

**Giving information in cosmetics sales interactions: Exploring some
interactional functions of the Mandarin response token *dui***

Jie Jessie Chen

Bachelor of Arts
Chengdu University

Master of Arts
The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Research,

Macquarie University,

October, 2018.

Statement of Originality

This thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree at any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

(Signed) *Tie Chen, Jessie*

Date: October 11, 2018

Acknowledgements

My earnest gratitude goes to Dr Scott Barnes for his generous sharing, patient guidance and responsible supervision. Dr Scott Barnes leads me to see the charm of *Conversation Analysis* and broader linguistic studies. This project is completed with his full support.

My thanks also go to Mr Sydney Ye for his insightful suggestions for Chinese-English translation in transcription, which created a solid basis for data analysis.

I am also thankful to Mr Fakry Hamdani for his technical support and Dr Francesco Possemato for sharing his literature.

I would like to express my gratitude for the members of *Conversation Analysis in Sydney* group for their kind sharing and inspiring discussions.

I would like to extend my thanks to every salesperson and customer and the manager of the cosmetics store for their support and participation.

This project has been supported by the China Scholarships Council and Macquarie University.

Table of Contents

Statement of Originality	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Abstract	vi
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Thesis preface	1
1.2 Assertions in interaction	1
1.3 Agreement and confirmation	6
1.4 Second-position response tokens in assertion sequences	7
1.5 Second-position composite responses in assertion sequences	8
1.6 Third-position actions in assertion sequences	9
1.7 Mandarin particles and response tokens	11
1.8 Institutional talk and sales interactions	13
1.9 The present study	16
2 Method	17
2.1 Design.....	17
2.2 Participants.....	17
2.3 Data collection	18
2.4 Transcription and data analysis	19
3 Data Analysis	22
3.1 Overall patterns in the cosmetics sales interactions	22
3.2 Dui-prefaced turns marking resumption	30
3.3 Dui as a response to confirmables	33
3.4 Dui as a receipt token in third position.....	36
3.5 Salespersons' dui in third position.....	40
3.5.1 Canonical third-position dui in assertion sequences.....	42
3.5.2 Non-canonical examples of third-position dui	57
4 Discussion and conclusion	76
4.1 Assertion sequences in sales interactions.....	76
4.2 Dui, assertion sequences, and response tokens	78

<i>4.3 Study limitations and future research</i>	79
<i>4.4 Conclusion</i>	80
References	82
Appendix A Abbreviations	90
Appendix B Ethics Approval	91

Tables and Figures

Table 1. Design of salespersons' dui turns in third position.....	41
Table 2. Second-position practices prior to dui in third position.....	41
Figure 1. Cosmetics store shelf display	18
Figure 2. Positioning of participants and recording devices during recording.....	19
Figure 3. Sample of transcript.....	20
Figure 4. Panel of screenshots for Extract 1.....	27
Figure 5. Panel of screenshots for Extract 2.....	32
Figure 6. Panel of screenshots for Extract 6.....	39
Figure 7. Panel of screenshots for Extract 7	46
Figure 8. Panel of screenshots for Extract 8.....	50
Figure 9. Panel of screenshots for Extract 9.....	55
Figure 10. Panel of screenshots for Extract 10	60
Figure 11. Panel of screenshots for Extract 11	65
Figure 12. Panel of screenshots for Extract 12	73

Abstract

This study examines cosmetics sales interactions involving speakers of Mandarin Chinese. It focuses on assertion sequences initiated by salespeople, and explores the interactional functions of the Mandarin response token *dui*. It employs qualitative, collection-based conversation analytic methods. 10 people were recruited to participate. Five participants were salespeople working in a cosmetics store, and five participants were customers. 65 minutes of recordings were subjected to conversation-analytic transcription and analysis, focusing on 29 assertion sequences. In these assertion sequences, the response token *dui* occurs in third position, and is produced by the salesperson. It is argued that third-position *dui* registers the development of common ground via the prior assertion and the customer's response to it. This is tied to important institutional goals, and foreshadows possible transition in the interaction. However, when customers offer weaker or ill-fitting receipt of the first-position assertion, third-position *dui* is much less likely to occur. This project generates new knowledge on sequential positions and interactional functions of the response token *dui*, and highlights its role in the organisation of cosmetics sales interactions.

1. Introduction

1.1 Thesis preface

Human social interaction is inherently collaborative. People orient to mutual goals, and closely monitor how their collaborative actions work towards them (Clark, 1996). When people interact, they combine language with gesture, gaze, body position and other signs to accomplish social action (Enfield, 2013). The relationship between language and action has been of increasing interest for researchers, particularly those adopting a conversation-analytic perspective. These studies have focused on the ways that lexical choice, syntactic structure, and prosodic delivery are realised in, and are sensitive to, local communicative contexts. In this thesis, I will contribute to this body of research by examining how a Mandarin Chinese response token—*dui*—is used in sales interactions in a cosmetics store. There is a growing body of research exploring response tokens in a variety of languages (e.g., Betz & Deppermann, 2018; Gardner, 2001; Golato, 2010; Sorjonen, 2001; Wang, Tsai, Goodman & Lin, 2010). Following these studies, I will demonstrate that response tokens are an important resource for implementing social action.

This section of the thesis is organised as follows. First, I will discuss assertion sequences, and the actions and practices associated with them. Second, I will discuss conversation-analytic studies of particles in Mandarin. Finally, I will provide an overview of previous studies of sales interactions, and put forward the research question addressed in the present study.

1.2 Assertions in interaction

When a speaker produces an assertion, they adopt a stance towards some state of affairs, and position themselves relative to both that state of affairs, and other people (see

Du Bois, 2007). Speakers may use assertions to deliver news, convey factual information, and to describe and assess. Put more technically, assertions can enact a variety of different actions, such as informing, assessing, and news delivery. These actions encode and develop “territories of knowledge” (Heritage, 2012) between interactants. This means that assertions play a key role in constituting common ground, i.e. interactants’ shared expectation about who they are to one another, what they are doing together, and what they are entitled to do in the future (Clark, 1996; Enfield, 2013; Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2014). In English (and other languages), assertions mostly are accomplished using non-interrogative turn formats and morphosyntactic resources (Koshik 2005; Heritage, 2002). Declaratives are the canonical format for delivering assertions in English (Heritage, 2013). The role of “topic” places a crucial role in clause formation in Mandarin, with less reliance on word order than English (Li & Thompson, 1989; Section 2.3). However, non-interrogative, declarative-like constructions are frequently employed when enacting assertion-like actions in Mandarin.

Interactants’ epistemic status and stance are an important part of producing a recognisable assertion (Heritage, 2013). Stevanovic and Peräkylä (2014) illustrate that the epistemic status concerns what a person properly knows, and the epistemic stance refers to how well the person claims to have known it. Interactants who are taken to have known more things than others are considered to have epistemic primacy. Interactants’ presentation of epistemic stance, and others’ inferences about epistemic status, contribute to action formation. For instance, A’s question “Is the weather good?” to B serves to implicate that A is in a relatively less knowledgeable position about the weather, and implies that B is the one with more knowledge. If A puts forward a proposition about the weather in a tag question format (i.e., “The weather is good, isn’t it?”), this encodes an epistemic stance about the weather that is stronger on A’s part, but still seeking

confirmation from B. If the proposition is put forward in a declarative format (i.e., “It seems the weather is good”), the epistemic asymmetry between the interlocutors is further flattened. That is, A displays a yet weaker knowledgeable stance about the weather, and solicits agreement from B about this matter (Kendrick, 2010). Levinson (2012) demonstrates a cline of speaker stance from assertionhood to questionhood. He argues that both actions involve an interplay between suppositions about what is known and the degree of commitment to a proposition. For instance, the assertion “It is raining” not only implies a more knowledgeable stance on the part of the speaker (and supposition that the partner is less knowledgeable), but also shows the speaker’s public, social commitment to, and responsibility for, the proposition being put forward. In comparison, a weaker assertion “Maybe it is raining” may suggest greater epistemic symmetry, and/or a weaker commitment on behalf of the speaker. Levinson (2012) argues that, as the distribution of knowledge and commitment responsibilities gradually move towards the recipient and away from the speaker, the type of action slides from assertionhood to questionhood. Epistemic status and stance also strongly contribute to more granular aspects of action formation and ascription in assertions (Heritage, 2013; Stivers & Rossano, 2010). A first-position assertion on a matter to which the speaker has the primary epistemic position, and to which the recipient has none, is very likely to be understood as informing. For example, if A looks at a clock only visible to him/her, and produces the assertion “This clock reads 3:45” to a party for whom the clock is inaccessible, A’s assertion is likely to be taken as an informing, and developing their shared common ground. However, a first-position assertion addressing a matter known by both parties may be heard as a confirmation solicitation rather than an informing.

The sequential positioning of assertions is also consequential for their epistemic claims. In terms of adjacency pairs, assertions may occur in both first and second

positions, and they can enact different actions in these different positions. For instance, a first-position assessment carries with it an implication of the speaker's epistemic primacy, and the speaker of a second assessment may elect to adopt responsive practices to demonstrate their authoritative knowledge on the matter at hand (Heritage & Raymond, 2005). The competitive management of the rights to know in assessment sequences is evident through the way people design first-position assessments. Heritage and Raymond (2005) identify three ways of designing them: unmarked first assessments, downgraded first assessments, and upgraded first assessments, by which the speaker respectively shows unmediated, mediated, and strengthened claims to the assessed. An unmarked first assessment is in a declarative format, and claims direct, unmediated access to the target of assessment. Downgraded assessments weaken a speaker's claim to authoritative knowledge, and may be accomplished by employing evidentials and tag questions. Upgraded assessments implement much stronger claims to epistemic priority, combining the primacy of first position with the responsive constraints of negative interrogatives. Second-position assessments may offer a display of epistemic alignment with the first-position assessment. However, speakers may also resist their second-positioning, and claim independent knowledge using declaratives combined with other tokens (e.g., a confirmation with an agreeing token, partial repeats) and interrogative components (e.g., tag questions, negative interrogatives). The latter may undercut the prioritised epistemic position embodied in the first-position assessment. Epistemic claims can also be implemented through how speakers manage overlap in assertion sequences. Vatanen (2014, 2018) addresses the timing of second-position agreements in response to assertions, arguing that an overlapping response displays the speaker's claim of having had some common ground with the prior assertion. That is, early overlapping, positioned at a non-transition relevance place, shows the speaker's agreeing stance

towards the prior turn, while claiming independent epistemic access to the matter at hand. Vatanen (2014, 2018) also demonstrates that the overlapping responses compete in epistemic terms with the prior assertion, displaying that the speaker is more knowledgeable than design of the first-position assertion implies.

First position assertions have a variety of sequential implications for second-position actions. Assessments, for example, implicate agreeing second assessments, and agreements more generally. Schegloff (2007, p. 117) illustrates that a sequence with a preferred, agreeing SPP is “closure-relevant” while a sequence with dispreferred and/or disagreeing SPP is “expansion-relevant”. Assertions conveying novel information, such as news deliveries or information-oriented assertions, have different sequential implications. For example, a first-positioned assertion delivering news to an unknowing recipient is introducing new information into their common ground, such as patient describing symptoms to the doctor, and recounting a nightmare to family members. This implicates sequence expansion, and development of further talk relating to the assertion (Heritage, 2012; Schegloff, 2007). These differing sequential implications are also evidenced through the way that recipients respond to different kinds of assertion. Rather than agreements and confirmations, recipients may register the development of common ground with newsmarkers and epistemically-oriented response tokens (Gardner, 2001), each of which encourage sequence expansion. On the other hand, second-position assertions and assessments are likely to encourage sequence closure (e.g., Maynard, 2003; Schegloff, 2007). It should also be noted that assertions that are designed purely to deliver information may receive minimal responses, or no responses at all (Gardner & Mushin, 2013).

1.3 *Agreement and confirmation*

Agreement and confirmation are common ways of responding to assertions. Agreement and confirmation are second-position actions that take up a stance towards the prior assertion. Agreement ratifies the design and action of the prior assertion, and may occur with relatively symmetrical or asymmetrical claims about epistemic authority between the interactants (Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Küttner, 2016). Agreements shade into confirmations as the speaker encodes stronger epistemic claims, and/or when the first-position action is downgraded. There are a variety of practices that can be used for agreement and confirmation. Agreement can be accomplished with minimal response tokens of various sorts (e.g., *yes*, *yeah*), but these may leave the agreeing party vulnerable to being heard as weakly agreeing (Stivers, 2005). A stronger practice for agreeing is the response *that's right*, which claims a prior and independent epistemic access to the common ground that has been invoked by the prior assertion (Barnes, 2011, 2012). In addition, this response may be useful when sequences are approaching possible closure, demonstrating the speaker's aligning and affiliating stance toward the prior assertion, and creating an opportunity for transition. Various repetition-based practices may also be used to agree, but these are epistemically stronger (Schegloff, 1996; Stivers, 2005; see also Heritage & Raymond, 2005; 2012). For example, a second-position assertion that partially or fully repeats the prior assertion accomplishes agreement, but also challenges the prior speaker's socio-epistemic authority on the matters at hand (Schegloff, 1996; Stivers, 2005). A partial, modified repetition shows a speaker's claim to having the primary rights to make the claim conveyed in the prior turn (Stivers, 2005). Stivers (2005) argues that it is used when the prior turn is downgraded, whereas a full repeat is used when there is no downgrading in the prior turn, and is therefore more competitive.

1.4 *Second-position response tokens in assertion sequences*

There are a variety of practices that recipients of first-position assertions may use as responses, including a wide variety of response tokens. These responsive objects adopt a stance towards the prior assertion, treating the assertion as something to be acknowledged, continued, or noted as newsworthy, for example. The weakest kinds of responses are acknowledgement tokens and continuers (Gardner, 2001; Schegloff, 1982). Acknowledgement tokens register adequate receipt of the prior assertion, but little more (Gardner, 2001). Continuers are more supportive of the ongoing course of action, and project continued speakership from the current speaker. They may, therefore, treat first-position assertions as preliminary to further actions from the current speaker (Gardner, 2001; Stivers, 2008). Other response tokens have a stronger epistemic dimension and may register the prior assertion as contributing new information and building common ground. For instance, the change-of-state token *oh* can display that its speaker has undergone a change of state of knowledge or orientation as a result of the prior turn (Heritage, 1984). The German particle *achso* can show that the prior information has been receipted and its implication understood, and frequently a shift of topic to another matter occurs thereafter (Golato & Betz 2008; Golato, 2010; see Heinemann & Koivisto, 2016 on this topic). Newsmarking responses (e.g., *really?*) also treat a prior assertion as informationally new (Gardner, 2001; Maynard, 2003). Both tokens encourage sequence expansion (Heritage, 2012). The response token *right* has some similar functions (Gardner, 2007). Consistent with its lexical-semantic meaning, *right* can be used for confirming factual correctness, and displaying the speaker's epistemic priority. However, Gardner (2007) argues that, when used in response to informing assertions, *right* can also demonstrate receipt of information, orientation to progressed common ground, and the interdependency between the immediately preceding talk and prior talk in the course of

action. This *right* shares some properties with continuers, in that it supports further expansion, while also including epistemic claims about newly grounded information.

1.5 *Second-position composite responses in assertion sequences*

Responses to first-position assertions can be composed of multiple components; frequently, multiple response tokens, or a token and some clausal components. The components can enact distinctive actions, with combinations of epistemic and sequential functions. The need for multiple responsive objects is driven by the demands of the prior turn, with the functions of the tokens strongly influenced by the prior turn (Barnes, 2012). For instance, as we have discussed, the token *oh* often serves as a claim for receipting information, displaying the speaker's change of state from unknowing to knowing (Heritage, 1984). The response token *okay* works as an acceptance of (or alignment with) the prior talk, with an orientation to terminating a sequence (Gardner, 2001). They can occur in the same turn; commonly, they serve as sequence-closing thirds, minimally expanding a sequence (Schegloff, 2007). The *oh* component registers prior information as novel and then the *okay* delivers the speaker's alignment with the prior turn.

Responses to assessments are often composite turns. The use of multiple tokens provides a method of distinguishing agreement, confirmation, and the responsive assessment, as well as conforming with the polarity of the prior action (if relevant) (Heritage & Raymond, 2005). As argued above, the composite responses provide ways of upgrading from second position (Heritage & Raymond, 2005; Stivers, 2005). Composite turns are also employed as responses to news announcements (Maynard, 2003). Maynard (2003) argues that news delivery sequences consist of an announcement of news (with or without a pre-sequence prior to it), an announcement response, an elaboration of news and assessment of news. The news announcement reports on the

matters at hand, but is also valenced, i.e., it conveys positive or negative implications. The announcement response must therefore register the delivery of information as news, address its valence, and, as relevant, encourage the elaboration of the news. Composite responses involving change-of-state tokens, newsmarkers, and assessments may be employed in second position in order to address these various informational, evaluative, and sequential pressures (Maynard, 2003).

1.6 Third-position actions in assertion sequences

Schegloff (2007) argues that the basic realisation of sequences is two turns; an initiating first pair part, and a responsive second pair part. However, he also demonstrates that further complexity can be built around this two-part adjacency pair sequence, including pre-expansions, insert expansions, and post-expansions, some of which will be two-part sequences too. Three part structures may arise around adjacency pairs, particularly in minimal post-expansions (Schegloff, 2007, p. 118-142). In this case, following the second-position action, the speaker of the preceding first-position action will add a turn that works towards closing the course of action. The practices used in this third position tend to be minimal response tokens, composites, and assessments.

The three-turn structures can be salient in institutional talk (Heritage & Clayman, 2010; Margutti & Drew, 2014). For example, Kevoe-Feldman and Robinson (2012) examine a three-part sequence involving customer enquiries. In these sequences, customers ask about the status of the electronic equipment which has been sent to repair. In the second-position action, the representative's response provides details about when repair is likely to be complete. When the customer immediately accepts the representative's response about the status of the repair, the third turn is sequence closure-oriented. When the second-position action is not immediately accepted, the

representative recompletes this informing, displaying a pursuit of the customer's acceptance. This third-position action ratifies the relationship between the first turn and the second turn, and completes the institutional agenda commenced via the first turn.

There are few studies exploring third-position actions in assertion sequences. One study addressing an action in this position was carried out by Betz and Deppermann (2018), who examined the German response token *eben*. In some of these sequences, *eben* occurs in third position.¹ The pattern described by Betz and Deppermann (2018) has three parts. There is an "anchor" turn, in which the speaker puts forward a knowledgeable position, which is followed by a "confirmable" turn. With the confirmable turn, another party presents an aspect, presupposition, or upshot of the anchor. The third component is the *eben* turn. It displays the speaker's agreement to the confirmable while claiming that the confirmable produced by the interlocutor conforms with (or is inferable from) the anchor produced by the speaker, thereby highlighting priority in positioning and a pre-existing epistemic access. It links the confirmable back to the anchor and previously grounded knowledge, and implicates the *eben* speaker in responsibility for the stance.

Maynard (2003) also discusses third-position actions in news delivery sequences. In this position, speakers will elaborate the news by depicting the event, offering further relevant aspects of the news. Alternatively, they may also produce assessments that take up the valence of the news in third position. However, this practice implicates closure of the sequence.

¹ The token *eben* is only sometimes in sequentially third-position, similar to a sequence-closing third. On many other occasions, the three-part structure becomes relevant once *eben* is uttered; that is, the three-part structure only becomes visible retrospectively.

1.7 *Mandarin particles and response tokens*

The notion of “topic” is prominent for clause formation (and communication) in Mandarin Chinese. The topic component—often a noun, a noun phrase, or a verb phrase—specifies what the clause is about, but it is not always identical with the subject of the clause. In declarative-type clauses, the topic is often in the clause initial position, which can be optionally separated from the subsequent, “comment” part of the clause, either by a pause or a non-lexical hesitation particle (e.g. *a*, *ne*, *ma*). In some cases, it also functions as relating to preceding clauses, introducing a subtopic, reintroducing a topic, or forming a contrast with the next clause (Li & Thompson, 1989). Therefore, the references and predications created through clauses are strongly influenced by the contextual framework built by the topic component (Tao, 1996). Mandarin Chinese is also rich in particles, which can have a strong bearing on clause meaning (Li & Thompson, 1989). However, the precise functions of these particles are highly sensitive to their linguistic and communicative context. As such, many of the studies addressing Mandarin from a conversation-analytic perspective have focused on particles (e.g., Kendrick, 2010, in press; Tsai, 2008; Wang et al., 2010; Wu, 2005, 2006).

Some Mandarin particles indicate epistemic asymmetry between speakers. For instance, Kendrick (in press) proposes that the turn final particle *ba* displays the speaker’s adjustment of an epistemic position that has been presupposed by the conversation partner. When responding to a question, the speaker can employ *ba* in turn-final position to show a downgraded epistemic stance, resisting the partner’s presupposition of the speaker’s knowledgeability. When responding to informings, the particle *ba* can display the speaker’s incomplete epistemic access to the matter at hand. When responding to assessments, *ba* serves to solicit a response from a downgraded epistemic position. Kendrick (2010) also demonstrates the role of the turn-final particle

ma in soliciting information or confirmation, claiming that the recipient is knowledgeable of the matter-at-hand, and is obliged to respond.

Other analyses of Mandarin particles have linked them with the management of common ground and speaker stance. Wu (2005) argues that the turn-final particle *ou* produced in first position with a high or changing pitch indicates a gap in common ground, and that this gap can be filled via the information conveyed in the turn. When *ou* occurs in a responsive position, the speaker can be heard as contesting the design of the previous turn on the basis of the matters addressed in the *ou* turn. As such it is regularly implicated in dispreferred actions (e.g., disagreement). These two uses of the particle make salient the noteworthiness of the information conveyed in the *ou* turn, and index an emphatic stance. Tsai (2008) claims that the rising-intoned particle *ei* in turn-initial position indicates that previously non-focal dimensions of common ground will come into focus. The particle *ei* often prefaces questions, forming an inquiry based on what has been conveyed in the preceding talk, but one which may be somehow unexpected. Finally, Wu (2006) illustrates that some partial repeat other-initiations of repair employing the final particle *a* foreshadow the speaker's negative-valenced stance towards the prior turn. The *a*-suffixed repeat solicits confirmation or clarification about the target of repair, which may address issues of alignment.

There is a small body of research on response tokens in Mandarin from a conversation-analytic perspective (e.g., Clancy, Thompson, Suzuki, Tao, 1996; Hsieh, 2017; Wang et al., 2010). An interesting and important study is Wang et al. (2010), who compare the Mandarin response tokens *hao* and *dui*. The primary lexical meaning of *hao* is "good" and the primary lexical meaning of *dui* is "right" (i.e., correct), but these tokens enact a variety of different conversational meanings in specific sequential contexts. Wang et al. (2010) argue that, in general, the former token presents acceptance of other

interactants' move or act while the latter token shows acknowledgement of other speakers' propositional content. This study adopts a theoretically-eclectic approach (including conversation analysis) and a corpus-based methodology to make a number of claims about the functions of these response tokens in everyday conversation. First, they argue that *hao* displays the speaker's positive stance towards the preceding talk, while *dui* shows more neutrality. Second, they argue that *hao* shows the speaker's acceptance of the prior move or act, marking a transition or possible closure of the sequence by setting up a potential boundary in the conversation. On the other hand, they claim that the receipt token *dui* addresses the propositional content of the preceding talk, effectively confirming it is "correct and acceptable" (Wang et al., 2010, p. 256). They also suggest that *dui* can support "topic continuation" (Wang et al., 2010, p. 257) but may also be a sign of speakership incipency on the part of the *dui* speaker. This account of the functionality of *dui* is wide-ranging, and alludes to many different functions of this response token. However, it does not offer clear demonstrations of the ways that interactants orient to all of these practices, and the sequential contexts in which *dui* is employed are not well defined. Finally, it should be noted that Wang et al. (2010) demonstrate that both of these response tokens may be combined with other particles. This was the case for 26% of *dui* tokens and 34% of *hao* tokens.

1.8 Institutional talk and sales interactions

Institutional interactions display attributes that differ from mundane interactions. To begin with, they are goal-oriented, and rely on distinctive, institutionally generated inferential frameworks and identities (Heritage & Clayman, 2010). That is, parties to institutional interaction collaborate with each other towards a specific goal, which implicates expectations and responsibilities to enact actions in certain ways. This means

that there are strong asymmetries in rights and responsibilities, and, especially, knowledge and expertise (e.g., Heritage & Clayman, 2010; Stivers, Mondada, & Steensig, 2011). For example, by virtue of different social roles, such as teacher-student, employer-employee, salesperson-customer, the different parties involved in an institutional interaction are responsible for very different territories of knowledge (Heritage, 2012, p. 19). In many institutional interactions, the party in the “professional” role will be in a position of epistemic primacy, with “rights to tell, inform, assert or assess” (Stivers, Mondada, & Steensig, 2011, p. 13) matters relevant to the accomplishment of the institutional goal. These various asymmetries are realised through distinctive patterns in turn-taking and turn design, sequence organisation, overall structural organisation, for example, that are specific to the relevant institutional context, (e.g., classrooms, courtrooms, presidential press briefings; see Heritage and Clayman, 2010). In addition, these practices display the parties’ institutional identities, their collaborative orientation to a specific goal, and the tasks and constraints associated with it (cf. Heritage, 2010).

There are relatively few studies of salesperson-customer interactions that employ conversation-analytic methods (e.g., Carranza, 2017; Clark, Drew, & Pinch, 1994; 2003; Humă, Stokoe, & Sikveland, in press; Kevoe-Feldman, 2015; 2018; Kevoe-Feldman & Robinson, 2012; Llewellyn, 2015; Stokoe, Sikveland, & Humă, 2017; Sorjonen, Raevaara, & Lappalainen, 2009; Mondada, in press; Fox and Heinemann, 2015, 2016), and a substantial number of these studies focus on phone call interactions. In the analysis of interactions in a local fruit and vegetable shop, Carranza (2017, p. 716) specifies an overall structural organisation for these interactions, which includes an opening phase, a request and its execution phase, a commercial exchange phase, and a closing phase. Carranza (2017) argues that the request and its execution phase is a core part of these sales interactions, and it consists of a base adjacency pair sequence with various

expansions. The organisation of this salesperson-customer talk also shows the institutional character in their interaction, and the different responsibilities for requesting and offering corresponding to their institutional roles. For example, a customer's request for information can be seen as a commitment to a less knowledgeable position, but with a deontic implication for the salesperson to support the request from their more knowledgeable position (Drew & Couper-Kuhlen, 2014; Heritage, 2005). The fine details of these actions are also important for the progression of the institutional task towards its goal, with strong reciprocity of linguistic and institutional factors (Drew & Couper-Kuhlen, 2014). For example, in a different context, Llewelyn (2015) found that customers were much more likely to purchase a more costly entry ticket to a gallery (including a donation) when a salesperson used an alternative question rather than a *yes/no* interrogative. In other sorts of sales interactions, more substantial work can be required to manage common ground, build personal relationships, and make arrangements (e.g., Clark, Drew, & Pinch, 1994; 2003; Humă et al., in press; Kevoe-Feldman, 2015; 2018; Kong, 2003; Stokoe et al., 2017). For example, Humă et al. (in press) examine the ways that salespeople making "cold calls" build common ground to persuade prospective customers to agree to future meetings. They observe that salespeople pre-expand (what will turn out to be) a request for a future meeting. They do so without indicating that they are working towards this request, encouraging the prospective customer not to terminate the phone call. At the same time, these pre-expansions build common ground, which can be used to mitigate subsequent displays of resistance and enhance the chances of having the prospective customer commit to a meeting, i.e., achieving their institutional goal.

Assertions and informings have received limited specific attention in prior studies of sales interactions and institutional talk, and Gardner and Mushin (2013) suggest that

informings are an understudied action in general. Clark et al. (2003) examine assessment sequences in sales interactions, and their role in the management of affiliation. They observe that salespeople tend to agree with the customers' assessments, and offer affiliative second assessments that trade off the customers' first-position actions. Clark et al. (2003) argue that, with these actions and practices, salespeople build rapport with, and elicit affiliation from, their customers, with a view to positive sales outcomes.

Actions in third position are highly consequential for some institutional interactions. For instance, teachers employ third-turn repeats to show registration, receipt and evaluation of students' answers, which is a core part of the ongoing teaching and learning process (e.g., Margutti & Drew, 2014). As noted above, Kevoe-Feldman and Robinson (2012) have highlighted the importance of a customer's acceptance of a salesperson's talk in third position. These sequences involve an initiating enquiry from the customer, a response from the salesperson, which then sets up a third turn from the customer. If this third-position action is not forthcoming, then the interaction stalls, and the institutional business is incomplete.

1.9 *The present study*

Sections 1.2-1.8 have outlined previous research on assertion sequences, Mandarin response tokens, and institutional interactions. The present study contributes to knowledge in these areas by using conversation-analytic methods to examine the response token *dui* in a little studied type of institutional talk: cosmetics sales. It focuses on the salesperson's use of *dui* in third position, and its implications for the assertion sequences and institutional activities. In summary, then, the present study addressing the following research question: *What are the functions of the Mandarin response token dui when it is used in the third position of assertion sequences?*

2. Method

2.1 Design

This study used a descriptive, qualitative research design, following the methodology of conversation analysis. It documented routine interactions in a Mandarin-speaking cosmetics store in Sydney. This study received ethical approval from the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics committee (reference: 5201800221) in April of 2018 and it was conducted in accordance with this approval (see Appendix B).

2.2 Participants

10 people were recruited to participate in the present study. The participants were female, and between 20 and 35 years old. They were all native Mandarin speakers from China, and currently residing in Australia. 5 participants were recruited to act as “customers”. They were recruited by the student researcher in person and introduced to the research project². Customer participants all had had previous experience of purchasing and using skincare and cosmetics products. They also followed several official cosmetics marketing accounts on social networking platforms, and had up to date knowledge about cosmetics products. The student researcher went to the cosmetics store in person and got in touch with the manager of the store. The manager agreed to the research project being carried out at the store. The student researcher also met the salespeople for their personal consent to participate. The salespeople participated in the study based on their shifts and working hours. In total, 5 salesperson participants were recruited. The salespeople were experienced with cosmetics sales, and familiar with make-up skills, skincare products and cosmetics products; especially Japanese and

² Participants were specifically asked to be involved in the present study, and to visit a specific cosmetics store. In this sense, the interactions were generated for the research. However, the cosmetics needs of the customers were real, i.e., they had cosmetics needs they were intending to meet in the near future.

Korean cosmetics. None of the salesperson or customer participants had met one another prior to their participation in the present project.

2.3 Data collection

Data were recorded in a cosmetics store in metropolitan Sydney. The cosmetics store stocked more than 650 kinds of cosmetics and skincare products. The majority of the products in the store were displayed with testers on five-layered shelving on the wall. Some thin or small products like one-piece masks and nail polish remover were put in double sided four-layered movable shelves in between the entrance to the store and the cashier. Some of these displays are presented in Figure 1.

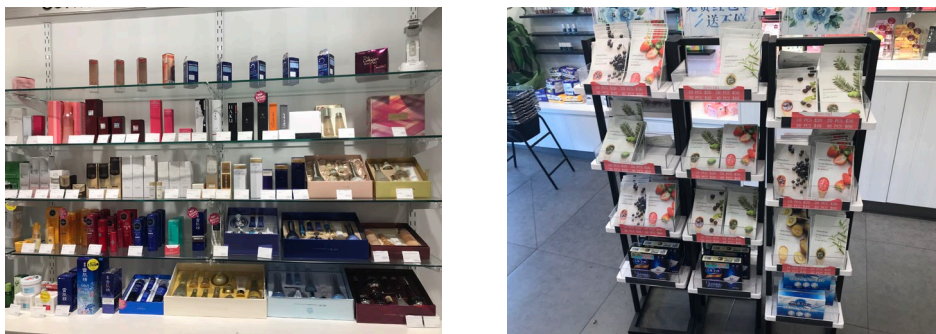


Figure 1. Cosmetics shelf displays: wall shelving and movable shelving

Two Hero 5 GoPro cameras and one Sony FDRAX33 camera were used for video recording. Figure 3 depicts the angle captured using the Sony FDRAX33 camera, showing the layout of the store and the equipment involved. The video cameras were set on the shelves to comprehensively capture the participants and the context. A Zoom H6 recorder was used for audio recording. Participants wore RODElink filmmaker lapel microphones (Figure 2). During each recording, a customer and salesperson pair undertook a conversation relating to the prospective purchasing of products. This included requesting and giving information about cosmetics products, making comparison between products,

talking about personal preferences, etc. Both the customer and the salesperson were free to move around for browsing and selecting their preferred products. If they moved to the other one of the fixed shelves on the wall, the video cameras were accordingly moved. The participants were also recorded purchasing products (if relevant).



Figure 2. Positioning of participants and recording devices during recording

The total length of the recordings collected was 230 minutes. The recordings were reviewed to explore their quality and usability, focusing on whether participants and their activities were adequately audible and visible. Recordings were then arranged and synchronised through Adobe Premiere Pro and PluralEyes software packages. This process resulted in 65 minutes of recordings that were subjected to transcription and analysis. Materials were excluded because they were inadequate for audio or visual analysis, and were not qualitatively different in terms of the activities being captured.

2.4 Transcription and data analysis

Data were transcribed in accordance with standard conversation-analytic transcription conventions (see, e.g., Hepburn and Bolden, 2013). Some conventions suggested by Li and Thompson (1981) for Mandarin were also employed (see Appendix

B). Transcription of talk consists of three lines for minimization of loss of meaning, and ensuring detailed information about the original Mandarin.

```

6 S1 ->  =danshi wo zhiqian:-    >wo 10.1 zhei ge < (.) yong wan le
          But    I  previously    I  this CL          use over PFV
          =But  I  previously:-    >mine<          (.) has been used up

```



Figure 3. Sample of transcript

As shown in Figure 3, the first line is Pinyin (the Romanization of Chinese) of Chinese characters. The second line is the word-for-word literal translation. When the word-for-word translation is not possible, information about the part of speech is presented. The third line is a free translation of the talk, taking into account its overall semantic and pragmatic meaning. Some transcripts are supported by the panels of screenshots. The screenshots are employed for demonstrating participants' gaze, body positioning, and movement. In the transcripts, the timing of screenshots is indicated via a numbered box on the Mandarin line. Each participant was also given a unique denotation in the transcripts (e.g. S1=Salesperson 1, C2=Customer 2). All transcription was completed by the student researcher. A portion of the free translations (including all extracts presented in the Results section) were checked by a native Mandarin speaker with professional experience carrying out English-Mandarin translation (in both directions). Any discrepancies were resolved through consensus discussions with the student researcher. Lastly, some aspects of the original conversation-analytic transcription on the Mandarin line have been preserved in the free translation line. Although this is difficult to carry out adequately at times, and has some clear limitations, I have done so to facilitate readers' appreciation the dynamics of the original Mandarin delivery.

After an initial review of data and transcripts, preliminary observations on salient patterns in the interactions were developed. As part of this process, it was noted that the response token *dui* was very common, and recurred in a number of sequential positions. Each instance of the token was then identified. This eventually generated a collection of 29 sequences in which *dui* occurred in third position following a first-position assertion. Collection-based conversation-analytic practices (see Schegloff, 1996) were used to develop accounts of the functions of *dui* in third position of assertion sequences. That is, aspects of its turn design and sequential organisation were described across the 29 sequences. In addition, this was compared and contrasted with other parts of the larger courses of action in which these 29 assertion sequences were embedded; in particular, parts in which assertion sequences were also present, but in which third position *dui* was absent. Finally, as is common in conversation-analytic studies of particles and response tokens, we will keep this targeted practice without free translation (Sorjonen, 2001; Betz & Golato, 2008; Egbert et al., 2016; Hepburn & Bolden 2016).

3. Data analysis

Both salespeople and customers used *dui* in the third position of assertion sequences. However, salespeople employed third-positioned *dui* much more frequently than customers. In the analyses to follow, I will demonstrate the institutional functions of this response token. Both free-standing *dui* and *dui* followed by more talk in the same turn will be explored in the present in the analysis, and we will see that they fulfil highly similar functions in assertion sequences. I will begin this chapter with an overview of the overall patterns observed in the cosmetics sales interactions collected for the present study, and some various locations in which *dui* occurred.

3.1 *Overall patterns in the cosmetics sales interactions*

In the cosmetics sales encounters collected during the present study, the primary activities the salesperson engaged in were informing the customer about the products, making recommendations based on customer's needs, and making comparisons between products for the customer's reference. The salesperson would then prioritise some products as recommended ones based on their newly built common ground. These patterns are exemplified in Extract 1.

In Extract 1, the salesperson ("S", hereafter) helps the customer ("C", hereafter) to select a sunscreen product. After greetings, S (who is wearing a black apron, see Figure 4) asks C about her needs. After C expresses her interest in sunscreen products, S asks about C's skin type. Based on C's response, S recommends the (pink) *Anessa* sunscreen to C. From then on, the focus of their talk is on the properties of this specific product. S informs C of the product's targeted skin type, Sun Protection Factor (SPF), and texture. C is mainly responding to S's assertions, offering evidence of their newly built in common ground.

Extract 1 S=Salesperson1 C=Customer1

1 S1 ni hao huanying [guang lin]
 You good welcome gracious presence
 Hello, [welcome]

2 C1 [↑ahn_] ni hao ni hao
 PRT you good you good
 [↑Oh_] hello, hello

3 (0.2)

4 S1 jiu: qing wen you shenme xuyao bangmang [°de ma°]
 Just please ask have what need help NOM Q
 May I ask is there anything I can [help?]

5 C1 [ao_] wo jintian:
 PRT I today
 [Um_] today I:

6 zhuyao shi xiang kan yixia fangshai lei de chanpin
 Mainly be want look softener sunscreen category ASSC product
 Mainly want to take a look at sunscreen category products

7 S1 fangshai dehua nin shi:↑
 Sunscreen if you (HON) be
 If sunscreen, you are:↑

8 >bijiao<- ni de pifu shi bijiao pian gan hai shi pian you °de°=
 Relatively you ASSC skin be relatively tend dry or be tend oily ASSC
 >relatively<- your skin relatively tends to be dry or oily?=

9 C1 =ah_ wo te°bie° pian GAN: [ranhou youdian <MIN:GAN>]
 PRT I particularly tend dry then a little sensitive
 =um_ my skin is particularly DRY:[and a little SENSITIVE:]

10 S1 [bijiao <PIAN GAN> (.)] bijiao <MINGAN>=
 Relatively <tend dry> (.) relatively sensitive
 [Relatively DRY (.)]relatively SENSITIVE=

11 C1 =dui dui dui;=
 PRT PRT PRT
 =Dui dui dui;=

12 S1 =↑bijiao <mingan dehua> >ranhou you< <pian gan> dehua
 Relatively sensitive if then also tend dry if

=*if relatively <sensitive> >and if also< <dry>*

13 wo hai man tuijian jiu shi: annaishai de zhei kuan
 I still very recommend just be Anessa ASSC this CL
 I very much recommend: this one of Anessa

14 (0.5)

15 S1 †zhei kuan ta >jiu °shi°< zhuanmen <shi zhendui:>
 This CL it just be specifically be target at
 †*This one is specifically <targeting at:>*

16 >jiu< shi: mingan ji for sensitive skin
 just be sensitive skin for sensitive skin
 >Just< is: sensitive skin, for sensitive skin

17 (0.3)

18 C1

1.1 [ahn. ³]

 PRT
 [Yeah.

19 S1 [ranhou ta de <nei ge>

1.3 fangshai xishu	1.2 ye tebie de qiang
------------------------------	------------------------------------

 Then it ASSC that CL sun protection factor also particularly CSC strong
 [Then its sun protection factor is also particularly high

20

1.4 (0.6)

 ((C nods))

21 S1 =>

1.5 dui.

 PRT
 Dui.

22 (0.3)

23 S1 ranhou TA: ye bu shi shuo jiu shi: nei zhong:(0.2)
 Then it also N be say just be that kind
 Then it is not really that kind of: (0.2)

³ In the extracts presented, there are a number of different free translations for the token *ahn*. In some cases, when it is falling-intoned, its interactional function is stronger than a continuer but weaker than a change of state token. In these cases, it is translated as *yeah*, i.e., an acknowledgement token. In some other cases, when *ahn* is rise-fall intoned, it is closer to a change of state token. In this case, it is translated as *oh*. In later analysis, we will also see some other tokens, such as *ehn ou o a* that have variously similar interactional functions to the above mentioned two tokens. The differences in the phonetic realization of the tokens are likely influenced by the geographic dialect that the speakers have acquired with Mandarin at an early age, and other broader factors (e.g., age, gender, multilingualism, idiolect). These tokens are often translated as *yeah* or *oh* too. A systematic analysis of the subtle differences between these response tokens awaits future study.

24 ou jiu< (0.4) <hen shui> de nei zhong
PRT just Very watery ASSC that kind
>Um just< (0.4) that kind of <very watery>

25 (0.2)

26 C1 [ahn.]
PRT
[Yeah.]

27 S1 [jiu: hai] shi shuo shi bijiao <ZIRUN> yidian
Just still be say be relatively moisturizing a little
[just] say relatively a little <moisturizing>

28 jiu hai man shihe xianzai DONGTIAN DE=
Just still very fit now winter ASSC
Just very much fits the WINTER now=

29 C1

1.6 =↑ahn:↓=

PRT
=↑Oh:↓=

30 S1 =>

1.7 =dui.

PRT
=Dui.

31 (0.2)

32 C1 ta shi: (.) ta shi nei zhong- (.)>jiu°shi°<
It be it be that kind just be
It is: (.) it is that kind of- (.) >just °is°<

33 shui he ru zhijian de nei zhong zhidi shi ma
water and lotion between ASSC that kind texture be Q
texture that between water and lotion, isn't it?

34 (0.3)

35 S1 => >a<

1.8 dui.=

PRT PRT
>Um< dui.=

36 C1

=[↑ahn↓	1.9]
---------	-----	---

PRT
=[↑Oh↓]

37 S1 [>ta shi °you yidian°<] (0.5) >jiu shi< bijiao pian SHUI yi dian dian=

It be have a little just be relatively tend watery a little bit

[>It is °a little°<] (0.5) >just is< relatively a little more WATERY=

38 C1 1.10
=ʔahn:↓

PRT

=ʔOh:↓

39 (0.3)

40 S1 1.11
[de zhidi]

ASSC texture

[texture]

41 C1 [yinwei (.)] wo zhiqian yong guo: (.) yinggai shi zhei yi ge=

Because I previously use PFV should be this one CL

[Because (.)] I have previously used (.) should be this one=

42 S1 =ran[hou ni-]

And then you

=And [then you-]

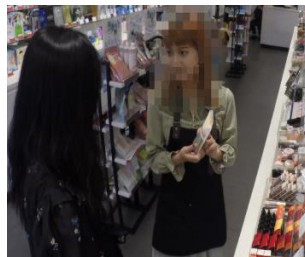
43 C1 [jinse de] zhei ge

Golden ASSC this CL

[this] golden one



1.1



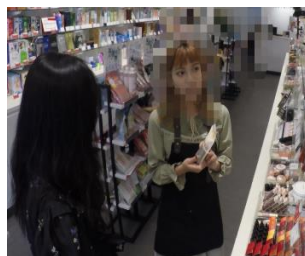
1.2



1.3



1.4



1.5



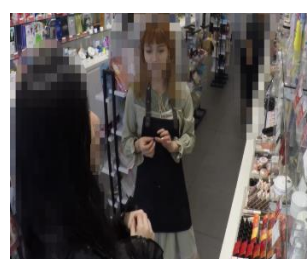
1.6



1.7



1.8



1.9



Figure 4. Panel of screenshots for Extract 1

An important juncture in this extract is around the acknowledgement token *ahn* at line 18. After an adjacency pair for greetings (lines 1-2), S uses a *ma* question to solicit information about C's needs (line 4), highlighting their epistemic asymmetry on this matter (Kendrick, 2010). With C's interest in sunscreen established, at lines 7-8, S uses an alternative question to ask about C's skin type. This culminates in a recommendation of the (pink) *Anessa* sunscreen, which S specifically links to C's skin type (line 9). From Lines 15, their discussion of sunscreen products is narrowed down to the (pink) *Anessa* only. At lines 15-16, S again asserts that this product designed for sensitive skin (*zhuanmen zhendui mingan ji*), and therefore addresses C's particular need. At line 18, C produces a falling-intoned acknowledgement token *ahn* (Gardner, 2001) which shows that the token's speaker has acknowledged what has been conveyed in the preceding turns. At the same time, C maintains her gaze at the *Anessa* product in S's hand (1.1), which show her orientation to the continuation of the business-in-progress (Rossano, 2012). So, together, C's falling-intoned acknowledgement token *ahn* and the co-occurring sustaining gaze at the product demonstrate her ongoing engagement with this course of action. This is particularly notable given that S has offered a clear product recommendation.

At line 19, S produces an assertion that addresses another feature of *Anessa*, i.e., that it has a high sun protection factor. In the middle of the turn at line 19, S shifts her

gaze from the product she is holding to C, and keeps gazing at her (1.2). C turns to mutually gaze with S (1.3) and immediately turns back to the *Anessa* in S's hands. After S's turn reaches its first transition-relevance place, C nods (line 20). This receipts S's assertion, and perhaps offers evidence of her appreciation of the import of the content of S's turn (see Stivers, 2008). At line 21, S produces *dui*, with her gaze turning from C (1.4) to the shelves (1.5), showing that course of action may be reaching a point of possible closure or transition (Rossano, 2012). As at lines 17-18, C has still not directly addressed S's recommendation. At line 23, S self-selects as the next speaker, enacting a focal shift from talking about the SPF of the product to the product's texture. She asserts that it doesn't have a watery (texture), which C also meets with a falling-intoned *ahn*. Like C's response at 18, it occurs at a transition-relevance place, and following a short silence, and is overlapped by S. S persists with describing the product's texture at 27-28, focusing on its implications for moisturising functions and suitability for the season. These assertions receive a different response from C. She produces a rise-fall intoned *ahn* at line 29 and turns her gaze from S to the shelves (1.6). This is followed by S's withdrawal of gaze from C to the same shelves (1.7). The interactants' mutual withdrawal of gaze from each other suggests that the course of action has reached a point of possible closure (Rossano, 2012). The rise-fall intoned token *ahn* accompanied by gaze withdrawal from S offers some stronger evidence of C's stance towards S's assertions, suggesting that she has adequately received the "chunk of information" (Heritage, 1984, p. 301) advanced through them. This is important for the trajectory of the interaction, in that it is the strongest response C has produced since S's recommendation of the product. It is noteworthy, then, that S's next turn at 30 consists of the token *dui* alone, with strongly falling terminal intonation. It is interesting that at this important juncture, the salesperson is producing a minimal response token. The

motivation for this action and practice will be addressed in detail in the sections to follow.

At lines 32-33, C poses a question in the format of a declarative with a question tag, soliciting confirmation from S about the product's texture. S responds with a confirming *dui* at line 35, endorsing C's stance that the texture is *between water and lotion* (*shui he ru zhijian de nei zhong zhidi*). C produces another rise-fall acknowledgement token, and turns her gaze from S (1.8) to the shelves (1.9). Like at 29, C adopts a stronger epistemic stance towards the prior turn using this change of state token. S, however, does not shift away from focusing on the texture, expanding and reformulating C's description of the product's texture. Specifically, she asserts that it is *a little more watery* rather than *between water and lotion*. So, in this case, the salesperson enacts her epistemic primacy over the matters at hand, which prolongs the trajectory of informing beyond C's claimed changed epistemic stance at 36. When S's assertion at 37 reaches possible completion, C produces another rise-fall *ahn*, and turns her gaze from S to the shelves (1.10). At 39-40, S gazes downward, looking at her hands as she seemingly imitates the motion of feeling the texture of the product between thumb and forefinger (1.11), and produces a minimal expansion of the prior assertion. At lines 41 & 43, C claims to have previous experience of using a golden *Anessa*, which is somewhat different from the pink *Anessa* recommended by S.

Extract 1 provides some insight into the core activities undertaken in these sales interactions. Customers have privileged access to their own needs, experiences, and preferences. They may provide information about this spontaneously, or it may be solicited by the salesperson. On the other hand, salespeople have knowledge of, and authority over, the products for sale. This encourages them to produce assertions about the products (and related matters). Therefore, dealing with the sequential implications

of assertions and their responses is consequential for successfully managing cosmetics sales encounters. The response token *dui* figures prominently in these action sequences. In the next section, below, I will briefly overview some of the different locations in which *dui* occurs, and provide some coarse and preliminary descriptions of their functions.

3.2 *Dui-prefaced turns marking resumption*

Dui occasionally occurs as a turn-preface for sequence initiating actions. When it occurs in this position in the present dataset, the previous talk and the *dui*-prefaced turn are intervened by laughter or an unexpected happening (e.g., as we shall see, the researcher's video camera falling down). In this case, then, the *dui*-preface appears to be directed towards resuming the disrupted course of action. An example of this is presented below. In this extract, S and C are talking about how long a foundation can be used.

Extract 2: S=Salesperson 1 C=Customer 1

- 1 S1 wo shi <QU NIAN mai de>
 I be last year buy ASSC
 I <bought it LAST YEAR>
- 2 (0.2)
- 3 C1 ahn.
 PRT
 Yeah.
- 4 (0.1)
- 5 S1 >RANHOU< <JIN NIAN> yong wan
 Then this year use over
 >THEN< used it up <THIS YEAR>
- 6 (0.5)

7 C1 ↑°ou:°↓
PRT
↑°Oh:°↓

2.1

8 (0.6) ((One of the recording cameras falls down to floor))

9 C1

2.2

>na ting<-
Then very
>Then, very<-

10 (0.4)

11 C1 °ei yo°
INTJ INTJ
°Oops°

12 (0.3)

13 S1 >↑yo yo yo yo yo↑<=
INTJ INTJ INTJ INTJ INTJ
>↑No no no no no↑<=

14 C1 =\$heh you diao °°le°°\$.hh .HH HH
 Again fell PFV
=\$Heh fallen again\$.hh .HH HH

15 (2.8)

16 S1 =>

2.3

dui; suoyi:- (0.5) °°>shi nei zhong leixing<°°
PRT so be that kind type
Dui; so:- (0.5) °°>is like that<°°

17 (2.0)

18 C1 └mm:: dui; ting jiu de
PRT yes very long ASSC
└Mm:: yes; very long

19 >↑ NA ZHEI GE< SHI:
 Then this CL be
>↑THEN THIS ONE< IS:

20 >JIU SHI TA YI GE HAISHI SHUO< ta limian you <TIHUANZHUANG>=
 just be it one CL or say it inside have replacement
>JUST ONE OR< it has a replacement inside?=



Figure 5. Panel of screenshots for Extract 2

At lines 1-5, S informs C of her own experience of using the foundation, saying that she bought it last year, and used it up this year. C responds to S's assertions at line 3 and line 7 respectively. Then, one of the recording cameras placed on the fixed shelves falls down to the floor. At line 8, S looks towards the camera with both of her hands rising to her ears (2.1). Then, C also turns back to see what has happened (2.2) as she begins a turn at line 9. At lines 11-14, C and S shift to talk about the fallen camera. Along with their talk at lines 13-14, both of S and C take a step toward the camera on the floor and bend a bit, preparing to pick the camera up. At the end of line 14, the researcher comes and picks up the camera. In the 2.8-second silence at line 15, S and C step back to where they were standing. C turns to look at the shelves, S glances at C (2.3) and then also focuses on the shelves. At line 16, S produces a *dui*-prefaced turn linking the subsequent talk back to the trajectory which was in progress before the disruption caused by the falling camera (Golato, 2018). This *dui*-prefaced turn also includes the resultative conjunction *suoyi* (so), and an assertion without a clear nominal subject. This implies what comes next links back to what has been discussed. After a long silence, C agrees with S's assertion, and explicitly formulates the upshot of S's earlier talk (i.e., the time it lasts is *ting jiu de* 'very long'). So, together, these practices resume the prior talk focused on the longevity of the foundation, with the *dui* preface seemingly contributing to the resumption.

3.3 *Dui as a response to confirmables*

Dui is commonly used in environments in which confirmation is relevant; particularly, as a response to questions, K- assertions, other-initiations of repair, and assessments (see Kendrick, 2010; Wang et al., 2010). In these cases, *dui* usually forms the second pair part in an adjacency pair, i.e., it is in second position. This use of *dui* is more explicitly related to its lexical-semantic meaning of “correct”. By saying *dui*, the speaker confirms the presuppositions and/or stance conveyed in the prior turn, and the action(s) it accomplishes. These functions are tied to epistemic asymmetries between S and C (see Kendrick, 2010). Examples of this use of *dui* are presented in Extracts 3, 4, and 5. In Extract 3, C and S are discussing mascara. S uses *dui* to agree with C’s assertion about having never used up a bottle of mascara. In Extract 4, C employs an *A-not-A* formatted question to ask S whether a cleansing gel (referred to pronominally at lines 1, 3, 6, and 7) is good to use (Li & Thompson, 1989). In Extract 5, C asks a polar question (with a sentence final question marker *ma*) about whether cleansers are mainly located on the shelf in front of them.

Extract 3: S=Salesperson 2 C=Customer 3

- 1 C3 -> dan qishi jiemaogao (.) mei ci (.) mai le yongyuan ye yong bu wan=
But in fact mascara every time buy CRS forever also use N over
But, in fact, mascara (.)every time (.) is forever not used up after buying=
- 2 S2 => =DUI. °wo°- wo ye meiyou \$°meiyou° yong wan [°guo°]\$
PRT I I also N N use up PFV
=DUI. °I°- I have \$ not used up [either]\$
- 3 C3 [ranhou] jingchang jiu- (.)
Then often just
[Then] it is often that-(.)
- 4 jiu shi ni mai yixie >huahzuang pin
Just be you buy some cosmetics product
You buy some >cosmetics products

5 ta moming jiu hui song jiemaogao ranhou jiu<-
 he inexplicably just will give mascara then just
He will inexplicably give you a mascara as a gift and then just<-

6 (.)

7 S2 °heh heh° .HH
 Heh heh
 °Heh heh° .HH

Extract 4: S=Salesperson1 C=Customer 2

1 C2 -> =>↑ei< ZHEI- ZHEI GE: >shi bu shi< <ting hao> yong
 PRT this this CL be N be very good use
 =>↑Um< *THIS- THIS ONE: >is< <very good> to use?*

2 (0.4)

3 S1 => DUI. ↑NEI GE DEHUA SHI:- >shuyu shi nei zhong< BIJIAO WENHE de
 PRT that CL if be belong be that kind relatively gentle ASSC
DUI. ↑THAT ONE IS:- >belong to that kind of< RELATIVELY MILD one

4 >jiu ruguo< [ni shi] <ZHUIQIU bijiao wenhe de>=
 Just if you be pursue relatively gentle ASSC
>Just if< [you] <PURSUE relatively mild ones>=

5 C2 [°ehn:°↓]
 PRT
 [°Mm°↓]

6 S1 =>ran<hou:- .hh >ye bu shi xie yanjing<
 And then also N be remove eye
 =>And< then:-.hh >it is not for removing your eyes<

7 TA jiu shi: quan lian xie de=
 it just be whole face remove ASSC
IT, just is: for removing the whole face=

8 C2 =EHN:↓=
 PRT
 =MM:↓=

9 S1 =dehua na jiu: ZHEI yi kuan
 If then just this one CL
 =If this case, then just: THIS one

Extract 5: S=Salesperson 1 C=Customer 2

1 C2 -> QINGJIE >de•hua< jiu >zhiyao<- zhuyao shi nei (.)
CLEANSING if just ((mispronounced)) mainly be that
CLEANSERS are just >meinly<- mainly that (.)

2 -> >nei< nei ji kuan ma
that that several CL Q
>that< that several ones?

3 (0.5)

4 S1 => dui.
PRT
Dui.

5 (0.7)

6 S1 >ran<hou: EN QINGJIE dehua jiu biru shuo:
and then PRT cleansing if just such as say
>and< then: UM, if CLEANSER, just like, say:

7 *i_* XI MIAN NAI *e_*=
PRT wash face milk PRT
***Um_* FACIAL CLEANSER *um_*=**

8 C2 =mm.=
PRT
=Mm.=

9 S1 =>ranhou ruguo< >HUA<- (.) pingshi huazhuang dehua: XIE ZHUANG DE (0.4)
Then if make usually make up if remove makeup NOM
=>Then if< >MAKE<- (.) if usually make up: MAKEUP REMOVER (0.4)

10 >jiu •shi•<- (0.3) >MIAN bu< xie zhuang he yan bu xie zhuang:
Just be face part remove makeup and eye part remove makeup
>Just •is•<- (0.3) >FACIAL< makeup remover and eye makeup remover:

11 (0.3)

12 C2 mm;
PRT
Mm;

In Extract 3, C asserts that she has not used up a mascara every time she buys one (line 1). S produces *dui* in response to C's assertion, before asserting that she has not used up a mascara either. S's *dui* agrees, but also indexes her own prior and independent access to the mascara issue, which she makes explicit with the remainder of the turn. In Extract 4, C uses an *A-not-A* question to solicit confirmation from S (line 1). Here, the format of *A-not-A* is *shi bu shi* (i.e., literally, *be not be*). The answer can be either positive- or a negative-polarity for confirming or disconfirming what has been asked in the prior turn (Li & Thompson, 1989). C's soliciting confirmation from S encodes a less knowledgeable epistemic stance than S, treating her as more knowledgeable (Kendrick, 2010). S's *dui* answer conforms with the positive polarity, ratifying both the actions and format of the question (i.e., that product is good to use), and its epistemic presumptions, and embraces the knowledgeable status proffered for S. In Extract 5, C asks about the availability of cleansers in the cosmetics store, i.e., a matter that is properly known by S. That said, C has successfully located the cleansers on the shelves. S's *dui* response, again, confirms the action and presuppositions of C's turn, while at the same time indexing her more knowledgeable position.

3.4 *Dui as a receipt token in third position*⁴

Dui also occurs following assertions and their responses, i.e., in third position. In this case, the speaker of the first-position assertion also produces *dui*. As for what this practice might be accomplishing, I will argue that, in this position, *dui* is a practice for registering the development of common ground via the prior assertion and the recipient's response to it. Extract 6 offers some examples of *dui* in third position. As this

⁴ From this point, the *dui* tokens that are not the targeted third-positioned ones in the analysis will be translated as *yes* or *that's right* based on the contextual and sequential environment. This is done so as to make the free translations as accessible. However, it is, admittedly, somewhat intuitive.

extract begins, S and C are talking about the SPF of sunscreens. Then, C asks S about the meaning of *PA++++* on the packaging of a particular sunscreen.

1 C1 †ou tamen dou shi nei ge wushi jia: [(.) PA (.) jia jia jia jia]
PRT they all be that CL fifty plus PA plua plua plus plus
†(Oh) they are all of fifty plus: [(.) PA (.) plus plus plus plus]

2 S1 [dui; °yinwei° yinwei °wo° dui dui] dui;
Yes because because I PRT PRT PRT
[Yes; °because° because °I° yes yes] yes;

3 >yinwei women< (0.4) women DIAN °jiu° <bijing shi aozhou ma>=
because we Our store just after all be Australia PRT
>because we< (0.4) Our STORE is °just° <in Australia after all>=

4 C1 =[EHN.]
PRT
=[(YEAH.)]

5 S1 -> [°suoyi] jiu shi< .hh women dian jin de dou shi:
So just be< we store stock NOM all be
[>So] just is< .hh all that our store stocks are:

6 -> fangshai xishu hen qiang de 6.1
nei zhong =
sun protection factor very strong ASSC that kind
that kind with very high sun protection factor=

7 C1 -> 6.2
=†ahn↓:=
PRT
=(†Oh:↓)=

8 S1 => 6.3
=.hh dui;
PRT
=.hh dui;

9 C1 †ei qishi wo bu shi <hen> qingchu
PRT in fact I N be very clear
†(Um) in fact I am not very clear that

10 >jiu shi zhe ge wushi jia dehua< jiu shi:- (0.2)
just be this CL fifty plus if just be
>if this is fifty plus< just is:- (0.2)

11 shijian ma. >ranhou nei ge<
time PRT then that CL
time. >Then that<

12 PA jia jia jia jia de- [.hh]
PA plus plus plus plus ASSC
PA plus plus plus plus is- [.hh]

13 S1 -> [>jiu]shi<

6.4

 ta de fangshai xi shu=
Just be it ASSC sun protection factor
[>just]is< its sun protection factor=

14 C1 ->

=fangshai 6.5 xishu=

Sun protection factor
=Sun protection factor=

15 S1 =>

6.6

 =d[ui. >jiu shi<] ta <JIA> de

6.7

 yue duo ta fangshai xishu yue qiang=
PRT Just be it plus CSC more much it sun protection factor more strong
=D[ui >Just is<] the more plus it has, the higher SPF it has=

16 C1 [°ou°↓]
PRT
[°(Oh) °↓]

17 C1

6.8

 =°ah↓°= ((C nods))
PRT
=(°Mm↓ °) =

18 S1 =>

6.9

 =°dui;°=
PRT
=°Dui;°=

19 C1 †Nei yiban ruguo:- yi zheng tian >biru shuo jintian<
That in general if a whole day >for example say today
†Um, in general, if:- a whole day, >for example, today<

20 qu: <HAITAN BIAN WAN >
go beach side play
I <GO TO BEACH>

21 S1 =ze
PRT
=(um)

22 C1 yao wan ge si wu ge xiaoshi >ranhou jiu shi< dagai (.)
Want play around four five CL hour then just be roughly

Want to play around four to five hours.>Then just is< roughly (.)

23 yao duoshao (.)yao bu yi ci
 Need how many need touch-up one time
Need to how many (.) need to touch-up once



Figure 6. Panel of screenshots for Extract 6

At lines 2-3, S confirms that all the sunscreen products have a sun protection factor of 50+, with the reason being that the store is located in Australia (*bijing shi aozhou ma* 'in Australia after all'). She then asserts that all of the sunscreens in the store are high SPF. At the end of this assertion at line 6, S sustains her gaze at C, which coincides with a nodding movement from C (6.1). At line 7, C's prolonged rise-fall intoned acknowledgement token *ahn* treats S's assertion as conveying novel information, and S turns her gaze away from C (6.2) to the shelves (6.3). S's *dui* at line 8 quickly follows C's *ahn*. At 9-12, C then asks a question about the meaning of the sun protection factor-

related markings on the packaging. So, in this case, we can see that *dui* at 8 did not contribute to, or lead to further development of the assertion at 5-6, nor did C pursue further discussion of this particular matter in the moments after. Instead, it appears to have facilitated further development of the course of action by bringing the assertion sequence to possible closure.

At line 13, S responds to C's question about the meaning of *PA++++*; namely, that plus signs indicate the sun protection factor of the sunscreen. During this turn, S and C turn to mutually gaze at each other (6.4). At line 14, C receipts S's answer by repeating *fangshai xishu* 'sun protection factor'. She also nods and turns her gaze from S to the shelves (6.5). S confirms using *dui* at 15 and looks to the shelves (6.6), and C simultaneously produces *ou*. S then commences another assertion while gazing to C (6.7), claiming that more plus signs indicate higher sun protection factor. At Line 17, C's falling-intoned *ah* with nods acknowledges S's prior assertion, as she gazes at the sunscreens on the shelves (6.8). S's *dui* at line 18 similarly offers a receipt of C's stance, and a possible closure to the current assertion sequence. During S's production of *dui*, she turns gaze from C to the shelves (6.9), demonstrating her orientation to the progress of the institutional activity.

In the following sections, I will address the functionality of *dui* in third position in more detail. I will focus on instances in which *dui* is produced by the salespeople, and discuss its relevance for the institutional activities at hand.

3.5 Salespersons' *dui* in third position

Salespeople regularly produced *dui* in third position; both as the only item in a turn, and as the first item in a turn. In summary, I will claim that this *dui* forms the third part of an *assertion-response-receipt* sequence, and that it signals:

- 1) Progression of common ground, with special relevance for the development of the institutional business, but without adopting a stance on the valence of this progression (i.e., it is neutral).
- 2) Completeness of the stance put forward in the first-position assertion, and the recipient's second-position response to the assertion.
- 3) A likely transition in the current course of action, such as a topical/focal shift in the ongoing activity, or movement into a next phase of the sales interaction.

Table 1. Design of salespersons' *dui* turns in third position

<i>Dui turn</i>	<i>Example in Thesis</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
<i>Dui</i> alone	<i>Extract 8, line 27</i>	14
<i>Dui</i> + new turn-constructural unit	<i>Extracts 6, line 15</i>	10
<i>Dui</i> + partial repeat of assertion	<i>Extracts 10, line 19</i>	3
<i>Dui</i> + on-topic minimal expansion	<i>Extract 7, line 43</i>	2
All turns	-	29

Table 2. Second-position practices prior to *dui* in third position

<i>Second-position action/practice</i>	<i>Example(s)</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
Change-of-state token	Rise-fall intoned <i>ahn, ou, o</i>	12
Acknowledgement and continuer tokens	Falling-intoned <i>ehn, ahn, mm</i>	9
Repetition	Repetition of the salesperson's turn	4
Change-of-activity token	<i>hao de</i>	2
Embodied response	Nodding	2
All practices	-	29

Tables 1 and 2 summarise some characteristics of the practices used in the assertion sequences targeted in the present study. Table 1 summarises the design of *dui* turns in third position. It shows that 14 of 29 turns are composed of a free-standing

token *dui*. 10 *dui* turns are also followed by a new turn-constructive unit. Table 2 summarises the second-position practices preceding third-position *dui*. 21 of the 29 instances of third-position *dui* are preceded by acknowledgement tokens, continuers, and change-of-state tokens. The remaining 8 instances involve repetition of salesperson's turn, the response tokens *hao de* and nodding.

3.5.1 Canonical third-position *dui* in assertion sequences

In this section, I will examine canonical examples of third-position *dui*, and begin to demonstrate the functional properties outlined in the previous section. Extract 7 is successive to Extract 1. Here, S and C discuss the golden *Anessa*, which C mentioned at the end of Extract 1. The gold *Anessa* is not specially designed for sensitive skin, while the pink *Anessa*—recommended by S in Extract 1—is. In this extract, *dui* occurs in third position twice, at lines 19 and 43.

Extract 7 S=Salesperson 1 C=Customer 1

- 1 C1 =ta >hao°xiang° jiu shi youdian< (.)
It seem just be a little
=It seems just a little (.)
- 2 PIAN SHUI [de nei zhong ganjue]
Tend watery ASSC that kind feel
MORE WATERY [that kind of feeling]
- 3 S1 [ranhou hai youdianer 7.1
pian] you heh=
Then also a little tend oily
[Then also a little more] oily heh=
- 4 C1 7.2
=dui. pian you; 7.3
↑DAN shi (0.4)
Yes tend oily but be
=Yes. More oily; ↑BUT (0.4)
- 5 wo juede haoxiang tu dao lian shang zhihou: [TA-]
I feel like smear on face on after it
I feel like when smeared on face: [IT-]

6 S1 [jiu bu hui] you le
Just N will oily PRT
[will not be] oily

7 (0.6)

8 C1 dui; hai hui youdian GAN: jiu shi xiatian de 7.4
shihou=
Yes also will a little dry just be summer ASSC time
Yes; will also be a little DRY: in summertime=

9 S1 =↑ahn: [:_ 7.5]
PRT
=↑(Oh) :[:_]

10 C1 [>jiu shi< wo gang] guolai dagai (0.3)
Just be I just come roughly
[>just< I have just] come here for roughly (0.3)

11 si ge yue jiu (.) ganghao ba zhei yi ping gei yong wan (.) >zhe yang<
four CL month just just BA this one bottle ACT use up this look
four months (.) have just used up this bottle (.) >like this<

12 S1 >suoyi shuo< ni dui >jiu< TA ye bu hui juede tebie de mingan
So say you to just it also N will feel particularly CSC sensitive
>So< you are not particularly sensitive to IT

13 (0.4)

14 C1 dui. TA mei you=
Yes it N have
Yes. It is not=

15 S1 -> =↑O::↓ >nei<- (0.2)
PRT then
=↑(OH) ::↓ >then<- (0.2)

16 -> >nei< qishishang 7.6
zhe bianer de wo juede yinggai dou keyi xuan
then in fact this side NOM I think should all can choose
>then< in fact I think all the items on this side can be chosen

17 (0.3)

18 C1 -> °↑ahn:↓°=
PRT
°↑(Oh) :↓°=

19 S1 => = dui. >ranhou< ruguo ni shi xiangyao:↑

PRT then if you be want

= Dui. >then, if you want:†

20 bijiao zirun yidianer dehua

relatively moisturizing a little if

something relatively a little more moisturizing

21 >xiang zhe ge†< (.) yilisier de (0.9) zhe yi kuan

Like this CL Elixir ASSC this one CL

>like this†< (.) Elixir's (0.9) this one

22 (1.2)

23 C1 okay shi yixia

Okay try softener

Okay let me try

24 (1.2)

25 S1 deng yixia wo xian bang ni-

Wait a moment I first help you

Wait a moment. Firstly I help you with-

26 (1.3)

27 S1 ou zhe ge bu xuyao

PRT this CL N need

(Oh) there is no need to

28 (3.9)

29 S1 †ta ye shi youdianer xiang (.) annaishai de nei zhong (.) zhidi

It also be a little like Anessa ASSC that kind texture

†It is also a bit similar to the texture of Anessa

30 (.)

31 C1 [ahn.]

PRT

[(Yeah).]

32 S1 [danshi] ta hui bijiao:-

But it will relatively

[But] it is relatively:-

33 (2.1)

[illegible]

47 C1 ʃah wen qilai de hh weidao wo jue de bi nanaishai hao (.)wen
 PRT smell PASS ASSC smell I feel COMP Anessa good smell
 ʃah it smells hh I feel it is better than Anessa's (.)smell

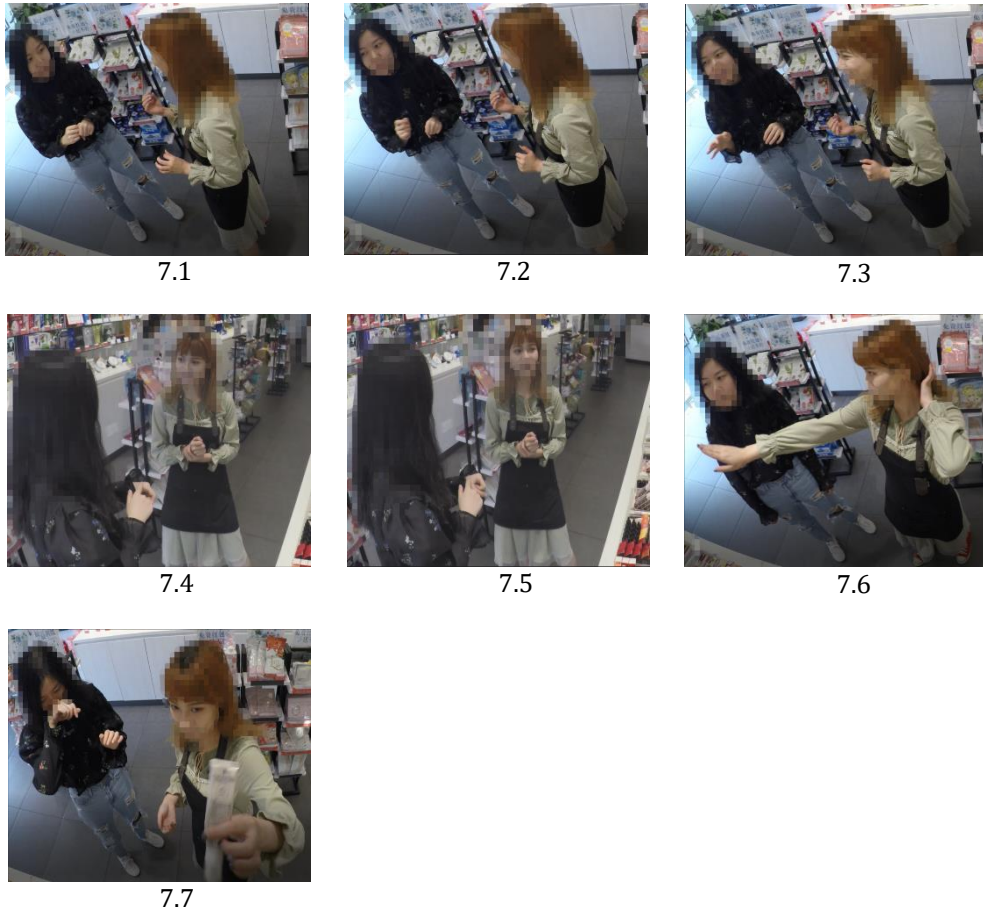


Figure 7. Panel of screenshots for Extract 7

C's assertion about the texture of the golden *Anessa* (lines 1-2) is overlapped by S (line 3, 7.1), who adds that it is *pian you* 'more oily'. C confirms using *dui* at line 4, adding a repetition of *pian you* 'more oily', and looks to the shelves (7.2). S also gazes to the shelves (7.3), which might suggest that the course of action has reached possible closure (Rossano, 2012). However, C pursues her stance about the texture at lines 4-5. She commences with a loud, high pitched *dan* 'but', and begins to describe how the texture feels when applied to the face. S, again, overlaps C, and attempts to collaboratively complete her turn, proffering *bu hui you le* 'will not be oily' (Lerner, 2004; Hayashi,

2003; Markaki, Merlino, Mondada, & Oloff, 2010). This is contrary to her previous assertion, and is likely sensitive to C's *dan* 'but' preface at line 4 (Szczeppek-Reed, 2015). C responds with *dui*, but continues her interrupted assertion, adding that it will be dry in summer. S produces a change-of-state token *ahn* at 9, turning her gaze from C (7.4) to the shelves (7.5). In doing so, she demonstrates a shift in her orientation and grounding as a consequence of C's assertion. At line 12, S then produces a K- assertion, soliciting confirmation from C about whether she is sensitive to the golden *Anessa* based on her previous experience with it. Compared to the question at lines 7-8 of Extract 1, this turn demonstrates development in S's knowledge about appropriate products for C. In addition, it is important for progression towards the institutional goal of recommending a suitable sunscreen product to C, facilitating selection and possibly purchasing of this product. After C's confirmation at line 14, S produces another change of state token, and asserts that, because C has indicated her skin is not in fact sensitive, she may choose from further sunscreen products. As she produces this assertion, S specifies an area on the shelves by raising her right hand and moving from left to right (7.6). C responds to this assertion with a rise-fall intoned prolonged *ahn*, demonstrating her own shift in orientation. S then produces *dui* in third position. With this token, she receipts C's second-position response, and affirms the stance put forward in her first-position assertion. S then quickly continues her turn, recommending a sunscreen product *Elixir*.

At line 23, C requests to try the *Elixir* sunscreen on. S fulfils the request, squeezing the sunscreen out of the tube-shaped package onto C's back of her right hand (lines 25-35). C's *ao*-prefaced turn at line 39 assesses the texture this based on her first-hand experience, and S again responds in overlap. She agrees with C's assertion, which shows her prior and independent access of the knowledge (see Stivers, 2005). S then asserts that this sunscreen (because of this texture) can be used as a primer. As at line

18, C's responsive *ahn* encodes a changed epistemic stance, treating S's assertion as conveying novel information, i.e., regarding the use of *Elixir* as a primer. S's third-position *dui* again registers this progression of common ground, and C's adjusted epistemic stance. Following a silence, S produces a minimal expansion *mei wenti de* 'no problem', and replaces the product back on the display shelves (7.7).

In Extract 8, S and C (who is wearing a brown backpack; see Figure 8.2) discuss a three-coloured brow powder palette. S eventually indicates that C's desired colour for a brow powder product can be created by mixing two of the powders in the palette. The third-position *dui* token occurs at line 23.

Extract 8: S=Salesperson 2 C=Customer 3

```

1  S2      >haiyou jiu shi< (.) hai- (0.2)
          Also just be
          >Also, just is< (.) also- (0.2)

2          ni yao <nei zhong> >tebie      tebie      ziran<
          You want that kind particularly particularly natural
          If you want <that kind of> >particularly natural< look

3          °ni° jiu yong nei ge Kate de
          you just use that CL Kate NOM
          °you° just use Kate

4          (0.7)

5          Kate de >wo juede ting [hao< ]
          Kate NOM I think very good
          I think >Kate is very [good<]

6  C3          [MEI ] FEN=
          Brow powder
          [BROW ] POWDER=

7  S2          =DUI.
          PRT
          =THAT'S RIGHT.

8          (.)

```

9 S2 mei fen
brow powder
Brow powder

10 (0.4)

11 S2 keyi ziji tiao yanse
can self mix color
you can mix the colors by yourself

12 (0.6)

13 C3 >zhuyao shi wo<- =
Mainly be I
>Mainly because I<- =

14 S2 =.hh o=
INTJ
=.hh (oops)=

15 C3 =>zhuyao shi wo zhiqian< meiyou- (.) >meiyou- meiyou-<[<YONG GUO MEI FEN>]
Mainl be I before N N N use PFV brow powder
=>It is mainly because I< have not- (.) >not- not-< [<USED BROW POWDER BEFORE>]

16 S2 [TA YE >keyi<- (0.3)]
It also can
[It ALSO >can<- (0.3)]

17 C3 [ganjue-] (0.3) >bu zhidao< hao bu hao hua
Feel N know easy N easy draw
[I feel-] (0.3) >I do not know< if it is easy to draw

18 S2 [e::_] (1.5)
PRT
[(Um) ::_] (1.5)

19 8.1 ZAI >zai °zai° zai zher< (0.7) ZHE GE
at at at at here this CL
AT >at °at° at here< (0.7) THIS ONE

20 (1.4)

21 S2 wo jiu shi: (.) wo zai jia jiu yong zhe kuan de (0.2)
I just be I at home just use this CL ASSC
I just: (.) I use this at home (0.2)

22 >ranhou< jiu shi liang ge yanse <hun>

Then just be two CL color mix

>Then< just <mix> these two colors

23 (0.1)

24 S2 -> >zhe liang ge yanse hun< >guji jiu neng<
 These two CL color mix estimatedly just can

>Mixing these two colors< >can possibly<

25 -> hun chu ni 8.2
zhongjian YAO de nei ge yanse=
 mix out you middle want ASSC that CL color

get the middle color that you WANT=

26 C3 -> 8.3
= ahn [:↓]

PRT

=(Yeah) [:↓]

27 S2 => [DUI;]=

PRT

[DUI;]=

28 C3 =>ZHUYAO SHI wo meiyoun<- (0.5) zenme shi guo yong mei fen hua
 Mainly be I N seldom try PFV use brow powder draw

=>Mainly because I have not<- (0.5) seldom tried using brow powder to draw

29 (0.2)

30 S2 <TA> shi (.) >qishi ye shi nei zhong<- (.)
 It be in fact also be that kind

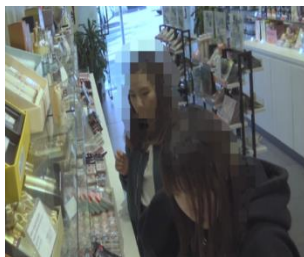
<IT> is (.) >in fact also that kind of<- (.)

31 zhe ge shi >nei ge< XIETOU de >nei zhong< JIAN de SHUAZI=
 This CL be that CL curved ASSC that kind tapered ASSC brush

This is >that kind of< CURVED >that kind of< TAPERED BRUSH=

32 C3 =↑mm [mm mm: ,
 PRT PRT PRT

=↑mm [mm mm: ,



8.1



8.2



8.3

Figure 8. Panel of screenshots for Extract 8

At lines 1-5, S informs C that the brows drawn by the brow product of the brand *Kate* are natural looking, and positively assesses the product. S and C do not start to move to the area where the *Kate* product is displayed until line 15. C's other-initiation of repair at line 6 *mei fen* 'brow powder' targets the precise nature of the *Kate* product in question. S's second-position *dui* (and subsequent repetition) confirms that it is in fact a brow powder product. S then informs C that the colours of *Kate* brow powder can be mixed. C does not produce a vocal response to S's assertion. Instead, between lines 13-17, she informs S of her worry about whether the brow powder is easy to draw because she hasn't used it. At line 15, S starts to move left along the shelves to get to the place where the brow powder is displayed, and then C moves along with S. S arrives at the area in line 18 (8.1). At lines 21-25, S informs C of her own experience of using *Kate* and the possibility for C to get the colour she prefers (which she has indicated earlier, not shown here) by mixing two colours together (lines 24-25). Towards the end of line 25, S and C turn to mutually gaze at each other as the final component of S's assertion is approaching possible completion (8.2). As she begins her response at line 26, C is gazing down to the brow powder in S's hand, and continues to do so for the duration of her production of the acknowledgement token *ahn* (8.3). S then produces a loud *dui* in third position and in terminal overlap with C's *ahn*. S similarly looks down to the brow powder. So, both interactants' vocal and embodied orientation suggest that this course of action is approaching possible closure (Rossano, 2012). Neither C nor S immediately address the mixing of the powder. However, C reasserts her lack of experience of using brow powder, likely due to the fact that S did not directly respond to it previously. At lines 30-31, S tells C about the shape of the brush that is included in the brow powder package.

In Extract 9, C and S are standing side by side at the shelves, with S positioned to C's right (and at the front of the screen shot; see Figure 9). They are both looking at products on display, and sporadically commenting on them. S is sometimes genuinely exploring what the products are because some of them are newly imported. Unlike many of the preceding extracts, in which the salespeople are answering questions and giving information to customers, there are instances here in which both S and C are not knowledgeable about certain products.

Extract 9 S=Salesperson 2 C=Customer 3

1 C3 zhe ge shi sha;
This CL be what
What is this;

2 (0.5)
3 S2 9.1
°zhe ge°-
This CL
°**This**°-

4 (3.9)
5 S2 9.2
[mm_
PRT
[Mn_

6 C3 [SAI↓°hong°
Blush
[BLUsh

7 (0.8)
8 S2 >°.<
PRT
>(Oh) .<

9 (0.7)
10 S2 dui; saihong ba;
Yes blush PRT
Yes; blush;

11 (0.4)

12 S2 >san fen ma? saihong ba.<
loose powder Q blush PRT
>loose powder? Blush.<

13 (0.2)

14 C3 <saihong ba.>=
Blush PRT
<Blush.>=

15 S2 =>zheme<-
Very
=>Very<-

16 (0.7)

17 C3 [sai:hong;]
Blush
[Blu:sh;]

18 S2 [yinggai shi.] >zhe ge wo-< wo bu qingchu; [.HH]
Should be this CL I I N clear
[It should be.] I am not sure about it; [.HH]

19 C3 [sai-] saihong;
Blu- blush
[Blu-] blush;

20 (1.8)

21 C3 9.3
1o >zhe ge< [>zhe ge< zhe ge HAO HAO KAN]
PRT This CL this CL this CL very good look
1 (Oh) >this< **[>this< this is very good-looking]**

22 S2 9.4
[°dui;°] zhe ge shi sai:hong]
PRT this CL be blush
[°Dui;° This is blu:sh]

23 (0.5)

24 C3 >o↓ zhe zhang de hao hao kan<
PRT this grow CSC very good look
>(Oh)↓ this is very good-looking<

25 9.5
(2.6)

26 S2 .hh xiao mao mao_

Little cat cat

.hh a little kitten_

27 (0.3)

28 C3 >o↓ zhe zhang de hao hao kan<
PRT this grow CSC very good look
>(Oh)↓ It is very good-looking<

29

9.6 (3.0)

30 S2 ->

9.7 OU↓

 >TA< XIAMIAN.

9.8 ZAI ZHER:

PRT it underside at here
(OH)↓>ITS< UNDERSIDE. At HERE:

31 (0.5)

32 C3 ->

9.9 ↑o:[:↓

PRT
↑ **(Oh) :[:↓**

33 S2 => [dui. ranhou ni <ZHAN> zhe yangzi=
PRT then you dip this look
[Dui. Then you <DIP> like this=

34 C3 =↑o: >zhe ge hao hao kan< [heh heh heh].hh
PRT this CL very good look heh heh heh
=↑ (OH) :>this is very good-looking< [heh heh heh].hh

35 S2 [>ni keyi SHI °yi°xia zhe ge<]
You can try softener this CL
[>You can try this one on<]

36 (0.5)

37 S2 >zhe ge zhe ge zhe ge dui dou keyi [shi<]
This CL this CL this CL right all can try
>This this this right all can be [tried<]

38 C3 [↑ahn] >zhe ge hao hao kan<
PRT this CL very good look
[↑ (Oh)] >this is very good-looking<

39 (0.4)

40 >zhu Yao shi °shangmian°< shangmian you [zhi mao °hao° kan]
Mainly be above above have CL cat good look

>Mainly because< the cat above [is °good°-looking]

41 S2 [xiao mao mao]
Little cat cat
[Little kitten]

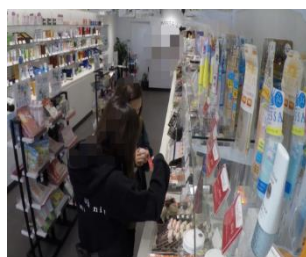
42 (3.0)

43 C3 ta shi <yanse pian qian> shi ba;
It be color tend light be PRT
Its <color is a little shallow> isn't it;

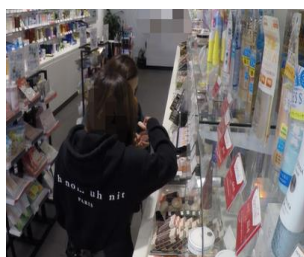
44 (0.8)

45 C3 ZHE GE yao shen yidian ma? >°ni [nei ge°]
This CL want dark a little Q you that CL
IS THIS a little darker? >°the one you [are holding°<]

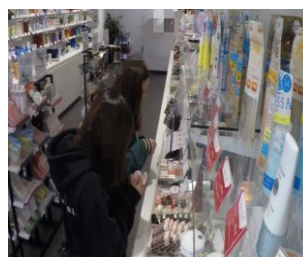
46 S2 [↑>zhe shi<] JV
This be orange
[↑>This is<] ORANGE



9.1



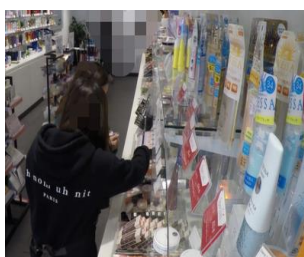
9.2



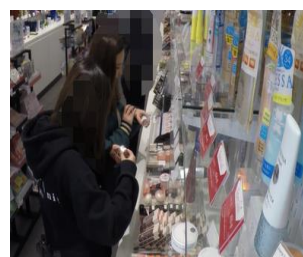
9.3



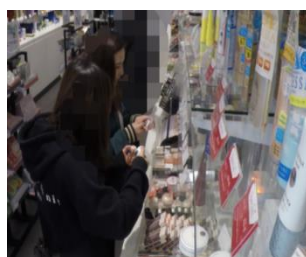
9.4



9.5



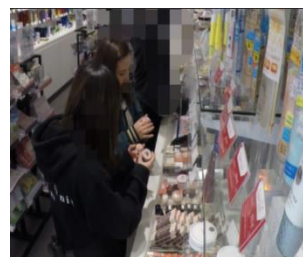
9.6



9.7



9.8



9.9

Figure 9. Panel of screenshots for Extract 9

At line 1, C uses a *wh* question to ask S what a product is. S commences a response, and proceeds to examine the product (9.1, 9.2) but does not produce an answer. At line 6, C offers a candidate answer, *saihong* 'blush'. S continues to examine the blush, producing an *o*, and a confirming *dui* turn. S then produces a *ma* interrogative, questioning the type of blush, followed by an assertion with a sentence-final particle *ba*, which shows her continuing uncertainty (Kendrick, in press). C also downgrades her epistemic position at line 12 using *ba*. S begins what appears to be an assessment with the adverb *zheme* 'very' but C continues to focus on the product, and their mutual displays of uncertainty persist until line 18.

At line 21, C picks up another blush product that has a kitten embossed on its packaging (9.3). As she picks up the product, she produces a positive assessment of its appearance. However, S has maintained her focus on the previous product in her hand (9.4), and in overlap she again confirms that it is a blush (line 22). C's repeats her positive assessment *hao hao kan* 'very good-looking' at line 24, and S puts down the previous product, and reaches out to pick up the same kitten blush as C (9.5). At line 23, S specifies what has (possibly) led to the C's positive assessment, i.e., *xiao mao mao* 'a little kitten'. C's repeats this assessment once more at line 28. She also taps on the kitten blush, and tries it on the back of her left hand. During the three-second silence at line 29, S turns the blush over, and looks at it (9.6). S's *oh*-prefaced turn at line 30 solicits C's orientation to the underside of blush where the puff of the kitten blush is position (9.7). This turn effectively asserts the newsworthiness of this aspect of the product. C gazes from the product in her own hands to the one in S's hands (9.8) at the end of line 30, acquiring the visual access to the aspect of the product S is attempting to make salient. C responds with a rise-fall intoned prolonged *o* (line 32), and gradually withdraws her gaze to the blush in her own hands (9.9). S responds with a third-position *dui*, and then

promptly moves on to how the puff can be used. At line 34, C repeats her positive assessment yet again, which leads S to offer for C to try the product.

In Extracts 7, 8, and 9, I have described instances in which first-position assertions from the salesperson culminate in the salesperson producing *dui* in third position. In each of these cases, the matters addressed by the first-position assertion are not substantially addressed following the production of *dui*. In addition, both the salesperson and the customer enact smaller and larger shifts in topics and activities, including offering new suggestions of products (Extract 7), returning to previously unaddressed concerns (Extract 8), and discussing different aspects of the products in focus (Extract 9). Each of the first-position assertions also address institutionally important matters, including products that may be suitable for the customer (Extract 7), as well as personally relevant and desirable features of the products (Extracts 8 and 9). Therefore, third-position *dui* appears to signal the progression of common ground for the sales interaction, reflecting both the adequacy of the first-position assertion and the customer's receipt of it. This, then, enables transition to further activities.

3.5.2 *Non-canonical examples of third-position dui*

In this section, I will examine some less straightforward assertion sequences in which third-position *dui* is both present and absent. In these cases, the sequential positioning of *dui* and its subsequent turn components are more variable, and/or the institutional activities offer greater complexities. However, I will demonstrate that the core functions and properties of this practice outlined in the previous sections continue to be relevant for the interactants.

In Extract 10, C and S are talking about foundations and associated products. S reports that she uses the products in question, and she tells C about her experiences

with them. This extract has three examples of *dui* in third position at line 9, 13, and 19 respectively.

Extract 10 S=Salesperson 1 C=Customer 1

1 C1 =>a ni xianzai jiu yong [tu de ma<]
PRT you now just use smear ASSC Q
=>(Oh) you are using [to smear now?<]

2 S1 [I now use ASSC be that one that CL
[<I am NOW] using> that °one°-, that=

3 C1 =A↓ NEI GE: twenty¿=
PRT that CL ((Brand Name))
=(OH)↓ THAT: 20?=
=Yes;=
Yes
=Yes;=

4 S1 =dui;=
Yes
=Yes;=

5 C1 =°a° °°Age 20's°°=
PRT ((Brand Name))
=°(Oh)° °°Age 20's°°=
=°(Oh)° °°Age 20's°°=

6 S1 -> =danshi wo zhiqian:- >wo

10.1
zhei ge

 < (.)

10.2
yong wan le

But I previously I this CL use over PFV
=But I previously:- >mine< (.) has been used up
(0.3)

7

8 C1 -> ↑ao;=
PRT
↑(Oh) :;=

9 S1 => =dui; yong wan zhi shengxia yidiandian
PRT use over only left a little bit
=Dui; used up, only a little bit left

10 >suoyi wo< shi:-
So I be
>So I< am:-

11 -> ba ta gen jiu shi lingwai yi ge °hu-° FENDI hunhe yong=
 ACT it with just be another one CL °mi-° foundation mix use
I use it with, just, another °mi-° foundation mixed to use=

12 C1 -> =↑ou:↓=
 PRT
 =↑ (Oh) :↓=

13 S1 => 10.3
=dui.
 PRT
 =Dui.

14 (0.5)

15 C1 >↑NA TA< (.) >dagai ye shi keyi-< (0.1) >dagai keyi< yong duo jiu=
 Then it roughly still be can roughly can use how long
>↑THEN IT< (.) >can roughly be-< (0.1)>can roughly be< used for how long?=

16 S1 -> =>keyi yong< HEN jiu
 Can use very long
=>Can be used< for VERY long

17 (0.3)

18 C1 -> HEN JIU, [heh .hh ↑.HH °°wo-°°]
 Very long heh I
VERY LONG, [heh .hh ↑.HH °°I-°°]

19 S1 => [dui. >keyi yong< HEN] jiu [JIU] WO::
 PRT can use very long just I
[Dui. >can be used< for VERY] long [just] I::

20 C1 [°dui;°]
 Yes
 [°Yes;°]

21 (0.6)

22 S1 wo shi <QU NIAN mai de>
 I be last year buy ASSC
I <bought it LAST YEAR>

23 (0.2)

24 C1 ↑ahn↓
 PRT
 ↑ (*Oh*) ↓

25 (0.1)

26 S1 >RANHOU< <JIN NIAN> yong wan
 Then this year use over
 >THEN< *used it up* <THIS YEAR>



Figure 10. Panel of screenshots for Extract 10

C other-initiates repair at line 3, soliciting confirmation of the foundation that S is using. S confirms with a second-position *dui* at line 4, and C orients to its newsworthiness at line 5. S then produces an assertion at line 6, indicating that her foundation had been used up, and turning her gaze from the shelves to C (10.1 & 10.2). However, the precise import of this assertion is somewhat unclear, and there is a sense that there may be more to come. C's response is a prosodically-marked *ao* token at line 8, which is followed by a third-position *dui*. Some evidence for the preliminary nature of S's assertion at 6 can be found in the talk following *dui*. That is, S does not shift to a next topic or completely close the sequence; instead, she partially repeats her prior assertion (i.e., *yong wan* 'used up') at line 9 and expands it to inform C about way she mixes the left-over of foundation with another foundation. So, in this case, it seems that C's slightly ill-fitting response token at line 8 encouraged S to produce *dui* at line 9, effectively

covering up C's prematurely strong response.⁴ The revised assertion continues through lines 10 and 11, resulting in yet another, but more canonical instance of *dui* in third position. This *dui* does not result in any expansion on the same topic, and S turns her gaze from C to the shelves (10.3). C then self-selects as the next speaker and asks how long the foundation can be used for. S's answer partially repeats C's question, which indexes her epistemic primacy (Heritage & Raymond, 2012). With her answer, she asserts that the foundation can be used *hen jiu* 'for a very long time', which C receipted by repeating. S then produced *dui*, but also added a full repeat of her turn at line 16. This instance of *dui* is unusual in two ways. First, although it is in third position relative to the assertion/informing (i.e., S's answer; see Couper-Kuhlen and Selting, 2018), it is in *fourth* position in the sequence initiated by C's question. Second, the matters addressed in her assertion persist after *dui* via the repetition. This appears to be related to the emphatic stance she is adopting about the foundation. In addition, this fact appears important for the institutional business, i.e., it may influence whether C chooses to buy the product. From line 22, S further specifies how long the foundation can be used, informing C that she bought it last year, and adding stress to the temporal description (i.e., *QU NIAN* 'LAST YEAR'). C produces another *ahn* at 24. This might be a location in which third-position *dui* could be expected. However, as with the earlier part of this extract, it turns out that S has more to add to her assertion, i.e., specifying the time it took to use the foundation up. So, the absence of *dui* here is indicative of the incompleteness of the assertion and its import.⁵

⁴ There is a somewhat similar instance in Extract 7, with S's second attempt to complete C's turn. In this case, the roles were reversed.

⁵ One might ask why third-position *dui* was in fact used in the earlier part of this extract. One speculative answer might be that C's second *ahn* at line 24 is less obviously ill-fitted, and therefore there was less need to cover it up with *dui*. With regard to the later sequence, it would have been interesting to see how it was closed. However, immediately after the completion of S's turn at line 26, a recording device fell down and frightened her, resulting in the sequence being abandoned (see Extract 1).

In Extract 11, C and S are talking about the need to remove sunscreen as part of skincare. C firstly asks S about removing facial sunscreen, and then she asks about removing body sunscreen. S takes control over this discussion, and talks authoritatively about the role of sunscreen in applying make up. The *dui* turn I will focus on occurs in line 33, and shares some similarities with the *dui* turn in line 19 of Extract 10.

Extract 11 S=Salesperson 1 C=Customer 1

- 1 S1 >ranhou< <ZHE> kuan dehua ta jiu zhuanmen shi zhendui baoshi de
then this CL if it just specially be target moisturizing NOM
>then< if <THIS> one, it is specially targeting at moisturizing
- 2 (0.1)
- 3 C1 [↑ahn↓]
PRT
[↑(Oh)↓]
- 4 S1 [>jiu<] pifu bijiao gan de meizi jiu:_ hai man shihe de
Just skin relatively dry ASSC girl just still very fit ASSC
[>Just<] for girls with relatively dry skin, just:_ fits very well
- 5 (0.3)
- 6 C1 [mm;]
PRT
[Mm;]
- 7 S1 [>ranhou<] xiang ZHE kuan shi: (0.2) bao- >nei ge< MEIBAI↑
Then like this CL be moi- that CL brightening
[>Then<] like THIS one is: (0.2) moi- >that is< BRIGHTENING↑
- 8 (0.3)
- 9 C1 ↑ahn↓ meibai de=
PRT brightening NOM
↑(Oh)↓ brightening=
- 10 S1 =Mm;
PRT
=Mm;
- 11 (0.2)

12 C1 .hh suoyi yong le (.)
So use CRS
.hh so after using (.)

13 nei ge fangshai zhihou yiban wanshang >hai shi yao< xie zhuang:
That CL sunscreen after in general night still be need remove make-up
That, after using sunscreen, in general, >need to< remove it at night:

14 (0.5)

15 S1 yi[ding] yao=
Certainly need
Ce[rtainly] need=

16 C1 [jiu-]
Just
[Just-]

17 C1 =dui; [heh heh heh]
PRT Heh heh heh
=Dui; [heh heh heh]

18 S1 [.HH heh heh] [°wubi°-] {hh}
Heh heh must
[.HH heh heh] [°must°-] {hh}

19 C1 [DANSHI:] >ruguo ni< shenti shang ye
But if you body on also
[BUT:] >if you< also

20 yong le fangshai dehua °ye°- (0.1) ni hui yong: >nei ge<==
use CRS sunscreen if also- you will use that CL
Use sunscreen on body, °also°- (0.1) you will use: that==

21 S1 =WUBI XIZAO [hh heh heh heh heh .HH]
Must take a shower heh heh heh heh
=MUST TAKE A SHOWER [hh heh heh heh heh .HH]

22 C1 [e heh heh heh heh heh] .HH=
PRT heh heh heh heh heh
[Uh heh heh heh heh heh] .HH=

23 S1 =dui; >↑jiu shuo<- (0.4) ↓en: fangshai dehua >qi°shi ta°< suan shi: insertion
PRT just say PRT sunscreen if in fact it count be
=Dui; >↑just say<- (0.4) ↓(um): sunscreen, >in °fact it°< can be considered as:

24 zhuang qian diyi bu ma↓=

make-up before first step PRT

the first step of make-up priming↓=

25 C1 =mm;
PRT
=Mm;

26 (0.2)

27 S1 ye suan shi (.) baoyang zuihou yi bu; >suoyi< shuo [:- .hh]
Also count be caretaking last one step So say
Also the last step of skincare; >so< [:- .hh]

28 C1 [°mm°]
PRT
[°Mm°]

29 (0.8)

30 S1 -> yiding yao xie
Certainly need remove
Certainly needs to be removed

31 (0.2)

32 C1 ->

11.1
↑ahn:↓=

PRT
↑ (Oh) :↓=

33 S1 =>

11.2
=dui;

 yiding yao xie
PRT certainly need remove
=Dui; certainly needs to be removed

34

11.3
(3.6)

35 hai you >°jiu shi°< <qita> xuyao de ma
Still have just be other need NOM Q
Are there any other things that you need?

36 C1 [↑AH]
PRT
[↑(UM)]

37 S1 [XIANG] jiu shi: >qidian< a::_ zhexie
Like just be cushion PRT these
[Like] >cushion< and these things

38 (0.3)

39 C1 en dui; wo ye xiang kan yixia <qidian>

PRT yes I also want look softener cushion

Mm yes; I also want to take a look at <cushion>



11.1



11.2



11.3

Figure 11. Panel of screenshots for Extract 11

S's turns at lines 1-10 inform C about the functions of different facial sunscreens of *Anessa* series. At 12-13, C solicits confirmation from S about the need to remove (facial) sunscreen at night. S responds to the question with *yiding yao* 'certainly need [to]'. Her *dui* at line 17 (particularly when juxtaposed with the declarative-formatted question at lines 12-13) works to demonstrate that C was not in a completely unknowledgeable position on this matter. That is, the epistemic gradient between C and S is relatively shallow, i.e. the epistemic positioning of C and S is not remarkably different (Kendrick, 2010). Both S and C laugh following C's *dui* at line 17, further signifying the possibly inapposite nature of her prior turn. C persists with her stance at lines 19-20, but shifts to ask about the removal of body sunscreen. S's response is similarly strong—*wubi xizao* 'must take a shower'—and then both S and C burst into laughter together. There is some ambiguity as to the function of the *dui* at 23. It shares some features of the third-position receipt; however, it is also like the resumption-marker described in Section 3.2. Given the degree of disruption caused by the laughter here, it may be more like the latter, linking the upcoming talk with the previous institutional business. S produces further assertions about the relationship between sunscreen, make-up, and skin care,

which receive minimal acknowledgement tokens from C at lines 25 and 28. After a 0.8 second silence, S produces the assertion *yiding yao xie* ‘certainly needs to be removed’. C produces a rise-fall intoned *ahn* at 32 with backward head movement (11.1), followed by S’s third-position *dui* and a complete repetition of her own prior turn at line 30, which co-occurs gazing away from C to the shelves (11.2). Given the prior discussion of the need to remove sunscreen, C’s *ahn* is somewhat curious. Rather than indexing progression on epistemic terms, perhaps it might be better understood as accepting the stance S has been advancing. The third-position *dui*, then, marks this acceptance as progressing common ground. As in Extract 10, the repetition following *dui* occurs in the context of an emphatic stance from S. After a 3.6-second silence at line 34 in which S and C gaze at the shelves (11.3), S asks C whether she has any more needs, and offers cushions as a candidate option, which is taken up by C.

Finally, in Extract 12, C and S discuss eye creams. There are a number of assertion sequences in which second-position responses are not followed by a third-position *dui*. This is attributable to various problems of uptake/alignment that arise in this segment of interaction, which leads to the institutional activities becoming troublesome or stalling.

Extract 12 S=Salesperson 1 C=Customer 2

- 1 C2 >na< (.) ni jue-de- (0.2) >jiu shi<- (0.1) dui yan bu dehua:- (0.4)
 Then you think just be for eye part if
 >Then< (.) you think-(0.2) >just is<- (0.1) if for eyes:- (0.4)
- 2 EN:↓ (0.3)
 PRT
 (UM) :↓ (0.3)
- 3 >zhe zhong< <yan mo> >hao yidian< haishi: >jiu shi< [tu:]
 This kind eye mask good a little or just be smear

>This kind of< eye mask is better or: >just< [smear:]

4 S1 [yan GAO] MA=
Eye cream Q
[Eye CREAM?]=

5 C2 = dui. <tu> >de nei yi zhong<=
Yes smear ASSC that one kind
= Yes. <The one> >that is smeared<=

6 S1 =.HH:: en::↓ <NEI:> hai shi kan ni >jiu shi ruguo ni shi
(in-breath) PRT that still be look you just be if you be
=.HH:: (um)::↓ <then:> it depends on you >just is, if you

7 xiangyao jiu< shi:↑ YOU nei zhong JIXIE peihe A:
want just be have that kind equipment coordinate PRT
want, just< is:↑ HAVE that kind of equipment to help:

8 zhilei de >jiu biru shuo ni< xiang *yao*-= (0.1)
something alike ASSC just for example say you want *yao*=
or something like that >just for example, you< want *t*-= (0.1)

9 >jiu shi< <ANMO> [.hh <ni >] de yan bu>
Just be massage you ASSC eye part
>Just to< <MASSAGE> [.hh <your>] eyes>

10 C2 [↑°ou:°↓]
PRT
[↑°(Oh):°↓]

11 (0.3)

12 S1 RANHOU NE: wo jiu: <BIJIAO tuijian yan GAO>=
Then REx I just relatively recommend eye cream
Then: I just: <RELATIVELY recommend eye CREAM>=

13 C2 -> = ↑°ou: [:°↓]
PRT
=↑°(Oh):[:°↓]

14 S1 [ran]hou: >erqie< yan gao dehua qishishang *en:↓*
Then also eye cream if in fact PRT
[Then]: >also<, if eye cream, in fact, *um:↓*

15 (0.2)

16 S1 XISHOU: hui- (0.4) <BIJIAO> 12.1
hao °yi diandian° (0.4)
Absorb will relatively good a little
ABSORPTION: will- (0.4) <RELATIVELY> a little better (0.4)

17 †danshi <yan mo> dehua ta >qi°shishang° jiu shi< neng- (.)
But eye mask if it in fact just be can
†But if <eye mask>, it, >in °fact°<, just, can- (.)

18 BANG ni <suo zhu> de shuifen 12.2
bijiao duo yidian
Help you lock in ASSC moisture relatively much a little
HELP you to <lock in> relatively a little more moisture

19 (0.2)

20 C2 °mm°.
PRT
°Mm°.

21 (1.0)

22 -> °hao: de:°=
Good ASSC
°(Ok:ay):°=

23 S1 =>ranhou< XIANG
Then like
=>Then< <LIKE>

24 >jiu shi< tamen hen duo <gongneng xing feichang QIANG de>
just be they very many functional property very strong ASSC
>just<, a lot of them with <very STRONG functional property>

25 .hh <DA BUFEN> shi yan gao HH
Most portion be eye cream
.hh <THE MAJORITY OF THEM> are eye cream HH

26 (0.5) ((C nods))

27 >yinwei< TA HUI <peihe> >jiu shi< yiding de shou fa anmo HH
Because it will coordinate just be certain ASSC hand technique massage
>Because< IT WILL <coordinate with> >just< certain hand techniques to massage
HH

28 (0.2)

29 C2 -> ↑ °ou [: ° ↓]
PRT
↑ ° (*Oh*) [: ° ↓]

30 S1 [zhe] zhong
This kind
[Things] like that

31 (0.3)

32 C2 >NA< (.) yan gao dehua:-
Then eye cream if
>Then< (.) if eye cream:-

33 (0.4)

34 S1 yan gao [dehua:-]
Eye cream if
If eye [cream:-]

35 C2 [<°you: na]: zhong°>
Have which kind
[<°what do] you have°>?

36 (0.6)

37 S1 >yan ↑gao dehua< >zhei °shi°< CONG: (0.5) >ZHEI ge difang< (0.3)
Eye cream if this be from This CL place
>If eye cream< >this °is°< FROM: (0.5) >THIS place< (0.3)

38 DAO >zhei ge defang dou shi yan gao<=
To this CL place all be eye cream
TO >this place are all eye creams<=

39 (0.3)

40 C2 [°mm: ° ↓]
PRT
[°mm: ° ↓]

41 S1 [>ranhou<] danshi: ↑ bijiao: ↑ shihe women \$nianling: : \$=
Then but relatively fit we age
[>Then<] but: ↑ what relatively: ↑ fits our \$age: : \$=

42 C2 =>ahn< ↓ =

PRT

=>(mm)<↓=

43 S1 =HH: >bijiao shihe women nianling dehua wo bijiao<
 Relatively fit we age if I relatively
 =HH: >if relatively fits our age, what I relatively<

44 <tuijian de shi:> (0.5)
 recommend ASSC be
 <recommend is:> (0.5)

45 en:_ xiang: ZHEI GE AHC de >zhe ge jiu shi zhijie< shi:- (0.6)
 PRT like this CL AHC ASSC this CL just be directly be
 Um:_ like:, THIS ONE from AHC, >this is, directly< is:- (0.6)

46 en↓ (0.2) ↑>hai shi< TA- (0.1)
 PRT still be it
 (Um)↓(0.2) ↑>still is<, IT- (0.1)

47 >yan gao de gongneng xing dou hui<
 Eye cream ASSC functional property all will
 >The functional property of eye creams are all<

48 <BIJIAO PIAN XIANG YU DA-> *e_* >jiu< BIJIAO: (0.5)
 relatively tend toward at big- PRT just relatively
 <RELATIVELY LIKELY BIG-> *(um)_*>Just< RELATIVELY: (0.5)

49 en:↓ <SISHI JIA yishang de ren>
 PRT forty plus above ASSC people
 (Um):↓<for people OVER FORTY>

50 (0.4)

51 S1 >suoyi jiu shi xiang zhe ge< dehua:
 So just be like this CL if
 >So, just, if like this< one:

52 >jiu °shi°:< <DAN> shi bushui dehua <zhei ge>
 Just be only be moisturizing if this CL
 >Just °is°:< if <ONLY> moisturizing, <this one>

53 (0.6)

54 S1 -> ranhou:: xiang Gongchenxiang °de ba° (0.4)

Then like ((brand name)) ASSC PRT

Then:: like Gongchengxiang (0.4)

55 -> GONGchengxiang 12.3 >Jinlvxiang< jiu: °mm° (0.3)

((brand name)) ((brand name)) just PRT

GONGchengxiang >Jinlvxiang< just: °mm° (0.3)

56 -> °ze° >ranhou hai you< Innisfree

PRT then still have Innisfree

°(Um)° >then there is< Innisfree

57 (0.3)

58 C2 -> jmm:=

PRT

jMm:=

59 S1 => =dui.

PRT

=Dui.

60 (0.9)

61 S1 ranhou xiang: <ZHEIXIE> dehua dou shi tongchang jiu:- (0.4)

Then like these if all be usually just

Then, like: <THESE> are all usually, just:- (0.4)

62 BI<↑JIAO:> xiangyao <KANG LAO> °de ren:°=

Relatively want anti aging ASSC people

People who RE<↑LATIVELY> want anti-aging:=

63 C2 = ahn[:↓]

PRT

=(Oh) [:↓]

64 S1 -> 12.4
[>GUO]LAI dehua< women hui bang tamen tuijian zhei ge

Come if we will help they recommend this CL

[if] they >COME<, we will recommend this to them

65 -> (1.1)

66 S1 => dui. °xiang:↑° (1.0) xiang xianzai dehua:

PRT like like now if

Dui. °like:↑° (1.0) like now:

67 xiang women jiu <zhi XUYAO↑> (0.6) bushui; baoshi;
 like we just only need hydrating moisturizing
 Like us, just, <only NEED↑> (0.6) hydrating; moisturizing;

68 (0.3)
 69 C2 ->

12.5
°mm.°

 PRT
 °*Mm.*°

70 (0.3)

71 S1 -> °°mm.°°
 PRT
 °°*Mm.*°°

72 (1.4)

73 C2 -> hao (1.6) de;
 okay
 (Ok (1.6) ay);

74 (2.0)
 75 S1

12.6
wan le ma

 Finish PFV Q
 Finished?

76 (1.3)
 77 S1

12.7
°hai shi°-

 Still be
 °*Or*°-

The first point of difficulty in Extract 12 arises from C's question at lines 1-3. S other-initiates repair at line 4, focusing on whether C is comparing *yan mo* 'eye masks' with *yan gao* 'eye creams'. C responds in a somewhat ill-fitting way, repeating the last element of her own turn *tu* 'smear', which seemingly preferences this description over S's. From line 6 to line 11, S displays problems with formulating an answer to the question. Eventually, she asserts that she recommends eye cream one wants to *anmo* 'massage' around eyes.

At line 13, C nods while producing a rise-fall intoned *ou*, receipting S's assertion. As we have seen, *dui* signals the adequacy of the prior assertion, and progression in common ground. However, at this stage, the basis for S's assertion is weak. Moreover, the recommendation is not grounded in information

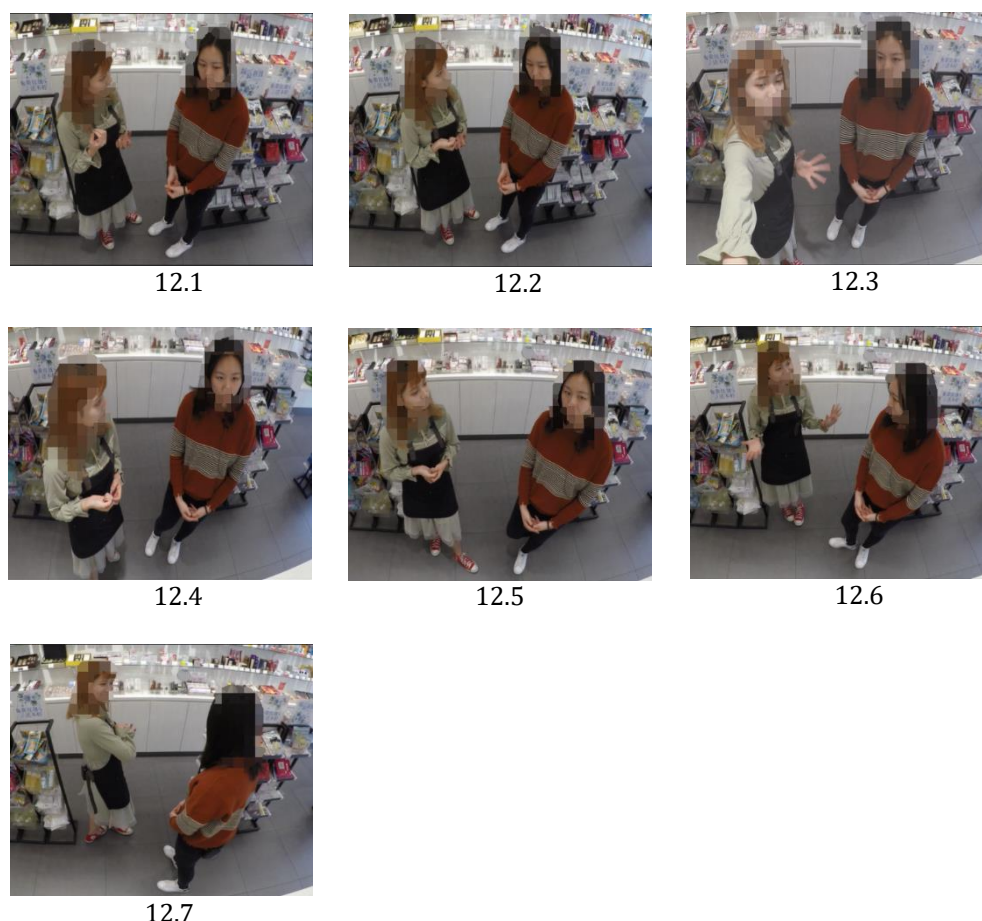


Figure 12. Panel of screenshots for Extract 12

solicited from C, and may therefore be heard as premature. These factors push against the production of third-position *dui*, and encourage S to continue discussing eye creams at line 14 to justify her recommendation. In fact, she weakens her stance by asserting the advantages of both products. Between 16 and 18, C nods while withdrawing her gaze from S twice (12.1 & 12.2), and offers a quiet, minimal acknowledgement token at 20. Following a long silence at 21, she also produces the change of activity token *hao de*

with nodding (Wang et al., 2010). Again, S does not respond to with *dui*, and instead produces further assertions on features of eye cream. It seems likely that C's weak and equivocal uptake of S's prior assertions influenced the absence of *dui* at this juncture. Neither *mm* nor *hao de* appears to offer strong informational receipt, and they provide little indication of S's stance towards the relevance of these assertions for S's recommendation.

At line 32, however, C asks a new question, which provides some uptake of S's recommendation of eye cream, with S then specifying the area of the shelves that display the eye creams. From line 41, S progresses the institutional task by narrowing her recommendation to eye cream products that *shihe women nianling* 'fit our age', i.e., that are suitable for people around the age of both C and S. The first recommendation—*AHC*—is made at line 45, which she follows with an assertion that eye creams are for *sishi jia yishang de ren* 'people over forty'. The second recommendation—*Gongchengxiang*, along with a denial of another related product *Jinlvxiang* through shakes of her head and hand (12.3)—is at lines 54 and 55. The third one—*Innisfree*—is proposed at line 56. For the duration of this extended period of talk from S, C is silent, infrequently nodding, and mostly gazing at the shelves as S points to products. Having offered these possible choices, the only vocal response she elicits from C is an *mm* at 58. Although weak, it coincides with an important juncture in the institutional activity. That is, S has provided more extensive justification of her recommendations, and selected specific products. Her production of *dui* indexes this juncture, and the relevance of transition. However, after a 0.9 second silence at line 60, C offers no further uptake. S describes some features of other eye creams at lines 61-62 and 64, which C receipts vocally with a falling *ahn*. C also nods for the duration of S's turn at 65 (12.4). These assertions (and those at 66-67) seemingly rule out *kang lao* 'anti ageing' eye creams as

being relevant for C. At line 69, C produces a soft-voiced *mm* while turning her gaze from S to the shelves and nodding (12.5). Again, C's lack of uptake offers little progression of the institutional activities. At line 73, C produces *hao de* once more, and looks in the direction of research student. S then produces an incomplete alternative question, perhaps asking C whether it is the end of the recording, or whether she would like to talk about other products. Alongside the alternative question, S re-positions her body from facing the shelves in front of them to the opposite side of the store (12.6-12.7).

In Extracts 10, 11, and 12, I have described some more variable and complex assertion sequences. I have shown that, when the particular matters addressed by a first-position assertion persist following third-position *dui*, it takes the form of repetition (Extracts 10, 11; or, a minimal expansion as in Extract 7). In addition, these repetitions tend to occur when the salesperson is adopting an emphatic stance. The (minimal and repetitive) nature of these continuations therefore offer further evidence that third-position *dui* orients to the adequacy and completeness of the assertion sequence, and the collaborative development of common ground. As with the extracts in Section 4.5.1, Extracts 10, 11, and 12 have shown that third-position *dui* can result in discussion of further, on-topic matters (Extract 10, 12), or larger transitions in the sales interaction (Extract 11). These shifts may be initiated by the salesperson or the customer. Finally, the absence of *dui* in some assertion sequences—in particular, in Extract 12—also offers some evidence of its relationship to institutional goals. That is, third-position *dui* tends to occur when the preceding actions in the assertion sequence contribute to the development of the institutional goals, and does not occur when they do not.

4. Discussion and conclusion

4.1 *Assertion sequences in sales interactions*

The salespersons' use of third-position *dui* in assertion sequences indicates collaborative development of common ground. In most cases, these sequences involve the provision of new information to the customer. The motivations for using third-position *dui* relate to sequential and epistemic pressures. Second-position tokens focused on information receipt (e.g., change-of-state tokens, newsmarkers) often lead to expansion of assertion sequences (see Maynard, 2003; Schegloff, 2007). The epistemic (and deontic) asymmetry in this institutional context also suggests possible sequence expansion (see Heritage, 2012). The salesperson has epistemic primacy in terms of the epistemic status associated with their institutional role, the epistemic stance they have adopted via the assertion, and the fact that they have produced a first-position action. Combined with the unknowing stance of the customer in second position, the salesperson is positioned to determine whether to close the assertion sequence, or extend it for further informing. However, this must be handled carefully. In these sequences, the customer has usually offered limited evidence of their stance towards the adequacy of the assertion, primarily registering their receipt of what has been asserted. The third-position receipt token *dui* navigates each of these pressures. First, *dui* displays the speaker's neutrality in the sense of evaluation (cf. Maynard, 2003). That is, it does not directly address the valence or implication of the first-position assertion (like, for example, an assessment), nor the customer's stance towards it. Second, it registers a boundary in the assertion sequence; a marker that the specific matters addressed by the first-position assertion need not be further developed. However, this also provides for a wide range of transition possibilities. Third-position *dui* does not specifically select any party as the next speaker, and does not appear to have any strong

implication of speakership incipency. As the preceding analyses have demonstrated, the salespeople regularly self-select (see Line 19 of Extract 7; Line 33 of Extract 9) and so do the customers (see Line 15 of Extract 10; Line 9 of Extract 6) following this token. As well, *dui* can also provide for subtler on-topic shifts (see Line 19 of Extract 7), or wider shifts in the course of action (see Line 35 of Extract 11). So, in summary, third-position *dui* curtails the possibility of expanding talk on the matters addressed by the first-position assertion, registering it as developing common ground, while at the same time providing for a range of possible next activities from both the salesperson and customer.

Assertion sequences appear to play an important role in cosmetics sales interactions. That is, the ways that salespeople manage the provision of information to customers via assertion sequences is important for institutional goals in this context. In previous work on sales interactions, assertion sequences have been addressed incidentally as part of analyses of other actions and practices (e.g., Humă et al., in press; Kevoe-Feldman and Robinson, 2012). Clark et al. (2003) addressed them more directly, but focused on assessment sequences, and their role in evaluation and affiliation. The findings of the present study suggest that the ways that (cosmetics) salespeople provide factual information, and the ways that customers respond to this, is central to understanding the characteristics of this institutional interaction. In addition, these findings suggests that third-position *dui* has a role in marking institutionally important information (conveyed via the first-position assertion), while not directly evaluating it as such (e.g., producing an assessment of it).

4.2 *Dui, assertion sequences, and response tokens*

The findings of the present study add to the small body of empirical, conversation-analytic research on the functions of the Mandarin token *dui* (Wang et al., 2010; see also Kendrick, 2010). It has specified some sequential positions in which it is used, and focused on one position in detail. As Wang et al. (2010) found, it is a very common token in conversation, and has a broad range of functions. The findings of the present study have begun to differentiate some of these functions in detail. In particular, it has specified a function beyond confirmation of the immediately prior turn, and that has little direct sense of its lexical-semantic meaning. As suggested by Wang et al. (2010), I have also shown that *dui* can be involved in marking topics and larger junctures in courses of action, but this is more complex than merely acknowledging the propositional content of preceding talk. The findings of the present study also differ from Wang et al. (2010) in that *dui* was not combined with any other particles, nor did it appear to strongly indicate speakership incipency. However, this might be related to the relatively small data set explored here (see Section 4.3).

The present study has also specified an interesting position in assertion sequences, i.e., third position. It is possible that this position and the practices associated with it may differ between institutional and everyday contexts, and perhaps even between languages and cultures. On the first point, the assertion sequences observed in the present study may show different attributes from assertion sequences in everyday conversation. That is, the distinctive asymmetries in epistemic rights and obligations (see, e.g., Stivers, Mondada, & Steensig, 2011) may arise less frequently, or not at all, in everyday conversation. This might mean that the actions accomplished with third-position *dui* are less relevant for everyday conversation (however, see Hsieh, 2017). It may also be the case that the action and stance accomplished with third-

position *dui* is culturally-specific, and may not be often witnessed in other languages. That is, speakers of a first-position assertion may not employ a third-position token at all, or in the same way as the Mandarin speakers here employ *dui*. In fact, the only other practice that was used in this position was the minimal response token *mm*, and it occurred very infrequently (see Line 10 of Extract 11). The third position of assertion sequences might therefore prove an interesting candidate for “pragmatic typology”, i.e., comparison of interactional practices between language and cultures (see Dingemanse, Blythe, & Dirksmeyer, 2014). Although, to date, this has largely focused on turn-taking and repair organisation, sequences involving response tokens would also seem a good candidate for exploring commonalities and differences across languages (see Betz & Deppermann, 2018; Betz & Li, 2018).

4.3 *Study limitations and future research*

The collection of third-position *dui* responses analysed in the present study is relatively small. A larger collection is likely to reveal more varied management of assertion sequences by salespeople, more diverse instances of *dui* in third position, and perhaps other tokens that are used in this position. A larger data set will likely also implicate a more diverse range of participants. Although the participants in the present study were carefully selected (with consideration given to gender, age, native language and cultural background), the overall number of the participants was small, which may have affected the patterns in assertion sequences and *dui* responses observed. The absence of detailed research on the functions of second-position response tokens (e.g., *ahn*, *ehn*, *o*, *ao*) also limits the findings of the present study. For example, subtle differences in the epistemic stance encoded by these tokens may have affected participants’ use (and non-use) of *dui* in third position. It is also possible that dialectal

and individual differences contributed to features of these second-position tokens, again suggesting that a larger sample of participants would be beneficial.

There are a number of interesting topics for future study indicated by the present findings. First, assertion sequences and response tokens in second and third position in everyday interactions involving Mandarin speakers should be explored. This will provide valuable information about whether these actions and practices are institutionally-specific, and deepen our knowledge of the functions embodied by *dui*. Second, this will also support cross-linguistic studies of third-position responsive practices in assertion sequences. In addition, more detailed investigations of first-position assertions and their responses in sales interactions will be useful for specifying this unique institutional context. Further exploring the linguistic composition and sequential organisation these actions will offer further insight into the ways that cosmetics salespeople and customers enact institutional activities. Finally, it will be worthwhile for future studies to more critically address the notion of “assertion”. The present study has used it as a superordinate term for actions conveying an authoritative epistemic stance, and focused on first-positioned declarative / non-interrogative turns. This has likely resulted in some diversity within the collection in terms of the first position actions examined, which may be problematic because of the different relevancies these action implicated. The distinctions between the interaction enacted by the salespeople and by the customers, such as *dui*, need further studies as well.

4.4 Conclusion

This study has explored assertion sequences in cosmetics sales interactions, focusing on the functions of the response token *dui* in third position. It has contributed

new information about this context for institutional interaction, and response tokens in interactions involving Mandarin speakers.

References

- Adobe Premiere Pro Version 12 [Computer software]. (2018). Retrieved from <https://www.adobe.com/au/products/premiere.html?promoid=PQ7SQBYQ&mv=other>
- Barnes, S. E. (2011). Claiming mutual stance: On the use of *that's right* by a person with aphasia. *Research on Language & Social Interaction*, 44(4), 359-384.
- Barnes, S. E. (2012). On *that's right* and its combination with other tokens. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 44(3), 243-260.
- Betz, E., & Deppermann, A. (2018). "Uses of OKAY: Receipting and displaying understanding." Part of the panel 'OKAY across languages: Towards a comparative approach to its use in talk-in-interaction' (E. Betz, A. Deppermann, L. Mondada, and M.-L. Sorjonen). *International Conference on Conversation Analysis (ICCA)*, Loughborough, UK.
- Betz, E., & Deppermann, A. (2018). Indexing priority of position: *Eben* as response particle in German. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 51(2), 171-193.
- Betz, E., & Li, X. (2018). "Between universal and specific uses: OKAY in Mandarin Chinese and German interaction." *CAUTG*, Regina, SK, Canada.
- Carranza, A. V. (2017). If vegetables could talk...: A structural and sequential analysis of buying and selling interactions in a Mexican fruit and vegetable shop. *Discourse Studies*, 19(6), 711-731.
- Clancy, P. M., Thompson, S. A., Suzuki, R., & Tao, H. (1996). The conversational use of reactive tokens in English, Japanese, and Mandarin. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 26(3), 355-387.
- Clark, C., Drew, P., & Pinch, T. (1994). Managing customer 'objections' during real-life sales negotiations. *Discourse & Society*, 5(4), 437-462.

- Clark, C., Drew, P., & Pinch, T. (2003). Managing prospect affiliation and rapport in real-life sales encounters. *Discourse Studies*, 5(1), 5-31.
- Clark, H. H. (1996). *Using language*. New York, US: Cambridge University Press.
- Couper-Kuhlen, E., & Selting, M. (2018). *Interactional linguistics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Dingemanse, M., Blythe, J., & Dirksmeyer, T. (2014). Formats for other-initiation of repair across languages: An exercise in pragmatic typology. *Studies in Language*, 38(1), 5-43.
- Drew, P., & Couper-Kuhlen, E. (2014). Requesting: From speech act to recruitment. In P. Drew & E. Couper-Kuhlen (eds.), *Requesting in Social Interaction*, 1-34. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- Du Bois, J.W. (2007). The stance triangle. In R. Englebretson (ed.), *Stancetaking in discourse: Subjectivity, evaluation, interaction* (pp. 139-182). Amsterdam, The Netherlands, and Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins.
- Egbert, M., Yufu, M., & Hirataka, F. (2016). An investigation of how 100 articles in the Journal of Pragmatics treat transcripts of English and non-English languages. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 94, 98-111.
- Enfield, N. (2013). *Relationship thinking: Agency, enchrony, and human sociality*. New York, US: Oxford University Press.
- Fox, B. A., & Heinemann, T. (2015). The alignment of manual and verbal displays in requests for the repair of an object. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 48(3), 342-362.
- Fox, B. A., & Heinemann, T. (2016). Rethinking format: An examination of requests. *Language in Society*, 45(4), 499-531.

- Gardner, R. (2001). *When listeners talk: Response tokens and listener stance*. Philadelphia, US: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Gardner, R. (2007). The *right* connections: Acknowledging epistemic progression in talk. *Language in Society*, 36(3), 319-341.
- Gardner, R., & Mushin, I. (2013). Teachers telling: Informings in an early years classroom. *Australian Journal of Communication*, 40(2), 63.
- Golato, A. (2010). Marking understanding versus receipting information in talk: *Achso* and *ach* in German interaction. *Discourse Studies*, 12(2), 147-176.
- Golato, Andrea (2018). Turn-initial *naja* in German. In J. Heritage and M.-L. Sorjonen (eds.), *Between turn and sequence: Turn-initial particles across languages* (pp. 413-444). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Golato, A., & Betz, E. (2008). German *ach* and *achso* in repair uptake: Resources to sustain or remove epistemic asymmetry. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft*, 27(1), 7-37.
- Hayashi, M. (2003). *Joint utterance construction in Japanese conversation*. Amsterdam: Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Heinemann, T., & Koivisto, A. (2016). Indicating a change-of-state in interaction: Cross-linguistic explorations. *Journal of Pragmatics*, (104), 83-88.
- Hepburn, A., & Bolden, G. B. (2013). The conversation analytic approach to transcription. In J. Sidnell and T. Stivers (eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis* (pp. 57-76). Chichester, UK: John Wiley and Sons.
- Hepburn, A., & Bolden, G. (2016). *Transcribing for social research*. London, England: Sage.
- Heritage, J. (1984). A change of state token and aspects of its sequential placement. In J. M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (eds.), *Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis* (pp. 299-345). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

- Heritage, J. (2002). The limits of questioning: Negative interrogatives and hostile question content. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 34(10-11), 1427-1446.
- Heritage, J. (2005). Revisiting authority in physician-patient interaction. *Language Power and Social Process*, 16, 83.
- Heritage, J. (2010). Conversation analysis: Practices and methods. *Qualitative Sociology*, 3, 208-230.
- Heritage, J. (2012). Epistemics in action: Action formation and territories of knowledge. *Research on Language & Social Interaction*, 45(1), 1-29.
- Heritage, J. (2013). Action formation and its epistemic (and other) backgrounds. *Discourse Studies*, 15(5), 551-578.
- Heritage, J., & Clayman, S. (2010). *Talk in action: Interactions, identities, and institutions*. Chichester, U.K: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Heritage, J., & Raymond, G. (2005). The terms of agreement: Indexing epistemic authority and subordination in talk-in-interaction. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 68(1), 15-38.
- Heritage, J., & Raymond, G. (2012). Navigating epistemic landscapes: Acquiescence, agency and resistance in responses to polar questions. In J. P. De Rutier (ed.), *Questions: Formal, functional and interactional perspectives* (pp. 179-192). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Hsieh, C. Y. C. (2017). From receipt of information to management of interaction: The use of *zheyangzi* as a response token in Chinese conversation. *Concentric: Studies in Linguistics*, 43(2), 87-118.
- Humă, B., Stokoe, E., & Sikveland, R. O. (in press). Persuasive conduct: Alignment and resistance in prospecting “cold” calls. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*.

- Kendrick, K. H. (2010). *Epistemics and action formation in Mandarin Chinese* (PhD dissertation). University of California, Santa Barbara, California, US.
- Kendrick, K. H. (in press). Adjusting epistemic gradients: The final particle *ba* in Mandarin Chinese conversation. *East Asian Pragmatics*, 5-26.
- Kevoe-Feldman, H., & Robinson, J. D. (2012). Exploring essentially three-turn courses of action: An institutional case study with implications for ordinary talk. *Discourse Studies*, 14(2), 217-241.
- Kevoe-Feldman, H. (2015). Closing the gap in customer service encounters: Customers' use of upshot formulations to manage service responses. *Pragmatics and Society*, 6(1), 67-88.
- Kevoe-Feldman, H. (2018). The interactional work of suppressing complaints in customer service encounters. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 123, 102-112.
- Kong, K. C. (2003). "Are you my friend?": Negotiating friendship in conversations between network marketers and their prospects. *Language in Society*, 32(4), 487-522.
- Koshik, I. (2005). *Beyond rhetorical questions: Assertive questions in everyday interaction*. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- Küttner, Uwe-A. (2016). *That-initial turns in English conversation* (PhD dissertation). In. Potsdam, Germany: University of Potsdam.
- Lerner, G. H. (2004). Collaborative turn sequences. *Pragmatics and beyond new series*, 125, 225-256.
- Levinson, S. C. (2012). Interrogative intimations: On a possible social economics of interrogatives. In J. P. De Ruiter (ed.), *Questions: Formal, functional and interactional perspectives* (pp. 11-32). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

- Li, C. N., & Thompson, S. A. (1989). *Mandarin Chinese: A functional reference grammar*. California, USA: University of California Press.
- Llewellyn, N. (2015). Microstructures of economic action: Talk, interaction and the bottom line. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 66(3), 486-511.
- Margutti, P., & Drew, P. (2014). Positive evaluation of student answers in classroom instruction. *Language and Education*, 28(5), 436-458.
- Markaki, V., Merlino, S., Mondada, L., & Oloff, F. (2010). Laughter in professional meetings: the organization of an emergent ethnic joke. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 42(6), 1526-1542.
- Maynard, D. W. (2003). *Bad news, good news: Conversational order in everyday talk and clinical settings*. Chicago, US: University of Chicago Press.
- Maynard, D. W., & Clayman, S. E. (2003). Ethnomethodology and conversation analysis. In L. T. Reynolds and N. J. Herman-Kinney (eds.), *Handbook of symbolic interactionism* (pp. 173-202). Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press.
- Mondada, L. (in press). The multimodal interactional organization of tasting: Practices of tasting cheese in gourmet shops. *Discourse Studies*, 20(6), 743-769.
- Pluraleyes Version 4.1 [Computer software]. (2016). Retrieved from <https://www.redgiant.com/products/shooter-pluraleyes/>
- Robinson, J. D. (2013). Overall structural organization. In J. Sidnell and T. Stivers (eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis* (pp. 257-280). Chichester, UK: John Wiley and Sons.
- Rossano, F. (2012). *Gaze behavior in face-to-face interaction* (PhD dissertation). Radboud University, Nijmegen, Nijmegen.
- Schegloff, E. A. (1982). Discourse as an interactional achievement: Some uses of 'uh huh' and other things that come between sentences. In D. Tannen (ed.), *Analyzing*

- discourse: Text and talk* (pp. 71-93). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Schegloff, E. A. (1996). Confirming allusions: Toward an empirical account of action. *American Journal of Sociology*, 102(1), 161-216.
- Schegloff, E. A. (2007). *Sequence organization in interaction*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Sorjonen, M. (2001). *Responding in conversation: A study of response particles in Finnish*. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- Sorjonen, Marja-Leena, and Auli Hakulinen. (2009). "Alternative Responses to Assessments." In J. Sidnell (ed.), *Conversation Analysis: Comparative Perspectives*, 281-301. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Stevanovic, M., & Peräkylä, A. (2014). Three orders in the organization of human action: On the interface between knowledge, power, and emotion in interaction and social relations. *Language in Society*, 43(2), 185-207.
- Stivers, T. (2005). Modified repeats: One method for asserting primary rights from second position. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 38(2), 131-158.
- Stivers, T. (2008). Stance, alignment, and affiliation during storytelling: When nodding is a token of affiliation. *Research on Language & Social Interaction*, 41(1), 31-57.
- Stivers, T., Mondada, L., and Steensig, J. (2011) Knowledge, morality and affiliation in social interaction. In T. Stivers, L. Mondada and J. Steensig (eds.), *The morality of knowledge in conversation* 3-24. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Stivers, T., & Rossano, F. (2010). Mobilizing response. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 43(1), 3-31.

- Stokoe, E., Sikveland, R. O., & Huma, B. (2017). Entering the customer's domestic domain: Categorical systematics and the identification of 'parties to a sale'. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 118, 64-80.
- Szczepek-Reed, B. (2015). Managing the boundary between "yes" and "but": Two ways of disaffiliating with German *ja aber* and *jaber*. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 48(1), 32-57.
- Tao, H. (1996). *Units in Mandarin conversation: Prosody, discourse, and grammar*. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Tsai, I. N. (2008). Projecting the unanticipatory: The Mandarin particle *ei* and its projectability in daily conversation. In M. K. M. Chan and H. Kang (eds.), *Proceedings of the 20th North American Conference on Chinese Linguistics (NACCL-20)* (pp. 1023-1040). Ohio, US: The Ohio State University.
- Vatanen, A. (2014). *Responding in overlap: Agency, epistemicity and social action in conversation* (PhD dissertation). University of Helsinki, Helsinki, Finland.
- Vatanen, A. (2018). Responding in early overlap: Recognition onsets in assertion sequences. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 51(2), 107-126.
- Wang, Y.-F., Tsai, P.-H., Goodman, D., & Lin, M.-Y. (2010). Agreement, acknowledgment, and alignment: The discourse-pragmatic functions of *hao* and *dui* in Taiwan Mandarin conversation. *Discourse Studies*, 12(2), 241-267.
- Wu, R. J. R. (2005). "There is more here than meets the eye!": The use of final *ou* in two sequential positions in Mandarin Chinese conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 37(7), 967-995.
- Wu, R. J. R. (2006). Initiating repair and beyond: The use of two repeat-formatted repair initiations in Mandarin conversation. *Discourse Processes*, 41(1), 67-109.

Appendix A

Abbreviations

ASSC	Associative (de)
ACT	Active voice (ba)
CRS	Currently relevant state (le)
CSC	Complex stative construction (de)
C	Classifier
HON	Honorific
INTJ	Interjection
N	Negator
NOM	Nominalizer (de)
PASS	Passive voice (bei)
PRT	Particle
Q	Question marker

Appendix B

Ethics Approval

9/24/2018

Mail – scott.barnes@mq.edu.au

RE: HS Ethics Application - Approved (5201800221)

Kay Bowes-Tseng on behalf of FHS Ethics

Thu 12/04/2018 16:39

To: Scott Barnes <scott.barnes@mq.edu.au>;

Cc: Ms Jie Chen <jie.chen25@students.mq.edu.au>;

Dear Dr Barnes,

RE: 'Cosmetics sales and communication strategies: A conversation analysis study of sales interactions' (Ref: 5201800221)

Thank you very much for your response. Your response has addressed the issues raised by the Faculty of Human Sciences Human Research Ethics Sub-Committee and approval has been granted, effective 12th April 2018. This email constitutes ethical approval only.

This research meets the requirements of the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007). The National Statement is available at the following web site:

<https://www.nhmrc.gov.au/book/national-statement-ethical-conduct-human-research>

The following personnel are authorised to conduct this research:

Dr Scott Barnes
Ms Jie Chen

Please note the following standard requirements of approval:

1. The approval of this project is conditional upon your continuing compliance with the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007).
2. Approval will be for a period of five (5) years subject to the provision of annual reports.

Progress Report 1 Due: 12th April 2019
Progress Report 2 Due: 12th April 2020
Progress Report 3 Due: 12th April 2021
Progress Report 4 Due: 12th April 2022
Final Report Due: 12th April 2023

NB. If you complete the work earlier than you had planned you must submit a Final Report as soon as the work is completed. If the project has been discontinued or not commenced for any reason, you are also required to submit a Final Report for the project.

Progress reports and Final Reports are available at the following website:

<https://www.mq.edu.au/research/ethics-integrity-and-policies/ethics/human-ethics/resources>

3. 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 and submit a new application for the project. (The five year limit on renewal of approvals allows the Sub-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).
4. All amendments to the project must be reviewed and approved by the Sub-Committee before implementation. Please complete and submit a Request for Amendment Form available at the following website:

<https://outlook.office.com/owa/?realm=mq.edu.au&exsvuri=1&ll-cc=3081&modurl=0&path=/mail/search/rp>

1/2

9/24/2018

Mail – scott.barnes@mq.edu.au

<https://www.mq.edu.au/research/ethics-integrity-and-policies/ethics/human-ethics/resources>

5. Please notify the Sub-Committee immediately in the event of any adverse effects on participants or of any unforeseen events that affect the continued ethical acceptability of the project.

6. At all times you are responsible for the ethical conduct of your research in accordance with the guidelines established by the University. This information is available at the following websites:

<https://www.mq.edu.au/research/ethics-integrity-and-policies/ethics/human-ethics/post-approval>

<https://www.mq.edu.au/research/ethics-integrity-and-policies/ethics/human-ethics/resources/research-ethics>

If you will be applying for or have applied for internal or external funding for the above project it is your responsibility to provide the Macquarie University's Research Grants Management Assistant with a copy of this email as soon as possible. Internal and External funding agencies will not be informed that you have approval for your project and funds will not be released until the Research Grants Management Assistant has received a copy of this email.

If you need to provide a hard copy letter of approval to an external organisation as evidence that you have approval, please do not hesitate to contact the Ethics Secretariat at the address below.

Please retain a copy of this email as this is your official notification of ethics approval.

Yours sincerely,

Dr Naomi Sweller
Chair
Faculty of Human Sciences
Human Research Ethics Sub-Committee
.....

FHS Ethics

Faculty of Human Sciences Ethics

C5C-17 Wailys Walk L3

Macquarie University, NSW 2109, Australia

T: +61 2 9850 4197 | <http://www.research.mq.edu.au/>

Ethics Forms and Templates

<https://www.mq.edu.au/research/ethics-integrity-and-policies/ethics/human-ethics/resources>

The Faculty of Human Sciences acknowledges the traditional custodians of the Macquarie University Land, the Wattamattageal clan of the Darug nation, whose cultures and customs have nurtured and continue to nurture this land since the Dreamtime. We pay our respects to Elders past, present and future.



CRICOS Provider Number 00002J. Think before you print.

Please consider the environment before printing this email.

This message is intended for the addressee named and may contain confidential information. If you are not the intended recipient, please delete it and notify the sender. Views expressed in this message are those of the individual sender, and are not necessarily the views of Macquarie University.

<https://outlook.office.com/owa/?realm=mq.edu.au&exsvurl=1&ll-cc=3081&modurl=0&path=/mail/search/rp>

2/2