°< i mean, (0.2) you can:'t rely
-> 005      on other people.
006      [ (0.4)
007      [ ((V nods))
=> 007  V  no: ,

```

Valerie also used *that's right* to agree with stance-taking that had negative polarity (e.g. Extract 8.12). Therefore, she may have treated *no* and *that's right* as alternative responses in these environments. This also would explain the infrequency of composites involving *no* and

that's right, because their functional similarity would typically render one of the tokens redundant.

Extract 8.33 presents one instance in which Valerie combined *no* and *that's right* to form a composite. Here, the grammatical format and action of Kath's talk occasioned the production of both responsive objects. Just prior to Extract 8.33, Kath had initiated topic talk relating to a turkey that she had purchased for an Easter meal. After reporting its price at 8, Kath indicated at 11 that Sonia had said it was too expensive.

Extract 8.33 [041004] (42:44 - 43:16)

```

001 K =ah:m, (0.6) and uh, (0.3) so: (.) i got one et
002 col:es, .hhh (.) i- it's it's a fiairly [big one,]
003 V [is it ]
004 raw?
005 (0.5)
006 K yo:hw yes, y[e:s.]
007 V [ ye]s.=
008 K =.hh ahm i ↑paid↑ thirty eight dollars for it;
009 V mm:,
010 (0.3)
-> 011 K [b't (0.9) ah °>she said oh that's<° so much money:,
    [((gazes to V's left))
-> 012 >i said< .hh °↑(yeah) b't° (0.3) °y'know?↑° i don't-
-> 013 [(0.4) [really, (.)] spend my, [↓(°°w'll°°) apart
    [((gazes to V)) ] [((gazes to V's left))
    [((V nods)) ]
-> 014 [fr'm [the things [i have to↓ ] you know,=
    [((gazes to V)) [ ]
=> 015 V [no, [that's right,]
016 K =i'm [kind've pretty good with money. °°so.°°
017 V [mm:.
018 (0.8)
019 K >anyway< so that's- that- w'll be our: (.) easter
020 sunday.
021 V ye:s.
022 (0.7)
023 K ↓feas:t.↓

```

Kath's retort to Sonia's contention was originally cast as reported speech, but this TCU progressed quite discontinuously. Kath ended up abandoning her self-praising reported speech at 13, and inserted a parenthetical qualification of it. The basis for this qualification likely originates in earlier talk, where Kath detailed (and emphasised) the large amounts of money she had spent fixing her dishwasher and plumbing (see Chapter 6, Extract 6.8, and Extract 8.21). She couldn't, therefore, blandly claim to Valerie that she didn't spend her money. Valerie's composite response at 15 is somewhat curious³⁴. The *no* is consistent with the polarity of Kath's abandoned TCU but, if it was responsive to this, it was quite late given that

³⁴ As argued above, a post-TR token would have been expected here based on the positioning of Valerie's response and, accordingly, it was recorded as a deviant case. Although an *mm* followed not long after, Kath's possible (and re-)completion of her prior TCU meant that it was not classified as a post-TR token.

Kath had already begun her non-negative parenthetical³⁵. One possible explanation for the shape of Valerie's composite is that, similarly to Extract 8.30, the adjacency of *no* and *that's right* was a consequence of Valerie's ongoing analysis of Kath's talk, with *no* an artefact of prior talk that was superseded by *that's right*. Alternatively, Valerie might have designed her talk at 15 so it was heard as responsive to Kath's abandoned TCU and the qualification, rather than just the latter. Kath's initiation of the qualification was perhaps the result of Valerie's failure to vocally align with the reported speech at 12-13 despite its repeated stalling. Kath could have taken this as a sign that something dispreferred was in the offing, and identified her previous reports of money spent as its motivation. Further, Kath's qualification may then have signalled to Valerie that a vocal response had been due. Therefore, Valerie used the polarity-matching *no* to point back towards the spot in which she should have responded. Valerie's use of *that's right* reflected the potentially sensitive nature of Kath's self-praise, and grounded her agreement in her independent knowledge of the matters-at-hand.

Another atypical pre-TR composite is presented in Extract 8.34. Here, Valerie used multiple responsive objects before *that's right*. Prior to this extract, Betty had been telling the others about winning chocolates during bingo, and how she tended to give her winnings to a friendly member of staff at the nursing home.

Extract 8.34 [072910] (28:31 - 29:24)

```

001 B   cause i'm not suppose to eat, (0.6) choc'late;
002      (0.3)
003 B   hh h[m
004 V      [°yeah.°]
005 K      [no val]erie's not allowed. she w's- .hh (0.5)
006      °sh-° [fou]nd t' be dia[betic,      ]
007 V      [no-]      [i don't (usua]°lly°)=
008 K      ='nd she l:OVes her choc'late don't yo[u;]
009 V      [ y]e:s.
010      [(1.3)
011      [(K & B gaze at V; V gazes at K))
012 B   [(wonder-)]
013 V   [↑b't i      ] don't have any uhm, (1.3) (i- uh- th-)
014      (feelin for any more),
015 K   .hh ↑OHw y' don't- (.) ↑↑oh::w.
016 V   °(y[eah:]°]
017 B   [why [n]ot,
018      [((V gazes to B))
019      [(0.7)
020      [(V gazes at B))
021 V   (°.hh°)=
022 B   =(they wont allow us.)
023      (0.3)
024 V   ye:s.
025      [(1.2)
026      [((B & V nod slightly))
027      ((K & B gaze at V))

```

³⁵ Kath's brief withdrawal of gaze from Valerie at 12 may have been a factor in this delay, with *no* quickly forthcoming upon its return.

023 K h↑↑ohw.
 024 [(1.0)
 [(K & B gaze at V))
 025 K ↑tha- that's stran:ge valerie.
 026 V i don' kno[w:,
 027 K [WHAT 'VE YOU GONE KIND'VE ahm you prefer
 028 something savoury?
 029 V ye:s:,
 030 (0.5)
 031 B [yes ↓y' do.]
 [(to K))
 032 V [b't (eh)]
 033 (0.5)
 034 B °↓y' do.=
 035 V =prefer a drink e' wa:t(h)er huh
 036 (0.6)
 037 K rea°lly:,°
 038 [(0.4)
 [(V nods))
 039 V °mm:..°
 040 (0.6)
 041 K °j'st a drink of wat>er<° e-not your ju:ice [anymore;
 [(V head
 shakes))
 042 V [no:..
 [(continues head shakes))
 043 [(0.7) [(0.3)
 [(V's head shakes slow [to a stop))
 044 K >aw w'll< you ARE changing. b'cause y[ou used t']=
 045 V [yes,]
 046 K =drink a l:↑ot've juice;
 047 (0.3)
 -> 048 V yes [o:hw yes, [that's right.
 [(lifts left hand to point at K [then drops it))
 049 (0.5)
 050 B that['s g:o]od f'r you.
 051 K [ha-]
 052 (0.7)
 053 V mm:_

Throughout this sequence Valerie and Kath tussled over Valerie's dietary preferences and, in particular, whether she enjoyed consuming sweet things. Kath's assertions at 5-6 and 8 ran over Valerie's counter claims at 7, with Valerie then producing an assenting (and likely misfiring) *yes* in response. After the silence at 11, Betty began to produce what appears to have been an assessment (i.e. *wonderful*) but, in overlap, Valerie commenced her rebuttal of Kath's position; that she doesn't have *any feelin' for it* (presumably, chocolate) *any more*. Kath's change of state tokens at 14 were met with an acknowledgement from Valerie. Betty then produced a *wh-* interrogative, which didn't initially elicit a response. As Valerie began to respond at 18, Betty produced a candidate answer, and Valerie receipted it with *yes*. After further silence, a change of state display, and an assessment, Kath then pursued an inquiry relating to Valerie's current tastes—if she now liked savoury things—which Valerie agreed with. Betty supported Valerie's stance (i.e. *y' do*), which Valerie then expanded to include her preference for plain water as well. Kath's resistance to Valerie's claims continued and, at 41, she queried whether Valerie no longer preferred juice, which Valerie confirmed. Valerie then

responded to Kath's claim that she *used to drink a lot've juice* with a pre-TR composite (*yes ohw yes that's right*). Next, Betty assessed the benefits of juice and, as shown in Extract 8.26, began a line of questioning about whether Valerie had juice for breakfast.

By the time Kath produced her claim at 44/46 about Valerie's prior juice-drinking habits, there had been sustained misalignment between Valerie and Kath. Betty's support for Valerie at 31 and 34 could have put an end to it on the basis that Valerie's apparently *strange* preference shift was not unique to her, but rather something that happens to particular person types. However, Valerie's turn at 35 supplied Kath with further ammunition, and the seeming incongruity with past habits continued to be pursued. Up until her tempered acquiescence at 44, Kath refrained from producing tokens that would mark receipt and acceptance of Valerie's perspective (e.g. *okay*, or *oh okay*) in favour of responses that promoted expansion of the sequence (e.g. *oh* alone, *really*) and overt displays of misalignment (e.g. 25 and 41). At the same time, Valerie's minimal responses at 29, 39, and 42 offered little in the way of concession, justification, or rapprochement with Kath's position. It is against this backdrop that Valerie's turn at 48 must be measured; in particular, lines 35-47.

Kath's weakening of her position at 44 provided Valerie with an opportunity to bring herself into agreement with Kath, and draw the preceding period of misalignment to a close. Throughout this sequence, Kath had been attempting to reconcile Valerie's current claims with her own knowledge of Valerie's past tastes. Both components of Kath's turn at 44/46 grounded her persistence with expanding the sequence in this prior knowledge. But, while the first component made some concessions to Valerie (i.e. *you ARE changing*), the second half put forward yet another assertion that contrasted Valerie's past with the present (i.e. *you used to drink a lot've juice*). Given the extended period of misalignment that had persisted, it is not surprising that Valerie was keen and willing to agree with Kath at the first sign of rapprochement. Valerie produced one *yes* at 45, and then began her turn at 48 with another. The second *yes* was contiguous with the latter part of Kath's turn and, because this talk made agreement/disagreement relevant, Valerie's response was unlikely to be heard as doing anything other than—or more than—agreeing with the prior turn. The next part of Valerie's turn—*ohw yes*—indexed that she had undergone some change of state (cf. Heritage, 1984a), but its precise nature was not explicated. Its adjacency with *yes*—and this token's one-dimensional receipt of the prior turn—meant that this composite (within a composite) was likely heard as doing something in addition to receipting the immediately prior turn. In particular, it seems that this response was pointing towards the implications of Valerie's agreement for the responsive choices she made in an earlier part of the sequence.

Kath's turns at 37 and 41 treated Valerie's preference for water as newsworthy, and as requiring some sort of account, but Valerie's responses at 38-39 and 42 were decidedly minimal. In particular, Kath's confirmable *not your juice anymore* implied that Valerie and juice were associated in some special fashion in the past. Valerie, however, did not directly address this claim in her response at 42. Kath's subsequent assertion at 44/46 explicitly established the nature of Valerie's past association with juice and, in doing so, proposed the newsworthiness of Valerie's preference for water. As such, Valerie's agreement at 48 risked being heard as conflicting with her prior minimal responses because, by agreeing, she essentially ratified the newsworthiness that Kath had been proposing, and that she had rejected. Valerie's *ohw yes* worked to lend credibility to her agreement (and her prior conduct) by claiming that she had become newly oriented to the matters-at-hand. However, simply claiming a change in orientation was not sufficient remediation of the foregoing misalignment. Had nothing followed *ohw yes*, this sequence would have likely been expanded once more. Valerie used *that's right* to claim that she and Kath were now back in alignment after their divergence on the significance of Valerie's preference for water. Like the prior *yes*, because *that's right* was contiguous with Kath's assertion at 44/46, it was likely heard as agreeing and aligning with this talk. At the same time though, because *ohw yes* had invoked earlier parts of the sequence, *that's right* was likely also heard as endorsing Kath's claims to newsworthiness, and her previous pursuit of an account. This token was therefore categorised as a restored intersubjectivity *that's right*. Kath treated Valerie's response as sufficient enough to bring the sequence to a close. She yielded the floor to Betty, who would initiate yet another spate of problematic talk (see Extract 8.26).

In summary, then, each part of Valerie's composite at 49 was involved in distinct receipting work. It incrementally moved from receipting the immediately prior turn via *yes*, to invoking earlier parts of the sequence via *ohw yes*, and then simultaneously ratifying Kath's prior turn and her preceding talk via *that's right*. Rather than *yes ohw yes* displacing *that's right* from turn-initial position, *ohw yes that's right* was occasioned by Valerie's prior agreement. Valerie's change of state made possible her claim to strong agreement and alignment via *that's right*. Thus, *ohw yes* was the fulcrum of this turn, in that it accounted for Valerie's initial agreement, while laying the ground for the claims embodied by *that's right*³⁶.

³⁶ The modularity of these tasks is reflected in the phonetic realisation of these tokens. Here, Valerie had the opportunity to phonetically integrate (*ohw*) *yes* and *that's right* as she did in Extracts 6.1.1 and 8.31, but she elected not to. Unlike these instances, where Valerie had to simultaneously satisfy the constraints engendered by prior talk, Valerie's composite in Extract 8.34 incrementally passed through independent steps (receipt prior turn → change of state → strong agreement/alignment) that laid the ground for the subsequent token. This suggests that, in some instances at least, [*yes + at's right*] and [*yes + that's right*] may have been a locus of systematic variation in Valerie's talk.

Finally, Extract 8.35 involves responsive objects being positioned before and after *that's right*. It is also the only instance in which Valerie combined *that's right* with a semantically-rich lexical item. Just prior to this extract, Betty had been questioning Valerie about her living costs, and how they were calculated, but Valerie claimed to be uninformed on these matters (not shown). Kath made a similar suggestion at 1-2, and noted that Valerie's son took care of her affairs.

Extract 8.35 [072910] (19:14 - 19:46)

```

001 K  =.h i- I- [i- (.) i don't think valerie knows, (0.3) (i-
          [(B gazes to K))
002      u-) dean:, (.) looks after her af[fairs;
003 B                                     [°(>tha's alright<)°]
004 K  =.hh [when valerie had her stroke, .h[h u]hm: (.)=
          [(B begins to gaze away from K))
005 B                                     [(mm)]
          [(gazing at V))
006 K  =.h [she hadda [house e'course.
          [(B opens mouth [(B drops hand & turns
          [ & moves left [ head back towards K))
          [ hand toward V))
007      [(0.8)
          [(B & K gaze at each other; V is motionless))
008 K  <b't [ahm.>]
009 B      [where] abouts,
          [(gazing at K))
010      [(0.3)
          [(K gazes up?))
011 V  [°e-° eastwood [he:igh]ts,
          [(K gazes to V))
          [(B gazes at K))
012 K      [eas- ]
013      [(0.2)
          [(B begins to turn her head towards V))
014 K  °mm:[:°
015 B      [eastwood h[eigh]ts.=
          [(gazing at V))
016 V      [(u-)]
017 V  =mm[:;
018 B      [.h very nice.=
019 K  =(ha:[n:,)]
020 V      [it's] ni:ce, ye:s.
021 K  dea:n [ha- ]
022 V      [love]ly view y'know,=
023 B  =be:auti[ful.]
024 K      [°(mm):. m[m,)]°
-> 025 B      [↑NICE n' high up,
=> 026 V  ye:s th:at's right, [two st]or:ey;
027 B      [↓lovely.]
028      (.)
029 B  ↓yes.
030      (0.6)
031 K  sh:: [did you [hear:] about that (0.3) body in the=
          [(B begins to turn her head towards K))
032 V      [(mm:)]
033 K  =bag found [et blARney] heights;
034 V      [↑↑ye:s ]
035 B  dr↑ead↓ful.

```

In the initial part of Extract 8.35, Betty was steadily withdrawing her orientation towards Kath. At 7, she seemingly began to initiate talk directed towards Valerie, but ended up aborting this incipient bid for the floor. Betty then queried Kath about where Valerie had previously lived. In the subsequent silence, however, Valerie supplied the answer. Betty then completely broke her orientation toward Kath, and gazed back to Valerie. Betty's assessment of *Eastwood Heights* at 18 was unmarked and, at 20, Valerie responded by asserting her epistemic authority from second position with a composite, unmarked assessment (cf. Heritage & Raymond, 2005). At 21 (and possibly 19), Kath attempted to shift the talk back to Valerie's son, but Valerie and Betty maintained their mutual attention. Valerie then produced another assessment at 22, which occasioned two further assessments from Betty at 23 and 25. Valerie responded to Betty's latter assessment with *yes that's right two storey* and, following the possible closure of this assessment sequence, Kath quickly moved to initiate a new line of talk (see Chapter 6, Extract 6.12).

At first glance, there does not seem to be any significant grounds for displacing *that's right* from turn-initial position. That is, both Valerie and Betty had been in sustained agreement for a number of turns, and the matters-at-hand were properly known by Valerie. However, Valerie's use of a pre-TR composite may have been indexing some issues with the design and action of Betty's assessment at 25. First, as had been the case for much of the sequence, the target assessable was slightly ambiguous. That is, it was not clear whether the suburb was being assessed, or whether it was Valerie's home in the suburb, or both. Second, that Valerie's home was *nice n' high up* appeared to have been (at least partially) addressed by Valerie's claim of having a *lovely view*. Third, and as such, it may not have been clear what Betty's turn was projecting, e.g. confirmation from Valerie, or a second assessment. Combined, these factors likely influenced how Valerie responded at 28.

By producing turn-initial *yes* with a falling intonation contour, Valerie only weakly endorsed the design and action of Betty's turn. This response allowed Valerie to get her turn underway while not strongly aligning with the one prior because, as noted above, she likely heard it as somewhat indeterminate. Interestingly, there was a clear rise in pitch as Valerie produced *that's right*, which may have acted to demarcate what was being done with it, with what had been done with *yes*³⁷. Given Valerie's previous assertion of epistemic authority from second position at 20, it seems likely that she would have done so again at 26 had she heard Betty's talk as implementing an epistemically ill-calibrated action. Therefore, it appears that

³⁷ These observations on turn initial *yes*, and the rise in pitch during the token subsequent to it, are also relevant for the composite in Extract 8.34. In particular, the rise in pitch during *ohw yes* provides further evidence that *yes* and *ohw yes that's right* were rather separate entities in that instance.

Valerie (eventually) heard Betty's turn as a confirmation request and, as such, that Valerie used *that's right* for confirming. What Valerie appended to *that's right* provides further support for the claim that the design of Betty's assessment was mildly problematic. With *two storey*, Valerie appears to have been indexing that, it wasn't just that her house was in a *high up* suburb, but that it was a *two storey* house in a *high up* suburb, and this was what gave it a *lovely view*³⁸. Thus, both the both pre- and post-TR tokens pointed towards issues with Betty's turn. At the front end, *yes* indexed the ambiguity of Betty's action; at the back, *two storey* gently contested the design of Betty's assessment, while clarifying just what was *nice n' high up*.

8.5.4 Summary and discussion: Section 8.5

Section 8.5 has discussed how Valerie combined *that's right* with other responsive resources; principally, *mm* and *yes/yeah*. This section has provided evidence that Valerie used pre-TR composites to index that aligning with the prior turn via turn-initial *that's right* was problematic in some fashion. As well, it was also argued that post-TR composites were involved with projecting next-actions, and worked to colour the projective qualities of *that's right*. The analytic positions reported here, however, should not be read as claiming that these were the only factors that motivated Valerie's use of composite turns. The multifunctionality and indexicality of response tokens makes it difficult for an analyst to access and succinctly characterise all that they are doing in any given place. For example, lexically and phonetically similar (verging on identical) composites can be employed to manage rather different interactional contingencies (e.g. Extracts 6.1.1 and 8.31). Nonetheless, the analyses presented above demonstrate that the manipulation of these tokens is consequential, and that Valerie used them to address the interactional contingencies of the moment.

8.6 *That's right*, aphasia, and topic talk

This chapter has examined the use of *that's right* by a person with aphasia. It has identified a number of functions and attributes of *that's right*. These functions are summarised below in Table 8.5. By some margin, the mutual stance *that's right* was the most common in this data set, followed respectively by confirming, recognition, and compliment and restored intersubjectivity (see Tables 8.2 and 8.3). So far, though, the discussion presented in this chapter has not extensively addressed the reasons for its prevalence in Valerie's talk; that is,

³⁸ One might query, though, why Valerie used *that's right* if there were issues with the design/action of the prior turn (see Section 8.2). One possibility is that the problems with Betty's turn weren't severe enough to warrant a response like *oh yes* or *of course*. Another possibility is that [*that's right* + full form lexical items] could be an alternative to these, or akin to a "yes but"-prefaced response.

what made it advantageous for Valerie as a person with aphasia. Perhaps the most generic reason for its recurrence is that it was lexically and grammatically uncomplicated, which meant that turn-constructual difficulties were unlikely to disrupt Valerie's responsive turns. There were, however, other responses available to Valerie that were similarly (if not more) uncomplicated (e.g. *yes*, or *oh yes*). As such, there must have been other features of *that's right* that made it a consequential part of Valerie's responsive repertoire. Overwhelmingly, when Valerie responded with *that's right*, she was agreeing with a prior turn, and either confirming or claiming mutual stance. Its properties as a practice for agreeing, therefore, seem the most pertinent issue to address. Before delving into these matters in detail, some general comments on aphasia and agreement are warranted.

Table 8.5
Functional Variants of that's right

Environment	Function
Confirmation	Confirming
Stance-taking	Mutual stance
Other	Recognition
	Compliment
	Restored intersubjectivity

8.6.1 Agreement and aphasia

Agreement is important for the conduct of social life at large (cf. Heritage, 1984b), so its prominence during interactions involving a person with aphasia is rather unsurprising. However, it seems possible that practices for agreeing may be especially consequential for people with aphasia due to the prevalence of other-repair during their interactions, and the ratification of others' conduct that other-repair requires. There is also reason to believe that spates of other-repair necessitate the use of a number of different practices for agreeing (and disagreeing). Much can transpire between the initiation of repair and its completion, and there is a good chance that not all of it will be pulling in the desired direction (e.g. Laakso & Klippi, 1999; Lindsay & Wilkinson, 1999; Goodwin, 1995, 2003). As such, people with aphasia will require distinguishable forms of agreement; in particular, so that agreements marking the completion of repair can be differentiated from those that are not (cf. Goodwin, 1995, p. 241-244). As we have seen, Valerie used the restored intersubjectivity *that's right* to propose termination of a spate of trouble, and provide for the resumption of postponed interactional business. Thus, (epistemically?) strong practices for agreeing may hold an important place in the responsive resources of people with aphasia because of their utility for

closing repair³⁹. Be that as it may, the vast majority of Valerie's agreements via *that's right* did not occur in environments of trouble. Instead, they involved claiming mutual stance and confirming.

8.6.2 Advantages of agreeing via *that's right* in trouble-free environments

Typically, a number of different responsive objects were available to Valerie for agreeing with stance-taking turns. *That's right*, however, represented an advantageous way of responding in a number of respects. Perhaps the most readily available method for agreeing was *yes* and its variants. But, as noted in Section 8.3, they are vulnerable to being heard as weak and/or manufactured. Claiming independent knowledge via *that's right* was useful for guarding against this inference. Further, the propositionally-rich backdrop afforded by stance-taking turns, and the indexicality of *that's right*, provided Valerie with a linguistically economical means of casting herself as a competent, independently knowledgeable member of the culture, without having to explicitly address how she knew the matters-at-hand⁴⁰.

Agreeing assessments also seem possible (if not apposite) responses to many of the stance-taking turns in this data set, and would have also implemented claims to epistemic access and rights on Valerie's behalf. However, agreeing via an assessment operates rather differently to agreeing via *that's right*, and this difference may have contributed to Valerie's recurrent use of the latter. The design of a recipient's agreeing assessment (e.g. assessment terms, grammatical format) is constrained by the design of a first position action. In fact, the status of a recipient's assessment as agreeing (or otherwise) is determined by how it fits with a first position action. If a recipient miscalibrates the design of their assessment, then a speaker is likely to expand their stance-taking in aid of corrective measures (e.g. Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Pomerantz, 1984). On the other hand, the use of *that's right* in response to stance-taking turns maintains its status as agreeing even though it is lexically and grammatically invariant. That is, *that's right* can be used to agree with a stance-taking first position action largely independently of the prior turn's shape and content. As such, agreeing via an assessment was likely more lexically and grammatically demanding for Valerie than agreeing via *that's right*, and it increased the possibility of misalignment with her conversation partners' stance-taking.

Responses that claim independent knowledge, but also epistemic authority, were another practice for agreeing that Valerie could have utilised. Such responses, however, were

³⁹ Anecdotally, this is supported by the fact that people with non-fluent aphasia commonly retain responses like *exactly* and *precisely* in spite of an otherwise significantly reduced range of lexical resources. See Beeke, Wilkinson, and Maxim (2007) and Lind (2005) for some empirical evidence.

⁴⁰ This observation is also relevant to the recognition *that's right*.

likely less usable because of Valerie's recurrent epistemic subordination in stance-taking environments, and the grammatical and lexical calibration some of these agreements required (e.g. negative interrogatives, modified repeats, cf. Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Stivers, 2005). In addition, these responses could also be heard as indexing issues with the design/action of the prior turn. By contrast, responding to stance-taking with *that's right* worked to claim "(strong) agreement with no objections", thereby promoting the progressivity of an ongoing course of action.

Many of the points registered above in relation to stance-taking environments are also applicable to confirmation ones. Just like the mutual stance *that's right*, the confirming *that's right* explicitly indexed Valerie's knowledgability of the matters-at-hand, and did not undermine the prior turn. The primary contrast between agreeing with *that's right* in stance-taking environments and agreeing with *that's right* in confirmation environments is the epistemic claims it advanced. In response to stance-taking, *that's right* offered itself for inspection as to how the matters-at-hand were knowable for Valerie, i.e. who she was claiming to be with it. On the other hand, in confirmation environments, who Valerie relevantly was had already been constructed by the confirmable turn. Thus, agreeing with *that's right* in confirmation environments offered "agreement with no objections", and embraced the identity (and authority) that had been set out by the prior turn.

In summary, then, *that's right* represented an epistemically and actionally robust way of agreeing. It also had few risks associated with it, both in terms of the demands it placed on Valerie's linguistic resources, and its interactional implications.

8.6.3 Potential problems associated with *that's right*

This is not to say that responding with *that's right* was all upside. For instance, there was potential for trouble to arise due to its indexicality. The targets of Valerie's agreements via *that's right* rested upon careful sequential placement of this response, and her conversation partners' inferential work. If either of these procedures were faulty, what Valerie was pointing toward with *that's right* was likely to be unclear, and/or misattributed by her conversation partners (cf. Wilkinson, 1999b). For example, in Extract 8.13, Valerie's agreement via *that's right* had the potential (from an analyst's perspective, at least) to be heard as agreeing with the fact that "Kath thinks *it's all wrong*" rather than "*it's all wrong*". As noted above, a sentential agreement would have more clearly coded what Valerie was agreeing with.

The claim of "no objections" embodied by *that's right* could also be problematic, but in a rather different fashion. On a handful of occasions, Valerie used *that's right* to facilitate

the “glossing over” (cf. Perkins, 1995, 2003) of talk that would have benefited from collaborative repair. For example, in Extract 8.20, Valerie chose to ignore the problems with Kath’s assertion, and effectively conspired to delete her own prior talk. As well, in Extract 8.27 (and perhaps 8.34), Valerie appeared to simply acquiesce to Kath, and used *that’s right* to close a troublesome sequence. In each of these extracts, Valerie sacrificed recognition of her agency in the talk in order to ensure that threats to alignment and affiliation were minimised, and that progressivity was maintained. In the context of examining Valerie’s use of *that right*, the upshot is that, while *that’s right* was an advantageous responsive resource in many environments, the very properties that allowed her to generate coherent action and display interactional competence could also be used to cloak serious trouble in aid of securing progressivity.

8.6.4 Topic talk and *that’s right*

Chapters 4, 6, and 8 have discussed the motivations for Valerie’s alignment as a recipient, and the mechanisms that interactants used in order to promote speakership for Valerie’s conversation partners. It was suggested that Valerie pursued this role because it was less likely to make her aphasia procedurally relevant. During Valerie’s time as a recipient of topic talk, she produced a variety of responsive forms. One recurrent response was selected for analysis in this study, and subjected to detailed inspection. If this analysis has succeeded, it should be quite clear by now that *that’s right* was an important resource for Valerie’s participation in partner-progressed topic talk. The claim here is not that it was any more important than newsmarkers, or continuers, or assessments, etc. Instead, these analyses have simply sought to demonstrate that Valerie used *that’s right* to implement distinct praxis during topic talk, and that the recurrence of this response was attributable to the importance of the actions it accomplished, as well as properties intrinsic to it⁴¹.

In much of analysis above, topic talk—as a particular course of action—has been allowed to fall into the background, with a view to working up an account of how Valerie used *that’s right*. While Chapter 6 focused on an action implemented at the initial boundary of topic talk—topic talk initiation—Chapter 8 has principally focused on an action distributed towards its terminal boundary—the mutual stance *that’s right*. Chapter 3 argued that the selection of mentionables is grounded in interactants aesthetic appreciations of the world, and who they take one another to be. It was also noted that backwards-looking actions are

⁴¹ The observations registered in Chapter 6, Section 6.3, in relation to Valerie’s motivations for recurrently utilising a particular linguistic form are also applicable to her use of *that’s right*. As such, they will not be rehashed here.

recurrently implemented at possible terminal boundaries. It is here that the import of a spate of topic talk is recurrently formulated, with interactants positioning themselves relative to the matters addressed. With the mutual stance *that's right*, and its claims to independently grounded, unconditional agreement, Valerie was able to bind herself to her conversation partners' stances on the significance of a spate of topic talk. In essence, Valerie used this practice to display her knowledgeability of the matters-at-hand, and claim that the world-views occasioned in the course of topic talk, and at its possible conclusion, were shared. That is, Valerie used *that's right* to position herself relative to the invoked social world and its figures, and to cast herself and her conversation partners as particular, moral social actors. This heightened mutual orientation also provided for transition to next-objects, and facilitated the progressivity of interactional business. Thus, Valerie used the mutual stance *that's right* to simultaneously create structural and moral junctures in topic talk.

It is also interesting that some of the smallest, most delicate phenomena examined—post-TR tokens—were involved with the maintenance of the first, most general observation put forward in Chapter 4: that speakership was distributed asymmetrically. It was argued that, with these objects, Valerie blunted *that's right*, and provided her conversation partners with the opportunity to take up (or maintain their hold on) speakership. Therefore, while *that's right* was only a sliver of Valerie's conduct during partner-progressed spates of topic talk, aspects of its calibration were sensitive to broader interactional contingencies.

Chapter 9 Discussion and conclusions

Chapter 9 summarises the findings of the present study, and describes its contributions to aphasiology and CA. In particular, the relevance of its findings for clinical practice with aphasia is addressed. This chapter closes with discussion of the present study's limitations, and some avenues for future research foreshadowed by its findings.

9.1 Summary of findings

The operation of topic talk involving Valerie, and her implementation of discrete actions during topic talk using specific linguistic forms, was described in Chapters 4-8. Topic talk initiated by Valerie, and/or topic talk that projected primary speakership for her, was regularly unsuccessful, and often resulted in serious trouble. By contrast, topic talk that implicated primary speakership for her conversation partners typically progressed unproblematically. Valerie's topic talk initiations tended to receive stronger alignment from her conversation partners when they were partner-oriented. In addition, Valerie actively aligned with her conversation partners' self-oriented topic talk initiations. Thus, for prolonged periods of topic talk, Valerie acted as a recipient, and produced a variety of brief vocal responses, while her conversation partners held primary speakership.

Valerie's production of *and*-prefaced turns, and her use *that's right* in response to her conversation partners' talk, were examined in detail. These practices were linked to the implementation of particular actions; principally, topic talk initiation and agreement. It was argued that *and*-prefacing offered generic turn constructional and sequential advantages for Valerie as a speaker with aphasia. It was also suggested that *and*-prefacing invoked the relevance of topic talk as a larger sequential activity, and this made Valerie's turns more readily identifiable as topic talk initiations. Although five functional variants of *that's right* were identified in Valerie's talk, the mutual stance *that's right* was by far the most common. This response was implicated in edging topic talk towards possible closure, and worked to cast Valerie as a knowledgeable social actor. It was also argued that Valerie's use of post-TR composites provided her conversation partners with opportunities to maintain speakership during topic talk and, as a consequence, prolong Valerie's reciprocity.

In essence, this study has found that Valerie and her conversation partners compensated for the presence of aphasia by recurrently allocating primary speakership to parties other than Valerie during topic talk. It was argued that this speakership asymmetry was motivated by the troubles that recurrently resulted from Valerie-initiated, -oriented, and -progressed topic talk. The foregoing analyses demonstrated that speakership asymmetry was

accomplished by Valerie's conversation partners' weak receipting responses, Valerie's production of partner-oriented topic talk initiations, her alignment with partner-initiated partner-progressed topic talk, and her conversation partners' willingness to take on primary speakership. Thus, the aggregate speakership patterns observed in Valerie's topic talk were the product of the interactants' desire to avoid trouble, and the practices they implemented in order to promote speakership for parties other than Valerie.

9.2 Contribution to aphasiology

9.2.1 Topic talk and aphasia

Few studies have systematically investigated topic talk involving people with aphasia (see Chapter 3, Section 3.5). A good deal of the observations so far registered have emerged from interaction-focused therapy (e.g. Lock et al., 2001; Wilkinson et al., 2011), and the findings of the present study validate a number of the therapeutic recommendations put forward in this work. First, previous interaction-focused therapy has encouraged people with aphasia to use appositional turn beginnings when initiating topic talk (e.g. Beeke et al., 2003a; Wilkinson et al., 2011). Valerie's decision to use *and*-prefacing for her topic talk initiations is very likely spontaneous conduct that she adopted to meet the demands of talking-in-interaction, rather than the product of therapeutic intervention (cf. Chapter 6, and Wilkinson et al., 2003). Hence, the present study offers empirical evidence for the consequentiality of turn-initial objects for the success of topic talk initiation by people with aphasia, and support for therapists' encouragement of their use. Second, the findings regarding weak receipting responses analysed in Chapter 4 indirectly bolster the recommendation that conversation partners of people with aphasia use continuers in response to possible topic talk initiations (e.g. Wilkinson et al., 2011). Weak receipting responses provide little insight into how a (possible) topic talk initiation has been heard, and can result in its abandonment altogether. By contrast, continuers treat the course of action projected by the prior turn as incomplete, and afford people with aphasia (and their conversation partners) with further opportunities to develop the proposed line of talk.

The present study also adds novel information about how interactants "balance" their contributions during topic talk involving people with aphasia. Lock et al. (2001) noted that one party may control the direction of topic talk by holding the floor for extended periods, and/or by producing the majority of initiative actions. The analyses presented in Chapters 4-8 identified a number of factors that affected balance during Valerie's topic talk, before concluding that speakership asymmetry was the product of both problems in talk, as well as the interactants' strategically directed conduct. The point here is that what constitutes a

balance of contributions during topic talk will vary between interactive dyads, and that seemingly “unbalanced” spates of talk may be appealing for some speakers with aphasia. In Valerie’s case, she frequently initiated topic talk—thereby exerting some control over its course—but regularly disturbed the burden of speaking to her conversation partners. Extended periods of partner-speakership allowed Valerie to take on an interactional role (i.e. recipient) that minimised the likelihood of orientation to her aphasia. Periods of partner-speakership also made available rich structural and semiotic resources that Valerie could use to contextualise the (responsive) actions she implemented. Thus, cast in quantitative terms alone, notions of balance in topic talk are likely limiting.

This is not to say that Valerie’s extended periods of reciprocity were entirely unproblematic. There were instances in the present data set where Valerie allowed her topic talk initiations to fail, and Valerie’s conversation partners glossed over talk that would have benefitted from collaborative repair (cf. Perkins, 2003). These patterns point towards the importance of repair during topic talk; in particular, how interactants address problematic topic talk initiations and multi-unit turns by people with aphasia. The present study found that these tasks were inherently hazardous, and regularly resulted in trouble. Moreover, it found that Valerie’s topic talk initiations and multi-unit turns were most susceptible to sequential failure when her conversation partners did not explicitly index how they had understood her talk. For example, Kath’s infrequent and minimal receipts during Valerie’s multi-unit telling in Extract 4.9 strongly contributed to its failure to engender next-objects, and affected Kath’s alignment with the subsequent course of action that Valerie proposed. On the other hand, Evelyn’s *so*-prefaced turns during Extract 4.8 impeded the progressivity of Valerie’s multi-unit telling, but more clearly established her hearings of Valerie’s talk, the telling’s import, and the kinds of next-objects that could be implemented at its conclusion. Therefore, conversation partners’ willingness to implement repair can strongly contribute to the success of topic talk initiated and progressed by people with aphasia, despite the disruption to its forward motion. In particular, responses that explicitly encode conversation partners’ understandings of the talk-in-progress may be desirable during multi-unit turns (cf. Wilkinson, Bryan, et al., 2010).

The present study’s examination of topic talk also provides further information about, and possible alternative groundings for, particular social-psychological problems engendered by aphasia. For example, it has been argued that the implementation of specific actions during topic talk made relevant particular social identities for the interactants. While the potential for aphasia to affect identity has been widely acknowledged, (e.g. Shadden, 2005), the present study has provided a characterisation of some practices used for “doing identity”. That is, it

has demonstrated how Valerie was able to systematically generate “identity” in the course of topic talk by implementing particular actions. Although less well developed, it has also shown how Valerie’s positioning relative to others during topic talk, and the mentionables that she selected, were implicated in “doing interpersonal relationships” (see also Armstrong and Ferguson, 2010, p. 488-489). Thus, as it has done so often before in other domains of social science, conversation-analytic investigation has transformed a largely abstract notion or property into a deeply practical achievement.

In summary, the present study has contributed to knowledge of topic talk during interactions involving people with aphasia in a number of respects. It has provided support for previous claims regarding the use of appositional turn beginnings for topic talk initiations by people with aphasia, and practices conversation partners use to receipt possible topic talk initiations. As well, the patterns observed in the present study suggest that notions of balance in topic talk are a deeply local matter, and that “unbalanced” patterns may in fact be advantageous for some people with aphasia. It has also suggested that conversation partners’ willingness to initiate repair can affect the sequential success of topic talk initiated and progressed by people with aphasia. Finally, topic talk has been demonstrated to be one scene in which the achievement of particular social identities is recurrently accomplished by people with aphasia.

9.2.2 Potential modifications and extensions to interaction-focused therapy

The patterns observed in Valerie’s topic talk have the potential to be integrated into existing frameworks for interaction-focused therapy, such as SPPARC (Lock et al., 2001). That is, the findings relating to topic talk presented here do not fundamentally reshape the targets already identified in SPPARC, but provide further explication of patterns that can emerge, e.g. specification of speakership configurations, and their consequences. Valerie’s use of *and*-prefacing, however, may have implications for the turn-initial objects that therapists suggest people with aphasia use when initiating topic talk. As noted in Chapter 3, misplacement markers such as *anyway* and *by the way* have been previously suggested (e.g. Beeke et al., 2003a; Wilkinson et al., 2011), but these objects may risk creating too strong a juncture. For instance, when produced after a prior spate of topic talk has been brought to possible closure, misplacement markers may encourage recipients to hear a turn as initiating a differently motivated course of action, rather than progressing topic talk. By contrast, tokens like *oh*, *so* (cf. Bolden, 2006, 2008), *uh(m)* (cf. Schegloff, 2010), *but*, and *and* can be used to mark the action being implemented as sequence-initial, but are significantly less obtrusive. As such, some of these tokens may be more suited to initiating topic talk. Further investigation of

the turn-initial objects spontaneously used by people with aphasia is required before more specific recommendations can be confidently made.

The careful attention the present study has paid towards Valerie's activities as a recipient may also open up new avenues for interaction-focused therapy. Like conversation-analytic inspired research in general, interaction therapy has been predominately framed from the perspective of speakership, but the potential significance of reciprocity should not be discounted. In fact, many people with aphasia may be recipients more often than they are speakers during everyday talk. This is especially so in the case of people with severe non-fluent aphasia, and reciprocity is likely a key site for these individuals to display social competence. As Chapter 8 demonstrated, Valerie used a rather unremarkable responsive object to agree with stance-taking by her conversation partners and, in doing so, positioned herself relative to wider sociocultural values¹. Subsequent research may reveal that people with aphasia are largely competent recipients, and that little direct intervention is required in this area. If not, finding ways to maximise the "inventory" of recipient action available to people with aphasia could be of significant value to enhancing their participation in interaction. Either way, reciprocity requires more detailed consideration than it has so far received, both in research and clinical practice.

This section has suggested that the findings of the present study may contribute to new developments in interaction-focused therapy. Specifically, it has argued that misplacement markers may not be ideal prefaces for topic talk initiations, and that the present study's focus on actions that Valerie implemented while acting as a recipient may encourage clinicians to pay closer attention to this aspect of interaction.

9.2.3 Wider implications for aphasiology

Wilkinson (1999b, p. 327) argued that approaching aphasia as practical achievement can make visible different kinds of problems caused by aphasia, as well as novel resources used in addressing them. This observation has a number of implications for research and clinical practice with aphasia. A focus on the organisation of interaction, and activities implemented therein, alters the phenomena treated as relevant for assessment and intervention. Beeke, Wilkinson, and Maxim (2007) argued (in relation to agrammatism):

¹ Agreement, in particular, can take on significantly heightened importance during some interactive activities involving people with aphasia. For instance, when "visiting the GP" or "composing a will" practices for agreeing implemented by people with aphasia may be highly consequential for respectively ensuring that they are correctly diagnosed, and that their wishes are properly fulfilled. This action is, therefore, worthy of attention during assessment and intervention.

Current assessment techniques focus solely on eliciting an event with a verb and arguments. An individual's ability to express opinions—to say what they think of somebody or something and why—is not considered. Yet clearly these types of conversational actions are at least as important to real-life interactions, if not more so, as conveying what happened/will happen to someone or something. (p. 277)

They continued “...intervention needs to be able to help people to achieve the conversational actions of assessing, accounting, and reasoning, as well as recounting an event” (p. 278). Thus, the use of CA can encourage aphasiologists to re-orient their assessment and intervention priorities to fit the interactional contingencies recurrently faced by people with aphasia. Approaching interaction inductively also sets the scene for the “discovery” of practices that are consequential for the lives of people with aphasia that aphasiologists did not know existed, or did not know were consequential.

Detailed consideration of talk-in-interaction also has the potential to expand the linguistic forms treated as relevant for assessment and intervention (see also Armstrong and Ulatowska, 2007, p. 771). For instance, most aphasiologists would consider the linguistic forms analysed during the present study—*and* and *that's right*—to be rather unusual targets for scrutiny, and they would remain largely undetected by conventional assessment procedures (cf. Beeke, Maxim, & Wilkinson, 2007). Their significance, however, is evidenced by Valerie's systematic use of these objects to achieve social action. Aphasiologists concerned with language as a socio-semiotic resource have made similar observations with regard to mainstream aphasiology's notions of what language is, and what it does (see Armstrong, 2005; and Armstrong and Ferguson, 2010). Armstrong and Ferguson (2010) wrote:

...we believe that further ‘unpacking’ and clarification of the specific skills and behaviours which contribute to ‘functional communication’ will further enhance aphasia assessment and treatment strategies. (p. 493)

Interactionally-oriented research has significant contributions to make in this endeavour. For its part, the present study has helped “unpack” notions of functional communication by describing a number of actions that Valerie undertook during topic talk, and extensively examining two: topic talk initiation and agreement. More broadly, social action—as it is conceived in conversation analytic work—may also provide a useful framework for the description and comparison of linguistic practices adopted by people with aphasia. For

instance, the repetitional practices Oelschlaeger and Damico (1998) characterised as “showing alignment”, Beeke, Wilkinson, and Maxim’s (2007) account of *exactly* (see Chapter 7, Section 7.3.1 on both), and the agreeing *that’s right* are united by the kinds of actions they are used to implement, despite being linguistically disparate. Thus, while notions like grammaticality, propositionality, and meaning have proven useful for linguistic approaches to aphasia, the study of talk-in-interaction makes action prime (cf. Schegloff, 1995).

More intensive examination of how people with aphasia implement particular actions may also facilitate the development of interaction-focused therapies targeting activities of daily living. Clinicians have traditionally approached intervention addressing specific communicative activities in a more global, pragmatic fashion. However, using conversation-analytic techniques and findings, therapeutic advice could be grounded in detailed analysis of the moment-to-moment achievement of these everyday tasks. For example, conceiving of “visiting the GP” as a series of particular actions—as opposed to a gestalt episode, or a series of intuitively formulated tasks (e.g. describing symptoms to the doctor)—may result in more specific and effective therapeutic advice. As well, recommendations could be augmented with resources like SPPARC that address practices that are relevant across different interactive episodes. For example, “visiting the GP” and “ordering at a restaurant” will involve management of turn-taking, repair, sequences, etc., and have particular actions in common. Therefore, generic advice about “sequence initiation” or “agreement”, for example, could supplement activity-specific recommendations, and people with aphasia and their conversation partners could then be guided in their implementation during particular tasks.

This section has argued that investigations of the interactional practices used by people with aphasia have much to offer aphasiology. In particular, it was suggested that a focus on the contingencies of interaction can be used to shape future assessment and intervention procedures, and contribute to further specification of functional communication. The present study moved this endeavour forward by describing discrete actions that Valerie routinely implemented during topic talk. More speculatively, it has suggested that continued work along conversation-analytic lines could lead to the development of interaction-focused therapies that target specific activities of daily living.

9.3 Contribution to CA

The foregoing analyses examined phenomena that have not been widely addressed in mainstream conversation-analytic work. These include: the use of *and* in talk-in-interaction; the organisation of large sequential units; prolonged periods of compromised intersubjectivity; responding via *that’s right*, and; the use of multiple responsive objects in a

single turn. In particular, the present study offers detailed specification of a sequence-initial *and*, and agreeing via *that's right*, and contrasts them with possible alternative practices. However, the relevance of findings about these phenomena for conversation-analytic work more generally is difficult to assess. As noted in Chapter 2, the present study only aimed to describe Valerie's practices for talking. But, given that the collections assembled for the present study were not insubstantial, that the analytic accounts drew on observations from mainstream conversation-analytic work, and that many practices have not been extensively addressed elsewhere, it is possible that the observations registered here may be of some value to those interested in similar practices used by non-brain-damaged individuals. Their applicability (or otherwise) awaits empirical investigation.

The present study more clearly contributes to the growing body of research that has adopted the principles and practices of CA with a view to addressing non-sociological concerns, and clinical objectives in particular. Much of this work has investigated how interaction is conducted in institutional contexts, and contributes to mainstream CA by describing how it departs from everyday conversation. By contrast, the focus here is on essentially mundane, everyday talk, albeit involving a person with a communication disorder. What is newsworthy about Valerie's interactions is their lack of departure from talk-in-interaction involving unimpaired interactants. The unusual patterns observed in her talk tended to be quantitative rather than qualitative, i.e. foundational aspects of the interaction order do not fall away in the presence of aphasia. Thus, like conversation-analytic investigations of aphasia before it, the present study has provided further evidence for the robustness of talk-in-interaction a distinct locus of cultural organisation (cf. Schegloff, 2006a).

9.4 Limitations

Perhaps the clearest limitation of the present study from a conversation-analytic standpoint is the prioritisation of aphasia in accounting for the patterns observed in Valerie's talk (cf. Heeschen & Schegloff, 1999, p. 378). This has manifested in (at least) two ways. First, knowledge of Valerie's status as "having aphasia" was invoked when accounting for some of the interactional patterns that emerged. This point is freely acknowledged. The author has attempted to make accountable where analysis has reached outside the data, either to findings about Valerie's aphasia, and/or the author's professional knowledge. By and large though, the foregoing analyses have been steeped in the interactional contingencies that Valerie and her conversation partners confronted, as well as findings about the conduct of talk-in-interaction by unimpaired interactants (cf. Schegloff, 2003), rather than Valerie's

“being aphasic”. The credibility of the analytic positions reached using these distinct sources of information is left for the reader to assess.

Second, it is not entirely clear that the interactional patterns explicated are any more attributable to her “being aphasic”, than “being dysarthric”, or “being a nursing home resident”, or “being elderly”, or some combination of these conditions. While it does not seem unreasonable to assume the primacy of aphasia, it should be acknowledged this assumption has been made. Be this as it may, the invocation of aphasia as an explanatory resource over others does not undermine the observations registered about the organisation of topic talk. Put another way, the patterns observed in Valerie’s talk remain the same regardless of whether they are attributed to aphasia, or anything else. Again, the appropriateness of invoking aphasia is left for the reader to assess. The author remains essentially neutral towards the contribution of other factors. Investigation of their unique effects—especially dysarthria and institutionalisation—must be left for future work.

These analytic problems are at least partially attributable to the present study’s focus on a single person with aphasia. Examination of practices used by other (communication-disordered and non-communication disordered) interactants would have likely provided evidence for the relevance of factors other than aphasia. It may also turn out that the patterns observed in Valerie’s topic talk are typical of interactions involving people with acquired communication disorders in general, rather than just aphasia. See Bloch and Beeke (2008, p. 987) for some discussion on this point.

With regard to topic talk in particular, the analyses undertaken here have focused heavily on topic talk’s initial and terminal boundaries, rather than practices implemented in between. This has resulted in a less than complete account of how Valerie and her conversation partners prosecuted topic talk. Analysing only a handful of the phenomena that emerged during this course of action was mostly motivated by investigative feasibility, and the constraints imposed by the project being undertaken. Another contributing factor is the lack of mainstream conversation-analytic work that has addressed topic-talk-medial phenomena in detail. The present study’s account of topic talk would have also been enhanced by further systematic observations relating to Valerie’s and her conversation partners’ non-vocal conduct. For instance, Valerie’s hand movements during her multi-unit turns, and conversation partners’ direction of gaze during theirs, warranted more detailed comment (and transcriptional care) than was delivered in the preceding analyses.

9.5 Future research

The findings of the present study have foreshadowed multiple possible avenues for future investigation. In large part, this is attributable to the size and complexity of topic talk as a course of action, as well as the single case methodology adopted here. First, and most simply, further investigation of how people with aphasia participate in topic talk is required. Such work should involve people with different aphasia-types, times post-onset, and living circumstances. In particular, this work should attend to the distribution of speakership, the use of turn-initial markers for topic talk initiation by people with aphasia, and the internal structure of their multi-unit turns. With regard to the latter, more detailed observations on the sequential placement and types of responses (reparative or otherwise) produced by conversation partners could be of significant utility for interaction therapy given the severity of trouble that multi-unit turns can engender. More generally, there is still much to be revealed about topic talk as a course of action prosecuted by unimpaired interactants. Future investigations of aphasia and topic talk would be facilitated by further mainstream conversation-analytic investigation examining the organisation of topic talk, and the actions that constitute it.

Second, actions implemented by people with aphasia during periods of reciprocity also deserve further scrutiny. In particular, investigation of how people with contrasting aphasic symptoms respond to others' multi-unit turns should be pursued. One might expect that people with more significant expressive impairments will implement recipient action using methods distinct from people whose receptive language is compromised. In particular, this work should examine how these recipients manipulate lexical, prosodic, and multimodal resources in concert with their conversation partners. This research would have the potential to contribute useful information about reciprocity for interaction-focused therapy, while elucidating how conversation partners assign functionality to brief vocal responses, and how the conduct of primary speakers shapes the responsive practices used by people with aphasia.

Finally, studies targeting the accomplishment of routine activities of daily living by people with aphasia are also warranted. The findings of this work would facilitate the development of the kinds of interventions described above, whereby everyday activities are treated as interactional achievements, and therapeutic advice is grounded in the organisation of interaction. It would also provide further insight into the organisational problems most routinely faced by people with aphasia during talk-in-interaction, and the resources that are recurrently drawn upon in their resolution. Essentially, aphasiology needs to continue gathering information about the everyday lives of people with aphasia, and conversation-analytic studies of this kind would help illuminate its procedural accomplishment.

9.6 Concluding remarks

In many respects, the investigation of talk-in-interaction using CA is a daunting undertaking. While the project that Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson set in motion has made notable strides over the past forty years, there still remains much to be discovered about how people do what they do in interaction. Because it is governed by the richness and diversity of the empirical world rather than “theoretical imagination” (cf. Prevignano & Thibault, 2003, p. 168), it is also hard to visualise the limits of CA; order could be anywhere, and analysts must simply maintain their vigilance in its pursuit. The challenges faced by aphasiology are similarly imposing, but rather differently grounded. The study of people with aphasia should, ultimately, be undertaken with a view to improving their lives; contributions to broader scientific programs are icing on the cake. As we have seen, understanding how people with aphasia carry out everyday activities via talk-in-interaction holds immense theoretical and practical value for aphasiology. Payoffs like these are too great for many aphasiologists to resist, and it seems unlikely that they will shy away from the demands of working along conversation-analytic lines. This study has incrementally contributed to interactional aphasiology by examining topic talk in interactions involving a person with aphasia.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Transcription conventions

Based on Gardner (2001) and Ochs et al. (1996, p. 461-465) for conversation-analytic conventions, and Beeke et al. (2003a) for communication-disorder-related additions.

Sequencing and timing	
[but,] [yeah.]	Brackets signify overlap between speakers' talk and actions. Left hand brackets indicate where overlap begins, and right hand brackets where overlap concludes.
=	Equal signs come in a pairs. If they link talk from the same speaker, it is usually signifying that a speaker's talk smoothly continues, although a transcription line is ending. Alternatively, it signifies that a speaker has rushed into a new intonation unit after completing another. If they link talk from different speakers, it signifies that the second speaker's talk has been "latched" to the end of the first's with no recognisable gap.
(0.5)	Numbers in parentheses signify pauses, timed in tenths of seconds. Parentheses enclosing a single period signify a pause of less than two tenths of a second.
Speech delivery	
?	A question mark signifies strongly rising terminal intonation.
¿	An inverted question mark signifies less strongly rising terminal intonation.
,	A comma signifies slightly rising terminal intonation.
—	An underline mark signifies level terminal intonation.
;	A semi-colon signifies slightly falling terminal intonation.
.	A period signifies strongly falling terminal intonation.
<u>:</u> —:	An underlined colon signifies a rising pitch contour. If the letter preceding a colon is underlined, the pitch contour is falling.
↑↓	Up and down arrows mark sharper shifts in pitch, or resetting of the pitch register of the talk. Double arrows marker even sharper shifts.
bu:t	A colon signifies that the preceding sound has been elongated. The more colons, the greater the elongation.
-	A hyphen signifies that the preceding sound has been cut-off abruptly, typically with a glottal or dental stop.
<u>but</u>	Underlining signifies emphasis, typically carried by pitch or loudness. The more underlining, the greater the emphasis.
BUT	Upper case script signifies talk that is much louder than the surrounding talk.
°but°	Degrees signs signify talk that is much quieter than the surrounding talk. Double

degrees signs signify talk that is even quieter.

◦but◦ Subscript degrees signs signify talk delivered voicelessly.

\$but\$ Dollar signs signify talk delivered in a “smile” voice.

but Asterisks signify talk delivered in a creaky voice.

>but< Inwards pointing “more than” and “less than” symbols signify talk that is faster than the surrounding talk.

<but> Outwards pointing “more than” and “less than” symbols signify talk that is slower than the surrounding talk.

b' t Talk is typically transcribed to represent features of its delivery. Here, the word “but” has been produced with a short, unstressed vowel, as is common in talk.

.hh hh Signifies hearable aspiration, such as a breath or laughter. If preceded by a full stop, this signifies inhalation. The more h's, the longer the aspiration.

b(h) ut Signifies hearable aspiration, such as a breath or laughter, within a word.

.tk Signifies smacks made with the articulators; typically, contact between the lips, or between the tongue and alveolar ridge.

kgh Combinations of these characters signify guttural noises, like throat clears.

Transcriptionist notes

((smiles)) Notes in double parentheses are a transcriptionist's descriptions of events.

(but) Words in parentheses signify a transcriptionist's “best guess”, but registers uncertainty.

() Empty parentheses signify that that talk is unable to be identified sufficiently.

(eh) / (a) Bracketed characters divided by a slash are alternate hearings of the same object.

->
=> Horizontal arrows direct attention to phenomena of interest in the transcript.

... Both horizontal and vertical dots signify that some portion of the transcript has been omitted.

Additions

/bΔt/ Characters between slashes are phonemic transcriptions, usually of paraphasias produced by a person with aphasia.

(2 syll) Signifies the number of syllables in an otherwise unidentifiable stretch of talk.

-a- Enclosure between two hyphens signifies that the name of the character has been said.

Appendix B: Description of testing procedures

Western Aphasia Battery - Revised (WAB-R) (Kertesz, 2006)

The WAB-R is a comprehensive assessment for aphasia. It aims to:

- 1) Determine the presence or absence of aphasia
- 2) Measure the patient's level of performance to provide a baseline for detecting any change over time
- 3) Provide a comprehensive assessment of the patient's language assets and deficits in order to guide treatment and management; and
- 4) Infer the location and etiology of the lesion causing aphasia (Kertesz, 2006, p. 1)

It includes subtests that address spontaneous speech, auditory verbal comprehension, repetition, naming and word finding, reading, and writing. Performance on these subtests is used to determine aphasia type (e.g. Broca's, Wernicke's, Anomic, etc.). A number of summary values that globally characterise the performance of the person with aphasia are also generated, such as the Aphasia Quotient. This score summarises "...the individual's aphasic deficit, and it is proportional to the severity of aphasia" (Kertesz, 2006, p. 83). Aphasia Quotients range from 0-100, with scores 76 and above categorised as "Mild"; 51-75 "Moderate"; 26-50 "Severe"; and 25 or less "Very Severe".

Valerie was administered the subtests required to calculate the Aphasia Quotient. She received an Aphasia Quotient of 78.2 (Mild) and an aphasia classification of "Anomic". Although anomic aphasia is a type of fluent aphasia (Goodglass et al., 2001), Valerie's fluency score for the Spontaneous Speech subtest is characteristic of a person with resolving, or mild non-fluent aphasia (cf. Kertesz, 2006). See Table A for her individual Subtest Total scores. She performed most poorly on the Sequential Commands subtest, which involves the manipulation of objects based on directions provided by the examiner. She displayed particular difficulty carrying out commands that involved non-canonical syntactic constructions (e.g. *point with the pen to the book*).

Verb and Sentence Test (VAST) (Bastiaanse, Edwards, & Rispens, 2002)

The VAST is designed to examine verb and sentence comprehension and production by people with aphasia. Receptive subtests include: verb comprehension, sentence

comprehension, and grammaticality judgement. Expressive subtests include: action naming, adding finite and infinitive verbs to sentences, sentence construction, and sentence anagrams. Subjects are presented with stimulus illustrations during the majority of testing tasks. For receptive tasks, they are asked to match words and sentences produced by the examiner to one of a number of illustrations. For expressive tasks, they are asked to produce either a single word or sentence to describe the activities depicted in an illustration. The subtests administered to Valerie and her performance are summarised in Table B below. Valerie displayed most difficulty with Sentence Comprehension and Sentence Construction. During Sentence Comprehension, her performance was poorest for passive sentences. Her errors also tended to be reversed role lexical distractors. For example, given the sentence “the girl is kicked by the boy”, she would be likely to select a picture depicting the girl kicking the boy. During Sentence Construction, Valerie displayed more difficulty producing correct intransitive sentences than transitive sentences. For example, given the target “the girl is clapping” she responded with “the mother is um clap hands”. There were also a number of instances where she appended adverbials to the target sentence, and morphosyntactic errors arose in their course. For example, given the target “the baby is crawling”, Valerie responded with “the boy is crawling the floor”.

Discourse Comprehension Test (DCT) (Brookshire & Nicholas, 1993b)

The DCT is designed to investigate auditory and reading comprehension of narrative discourse by adults with acquired communication disorders. For spoken narrative, subjects are played pre-recorded narratives, followed by eight *yes/no* questions relating to them. For written narrative, subjects are given a paragraph of text, followed by eight written *yes/no* questions relating to them. The questions fall into four categories. They address: Main Ideas (Stated); Main Ideas (Implied); Details (Stated); and, Details (Implied). Two questions from each category are included for every narrative. Narratives are also divided into two sets of five—Set A and Set B—that can be administered independently. Valerie was administered Set A of the auditory comprehension narratives only. Her performance is summarised below in Table C. Valerie’s score was well below the cutoff score for unimpaired performance, and she displayed most difficulty with questions addressing implied details. However, it should also be noted that her performance may have been affected by the format of this testing (i.e. playback of pre-recorded narratives), and background noise in the nursing home.

Table A
Valerie's WAB-R Subtest Performance

Subtests	Score
Information content	9/10
Fluency, grammatical competence & paraphasias	5/10
Spontaneous speech total	14/20
Yes/no questions	54/60
Auditory word recognition	56/60
Sequential commands	48/80
Auditory verbal comprehension total	158/200
Repetition total	85/100
Object naming	56/60
Word fluency	11/20
Sentence completion	10/10
Responsive speech	10/10
Naming and word finding total	87/100
Aphasia quotient	78.2/100 (Anomic)

Note. Kertesz, A. (2006). *The western aphasia battery - revised*. San Antonio, TX: PsychCorp.

Table B
Valerie's VAST Performance

Subtest	Score
Verb comprehension	36/40
Sentence comprehension	30/40
Action naming	36/40
Sentence construction	10/20

Note. Bastiaanse, R., Edwards, S., & Rispen, J. (2002). *The verb and sentence test*. Suffolk: Thames Valley Test Company.

Table C
Valerie's DCT Performance

Question type	Score
Main ideas (stated)	6
Main ideas (implied)	6
Details (stated)	7
Details (implied)	3
Total	22/40 (Cutoff = 35)

Note. Brookshire, R. H., & Nicholas, L. E. (1993b). *Discourse comprehension test*. Minneapolis, MN: BRK Publishers.

Appendix C: Description of recordings

Table D

Frequency of Recording use for Thesis Extracts

Recording	Number of thesis extracts
013103	3
023103	7
030204	4
041004	16
051604	24
062304	2
072910	11

Code: [013103]

Participants: Valerie and Wendy

Duration: 16:48

Description: Valerie was seated in a wheelchair (rather than her recliner) during this interaction, with Wendy seated opposite her. This interaction progressed very discontinuously, and involved many long lapses in talk. The reason for this appears to have been an instruction from Evelyn, who was present and operated the video camera, but did not participate. Although talk was continuous in the initial minutes of the recording, Evelyn suggested to Wendy that she *needed to get Valerie to talk a bit*. Wendy then attempted to elicit extended talk from Valerie, and allowed long lapses to occur if it was not forthcoming. In addition, Wendy also spent some time looking through Valerie's books and a newspaper, which resulted in some long periods of silence. The talk that did emerge primarily concerned Wendy's activities.

Code: [023103]

Participants: Valerie and Evelyn

Duration: 18:41

Description: Valerie was seated in her recliner, with Evelyn seated opposite for the duration of the recording. Evelyn asked multiple test questions during the first half of this interaction in an attempt to get Valerie to take the floor. This was relatively successful, and Valerie produced a number of multi-unit turns. Evelyn's test questioning decreased as the interaction progressed, with personal (as opposed to encyclopaedic) topic talk (cf. Svennevig, 1999)

becoming more prevalent. Talk was mostly continuous during this recording, and no other practical activities were undertaken.

Code: [030204]

Participants: Valerie and Kath

Duration: 18:54

Description: At some point between the prior recording and this one, the video camera's positioning had been disturbed. Although it was securely fastened to Valerie's cupboard, it was pointing towards the ceiling. This was how it stayed for the duration of this interaction and, as such, only audio is available for analysis. At the beginning of the recording, Kath checked with Valerie that the camera's positioning was appropriate. Valerie did not object, perhaps because she could not see what Kath was referring to. Kath reasoned that possibly only audio was required for the research, and left the camera as it was. Valerie and Kath produced continuous talk throughout the recording, and did not engage in any other activities until Kath announced she was going to leave. At this point, Valerie requested that Kath retrieve some bottles of lemonade from the other side of the room.

Code: [041004]

Participants: Valerie and Kath

Duration: 56:08

Description: Valerie was seated in her recliner for the duration of this interaction, with Kath in a chair opposite (when she was sitting down). Valerie and Kath undertook a variety of practical activities during the first half of this recording. For example, Kath walked about, arranging items in the room, and wrote and addressed greeting cards on Valerie's behalf, while Valerie consumed her morning tea. Valerie also made use of her wheeled table quite frequently because this is where she kept her documents, and commonly used items. By 30 minutes into the recording, most all of the practical tasks had been completed. Valerie and Kath then engaged in continuous topic talk relating to their activities since they had seen one another last, and other goings on relevant to their lives. Silences of more than three seconds were very uncommon during this period. Like [030204], when Kath announced her

intention to leave, Valerie requested that she complete one more practical activity (filing her fingernails).

Code: [051604]

Participants: Valerie and Kath

Duration: 53:12

Description: This recording has much in common with [041004]. Again, Valerie was seated in her recliner, and it began with practical activities, including nail filing, and writing and addressing greeting cards. However, more (unrelated) talk occurred concurrent to these activities, and they were completed slightly earlier than in the previous recording (at approximately 20:00). Also like before, once these activities were completed, continuous talk persisted for the rest of the recording, with silences of more than three seconds very uncommon.

Code: [062304]

Participants: Valerie and Kath

Duration: 19:48

Description: Valerie was seated in her recliner, and Kath in a chair opposite for the duration of this recording. The circumstances of this interaction were different to those prior. In this instance, the researcher coincidentally arrived during Kath's visit. Valerie and Kath thought that the camera had been recording their interaction, but it had not, so the researcher asked if they would mind switching the camera on and speaking for a little while longer. Practical activities consumed much of the recording that followed. As such, talk was very discontinuous. In particular, Valerie spent much time making phone calls to a man she had been trying to contact. Although she was unsuccessful in calling him, she was able to get his address from directory assistance with Kath's help. She then arranged for Kath to post something to him on her behalf. Some brief topic talk followed, before the researcher returned, and discontinued the recording.

1. Room entrance
2. Cupboard/sink
3. Shelf
4. Table
5. Valerie
6. Betty
7. Kath

Walls -----

Camera angle →

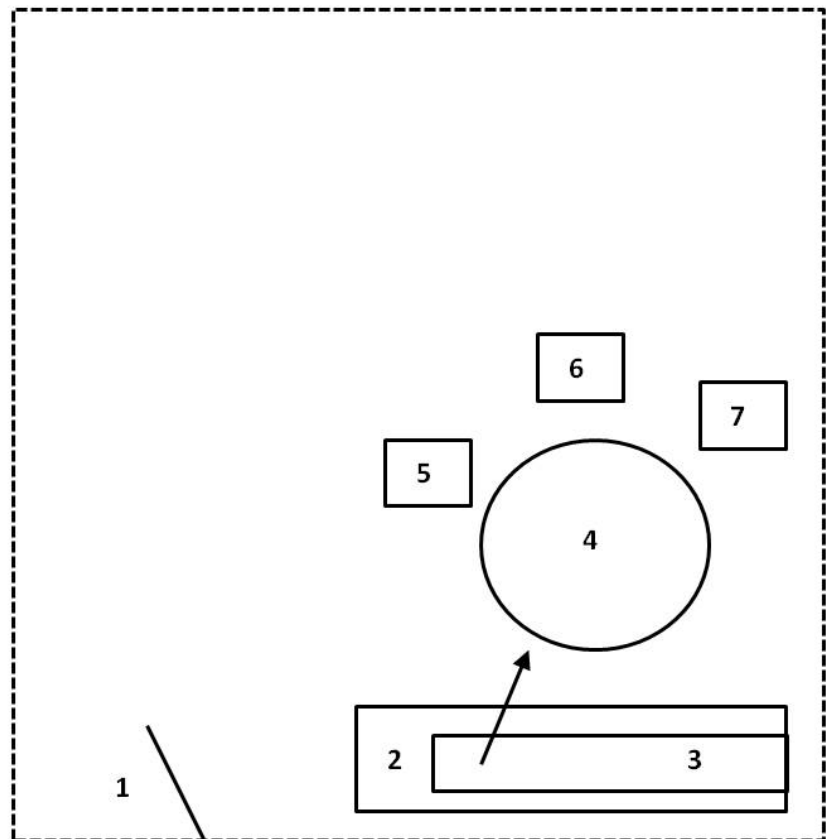


Figure A. Floor plan for recording 072910.



Figure B. Valerie, Betty, and Kath (left to right).

Code: [072910]

Participants: Valerie and Kath

Duration: 31:37

Description: This recording was arranged for the purposes of the present research project. It was collected approximately five months after the initial recordings had been concluded. During correspondence relating to the research project, Kath mentioned that her friend, Betty, had recently taken up residence in the same nursing home as Valerie, and she was intending to visit them simultaneously in the near future. The researcher then asked if he could record this interaction. Following consent from Valerie, and formal consent from Betty, the researcher made a one-off recording at the nursing home. Rather than Valerie's room, this recording occurred in an enclosed common room (see above for the room's arrangement, and an image). The interactants were instructed to talk for as long as they felt comfortable, and to come and find the researcher when they were finished. Although Valerie and Betty had heard about one another for quite some time via Kath, this was only the second meeting between them. Talk was continuous throughout this recording, and involved Valerie and Betty asking one another biographical questions, as well as discussion about life in the nursing home, and current affairs. On occasion during this interaction, Kath acted as a "mediator" between Valerie and Betty (cf. Ferguson, 2007), intervening when there was trouble, or a lapse in talk. This recording concluded with the researcher re-entering the room after Kath had come to find him.

Appendix D: Research advertisement

Research information and consent forms

Video camera operating instructions

Like to chat?

Has it been **3 months or more** since you had a **stroke**?

Are there some people who you **always** chat with?

Do you have **difficulty** communicating sometimes?

A **PhD research project** is being conducted by **Mr Scott Barnes** of **Macquarie University** to look at how people who have had **strokes** and have **aphasia** or **right-hemisphere communication disorder** hold **conversations** with their family, friends and others who they often speak with.

This project will require you to **video record** yourself speaking with familiar conversation partners over a period of **3 weeks** in a typical setting, like **your home** (we lend you a recorder). Mr Barnes, a speech pathologist, will also carry out a few simple tests when the video recorder is dropped off, and when it is picked up.

If you would like to know more about this project¹, you or your family/friends/carers can **call Scott Barnes on 0401 362 710**. You can also **email to: Scott.Barnes@ling.mq.edu.au**, or **post a letter** of interest to: **Scott Barnes, c/o - Linguistics Department, Macquarie University, North Ryde, NSW, 2109**.

¹ The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Ethics Review Committee (Human Research). If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Research Ethics Officer (telephone [02] 9850 7854, fax [02] 9850 8799, email: ethics@mq.edu.au). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome

Research Information Form

Conversation After Acquired Brain Injury ***Person with Acquired Brain Injury***

You are invited to participate in a study for people with an acquired brain injury and their family, friends and others. The aim of this study is to investigate how people with an acquired brain injury and their **family**, **friends** and others hold a **conversation**.

Details of Study

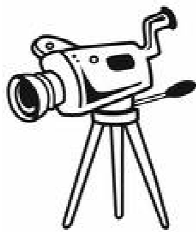
Chief Investigator Mr Scott Barnes

Supervisors Professor Christopher Candlin (02 98509181)

Associate Prof. Alison Ferguson (02 49215716)

Purpose This research is being conducted to meet the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

If you decide to take part, you will be asked to **video** yourself **speaking** with people you are familiar with. This video will be made in a place where you usually speak to these people, like your **home**.



Please choose a **place** where you are **comfortable** for **us** to **visit**.

The video will go for **about 1 hour** in total, and you can record whenever you like. We will lend you a video camera for **3 weeks**. We will show you how to use the video camera. You will also be asked to do some **tests** with the Chief Investigator. They will take **2 hours**. You will do 1 hour of testing when the camera is dropped off, and 1 hour when the camera is picked up.



If you become **tired** or **upset** during the tests or filming, you **can stop** the activity at any time.

The Chief Investigator will make sure you remain **anonymous** when writing about the research. Only the Chief Investigator and his supervisors will have access to **your personal information** and all information will be **locked** in cabinets or **password** protected on the **computer**. Small sections of the videos may be shown in conference presentations. We will **edit** any parts of the video you ask us to.

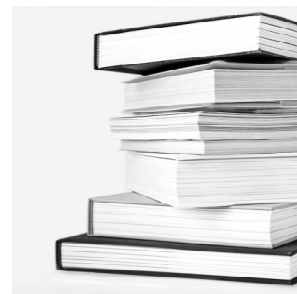


Participation is **voluntary** and you **can withdraw** at any time and **that's OK** with us. You will receive **NO payment** for participation in the study. Participation will **NOT change** any **therapy** you are having.

We would also like to know some **medical information** about your **brain injury**. We will ask your **doctor, hospital, speech pathologist** or **occupational therapist** for this information.



Results of this study will be presented in a **PhD** thesis. It will also be published in academic journals and at academic conferences.



If you would like further information about this study², please contact the **Chief Investigator, Scott Barnes** on **0401 362 710** or email to (Scott.Barnes@ling.mq.edu.au).



² The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Ethics Review Committee (Human Research). If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Research Ethics Officer (telephone [02] 9850 7854, fax [02] 9850 8799, email: ethics@mq.edu.au). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.

Research Consent Form

Conversation After Acquired Brain Injury ***Person with Acquired Brain Injury***



1. I (the participant) **understand** the above information and **want to participate** in this research

NO ☐ YES ☐

2. Any **questions** have been **answered** to my satisfaction

NO ☐ YES ☐

3. I know that **I can withdraw** from the research at **any time**

NO ☐ YES ☐

4. I consent to **giving** relevant **medical information** to the **researchers**

NO ☐ YES ☐

5. I consent to **my video** being used for **publication and teaching**

NO ☐ YES ☐

6. I want to receive **information about** the **results** of the research

NO ☐

YES ☐



☐ Via **Mail**

☐ Via **Email**

☐ Via **Phone call**

☐ Via **Face to face explanation**

7. I know that if this research **distresses me** the researchers will give me **contact details** of appropriate **health professionals**

NO ☐

YES ☐

I (the participant) have a copy of this **form** to **keep**.


Participant's **Name** _____

Participant's **Signature** _____ Date: _____

Investigator's **Name** _____

Investigator's **Signature** _____ Date: _____

Participant's Copy / Investigator's copy (circle)

 <p>MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY</p>	<p><u>Research Information & Consent Form</u></p> <p>Conversation After Acquired Brain Injury <i>Familiar Conversation Partner of the Person with Acquired Brain Injury</i></p>
---	---

Project Title Conversation after Acquired Brain Injury

Conversing with others is something we all do every day, and often take for granted. However, the ability to converse with others can be significantly affected by an acquired brain injury, like a stroke. This research project is seeking to increase current knowledge of how people with an acquired brain injury and their familiar conversation partners hold conversations. Such knowledge will help ensure that assessment and therapy for people with an acquired brain injury is directed towards improving their everyday life.

This research project is being undertaken by Mr Scott Barnes of the Department of Linguistics, Macquarie University. It is being conducted to meet the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, and is under the supervision of Professor Christopher Candlin of the Department of Linguistics, Macquarie University (ph: 02 9850 9181) and Associate Professor Alison Ferguson of the School of Humanities and Social Science, University of Newcastle (ph: 02 4921 5716).

This project is seeking to collect video of people with **aphasia** or **right-hemisphere brain damage** and their **familiar conversation partners** speaking to each other in daily life. Participation in this research will involve the following:

- Filming conversations between people with an acquired brain injury and others with whom they routinely converse.
- Recordings will be made in familiar settings chosen by participants. Ideally, the participants' homes will be used. It is vital that you are comfortable for us to visit the nominated setting.
- A video camera will be lent to participants for a period of **three weeks**. Participants can record conversations whenever they choose. Participants will be trained how to use the camera by the researcher.
- Recorded conversations will total approximately **one hour**.

The video collected will only be viewed by the researcher and his supervisors. You will be given the choice as to whether the video can be used for future publication or teaching. When not in use by the researcher, it will be stored in a locked cabinet in his work or home office. Your personal details will be kept confidential in any future academic publications. You will be able to withdraw or edit your video at any time by contacting the researcher. A summary of the research findings will be forwarded to participants upon request.

If you would like any further information regarding the research project³, please contact the Chief Investigator, Scott Barnes on 0401 362 710, or via email (Scott.Barnes@ling.mq.edu.au).

I, _____ have read and understand the information above and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research, knowing that I can withdraw from this research at any time without consequence. I know that if any aspect of this research causes me distress, I will be provided with the contact details of appropriate health professionals. I have been given a copy of this form to keep.

I would like feedback regarding the results of the research once it is complete.

NO ☐ **YES** ☐

☐ Mail ☐ Email
☐ Phone call ☐ Face to face

I consent to excerpts of the video collected being used at academic conferences and for future teaching purposes.

NO ☐ **YES** ☐

Participant's Name _____
Participant's Signature _____ Date: _____
Investigator's Name _____
Investigator's Signature _____ Date: _____

Participant's Copy / Investigator's copy (circle)

³ The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Ethics Review Committee (Human Research). If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Research Ethics Officer (telephone [02] 9850 7854, fax [02] 9850 8799, email: ethics@mq.edu.au). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome

Research Project:

Conversation after Acquired Brain Injury



Video Camera Operation

1. Ensure video camera is connected to a power point
2. Turn on camera by sliding down the switch at the back
3. Slide open the lens cover (near leather grip)
4. Check that ALL people are visible in display
5. Press the **red** button to **start** recording
6. Press the **red** button to **stop** recording
7. Close the lens cover
8. Turn off the camera with the switch at the back

*Note: Do **NOT** unplug the camera while **ON**. This may corrupt recorded videos

Please contact Scott Barnes on **0401 362 710** if you have any difficulties.

Appendix E: Complete transcript for Extract 4.10

Extract 4.10 [051604] (38:13 - 40:51)

001 K f- ↑funny funny world it'is nowadays
 002 [°valerie° i think anyway,
 [(raises hand & rubs eyes))
 003 [(0.7)
 [(K continues rubbing))
 004 K [you hear these things_
 [(continues rubbing))
 005 [(0.9)
 [(K begins to move hand back to lap))
 006 K .hh (0.3) ↑so YOU DOn't know whether you've got your
 007 ni:ne hundred dollars?
 008 (0.7)
 009 V no:,
 010 (0.5)
 011 K >per'↑aps you won't know. perh↑aps< dean j'st collects
 012 it;
 013 (0.6)
 014 K .h i MEAN [>he d- w- [when i say] he collects it he=
 015 V [well [(yes)]
 016 K =[d-<
 017 V [(i'll mention it.)
 018 (0.5)
 019 K °m[m:°
 020 V [(en coming) on saturday.
 021 K AWokay.
 022 (0.6)
 023 V °mm:..
 024 (0.6)
 025 K cause they're on easter h↑oliday now a:ren't they, with
 026 the [children.]
 027 V [°that's r]ight.°
 028 (0.3)
 029 K ye:s ↑WHEre did they go?
 030 [(1.3)
 [(K & V gaze at each other))
 031 V fiji?
 032 (0.3)
 033 K .HH ↑↑OUW:: lovely::. °hh°
 034 (0.4)
 -> 035 V ye:s b't [that, (0.7) u(gh)m (0.6) (they- °r: °)
 [(lifts hand, index partially extended))
 036 [(0.3) ri:sky °t- u-°
 [(extends other fingers, & twists wrist))
 037 [y'know:, (0.7) the:: (0.4) m:an
 [(slowly withdraws all but index))
 038 [step [down:, (0.9)
 [(beats finger towards K)) [(then left))
 039 re[tire:s; (0.5) and [(a)nother put in (0.8)
 [(points again)) [(drops hand slightly, then
 points right))
 040 [his position.
 [(raises hand slightly, then beats finger towards K))
 041 [(1.2)
 [(holds hand steady, with index extended))
 042 V en [(there's-) that (0.5) *uh:* (1.5) they've (0.3)
 [(extends middle finger))
 043 <got (lot [alert)>
 [(dips hand slightly, then angles to right))
 044 (0.8)
 045 V so you [don know.
 [(extends other fingers, twists wrist))

046 [(1.0)
 [((V rests hand in her lap))
 => 047 K this is wi- this is in dea:n's job;
 048 V ↑mm::.
 049 [(0.5)
 [((K gazes away from V))
 050 K °mhh°
 051 [(2.0)
 [((K gazes away from V))
 052 K mm::.
 053 [(1.6)
 [((K gazes away from V))
 054 K yes it's a b:it of a worry isn't it.
 055 [(0.4) [(0.5)
 [((K shifts her gaze)) [((gazes at V))
 056 V yeah,
 057 K bit of a worry,
 058 [(0.4)
 [((K gazes to V's left))
 059 K .hh cause the reCession is- (0.4) [is hitting a lot of
 [((gazes to V))
 060 people.
 061 (0.5)
 062 V yes_ °.hh° [no, (p-) no=
 [((raises hand, extends index))
 063 K =NOT DEAN,
 064 V no, [(b't the)] <fij*i*:,>
 [((moves hand up & back, then points left))
 065 K [ohw Sorry]
 066 K .HH o(h)hw in f(h)i:[ji:]
 067 V ['es-] e's [step aside
 [((beats finger left
 then right))
 068 K A::W yes [that's]
 069 V [and then (0.3) appoint,
 [((beats finger left then right))
 070 [(0.8) the: [the: (0.4)
 [((drops hand into lap)) [((then raises it))
 071 [prime minister.
 [((beats finger down slightly, then points left))
 072 K [YES, (.) i'm sorry [yes yes,]
 [((V drops hand)) []
 073 V [and (.) and] so, (0.2)
 [((lifts hand))
 074 K mm,=
 075 V =y'know,
 076 [(0.4)
 [((V drops hand into lap))
 077 V (b't the-) (.) ah:m (0.8) .tk [th- ah: (0.2) °hh° (1.7)
 [((lifts hand, index
 pointing up))
 078 °(what is it)° (0.9) [the (/kalməs/), (0.8) bangkok
 [((extends all fingers))
 079 [(0.6) al[right. so [that's] °.hh° at leas=
 [((twists wrist [then drops hand))]
 080 K [mm::.]
 081 V =(some) [(°°joy.°°)]
 082 K [ye:s.] yes [u- yes it's calmer there now,
 [((begins to withdraw gaze))
 083 (0.2)
 084 V °yeah.°
 085 [(0.6)
 [((K gazes away from V))
 086 K uh[m] (0.4) .hh (0.5) ye(thh) (0.2) .hh yes=
 087 V [°mm::°]
 088 K =[i think there were a few people killed;
 [((gazes to V))

089 [(1.0)
 [(K & V gaze at each other))
 090 V (uaw) ye:[s,
 091 K [mm:_
 092 (0.7)
 093 V °°mm:..°°
 094 K .hh b't THAt's ta- thaila:nd is[n't it.]
 095 V [(mm:.)]
 096 [(1.0)
 [(K & V gaze at each other))
 097 V w'll uh, (.) the:.. (0.5) [the picture: (.) in the
 [(lifts hand))
 098 [°paper,° (0.8) (how he's) (1.0) j(h)us .hh
 [(hand slowly angles forward))
 099 [s:la(people 'n) [(0.7) face,
 [(extends all fingers)) [(then lowers hand))
 100 [i don know. (0.4) en then uh (0.7) (kicks) () (0.6)
 [(twists hand left))
 101 [this is the- (0.5) p'lice°man,°
 [(lifts hand, then beats right & left))
 102 [(0.8) en j:ust y'know, (0.9) terrible.
 [(drops hand into lap))
 103 K M[M:-]
 -> 104 V [↑b't] WHAT- [(0.2) (a)bout that (0.4) WES(T)field,
 [(lifts hand, index extended))
 105 (0.9) ARMed [robber(h)y.
 [(drops hand))
 106 K AAOH (.) (in [in the) jewelller:y shop=
 107 V [(3 syll)]
 108 V =ye::s:..

**Appendix F: Macquarie University Ethics Review Committee (Human Research)
project approval letter**



10 December 2008

Mr Scott Barnes
7/37-39 Bland Street
Ashfield
NSW 2131

Reference: HE26SEP2008-D06134

Dear Mr Barnes

FINAL APPROVAL

Title of project: "Storytelling after acquired brain injury: A conversation-analytic approach"

Thank you for your recent correspondence. Your response has addressed the issues raised by the Ethics Review Committee (Human Research) and you may now commence your research. This approval is subject to the following condition:

1. Please forward a copy of the approval letter from each of the following institutions when available: Hunter New England Health, Royal Ryde Rehabilitation Centre, Sacred Heart Rehabilitation Centre and St Vincents Hospital, Sydney.

Please note the following standard requirements of approval:

1. Approval will be for a period of twelve (12) months. At the end of this period, if the project has been completed, abandoned, discontinued or not commenced for any reason, you are required to submit a Final Report on the project. If you complete the work earlier than you had planned you must submit a Final Report as soon as the work is completed. The Final Report is available at: http://www.research.mq.edu.au/researchers/ethics/human_ethics/forms
2. However, at the end of the 12 month period if the project is still current you should instead submit an application for renewal of the approval if the project has run for less than five (5) years. This form is available at http://www.research.mq.edu.au/researchers/ethics/human_ethics/forms. If the project has run for more than five (5) years you cannot renew approval for the project. You will need to complete and submit a Final Report (see Point 1 above) and submit a new application for the project. (The five year limit on renewal of approvals allows the Committee to fully re-review research in an environment where legislation, guidelines and requirements are continually changing, for example, new child protection and privacy laws).
3. Please remember the Committee must be notified of any alteration to the project.
4. You must notify the Committee immediately in the event of any adverse effects on participants or of any unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project.
5. At all times you are responsible for the ethical conduct of your research in accordance with the guidelines established by the University
http://www.research.mq.edu.au/researchers/ethics/human_ethics/policy

If you will be applying for or have applied for internal or external funding for the above project **it is your responsibility** to provide Macquarie University's Research Grants Officer with a copy of this letter as soon as possible. The Research Grants Officer will not inform external funding agencies that you have final approval for your project and funds will not be released until the Research Grants Officer has received a copy of this final approval letter.

ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE (HUMAN RESEARCH)
LEVEL 3, RESEARCH HUB, BUILDING C5C
MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY
NSW, 2109 AUSTRALIA

Ethics Secretariat: Ph: (02) 9850 6848 Fax: (02) 9850 4465 E-mail: ethics.secretariat@vc.mq.edu.au
http://www.research.mq.edu.au/researchers/ethics/human_ethics

Yours sincerely



P.P.

Dr Margaret Stuart
Director of Research Ethics
Chair, Ethics Review Committee (Human Research)

Cc: Dr Beth Armstrong, Department of Linguistics

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