LAPSE ORGANIZATION IN INTERACTION

ELLIOTT M. HOEY

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Lapse organization in interaction

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I was browsing the MPI website for fieldwork stimuli when I came across the call for PhD applications. The deadline was something like ten days away. I stitched together the most impressive sounding thing I could muster on epistemics and Turkmen grammar, figuring the whole thing would be a good exercise in accepting rejection. Even now though at the end of my PhD, I'm only a bit less unclear on what Steve Levinson saw in me, but I'm indebted to him for bringing me aboard. The MPI is a truly remarkable environment to grow as a researcher. I doubt I'll again be so humbled by the brilliance and generosity of those who've accompanied me over the course of my studies, and I regret that I can acknowledge only a few of those people here.

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Transcription conventions

Transcription of verbal conduct, vocal conduct, and silence follows Jefferson (2004). It appears in boldface and is accompanied by line numbers. Transcription of visible conduct follows Mondada (2014a). It appears in regular face beneath the corresponding speech, vocalization, or silence and does not have accompanying line numbers.

Temporal aspects of speech and silence

[	Onset of overlapping talk.
]	End of overlapping talk.
=	Connects segments between which there is no break, either A) same speaker continues without break across overlapping speech from another speaker, or B) the ending of one speaker's turn is 'latched' onto the beginning of another speaker's turn with no perceptible gap.
(1.0)	Interval of non-speech/vocalization timed to tenths of a second.
(.)	A minimally perceptible break in speech, typically <200 ms.

Aspects of vocalization and verbalization

hh	Outbreath, with more **h**'s indicating a longer outbreath.
.hh	Inbreath, with more **h**'s indicating a longer inbreath.
.mth	Forms like **.mth, .pt, .MK,** and **.tk** indicate lips parting or a lip smack
hehehuh	Forms of **heh, huh, hih, hah**, and so on indicate laughter.
te(h)xt	A pulse of laughter or breathing within a word.
£text	Word shows 'smiley voice' quality. When surrounding speech (**£some text£**), it indicates smiley voice through several words.
%text	Word shows creakiness or laryngealization. When surrounding speech (**%some text%**), it indicates creakiness through several words.
<u>text</u>	Underlined speech indicates emphasis or intensity.
TEXt	Marked increase in volume.
°text°	Relatively soft speech.
↑te↓xt	Marked rise/fall in pitch of following syllable.
text,	'Continuing' or very slightly rising phrasal intonation.
text_	Flat phrasal intonation.

text.	'Final' or falling phrasal intonation.
text?	Rising phrasal intonation.
text¿	Slightly rising phrasal intonation.
<**text**>	Speech is slower than surrounding talk.
>**text**<	Speech is faster than surrounding talk.
<**text**	Word begins sooner than would be expected (a 'left push').
text<	Word ends suddenly, seemingly before its projected end point.
te:xt	Lengthening. More colons (**te::xt**) means greater lengthening.
tex-	A word cut-off, typically with a glottal stop.

Other conventions

( )	Indecipherable or inaudible speech.
(text)	Transcriber's guess of ambiguous speech.
((comment))	Transcriber's comment.
→	Line of interest for a given analysis. In Chapter 3, it is used specifically to mark a place of possible sequence completion.
→→	Only appears in Chapter 3 and indicates sequence recompletion.
NAME	Identifies current speaker. **NAM?** used if unsure who the speaker is, and **ENV** used for relevant environmental sounds.

Aspects of visible conduct

action	Same symbol delimits a prosaic description of participant's visible action. The symbols used in this thesis for indicating boundaries of visible action are asterisk *, plus sign +, and delta Δ.
*action->	Description followed by an arrow indicates continuation of that action across subsequent lines until the same symbol is reached.
...action	Action's preparatory or initiation phase.
---action	Action's apex, maintenance, or focal action phase.
action,,,	Action's retraction or return phase.
>>action	Action begins before transcript.
action->>	Action continues past end of transcript.
	If some action both begins and ends outside of the transcribed extract, then no symbol is given for that participant.

name	Identifies the action of participant who is not currently speaking. Actions done by the current speaker do not have a name label.
fig	Corresponds to an image/screenshot for the line.
#a	Corresponds to place in transcript where screenshot was taken.

Chapter 1

Introduction[1]

On the evening of August 29th, 1952, an audience gathered for a piano recital at the Maverick Concert Hall, an open-air theater in the forests of the Catskill Mountains. Near the end of the night, pianist David Tudor walked onto the stage. The program indicated that he would perform a piece with three movements. Tudor situated himself on the piano bench, reached for the piano's fallboard, and lowered it down over the keys. For precisely thirty seconds, the audience watched as he turned the pages of the sheet music periodically, after which he lifted the fallboard up and lowered it back down. Then, for precisely two minutes and twenty-three seconds, he again concerned himself with carefully paging through the music, followed by lifting and lowering the fallboard over the keys. And then for precisely a minute and forty seconds, Tudor for a third time was observed turning the sheet music with deliberation. Finally, the pianist rose from the bench and turned toward the audience to receive applause. Thus concluded the premiere of John Cage's infamous 'silent' composition *4'33"* (Gann, 2010).

Cage's piece was both praised as pioneering genius and dismissed as art school theatrics. He had provocatively framed inaction as performance with the intent to recontextualize silence (or rather, unplanned ambient sounds) as music. His central insight was using the circumstances—a booked venue, a musician on stage with an instrument, an audience lavishing him with attention—as a way to present 'nothing' as 'something'. Reactions to the piece, both at the time and to this day, trade on an understanding of what *should* be there and what *should* be happening in the place where ostensibly nothing is going on. Cage knew, in other words, that meaning would emerge from the individual listener's receptivity and disposition towards that particular form of absence.

As with Cage's work, the research presented in this thesis also takes silence as a site of activity, relevance, and meaning. Here, however, I am not interested in the kind of private aesthetic contemplation that *4'33"* invites. Rather, my concern is the collaborative and public nature of certain silences that arise in social situations. In

[1] Portions of this chapter also appear in Hoey, E. M. & Kendrick, K. H. (in press). Conversation Analysis. In A. M. B. de Groot & P. Hagoort (Eds.), *Research Methods in Psycholinguistics and the Neurobiology of Language: A Practical Guide.* Wiley and Sons.

particular, in this thesis I focus on lapses in conversation. Lapses are silences that develop when all interactants refrain from speaking at a moment when speaking is possible. I aim to show how lapses are organized in naturally occurring interactions by examining in close detail participants' behaviors during lapse beginnings, middles, and ends. As will be seen, this involves careful examination of how people get to a place where lapses occur, how they conduct themselves as and once a lapse emerges, and how they end lapses and go on talking afterwards. What will be shown are the orderly ways in which participants render lapses as particular kinds of social objects for their everyday affairs.

In this introductory chapter, I first situate this thesis with respect to other investigations of silence and human communication (§1.1). I then situate this thesis in the research tradition of Conversation Analysis and review the literature on silence in interaction (§1.2), after which I specify where this thesis fits in that line of inquiry (§1.3). The methods and data used in this work are then presented (§1.4). The introduction concludes with an overview of the chapters that follow (§1.5).

1.1. Silence and human communication

Silence has proven to be an attractive topic for many researchers, no doubt due to its ability to accommodate whatever is projected onto it. Once conceptualized as the ground against which some figure is cast, one need only provide a figure to go about delineating the contours of the ground. In research on silence and human communication, we observe a heterogeneity of approaches, conceptualizations, and typologies of silence (see Acheson, 2007, 2008; Ephratt, 2008, 2011, 2014; Jaworski, 2009; Kurzon, 2010 and references therein). Here, I provide a select overview of the topic, first reviewing work that examines silence in a more abstract way and then reviewing work that looks at acoustic silence.

1.1.1. Silence and language

Definitions of silence in the literature are seemingly endless, but all approaches to the subject tie it to language. The nature of the relationship between silence and language, though, remains unresolved (Acheson, 2007). In some explorations of the issue, the import of silence in human affairs is approached from a relatively abstract perspective, often connecting it to the ineffable (see Levinson & Majid, 2014), meaninglessness, and unintelligibility. Wittgenstein (1922/1961) famously

recommended silence as the means for expressing that which could not be expressed using language (see also Polanyi, 1962). Maitra (2004) similarly probed the limits of language, relating silence to the inability to make oneself understood. And Steiner (1967) supposed that language, for all its humanizing power, proved ineffectual in the face of atrocities like the Holocaust. These metaphysical stances align with conceptions of silence as a constructive activity (Dauenhauer, 1980) or autonomous phenomenon (Picard, 1952), as in the undertaking of artistic creation (Cage, 1961; Sontag, 1969; Jaworski, 1993) or during the psychological process of transference (Freud, 1912; Zeligs, 1961).

Related to philosophical, ontological, and aesthetic perspectives are critical studies of silence that focus on its political dimensions. Such postcolonial, poststructural, and feminist studies tend to emphasize the role of silence in discursive processes like erasure, control, and suppression. The relationship of silence to language is explored as a matter of silencing: who gets to speak (and who doesn't) and which discourses dominate (and which don't). Much of this research focuses on the silencing of traditionally disadvantaged groups, especially women (Lakoff, 1975; Olsen, 1978; hooks, 1993; Butler, 1997; Clair, 1998) and particular racial (Carbaugh, 1998; Werbner, 1997), religious (Eckstein & Turman, 2002), or sexual minorities (Lorde, 1984; Duncan, 2004; Winans, 2006). Processes of erasure and marginalization have also been identified for certain acts, topics, and events, such as the expression of emotions in the workplace (Mumby & Putnam, 1992), discussions of suicide (Woodstock, 2001) or AIDS (Messer, 2004), and accounts of historical events like the Irish potato famine (Valone & Kinealy, 2002). Though critical examinations usually focus on modes of injustice, they have also taken up silence as a tool for empowerment and liberation (Dalton & Fatzinger, 2003; Duncan, 2004).

Silence has also been conceptualized in abstract terms in structural linguistics, where it is viewed as a unit that stands in specific paradigmatic relationships with other linguistic units. Though silence itself has not been a prominent topic of inquiry in linguistics (Poyatos, 2002), it has played an important role in the history of the field as an analytic tool (McGregor, 2003). Specifically, the idea of a linguistic 'zero'—or a silent unit standing in for an underlying form—has long been part of linguistic analysis (e.g., Bloomfield, 1933; Jacobson, 1939; Haas, 1957). This concept was introduced by the 4th-century linguist Panini in his analyses of Sanskrit phonological rules, and has proved irresistible to subsequent scholars. It has been extensively applied to analyses in

phonology and morphology (e.g., zero morphs, zero derivation) as well as syntax and semantics (e.g., zero copula, traces, ellipsis, null subjects). Though such zeroes aren't silences in a strict acoustic sense, the recognition that absences can exhibit a patterned distribution with respect to other linguistic conduct has permitted detailed description of grammatical organization across the world's languages.

In this thesis, I draw from these research traditions only incidentally. Rather than approaching silence from a metaphysical, metaphorical, or abstract perspective, I am concerned with actual acoustic silence in human communication.

1.1.2. Silence and speech

When we turn to studies of acoustic silence as such, we can discern at least three related research traditions: social scientific work, communications studies, and ethnographic research. These share an interest in silence as it appears in actual instances of human speech, though differ in terms of objects of study, methodological apparatuses, and theoretical paradigms. They are presented below roughly in terms of ecological validity (more experimental versus more observational) and population (Minority World versus Majority World).[2]

In social scientific studies, silence is usually used as a variable to be operationalized, counted, and compared, with the results taken as an index of psychological processes or cognitive organization. Social scientific work often measures silences in experimentally controlled settings using participants from so-called WEIRD societies ("Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic"; Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010). There is a long tradition of work in psycholinguistics and cognitive linguistics on pauses, hesitations, disfluencies, and other interruptions of speech. Such silences have been examined with respect to constituent boundaries (Goldman-Eisler, 1968; Gee & Grosjean, 1983; Chafe, 1994; Saffran, Newport, & Aslin, 1996; Watson & Gibson, 2004; Ferreira, 2007), planning and self-monitoring (Chafe, 1980; Levelt, 1983; Bortfield et al., 2001), filled pauses (Clark & Fox Tree, 2002; MacGregor, Corley, & Donaldson, 2010), speech synthesis (Zellner, 1994), comprehension of degraded speech (Bregman, 1990), and transitional probabilities (Harris, 1955; Beattie & Butterworth,

[2] 'Majority/Minority World' is preferred here not only because it has the benefit of avoiding problematic connotations associated with similar terms like 'developing/developed nations' or 'Third/First World countries', respectively, but also because it is accurate and serves as a healthy reminder to many Minority World readers.

1979), to provide an unrepresentative sample. Social psychologists have also used silence as a proxy for their disciplinary concerns. Silence has been analyzed in the context of speech rate (Street et al., 1983) and response latency (Feldstein & Welkowitz, 1987) for investigations of persuasion (Holtgraves & Lasky, 1999), thoughtfulness (Burgoon, Buller, & Guerrero, 1995), deception (Baskett & Freedle, 1974; Boltz, 2005), confidence (Kimble & Seidel, 1991), and anxiety (Cappella, 1985), to name but a few.

In another research paradigm, silence is studied not in the laboratory, but in its natural communicative habitats. Such research is often associated with different strands of communications research on WEIRD participants. Experimental, interpretative, and observational methods are all used to different degrees. Much of this work is directed toward uncovering the uses and meanings of silence in different communicative domains (Acheson, 2007) and channels (Ephratt, 2014). Scholars of interpersonal and family communication have researched silence in the form of secrets, topic-avoidance, and nondisclosure (Vangelisti, 1994; Afifi & Burgoon, 1998; Cant, 2006), and in terms of its effects on the health of relationships between partners and within families (Montalbano-Phelps, 2003; Lowenstein, 2005). In health communication research, silence has been examined with respect to patients' reticence in psychotherapy (Schön, 1987) and the salubrious value of 'alone time' (Wright, 2005). In the domain of educational communication, researchers have focused on the problematic silencing of particular categories of students (hooks, 1993), and, conversely, the pedagogical value of silence as a classroom tool (Jaworski & Sachdev, 1998; Kameen, 2000). In legal settings, silence has been analyzed in terms of its association with guilt (Walker, 1985; Jaworski, 1997). And in work on nonverbal communication, researchers have typologized and subcategorized different forms of silence with respect to other nonverbal and paralinguistic features of communication like voice quality, tempo, vocalizations, and tone (Ephratt, 2014).

As for ethnographic studies of silence, these share with communications research a concern with the meanings and uses of silence, but their focus skews towards non-WEIRD, Majority World populations. In addition, ethnographic studies tend to approach the subject with sociocultural concerns and use primarily interpretative and observational methods to study silences in a variety of situations and settings. Such work is typically allied to a greater or lesser degree with disciplines like cross-cultural pragmatics (Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989), intercultural communication (Enninger, 1987; Paulston, Kiesling, & Rangel, 2012), linguistic anthropology (Duranti,

1997), ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1974; Saville-Troike, 2002), and interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz, 1982). Rather than being the absence of speech, silence is often studied as a rich communicative practice. Of particular emphasis is the role of silence in and for a given context, community, or culture (see, e.g., Bruneau, 1973; Tannen & Saville-Troike, 1985; Siegman & Feldstein, 1987; Jaworski, 1993). Some recurrent themes include the relationship of silence to politeness and the management of relationships (Basso, 1972; Nwoye, 1985; Brown & Levinson, 1987; Sifianou, 1997; Watts, 1997; Jaworski & Stephens, 1998; Jaworski, 2000; Agyekum, 2002); cross-cultural conversational style and 'tolerance' of silence (Basso, 1972; Lehtonen & Sajavaara, 1985; Enniger, 1987; Scollon, 1985; Tannen, 1985; Nakane, 2007); the function of silence within a specific cultural symbolic system (Basso, 1972; Philipsen, 1975; Braithwaite, 1990;); and particular activities structured by silence (Scollon & Scollon, 1983; Philips, 1985; Carbaugh, Berry, & Nurmikari-Berry, 2006) as in religious (Bauman, 1983; Maltz, 1985; Szuchewicz, 1997), legal (Kurzon, 1995, 1998), and instructional settings (Dumont, 1972; Nakane, 2007).

1.2. Research on silence and social interaction

Silence is an unavoidable topic for researchers of social interaction simply because it is found everywhere. In this section, I first detail how the Conversation Analytic perspective taken in this thesis differs from those just reviewed. I then review the relevant literature on silence and social interaction, with special emphasis on findings from CA. This includes an overview of the placement of silence in talk, the three main types of silence (pause, gap, and lapse), and the timing of silences. The section concludes with a select review of the psychological and communications literature on silence, awkwardness, and embarrassment.

1.2.1. Conversation Analytic approach to silence

In this thesis, I investigate silence in interaction primarily using the methods and principles of Conversation Analysis (e.g., Sidnell & Stivers; see §1.4.1-1.4.2). CA is concerned with silence insofar as participants in interaction use it in structuring, organizing, and understanding their social circumstances.

The CA approach to silence is comparable to other approaches to silence and speech in a few ways. The CA policy regarding data is to use only naturally occurring social interactions (Mondada, 2013a), and in this respect it resembles ethnographic and

communications studies. It also shares with ethnographic (i.e., Bloomfieldian [1970]) work a systematic perspective on silence. Silence is analyzed distributionally and is understood as standing in systematic relationships with speech and other interactional conduct. The CA analytic procedure resembles social scientific approaches in imposing empirical control on how silences are collected and arranged for analysis, though it relies on the structural organization of talk-in-interaction for making such decisions (see Schegloff, 1996a; Hoey & Kendrick, in press).

In terms of its object of study and what it uses silence *for*, the aims of CA are mostly orthogonal to those of other approaches. Instead of using silence as a resource for the study of, for instance, culture, grammar, or the mind, it takes silence in interaction itself as a topic of investigation (see Zimmerman & Pollner, 1971). The CA perspective does not deny the importance of things like identity, power, word order, emotion, personality, etc. Rather, it sets these issues aside in favor of uncovering the endogenous methods participants demonstrably use on specific occasions of interaction, which may or may not give rise to what is observable to the analyst as culture, grammar, or the mind (see Schegloff, 2005).

In this thesis, I look at lapses in social interaction to get at how these periods of non-talk come to be the kinds of things they are for interactants. A break in conversational activity is certainly implicated in our understanding of things like intimate relationships, embarrassment, and activity structures. But these sorts of things are grounded in the very methods that participants use to organize such silences. With a CA approach to lapses, then, this thesis provides an empirical account of how these intervals of silence are rendered as observable and recognizable social objects.

1.2.2. The placement of silence in interaction

Early research in CA focused intensively on carving up silence in interaction into analytic objects. The most prominent problem was warranting claims about silence being *someone's* silence, or the non-occurrence of speaking by *someone* (Sacks, 1992). The major outcomes of this investigation were two articles: an account of how participants constitute one turn in a conversation as the *final* turn of that conversation (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973), and a description of a turn-taking system that supports coordinated speaker exchange in conversation (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974).

The first of these articles (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973) took up attributable silences in conversation—silences that could be heard as someone not speaking. Central to

their analysis is the "transition-relevance" of possible utterance completion. When some utterance comes to completion, the oriented-to property of transition-relevance provides for some next speaker to begin. And with the continual operation of transition-relevance, an extended series of turns can be produced. Schegloff and Sacks were concerned with how participants suspended the property of transition-relevance—that is, how participants organized simultaneous arrival at a point where the end of one turn wouldn't occasion the start of another, and wouldn't be heard as someone's silence (pp. 294-295). Their analysis of participants' methods for suspending transition-relevance at the end of a conversation provided a way to locate silence as occurring after the last speaking turn, and thereby placed *outside* the conversation.

The centrality of transition-relevance for the classification of silence as 'belonging' to someone was expanded upon in the turn-taking paper by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974). This paper was addressed to a recurrent problem for conversationalists: how to coordinate the ending of one turn with the start of a next one. Or phrased negatively, how to distribute speaking turns in an orderly way so as to minimize gaps and overlaps. They identified the locus of turn-taking activity as the transition-relevance place (TRP; see Schegloff, 1996b; Clayman, 2013).

A TRP is where the current turn is possibly complete and where turn-transition becomes a salient possibility. Localizing the occurrence of a TRP is a concern of all parties to interaction—speakers and hearers alike. Speakers project in advance where a TRP is likely to occur, and hearers continuously monitor the turn-in-progress so as to anticipate where that place might be. Localizing where a turn may end is therefore a collaborative undertaking. Turns may be short or long, so decisions regarding where a TRP might occur are always locally determined. In other words, possible turn completion (and thus the occurrence of a TRP) is constituted by whatever it takes to count as an adequately complete utterance for a given sequential context (Schegloff, 1982, 1996b, 2006a; Ford & Thompson, 1996; Ford, Fox, & Thompson, 2002; Ford, 2004).

By successfully locating where a turn may end, participants answer the question of when someone else may begin speaking. What still remains unanswered is who speaks at that time. The turn-taking system addresses the problem of 'who speaks next' with an ordered set of rules:

1a. Current speaker may select next speaker, who should begin at the first TRP.
1b. If current speaker does not select a next speaker, then any other party may self-

select and begin speaking.

1c. If no other party self-selects, then current speaker may continue speaking.

2. If current speaker does not continue speaking, then rules 1b and 1c recycle until someone speaks.

This ruleset operates at each TRP, distributing opportunities to speak to certain parties in a certain order. The allocation of the turn-space to one party or another is done through a variety of speaker-selection techniques like address terms, pointing, and eye gaze (e.g., Sacks et al., 1974; Lerner, 2003; Mondada, 2007a; Hayashi, 2013).

It is with respect to a TRP that some silence comes to be classified as a pause, gap, or lapse (Sacks et al., 1974). A *pause* occurs after the recognizable beginning of a turn, but before its TRP; it is intra-turn silence. A *gap* occurs after a turn arrives at a TRP; it is inter-turn silence. And a *lapse* occurs when there is extended silence after a TRP. The turn-taking system thus provides for the differential classification of silences depending on their placement in interaction.[3] Phrased slightly differently, a pause 'belongs' to the current speaker. And if a next speaker has been selected, then that gap 'belongs' to that selected next speaker. These designations about silence 'belonging' to one party or another were borne out in a quantitative study of naturally occurring dyadic interactions (Thomason & Hopper, 1992). The findings showed that silences before a TRP were followed by the same speaker 98% of the time (n = 446), meaning they were overwhelmingly treated as belonging to that same speaker. And silences after a speaker-selection device was used were followed by speaker change 87% of the time (n = 98), meaning interactants oriented to the silence as belonging to the selected next speaker. This shows that participants orient to silence in different ways depending on whether or not a turn has come to possible completion, and whether or not a next speaker has been selected.[4]

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[3] These definitions of *pause* and *gap* are common usage in CA papers, even though they are actually at odds with the turn-taking paper: Sacks et al. (1974) specify that "a silence after a turn in which a next has been selected will be heard not as a lapse's possible beginning, nor as a gap, but as a pause before the selected next speaker's turn-beginning" (p. 715). Most CA papers have instead referred to this kind of silence as a *gap* rather than a pause. Because this usage has prevailed in the research community, I also adopt it here.

[4] In a suggestive result, for silences before which no speaker selection technique was used, there was speaker change 50% of the time (n = 561; Thomason & Hopper, 1992). This indicates that in silences

1.2.3. Pauses

Pauses are silences that occur before a turn has come to possible completion. Many studies have shown how pauses, rather than being interactional detritus or performance error, are methodically used for specific interactional ends. Their systematicity derives in part from the fact that speakers can themselves determine where to pause in the course of an utterance and for how long. Even when taken as evidence of cognitive difficulty, pauses nevertheless exhibit orderliness, as in self-initiated self-repair (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977; Schegloff, 2013) and self-correction (Drew, Walker, & Ogden, 2013).

Pausing may be part of the design of a turn and the action it implements. It has long been recognized as part of delivering dispreferred responses (Pomerantz, 1984a), for example. Pausing at intervals is also part of doing 'being dramatic' (Atkinson & Drew, 1979; Drew, 1992) and 'being upset' (Gülich & Lindemann, 2010; Hepburn & Potter, 2011). It is also a critical component of turns where speakers coordinate pauses with the production of bodily-manual actions (Keevallik, 2013, 2014, 2015) or facial movements (Peräkylä & Ruusuvuori, 2012; Kaukomaa, Peräkylä, & Ruusuvuori, 2013).

Speakers also pause for managing participation in a course of action, for example in securing recipiency (Goodwin, 1980, 1981) or securing recognition of a referent (Sacks & Schegloff, 1979). Pauses get pressed into use for turn-holding, like when pausing at specific syntactic junctures prior to a TRP (Local & Kelley, 1986; Schegloff, 1998a) or compressing pauses at a TRP for turn-continuation (Schegloff, 1982). Conversely, pauses may provide for conditional entry by other participants (Lerner, 1991, 1996, 2002a, 2004), as in word searches (Goodwin, 1987; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987) or delicate formulations (Lerner, 2013).

1.2.4. Gaps

Gaps are silences that occur after possible turn completion and before the beginning of a next turn. In the context of conversational interaction, participants try to minimize the occurrence and duration of gaps. Sacks specified that, "under the more

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where any party may speak (i.e., in lapses), there is not necessarily a bias toward one party or another in ending the lapse.

general rule of the turn-taking techniques we're dealing with, silence is a terrible thing. The turn-taking rules say that somebody should be talking all the time; not more than one person, but somebody" (1992b, p. 225).

Previous research usually takes gaps as problematic silences that embody 'someone not responding' (see Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). Some of this research addresses gaps as problems with the recipiency, accessibility, or availability of intended or potential participants (e.g., Goodwin, 1980, 1981; Stivers & Rossano, 2010; Kidwell, 2013). What is more common is research on gaps as they relate to preference organization (e.g., Sacks, 1987; Schegloff, 2007; Pomerantz & Heritage, 2013; Kendrick & Torreira, 2014; Kendrick, 2015). Here, a gap occurring after an initiating action is treated as indicating an upcoming disaffiliative, discordant, or *dispreferred* response like rejection, disagreement, or refusal (Heritage, 1984a; Clayman, 2002). In the face of possible discord between participants, a gap provides the space for the same speaker to continue so as to mitigate that possibility. A speaker may go on after a gap to modify (revise, retract, reissue, etc.) their prior turn/action. These actions are often described as kinds of pursuit, for which there is a substantive body of work detailing different types of pursuits and the potential troubles they're addressed to (e.g., Jefferson, 1981a; Davidson, 1984; Pomerantz, 1984b; Bolden, Mandelbaum, & Wilkinson, 2012; Romaniuk, 2013).

When the current speaker pursues a response, modifies their prior turn, or otherwise continues speaking after a gap, then that gap is transformed into a pause, or intra-turn silence. This is of course different from a 'normal' pause in the sense that the silence is only retrospectively rendered into a pause once the same speaker chooses to continue speaking. The gap is still a gap for the duration of its occurrence; it only becomes a pause upon operation of the turn-taking rule 1c 'same speaker continues'. The decision to continue speaking after a gap is one way for the same speaker to minimize gaps (Sacks et al., 1974).

1.2.5. Lapses

As compared to the robust literature on pauses and gaps, research on lapses is considerably underdeveloped. Below, I discuss where lapses fit in the structural

organization of social interaction and then I review studies of activities where long silences are common.

1.2.5.1. Lapses and structural organization

The term *lapse* was introduced in the turn-taking paper to account for the "grossly apparent fact" that conversational activity may be continuous or discontinuous (Sacks et al., 1974). Conversation is continuous when someone speaks at every TRP. Conversation is discontinuous when all parties refrain from speaking at that place, which gives rise to silence that is "more than a gap—not a gap but a lapse" (p. 714). A lapse is an extended silence constituted by "rounds of possible self-selection" (p. 715), and may only occur if no next speaker was selected in the turn preceding the silence.

By giving all participants the option to self-select, the turn-taking ruleset provides for the occurrence of lapses. The option to lapse out of talk, however, is not available at every TRP. In a footnote, the authors specify that lapses only arise at "certain classes of transition-places, characterizable by reference to the organization of sequences, not the organization of turn-taking" (p. 714). They do not expand on this point, but it's made clear in later elaborations that the "certain classes of transition-places" are those located at sequence endings.

The ending of some sequence systematically provides for the emergence of silence. A sequence consists of a series of linked turns through which participants collaboratively bring off some course of action (Schegloff, 2007; see §1.4.2). Sequences may be short, as with a two-turn greeting-greeting sequence, or they may be long, as often observed in sequences of 'giving directions' (Psathas, 1991), 'making arrangements' (Ekberg, 2011), 'requesting a favor' (Schegloff, 1990), troubles tellings (Jefferson, 1988, 2015) and other such 'big packages' of talk (Sacks, 1992b, p. 354ff). If silence emerges at the end of some course of action, then it may be treated as constitutive of sequence completion (Schegloff, 2007, p. 137) and may stand as an alternative to initiating a new sequence (pp. 115, 195).

In the structural organization of interaction, then, lapses are situated somewhere beyond the relatively local orders of turn and sequence. Perhaps because they occupy this nebulous layer of interaction, lapses have been associated in the literature with so-called 'ongoing states of incipient talk'. Schegloff and Sacks (1973) characterize such states of incipient talk as lacking the basic features of conversation—one-at-a-time talk with recurrent speaker change. An ongoing state of incipient talk is

said to hold for "members of a household in their living room, employees who share an office, passengers together in an automobile" (pp. 324-325). Researchers have examined exactly these settings as well as others where conversational activity is interspersed with lapses (see review below in §1.2.5.3).

Incipient talk provides for the regular emergence of lapses (Schegloff, 2007, pp. 115, 193). How lapses and incipient talk are related, though, has not been specified. Indeed, Berger, Viney, and Rae (2016) question the conceptual coherence of ongoing states of incipient talk. They cite its overlap with neighboring concepts like 'unfocused interaction' (Goffman, 1963), 'open states of talk' (Goffman, 1967), and 'talk islands' (Baldauf, 2002; Gerhardt, 2009), and point to the differing and conflicting ways that the term has been used in the CA literature. They conclude that an inspection of lapses could shed light on the matter and clear up conceptual and terminological difficulties. The discussion in Chapter 2 addresses this matter directly, as does Chapter 6.

1.2.5.2. Lapse-related behavior

As regards the organization of lapses themselves in ordinary conversation, the literature yields a few disconnected observations. In a study of the placement of topic changes, Maynard (1980) identified failed speaker transfer as the proximal mechanism for the generation of lapses and noted that topic changes recurrently happen afterwards. Gardner (1997) described a 'lapse-terminating' function for the acknowledgement token *mm,* through which a speaker after a lapse can close the prior sequence and select no next speaker. This thesis builds on these observations about topic change and *mm*, especially in Chapters 3 and 5.

The study that comes closest to the concerns of this thesis is McLaughlin and Cody (1982; replicated in Dindia, 1986), which was a quantitative examination of pre-lapse and post-lapse behaviors in ordinary talk. Thirty-minute conversations between experimental subjects were recorded (90 dyads total). The subjects did not know one another, nor were they given a particular topic for talk. From these conversations, the researchers isolated silences of three seconds or longer, which they coded as lapses. They found that the pre-lapse region was likely to contain non-topic-propulsive elements like minimal responses and laughter, while the post-lapse region was likely to contain question-answer sequences. They concluded that lapses emerged from the lack of sequential implicativeness and ended with the reinstatement of sequential implicativeness.

McLaughlin and Cody's (1982) study serves as an important precursor for the research in this thesis. However, their study is limited in several respects. First, the ecological validity of their findings is constrained by the fact that the experimental participants did not know one another and therefore had no 'skin in the game' so to speak, and that their conversations were experimentally induced rather than naturally occurring. Second, they were systematically unable to capture certain phenomena. Because they used audio recordings of co-present interactions, they necessarily missed any visible conduct related to lapses. And because they used three seconds as the minimum lapse duration, they necessarily missed anything that occurred before that threshold. Third, rather than examining every lapse-behavior in detail, they categorized actions using a pre-determined set of action categories (e.g., *reflects, confirms, advises, edifies*). By considering only what was available through that coding system, they would be open to neglecting or mis-categorizing any action that did not conform to those categories. This thesis uses the findings and observations of McLaughlin and Cody (1982) as a point of departure and corrects for many of these limitations by relying principally on video recordings of naturally occurring interaction, by using a generous operational definition of a lapse (see §1.4.4), and by analyzing in detail every case using CA methods (see §1.4.1-1.4.2).

1.2.5.3. Lapses and other activities

Though lapses themselves are rarely treated as a topic of study, periods of non-talk figure prominently in CA research on institutional talk, workplace settings, and non-conversational activities. For social situations like these, the participants' 'dominant involvement' (Goffman, 1963, p. 44) is something other than conversation—that is, it is organized by something *other* than one-at-a-time talk with recurrent speaker change. Instead, the situation is often characterized by 'multiactivity' (Haddington, Keisanen, Mondada, & Nevile, 2014), where participants adjust their engagement in an activity like talk relative to the constraints and affordances of other relevant activities.

In studies of institutional interactions (see Drew & Heritage, 1992; Heritage & Clayman, 2010), long silences have been shown to be part of professional practice. For example, in psychotherapy sessions silence may be retroactively constituted as 'contemplation' (Peräkylä, Antaki, Vehviläinen, & Leudar, 2008), and in legal argumentation lawyers permit silence to develop after questioning a witness for

rhetorical effect (Atkinson & Drew, 1979; Drew, 1992). For lapses in these settings, the institutional context 'steps in' to account for what is going on in that silence. The absence of talk is understood by reference to the contextual particulars of the institutional activity (Levinson, 1992).

The transparent way that an activity can accountably fill a lapse is also shown in workplace studies (see Luff, Hindmarsh, & Heath, 2000; Szymanski & Whalen, 2011), and in particular, studies of 'centers of coordination' (Suchman, 1997). These are forms of institutional interaction involving multiple colleagues who are engaged in related but distinct task-oriented activities. Studies of these settings have focused on participants' management of joint, common, and individual activities. Participants have been shown to unobtrusively monitor their colleagues' conduct with respect to a shared task and also selectively display aspects of their own activity as it relates to that task (Heath & Luff, 1992, 1996; Heath, Jirotka, Luff, & Hindmarsh 1995; Heath, Sanchez Svensson, Hindmarsh, Luff, & Vom Lehn, 2002).

Long silences have also been examined with respect to participants' methods for organizing and configuring different activities. Silences are used for intrapersonal coordination during individual tasks that have collective relevance, as done by pilots landing a plane (Nevile, 2002) and surgeons in the medical theater (Mondada, 2014b). Participants' devices for transitioning between a common activity and talk has been investigated for many settings, including students doing group work in classrooms (Szymanski, 1999), friends playing video games (Mondada, 2012a), drivers and passengers in cars (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2012; Mondada, 2012b), young girls engaging in spontaneous play (Rendle-Short, Cobb-Moore, & Danby, 2014), massage therapy sessions (Nishizaka & Sunaga, 2015), and family members watching television (Ergül, 2016).

Again, these studies do not explicitly address lapses as such. Rather, they concern activities that get done through periods of talk and periods of non-talk, and the configuration of different participation frameworks for the accomplishment of certain tasks. Having reviewed the CA approach to silence and speech and detailed some of its findings, in the next section I highlight an omission in the literature and relate it to several unresolved issues regarding silence and interaction.

1.2.6. Silence and temporality

The temporal dimension of silences in interaction has also been the focus of study in interaction research. Much of this work relies on the Sacks et al. (1974) silence

typology (pause, gap, and lapse) and so implicitly acknowledges the importance of the placement of silence in interaction. Some researchers have examined pause duration for studies of, for instance, conversational alignment or entrainment (ten Bosch, Oostdijk, & de Ruiter, 2004a; Edlund, Heldner, & Hirschberg, 2009), individual preference for pause length (Fors, 2011), and the effects of situational factors on pause duration (ten Bosch, Oostdijk, & de Ruiter, 2004b).

Researchers have been particularly interested in the timing of gaps (between-speaker silence), specifically the tendency and ability to minimize the occurrence of silence from the end of one speaker's turn to the start of a next speaker's turn (e.g., Stivers et al., 2009). Conversation analysts suggest that one 'beat' of silence is the time that participants allow for unmarked turn-transition—that is, for a next speaker to start speaking 'on beat' (Jefferson, 1984a; Schegloff, 2000). But how long is a beat of silence? Some researchers approach this question using relative measurements, determining the duration of a beat of silence by reference to conversational rhythm and speech rate (Couper-Kuhlen, 2009), impressionistic determinations of syllable length (Schegloff, 2000), or simply counting "one-Mississippi, two-Mississippi …" (Jefferson, 1983b).

Other researchers using instrumental measurements have found the typical duration of a beat of silence to be 100-300 ms. Quantitative analyses of spoken language corpora have shown that gaps tend to be very short, with the majority being under 200 ms (Heldner & Edlund, 2010), and with modal durations around 100-300 ms (Stivers et al., 2009; Levinson & Torreira, 2015; Roberts, Torreira, & Levinson, 2015). This same temporal window appears to hold for both ordinary and task-oriented conversation (Weilhammer & Rabold, 2003), face-to-face and non-face-to-face conversation (Heldner & Edlund, 2010), and across diverse samples of languages (Weilhammer & Rabold, 2003; Stivers et al., 2009; Kousidis, Schlangen, & Skopeteas, 2013). These findings are supported by experimental work on the perception of silence between turns. Experimental subjects do not perceive silences shorter than 120 ms to be gaps (Heldner, 2011). Furthermore, participants still perceive visual and auditory stimuli as synchronized even with a lag of up to 180 ms between the two (Munhall, Gribble, Sacco, & Ward, 1996). And so if there is a lower limit to gap duration—and by implication, a limit to human cognitive and behavioral capacities—it seems to be in this 0-300 ms window.

Gap durations longer than a beat of silence may indicate preference-related trouble of the sort discussed in §1.2.4. Granting that normative gap durations may be

differently calibrated across languages, cultures (e.g., Stivers et al., 2009; Tannen, 2012; Gardner & Mushin, 2015), and activity contexts (e.g., McHoul, 1978; Heath et al., 2002), English-speaking participants are reported to tolerate up to one second of silence (Jefferson, 1983b). More recent quantitative studies have converged around 700 ms as a critical limit for predicting dispreferred responses (Roberts, Francis, & Morgan, 2006; Roberts, Margutti, & Takano, 2011; Roberts & Francis, 2013; Kendrick, 2015; Kendrick & Torreira, 2015). These findings are also consistent with results of quantitative corpus analyses showing that it takes longer to launch an initiating turn as compared to launching a responsive turn (Roberts, Torreira, & Levinson, 2015). Similarly, studies of gap duration and speaker change have investigated the ordering of the Sacks et al. (1974) turn-taking options. By ordering rule 1b (any party may self-select) before rule 1c (same speaker may continue), the ruleset predicts that gaps before self-selection by any party will be shorter than gaps before current speaker continues (see also Wilson & Zimmerman, 1986). This is indeed borne out in corpus studies of Dutch conversation, where operation of rule 1b tends to be faster than operation of rule 1c by about 150 ms (ten Bosch, Oostdijk, & Boves, 2005; Kendrick, 2015). The ordering of the ruleset also suggests that the entrainment or coupling of neural oscillators might serve as the mechanism underpinning the precision timing of turn-transfer (Wilson & Wilson, 2005).

While much of this research follows Sacks et al. (1974) in distinguishing pauses from gaps, the measurements of gap duration are often insensitive to the kind of turn that precedes it (e.g., Heldner & Edlund, 2010). That is, they do not take into account the critical issues of sequential implicature (see Schegloff & Sacks, 1973) and speaker selection (see Hayashi, 2013). Interactants' understanding of a given silence turns not only on whether it occurs before or at a TRP—which distinguishes pauses from gaps—but also on whether the current turn implicates a determinate range of next actions (sequential implicature), and if so, whether a particular party has been designated to act next (speaker selection). Put simply, participants care about what kind of thing should happen next and who might be responsible for doing it. It is therefore misleading to conflate three different kinds of silences that occur at TRPs:

(i) Gaps for which there is both a next action and a next speaker.
(ii) Gaps for which there is a next action but no specified next speaker.
(iii) Gaps for which there is neither a determinate next action nor a next speaker.

Some studies do incorporate such considerations by focusing on specific sequential environments. In this way, they are able to account for types (i) and, sometimes, (ii). For example, researchers have measured gap durations before other-initiated repair (Kendrick, 2015); after questions (de Vos, Torreira, & Levinson, 2015); after polar questions (Stivers et al., 2009); after assessments and requests (Roberts et al., 2006, 2011); and after invitations, offers, requests, suggestions, and proposals (Kendrick & Torreira, 2015). The strength of these studies lies in their control of the sequential environment. By focusing only on, for example, gap duration after polar questions (Stivers et al., 2009), disciplined comparisons can be made between different languages and different participants.

At the same time, the findings of these studies and the theories they support are limited in that these sequence types may all be described as adjacency pairs (Schegloff, 1968; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Sacks, 1992b; Schegloff, 2007).[5] In an adjacency pair, a first action strongly projects what should come next and who should provide it. The two turns are connected by the property of conditional relevance, where the relevance of the second action is conditional upon the recognizable production of the first (Schegloff, 2007). In this way, next speakers are aided by knowing what they should or could do once the first turn reaches a TRP.

What this means is that studies that focus on adjacency pair environments leave systematically unanalyzed silences for which there is neither a determinate next action nor next speaker (type [iii] above). For such silences, no specific action is projected to occur next and no one in particular projected to speak next. These periods of non-talk at a TRP without a projected next action and without a next speaker, as I will argue, may become lapses. Roberts, Torreira, and Levinson (2015) go some way to account for such silences using a corpus where each turn was coded as either an initiating action or responding action (i.e., first pair part or second pair part of an adjacency pair). They find that gap durations in the sequence RESPONDING ACTION > GAP > INITIATING ACTION are longer than the gaps in the sequence INITIATING ACTION > GAP > RESPONDING ACTION (see also Matarazzo & Weins, 1967). In this thesis, I build on work

[5] Excepting Kendrick (2015), which focuses on gaps duration before other-initiated repair. These repair sequences are retrospectively oriented and therefore dissimilar to adjacency pair sequences, which are prospectively oriented (Schegloff, 2007, p. 217ff).

like Roberts et al. (2015) by analyzing in detail environments where nothing in particular is projected to occur.

1.2.7. Silence, awkwardness, and embarrassment

Many of the lapse environments under consideration in this thesis are vernacularly known as 'awkward silences'. Such silences are different from activity-occupied silences. The presence of some activity can authorize the occurrence of silence, as shown in interactional work reviewed above (§1.2.5.3; see also Chapter 2) and as demonstrated in experimental research on intrapersonal awareness during silences (Newman, 1982). Social psychologists have found that socially awkward situations are marked by long silences and disfluent speech, and that subjects associate them with increased awareness of social behavior, feelings of having transgressed some social boundary, and uncertainty about appropriate behavior (Clegg, 2012a, 2012b).

A larger body of research has focused on a related aversive social emotion: embarrassment. Though Darwin (1965 [1872]) was the first to describe self-conscious emotions like embarrassment, the source of most modern social scientific research on the topic is the sociologist Erving Goffman (Miller, 1996). Goffman enshrined embarrassment at the center of social life, describing it as a product of interactional contingencies that threaten to thwart the presentation of a unified and coherent self (1955, 1956, 1959). Other scholars have similarly located embarrassment not in the individual, but in the social situation in which an individual's multiple, incompatible selves compete for primacy. Heath (1988), in a CA study of a medical examination, argued that embarrassment emerges from participants' self-awareness in dealing with ambiguous involvement in particular configurations of action. Lizardo and Collett (2013) likewise demonstrate that reports of embarrassment increase with the increased presence of unfamiliar others who differ from you in salient ways, suggesting that the invocation of multiple identities underlies embarrassing situations. Social psychologists have increasingly recognized the importance of embarrassment and its social functions (Miller, 2001). Scholars have developed several models of embarrassment (see, e.g., Robbins & Parlavecchio, 2006) for investigations of, for example, displays of embarrassment and other 'appeasement behaviors' (Marcus, Wilson, & Miller, 1996; Keltner & Buswell, 1997; Harris, 2001); embarrassment and prosociality (Feinberg, Willer, & Keltner, 2012); and the relationship of embarrassment to other self-conscious

emotions like shame and guilt (Lewis, Sullivan, Stanger, & Weiss, 1989; Keltner & Buswell, 1997; Sabini, Garvey, & Hall, 2001).

The research reported in this thesis contributes to this line of research on awkwardness and embarrassment in social situations by scrutinizing one structural environment in talk known to host such feelings. Though I do not examine awkwardness or embarrassment explicitly—it is not the stated topic of any of the chapters here—the combined body of findings contained in this thesis do go toward an empirically grounded description of moments that many would describe as awkward, discomfiting, or tense. Rather than taking these emotions as a starting point, I analyze what happens during silences where such emotions might be found so as to develop a case for their emergence in the local context of action. I return to this issue in the general discussion (§6.3).

1.3. Issues addressed by this thesis

We can characterize much CA research on silence as focusing on delays in progressivity. Schegloff (2007) describes progressivity in this way:

> Moving from some element to a hearably-next-one with nothing intervening is the embodiment of, and the measure of, progressivity. Should something intervene between some element and what is hearable as a/the next one due – should something violate or interfere with their contiguity, whether next sound, next word, or next turn – it will be heard as qualifying the progressivity of the talk, and will be examined for its import, for what understanding should be accorded it (p. 15; see also Lerner & Raymond, 2017a).

Silence is a clear 'something' that can intervene in the progressive realization of some interactional unit. In the case of pauses, silence interrupts the progression of a turn-at-talk, whereupon it's the participants' (and analysts') job to figure out what could possibly be going on by arresting *this* turn in *this* way. And similarly in the case of gaps, silence interrupts the forward movement from one turn to the next, as typically examined when an initiating action is not promptly followed by a responsive action. The non-production of some responsive move occasions the same analytic procedure as is used with pauses: what can account for this delay?

There is a conspicuous omission in this line of research, namely, the possibility that *lapses* might also qualify the progressivity of some interactional unit. For while pauses and gaps have been examined as delays in the progressive realization of turns and sequences, respectively, the corresponding link between lapses and courses of action remains unexplored. And while pauses inform our analyses of turn-construction, self-repair, and action formation; and gaps inform our understanding of preference organization, affiliation, and turn-timing; there has been no sustained exploration of how lapses might connect to other orders of interactional organization or illuminate other domains of social life. This thesis is addressed to these issues.

Put simply, what happens at a lapse? We know from studies of multiactivity settings (Haddington et al., 2014; see §1.2.5.3, §4.2) that extended periods of silence may be 'filled' by relevant non-talk activities. These other activities provide participants a way to accountably engage in something other than conversational interaction. What we don't know much about is the occurrence of lapses in the opposite condition: 'monoactivity' settings where engaging in conversation is the central remit of the social occasion. These are social situations where continuous talk is normatively expected. They are organized, recognizable, and constituted by continuous turn-by-turn talk. Even though these scenes of ordinary conversation have served as a kind of analytic default in CA (Couper-Kuhlen, 2010; Stevanovic & Monzoni, 2016), the possibility of a lapse occurring in them has not been considered in depth.

This kind of silence—a lapse during conversational activity—connects several interrelated ambiguities and underspecifications regarding silence and social interaction. These problems are grounded in the fact that the emergence of this silence can indicate both a lack of a next speaker and a lack of a next thing to do. In other words, the silence is a product of nothing being projected to occur next, and having nothing to progress to.

The turn-taking organization (Sacks et al., 1974) is underspecified in that it doesn't specify how to deal with a TRP without a next speaker. For while it provides the mechanism for the generation of 'no next speaker', it doesn't indicate what the resulting "rounds of possible self-selection" are for participants. Beyond using lapses to account for discontinuous talk, the authors don't explain what participants are to do with the resulting discontinuities. And so while the turn-taking machinery can churn out an

orderly series of turns, it can only sit idling without the presence of a next speaker.[6] This problem was recognized but deliberately set aside by Schegloff and Sacks (1973), who identified their interest as "how to coordinate the suspension of the transition relevance of possible utterance completion, *not how to deal with its nonoperation while still relevant*" (p. 295, emphasis mine). In other words, they acknowledged, but deferred dealing with, the possibility that conversationalists might fail to coordinate turn transfer when doing so was still relevant.

Bound up with participants' non-operation of the turn-taking options is a terminological difficulty. Specifically, is this silence a gap or a lapse? Silence may occur after the selection of a next speaker, in which case the silence is unambiguously a gap that belongs to the selected next speaker. However, silence may also occur without the selection of a next speaker. This silence is at first a gap and is to be minimized. But under some circumstances (which have not been specified in the literature), the gap becomes extended at which point it is considered a lapse. How and when does a gap become a lapse, though? Is there a temporal threshold (e.g., Jefferson, 1983b) or certain behaviors that allow classification of the silence as a gap or a lapse? Can a lapse be transformed into a pause or a gap in the same way that gaps may be transformed into pauses? And to whom does a lapse belong, if anyone?

Just as turn-taking system can yield 'no next speaker', so can the organization of sequences yield 'nothing to do next'. Sequence organization concerns how a series of actions cohere into intelligible courses of collaborative action (Schegloff, 2007). The ending of a course of action systematically provides for another one to begin (e.g., Barske & Golato, 2010), but it also provides for the possibility of a lapse if no party self-selects (Schegloff, 2007). A lapse may emerge due to participants having nothing to take up next, or nothing else to do through talk (cf. Stevanovic & Monzoni, 2016). So if the sequential developments of the interaction-so-far do not indicate what should come next, then what do participants do? Are there particular sequential developments that lead participants to lapses? What happens once a lapse emerges? Do participants carry on with something else, or do they remain involved in the conversation, simply waiting for someone to speak?

[6] Note, for comparison, that this problem is the inverse of the problem with overlap (see Schegloff, 2000). In a lapse, there are zero speakers in the space reserved for one, while with overlapping talk, there's more than one speaker in that same space.

This particular kind of silence—one in which there is neither a next speaker, nor an apparent next thing to do, in a situation where speaking might be expected—serves as the starting point for this work. The attendant issues embodied by such lapses animate the empirical studies of this thesis.

The matter that I pursue is what happens when all participants refrain from speaking in social interaction. My interest is in finding out what, if anything, this silence is for the participants who, by virtue of not speaking, let it develop. In the same way that pauses and gaps are discriminable social objects with particular qualities, I explore the possibility that lapses also exhibit systematic and orderly features. The overarching goal is to recover participants' methods for organizing lapses. This will be done by closely examining their observable conduct in naturally occurring interactions. It will argued that the circumstances attending lapse environments are distinct in the practical problems endogenous to them, and are correspondingly distinct in the practiced solutions employed for their resolution (Schegloff, 2006b). With this work, which is the first in-depth examination of the topic, I will attempt to provide a way to talk about lapses in an empirically grounded manner, document participants' methods for organizing lapses, and describe the underlying principles for those practices. An overview of the chapters in this work appears in §1.5.

1.4. Methods

1.4.1. Conversation Analysis

The studies in this thesis largely follow the principles and methods of Conversation Analysis, which is an inductive, micro-analytic, and predominantly qualitative method for studying language and other conduct as it is used in social interaction. Here I briefly discuss the historical background of CA and its particular analytic perspective. More detailed overviews of CA's historical development, philosophical commitments, and methodological approach can be found in Goodwin and Heritage (1990), Psathas (1995), ten Have (2007), and Sidnell and Stivers (2013).

CA was developed in the 1960s-70s by Harvey Sacks with his colleagues Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson. It emerged as a distinctive approach in sociology principally via the influence of Erving Goffman and Harold Garfinkel. Goffman's (1967) major innovation was uncovering an entirely new domain of sociological inquiry, face-to-face interaction. As Goffman's students, Sacks and Schegloff developed an appreciation of interaction as a locus of social organization that could be investigated

in its own right. Around the same time, Harold Garfinkel was establishing ethnomethodology, a unique perspective on everyday activities that critiqued prevailing theories of social order. For Garfinkel (1967), social order was not to be located in aggregate descriptions of social life, but in the very methodical procedures that people deployed *in situ* to render their local circumstances intelligible. As such, the intelligibility of any social activity was an achieved intelligibility, one that participants themselves designed, ratified, and sustained using commonsense knowledge and practical reasoning (Heritage, 1984a). CA synthesized these two themes: the methods with which participants *themselves* go about recognizing and producing actions, *together* in actual episodes of social interaction.

Conversation analysts understand direct interaction between participants as the primordial site of sociality (Schegloff, 2006b). Therefore, they almost exclusively use recordings of naturally occurring interactions, rather than constructed, imagined, or experimentally induced ones (see Mondada 2013a). Naturalistic data are preferred because field notes and memories of interactions are necessarily incomplete, and people's intuitions about how they behave in interaction often conflict with their actual behavior. Additionally, recordings may be played repeatedly and slowly, permitting the transcription and analysis of fine interactional details.

Recordings of social interactions are inspected for recurrent patterns of action. CA views talk and other conduct as vehicles for action. This is because participants attend to the conduct of others not for its propositional content, nor as a simple medium of information transfer, but because they care about the *actions* getting done (e.g., asking, requesting, complaining, noticing, and so on), and the real life consequences of those actions (Schegloff, 1995). Participants' conduct is examined not in isolation, but as embedded in courses of action. Every bit of conduct is always contextually situated; it is produced by someone, for someone else, at a certain time, in a certain way.

CA analyses aren't mere descriptions of the small scenes of everyday life, though. Rather, the aim of CA is to uncover participants' methods for ordering their social circumstances—the methodical ways in which they discover, locate, generate, and reveal intelligibility in the scenes of their daily lives. The guiding principle behind this approach is an understanding of interaction as exhibiting 'order at all points' (Sacks, 1992a, p. 484). This orderliness is *normative*—it is produced and maintained by the participants themselves in their orientations to social rules or expectations. One

conversational norm is 'one party speaks at a time' (Sacks et al., 1974). This is evidenced not only by the fact that conversations everywhere tend to proceed in this way, but also by cases where participants depart from the norm. Imagine the following: while someone is speaking, another participant whispers to a third party. This is not evidence against the one-at-a-time norm. Rather, overlapping talk produced in a whisper and directed to a third party reveals an orientation to the norm itself. The whispering participant shows herself as 'not the current speaker', thereby acknowledging the norm while demonstrably departing from it. Such participant orientations let us recover the normative order of social settings from the very details of interaction itself.

For this thesis, then, the general procedure is the following: 1) create a collection of lapses across different episodes of naturally occurring interaction; 2) make detailed transcriptions of participants' conduct in and around lapses; 3) identify recurrent patterns across cases and recordings; 4) produce precise descriptions of these regularities; and 5) examine regularities for evidence of normativity. To do this, I draw upon the cumulative findings of CA regarding different orders of interactional organization, which I describe next.

1.4.2. Domains of interactional organization

The CA approach to social interaction has over the last half-century resulted in a well-developed descriptive apparatus for analyzing interactional structures. There are several intersecting 'machineries' of practice required for conducting conversation (Schegloff, 2006b). Here I describe the organizational domains that are most relevant for the study of lapses.

Turn-taking. Though the turn-taking organization was already reviewed briefly (§1.2.1), it bears repeating that the turn-taking system is addressed to the recurrent problems of 'who speaks next?' and 'when do they start?' (Sacks et al., 1974). That is, it concerns the local coordination of the current speaker finishing their turn and a next speaker starting up. Successfully resolving these issues for each and every turn can generate a series of turn transfers between one speaker and the next.

Turns are composed of one or more turn-constructional units (TCUs), which consist of linguistic units (words, phrases, clauses, etc.) that form a recognizably complete utterance in a given context. As some turn approaches a place where it could be treated as adequately complete, then comes the possibility of turn-transfer—a

transition-relevance place. At a TRP, participants use turn-allocation techniques (other-/self-selection) in a hierarchically organized way (first other-selection by current speaker, then self-selection by others, then self-selection by current speaker). The turn-taking organization thus provides for the orderly distribution of turns-at-talk for conversation.

As already noted, the turn-taking system provides the mechanism by which lapses come about: all parties refrain from speaking in a place where speaking is a salient possibility. It does not, however, indicate the relevance of these circumstances for participants. Turn-taking and turn-allocation are explicitly dealt with in Chapters 3 and 4.

Turn design. Turn design refers to how speakers format their turns to implement some action, in some position, for some recipient(s) (Drew, 2013). A basic assumption in CA is that participants use talk and other conduct to produce recognizable actions, often employing particular grammatical formats as resources to do so (see Levinson, 2013). To make an offer, for example, speakers can design their turn as a conditional (*if your husband would like their address, my husband would gladly give it to him*), declarative (*I'll take her in Sunday*), or interrogative (*do you want me to bring the chairs?*), each of which systematically occurs in particular sequential positions (Curl, 2006). An analysis of turn design can tell us about how a given turn relates to what went before, what action is being done through it, where it might end, and what (if anything) would be relevant next.

As regards lapses, turn design informs how a given pre-lapse turn or post-lapse turn is hearable as, for instance, part of the prior sequence (see Chapter 3) or as part of a new one (see Chapter 5).

Sequence organization. Sequence organization refers to how successive turns link up to form coherent courses of action (Schegloff, 2007). The adjacency pair is the basis of this organization. It consists of two turns/actions that are produced by different participants, where the first pair part (FPP) is followed in next position by a type-matched second pair part (SPP), which, were it not produced, would be 'noticeably absent'. Examples of adjacency pairs include greeting-greeting, question-answer, invitation-acceptance/declination, complaint-account, and so on. The property that unites FPPs and SPPs is called conditional relevance because the relevance of the

second/responding action is contingent upon the production of the first/initiating one. Multiple adjacency pairs can be strung together to form complex courses of action by processes of sequence expansion. Pre-sequences precede an adjacency pair and manage the conditions needed to produce the FPP. Insert-sequences follow the FPP and manage contingencies related to the production of the SPP. Post-sequence expansions occur after the SPP and deal with matters related to the adjacency pair as a possibly complete unit.

Many lapses may be conceived of as inter-sequential silences—periods of non-talk that occur after one sequence has ended and before another one has begun. Lapses, under this conception, are intimately bound up with sequence endings (see Chapters 2 and 3) since the ending of some course of action furnishes the most proximal context for a given lapse and may impact how it might be understood. Lapses are also bound up with sequence beginnings (see Chapter 5), since if and when talk is resumed after a lapse, then that turn might retroactively constitute the lapse as some other kind of silence.

Overall structural organization. Every occasion of interaction casts some sort of figure, with most having a beginning, an ending, and something that transpires in between (Sacks, 1992a, p. 157). The sequential ordering of an interaction's subcomponents, and what gets done through them in that order, constitute the overall structural organization of an interaction (Robinson, 2013; see also Lerner, 1998). This is the largest node of structural organization. It embraces the sub-structures articulated at the levels of turn and sequence, which themselves cohere in their sequential ordering for the recognizable production of an activity (Levinson, 1992). All activities exhibit an overall structural organization, which constitutes a major source of context for an episode of interaction.

The overall structural organization of some activity—what gets done, where, in what order, until when—is centrally implicated in the organization of lapse environments. A range of activities is examined in this thesis with respect to how lapses are reflexively incorporated into them as componential features. The overall structural organization of the participants' activity is a prominent theme in Chapters 2 and 5.

Participation. The organization of participation has to do with how participants contribute to an interaction through speaking, listening, gesturing,

attending, or any other mode of behavior (Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004; Sidnell, 2009). It embraces all the concrete ways in which people may be said to be involved, engaged, or part of a social occasion (or not). The idea of a participation framework captures the notion that, at any given moment, the interactants stand in some discriminate relationship to one another with respect to whatever is currently underway (Goffman, 1963; see also Levinson, 1988). When someone is speaking, for instance, others are listening. Participation refers not only to the fragmented sites of attention and activity across multiple participants, as in workplace settings and other centers of coordination (e.g., Goodwin & Goodwin, 1996; Goodwin, 1996; see §1.2.5.3), but also to an individual's engagement in multiple participation frameworks at the same time (e.g., Goodwin, 1984; Mondada, 2014b).

The organization of participation is a dynamic process. Interactants shift between different roles turn-by-turn and moment-by-moment in the collaborative constitution of their activity. Considerations related to turn-taking and sequence organization structure the organization of participation, as do the participants' bodies and relevant features of the material setting. The spatial configuration of individuals' bodies and their relative dispositions to one another are key components of participation, as they reveal much about what's going on and how each participant figures into the scene (Kendon, 1990; Schegloff, 1998b; Mondada, 2013b). Meaningful parts of the environment (artifacts, events, etc.) can also enter into the interactants' worlds as relevant for the activity (Goodwin, 2000).

Looking at silence in interaction naturally invites attention to matters of participation, as observed through the participants' embodied conduct and interactions with their situated environment. In many of the examples shown in this thesis, I consider how participants use lapses as sites for bodily movement and instrumental action. The centrality of participants' bodily configurations, how different segments are deployed, and the affordances of the environment are highlighted in Chapters 2 and 4 especially.

1.4.3. Data

The data used for this thesis are video and audio recordings of natural interactions in American and British English. These came from the Language and Social Interaction Archive (LSI; 2014), collected by Leah Wingard, the Rossi Corpus of English (RCE) collected by Giovanni Rossi in 2011, the Switchboard corpus (Godfrey et al., 1992),

Gail Jefferson's transcribed recordings in Talkbank, and other select recordings available through the CA research community. The types of social occasions represented in these data included a range of activities and settings, both 'ordinary' and institutional. Most of the data, however, were video recordings of informal interactions between friends, family, and intimates.

Table 1.1 shows a full list of the recordings used for this thesis. It gives brief descriptions of the situations and the recording medium (audio or video). The final column (USED FOR/(IN) CHAPTER) indicates which recordings were used for which chapter and how they were used. Chapter numbers without parentheses indicate that a recording was used *for* a chapter; the recording informed the analysis for a given chapter. Chapter numbers appearing in parenthesis indicate that a recording was used *in* a chapter as well; the recording not only informed the analysis for a given chapter, but also supplied one or more cases that were transcribed and analyzed in the chapter itself. Those extracts that appear in this thesis were transcribed following Jefferson (2004) for audible conduct and Mondada (2014a) for visible conduct (see p. xiv).

RECORDING	DESCRIPTION	MEDIA	USED FOR/ (IN) CHAPTER
Chicken Dinner	Two young couples have dinner in an apartment	video	2, 3, (4)
C-J:2	A couple gets into a car and drives	audio	(1)
Farmhouse	Four women chat on a veranda	video	2, 3, (4), (5)
Game Night	Three women wait to resume board game	video	(2), (3), (4), (5)
GB07-7	Three young women have lunch in apartment	video	2, (3), (4), (5)
HOLT1.1	Informal call between mom and daughter	audio	2, 3
HOLTSO88	Informal call between young couple	audio	2, 3
Housemates	Three young women eat and chat in an apartment	video	2, 3, (4)
LSI_BusEngine	Four mechanics fix a bus engine in garage	video	2
LSI_Closing	Four retail employees close their clothing store	video	(2)
LSI_Driving	Couple drives to a friend's for dinner	video	(2)
LSI_Olympics	Family of six eat dinner and watch TV at home	video	(2)
LSI_Folsom	Four young men hang out before going to a street fair	video	(2)
LSI_Graduation	Undergraduate meets with graduation counselor	video	(2)
LSI_StudyHour	Two classmates study for chemistry class	video	(2)
LSI_Visiting	Two young female friends study and watch TV	video	(2)
NB	Informal telephone conversation between friends	audio	2, 3
RCE02	Two friends (possibly a couple) hang out on campus	video	(1), (2), (3), (5)
RCE06	Six college students hang out on campus	video	2
RCE07	Three college aged guys hang out on campus	video	2, 3, (4)
RCE08A	Three young housemates in kitchen prepare for the day	video	(1), 2, 3, 4
RCE12	Open air bicycle repair shop on campus	video	2
RCE14	Two art history instructors creating syllabus in office	video	(1), 2, 3
RCE15A	Three young men drink outside on campus	video	2, 4, (5)
RCE15B	Three young men drink outside on campus	video	(1), 2, 3, (4), 5
RCE21	Six college students hang out between classes	video	2
RCE25	Two female graduate students chat on bench	video	(1), (2), (3), 4, (5)
RCE28	Two young female friends chat near lake on campus	video	2, (3), (4)
Switchboard	Telephone chat with predetermined topic	audio	2, (3)

Table 1.1. List of recordings used

The recording circumstances of some videos from the Rossi Corpus of English deserve note, as they bear on some analyses in this thesis. For all the RCE data, with the exception of RCE08A, RCE12, and RCE14, the researcher who collected the recordings walked around a university campus in the UK and approached people who were

already engaged in social interaction. He asked if he could record their interaction, and if they granted him permission, he set up the recording equipment and provided consent forms. Before departing, he told them that he'd be waiting in the distance and that they should 'just wave' at him if they wanted to end the recording. Given these specific conditions for ending the interaction, the regular devices for departing, closing, or disbanding the interaction (e.g., Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Heath, 1985; Goodwin, 1987b; Broth & Mondada, 2013; Mondada, 2015) were perhaps less available to participants than they would have been under typical circumstances. Though the naturalness of such situations may be questioned (see Goodman & Speer, 2015; Hazel, 2015), I maintain that they are still reliably naturalistic, since the practical interactional issues they pose were also found in other non-'contrived' recordings.

1.4.3.1. Sampling procedure

The recordings in Table 1.1 were not all sampled for lapses in the same way. Table 1.2 indicates which were sampled systematically and which were sampled more selectively.

SYSTEMATIC	SELECTIVE	
Game Night	Chicken Dinner	LSI_Graduation
GB07-7	C-J:2	LSI_StudyHour
Housemates	Farmhouse	LSI_Visiting
RCE02	HOLT1.1	NB
RCE07	HOLTSO88	RCE06
RCE08A	LSI_BusEngine	RCE12
RCE14	LSI_Closing	RCE15A
RCE15B	LSI_Driving	RCE21
RCE25	LSI_Olympics	Switchboard
RCE28	LSI_Folsom	

Table 1.2. Sampling method used for each recording

Ten recordings were systematically inspected for lapses. These ten recordings were used because the situations captured featured ordinary conversations almost exclusively, but also differed along other dimensions (number of participants, gender balance, setting, availability of other activities, etc.). Though not a fully random sample, the diversity of situations and the variability shown in each particular instance goes

some way to moderate the lack of experimental control (see Hoey & Kendrick, in press). For each of these recordings, I systematically identified the first 50 lapses using the procedure detailed in the following section (§1.4.4). The first 50 lapses were used because I did not expect them to behave differently from the last, middle, or a randomly selected 50. Furthermore, the first 50 lapses in the recordings aren't necessarily the first 50 of the social occasion. Indeed, recall that the RCE recordings begin with social interaction already underway. This sampling procedure resulted in a main collection of 500 lapses. This main collection provides the majority of cases examined in this thesis. It was systematically examined for the quantitative analyses of sequence recompletion in Chapter 3 and lapse resolution in Chapter 5. That is, all cases that were subject to quantitative analyses in those chapters were taken from this collection of 500.

The remaining recordings were used in a more selective or opportunistic way (see Hoey & Kendrick, in press). The cases of lapses taken from these were either found when looking at the data for another reason (e.g., in a data session) or during a targeted hunt for particular phenomena. This selective method was used primarily to supplement the main collection of 500 lapses with instances of phenomena that better exemplified a given argument. Because these cases were not located in a systematic way, they do not figure into any of the quantitative analyses in this thesis.

1.4.4. Identification of lapses

In this section, I detail the criteria used for identifying candidate lapses. Because the very definition of what constitutes a lapse is unclear (§1.3), a generous interpretation of the description in Sacks et al. (1974) was used so as to overcollect potential instances of the phenomenon (see Schegloff, 1996a; Hoey & Kendrick, in press). A lapse is defined here as an interval of non-talk that emerges when all participants to an interaction demonstrably forgo the opportunity to speak at a TRP, and persists until the production of some utterance that ends the silence.

1.4.4.1. Separating silence from speech

The first step was to isolate periods of silence from periods of speech. Reliable transcripts indicating the occurrence and duration of silences already existed for a fair amount of the data (i.e., Chicken Dinner, C-J:2 Farmhouse, Holt, NB, and Switchboard). For the remaining data (i.e., Game Night, GB07-7, Housemates, LSI, and RCE), I segmented periods of speech and silence using ELAN (Wittenburg et al., 2006). Periods

of speaking or vocalizing were coded as 'speech'. This included forms of talk that are arguably speech-like, such as 'self-talk', an instance of which appears in Extract 1.1. Here, Ann and John are planning a syllabus together for a course they'll be co-teaching together. The extract shows Ann disengaging from talk and turning to write in her notebook (lines 1-2; see Szymanski, 1999). Over the next several lines, she produces self-talk interspersed with silence (lines 3-10), after which she reengages in talk with John (lines 15-17). The arrowed lines were counted as speech.

Extract 1.1 (RCE14_0708)

```
01     ANN:  okay no that will work won't it
02           *(1.0)
       ann   *writing->
03 →   ANN:  yeah.
04           (1.1)
05 →   ANN:  °oops.°
06           (2.1)
07 →   ANN:  and self (0.6) portraits,
08           (0.8)
09 →   ANN:  okay.
10           (0.5)*
       ann   ---->*disengages from writing, and
                    turns toward computer----->>
11 →   ANN:  yeah.
12           (1.4)
13 →   ANN:  yep.
14           (0.7)
15     ANN:  Cause I think all I've- all I've got
16           on here [are really (.) basic s[tuff
17     JOH:          [what y-               [wl what've you got
```

Similarly, cases of 'outlouds' (Goffman, 1978) were counted as speech rather than silence. Like self-talk, outlouds are vocalizations that do not appear to be produced for a particular recipient for a particular response, but are nonetheless publicly available resources that may or may not serve as a source for more talk (Szymanski, 1999; cf. Schegloff, 2007, p. 217). An example of an outloud utterance during a lapse is seen in Extract 1.2, where Kerry almost knocks over her mug and then releases a 'startle cry' (lines 1-2). Forms of talk like her startle cry were counted as speech rather than silence.

Extract 1.2 (RCE08A_1532)

```
01           (5.6)*(0.2)*
```

```
      ker         *reaches for mug, almost knocks it over*
02 →  KER:  euuh! ((startle cry))
03          (0.7)
04    BEN:  what's th[e matter with you
05    KER:            [what am I do:ing toda:y
```

Finally, vocalizations like yawning, humming/singing (see Stevanovic, 2013), and sighing (see Hoey, 2014) were counted as speech. For instance, the yawn below (line 5) was segmented as speech.

Extract 1.3 (RCE02_0023)

```
01    FAB:  like you know no- nothing Nora can do so,
02    KAT:  yeah.=mhhh
03          (0.3)
04    KAT:  that's cool.
05          (1.4)
06 →  FAB:  ((yawns))
08    KAT:  I don't wanna write the re- mess of my-
```

Broadly, then, vocalizations and other forms of talk where there was ostensibly no recipient were nonetheless segmented as 'speech'. Using these segmentations, I extracted all moments when no party was observably speaking or vocalizing. This batch of silences naturally contained pauses, gaps, and lapses all together. So to remove instances of pauses and gaps, I followed the procedure detailed next.

1.4.4.2. Removing instances of possible speaker selection

The next step was excluding from the collection all silences that could analyzably be tied to speaker selection (i.e., other-selection or self-selection). The aim was to isolate only those silences constituted by 'rounds of possible self-selection' (Sacks et al., 1974).

I began by excluding all silences shorter than 500 ms. Nothing below this limit was considered as a possible lapse. Though this threshold systematically misses lapses shorter than 500 ms, quantitative studies of turn-timing justify using it as a lower limit. First, this threshold rules out most cases of 'current speaker selects next' (rule 1a), given that 200-300 ms is the approximate window in which some response tends to arrive 'on time' (Stivers et al., 2009; Heldner & Edlund, 2010; Levinson & Torreira, 2015). This means that if the current speaker had selected someone to speak next, then that selected next speaker 'should' have begun before the 300 ms mark. This threshold also

rules out many instances of 'current speaker may continue' (rule 1c), which tend to cluster around the 500 ms mark—as predicted by the turn-taking ruleset (Sacks et al., 1974; Wilson & Zimmerman, 1986), as shown for conversational Dutch (ten Bosch et al., 2005), and as suggested by the timing of other-initiated repair in English (Kendrick, 2015). This procedure thus removed many silences that were potentially tied to speaker selection.

Following this brute force procedure of excluding any silence shorter than 500 ms, I manually inspected every remaining case to exclude or adjust the length of silences that could analyzably be tied to speaker selection (other-selection or self-selection), and therefore be classified as a pause or a gap. With respect to other-selection, any silence was excluded from the collection if it appeared after a turn in which some next speaker-selection device was used (Sacks et al., 1974; Lerner, 2003; Hayashi, 2013).

With respect to self-selection, silence was adjusted in ELAN (i.e., shortened) if there was some pre-beginning behavior (Schegloff, 1996b). Any practice for projecting a turn was considered self-selection, and so the silence that obtained during its production was not counted as part of a lapse. Such pre-beginning behavior included in-breaths (Lerner & Linton, 2005), 'thinking face' (Goodwin, 1987a), sighing (Hoey, 2014), pointing (Mondada, 2007a), or other previews of an upcoming turn (Streeck & Hartge, 1992). If things like these appeared during some silence, then the turn was resegmented to include the pre-beginning conduct, which effectively shortened the silence. Extract 1.4 shows an instance of 'thinking face' by Will in line 7.

Extract 1.4 (RCE15B_0359)

```
01    MAX:  yeah you don't have to pay for it, you just say
02          I would pay this::
03    WIL:  oh r[ight
04    MAX:      [but (0.6) like hope you still get th- (0.4)
05          the highest and then you would have to pay
06          it if you got the highest.
07          (0.1)*(0.4)
   → wil         *gazes up/away in 'thinking'->
08    MAX:  kinda thing.*
      wil   ------,,,,,>*
09    WIL:  Yeah.
```

Had Will's conduct during this silence not been taken into account, then the 500 ms silence in line 7 would have counted as a lapse. But because there is demonstrable pre-

beginning behavior, the silence was shortened; the 0.4 s that Will gazes up/away constitutes self-selection since that is a practice for projecting talk.

Though uncommon, I also excluded silences that appeared after competitive overlap (Jefferson, 1986; Schegloff, 2000). These silences come about when overlap competitors drop out or end their turns around the same time. In Extract 1.5, both Kate and Fabrice enter in near-simultaneous overlap (lines 2-3), after which there is silence (line 4). This silence is not a lapse because both participants had chosen to self-select.

Extract 1.5 (RCE02_0628)

```
01          (2.1)
02    FAB:  or [we could give him a bit of-]
03    KAT:     [this equipment is          ] coo:l¿
04          (0.8)
05    FAB:  I like it I think it's- it's really like-
```

1.4.4.3. Coding visible conduct

Using the criteria detailed in the previous section, a diverse pool of candidate lapses was created. Several outstanding questions about what counts as a lapse led me to code for different observable features. The biggest issue was whether visible conduct was to be counted as part of the turn or not. For the collection of 500 lapses, there were only 85 silences in which nothing happened—no gaze movement, repositioning, eating/drinking, or other kind of bodily movement. This means that for 415 candidate lapses, I had to account for the participants' behavior in some way.

What I did was inspect each case with the question, "Is there some visible conduct during this silence that is part of a recognizable joint course of action?" With this question, I wanted to get at silences where 'something' was happening versus silences where 'nothing' was happening—'something' and 'nothing' being relative to the course of action that directly preceded the lapse and to the overall structural organization of the whole social episode. In answering this question, I coded for *unrelated visible behavior* and *related visible behavior.* These are not mutually exclusive categories, of course. During a lapse, one participant may engage in unrelated visible behavior, while another might engage in related visible behavior.

Conduct was coded as *unrelated visible behavior* if it was analyzably disconnected from whatever was going on in the previous talk. These are silences where an observer might state that 'nothing in particular' was happening. Unrelated visible

behavior includes things like eating, drinking, smoking, fidgeting, self-grooming, face-touching, eye-rubbing, scratching, stretching, and so on. These sorts of acts have an individual, self-directed nature to them and have been called auto-involvements or creature releases (Goffman, 1963). In the collection of 500 lapses, 245 exhibited *unrelated visible behavior*. I attend to a specific sort of auto-involvement—drinking—in Chapter 4.

Conduct was coded as *related visible behavior* if it was analyzably tied to the interaction as it had unfolded up until the lapse. These are moments where an observer might say that the participants were doing something rather than nothing, even though there's no talk going on. Instances of related visible behavior include non-verbal responses like head nods/shakes in response to questions, emblematic gestures (e.g., thumbs up), embodied compliance with directives, and facial gestures given in response to informings. These non-verbal/non-vocal behaviors are sequentially relevant acts for the environment in which they occur (e.g., Olsher, 2004; Nishizaka, 2006; Arminen, Koskela, & Palukka, 2014).

Related visible behaviors also included turn-constructional conduct, or non-verbal acts temporally integrated into a turn-in-progress and intelligible by reference to whatever was going on in that turn. Turn-constructional conduct included gesticulations and whole-body movement (Keevallik, 2013, 2014, 2015), facial gestures (Kaukomaa, Peräkylä, & Ruusuvuori, 2013), embodied reenactments (Thompson & Suzuki, 2014), multimodal quotations (Stec, Huiskes, & Redeker, 2016), and a range of post-turn completion conduct (Schegloff, 1996b) like shrugs (Ford & Raclaw, 2016) or, as shown in Extract 1.6, silent laughter. Here, Molly ends her turn in line 1 with 'fake laughter' (Haakana, 2012), after which she laughs silently (line 2). Molly's conduct in line 2 was coded as *related visible behavior* because her silent laughter is demonstrably connected to the course of joint action underway. If her laughter had not been taken into account, then the lapse in line 3 would have been 3.7 s long instead of 2.2 s long.

Extract 1.6 (RCE25_3010)

```
01    MOL:  and I thought .h haw haw ha::w .hh
02          *(1.5)*
      mol   *silent laughter*
03          (2.2)
04    HAN:  Mm.
```

In the collection of 500 lapses, 236 exhibited some related visible behavior. What this means is that the remaining lapses (264/500) generated by the procedure detailed in the previous section could be considered moments where no interaction-related activity was going on in a place where participants were still visibly committed to the interaction. These sorts of lapses are dealt with in Chapters 3 and 5.

With these differently coded behaviors, I was able to construct a dynamic collection of lapses that could reasonably account for several definitions. Namely, these coding categories are able to account for those silences in which 'nothing' related to the interaction is going on, versus those silences in which participants' visible activity is intelligible by reference to the interaction itself. I take up these ideas in Chapter 2 in distinguishing three general ways that participants treat lapses in interaction.

1.4.4.4. Lapse endings

Lapses end with the production of some utterance that breaks the silence. We may speak of lapses and *sub*lapses, however. On the one hand, a lapse properly ends when turn-by-turn talk restarts. Yet on the other hand, forms of talk may appear before turn-by-turn talk restarts. Take Extract 1.1 as an example, reproduced below as Extract 1.7. The lapse begins when Ann disengages from talking to John and takes up writing on her notepad (line 2). There is then a period of time in which she produces self-talk while writing and looking at her computer (lines 3-14). After this period, she and John reengage in turn-by-turn talk (lines 15-17).

Extract 1.7 (RCE14_0708)

```
01    ANN:  okay no that will work won't it
02          *(1.0)
      ann   *writing->
03    ANN:  yeah.
04          (1.1)
05    ANN:  °oops.°
06          (2.1)
07    ANN:  and self (0.6) portraits,
08          (0.8)
09    ANN:  okay.
10          (0.5)*
      ann   ---->*disengages from writing, turns toward computer->>
11    ANN:  yeah.
12          (1.4)
13    ANN:  yep.
14          (0.7)
15    ANN:  cause I think all I've- all I've got
```

```
16          on here [are really (.) basic s[tuff
17    JOH:          [what y-               [wl what've you got
```

The lapse proper runs from line 2 to line 14. This is interspersed with several sublapses, however, in lines 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, and 14. I make this distinction between lapses and sublapses in order to get at participants' understandings of utterances that require, make relevant, or provide for additional talk, and those that do not. I specifically address the utterances that are used to end lapses in Chapters 3 and 5.

1.5. Overview of thesis

This thesis consists of four empirical studies of lapse behavior in naturally occurring interactions. The chapters are arranged in an order that reflects a kind of natural history of a lapse. The first study concerns the beginning of a lapse, focusing on the variety of ways that participants arrive at places in social interaction where lapsing out of talk becomes a salient possibility. The second and third studies concern the middle section of a lapse and describe particular forms of verbal and bodily conduct that regularly appear there. And the final study concerns lapse endings and focuses on how speakers restart talk after a lapse in conversation.

Chapter 2 is about how lapses start. I ask how participants arrive at places where lapsing out of talk happens and how they deal with that silence as and once it emerges. I show three generic circumstances under which lapses occur and the ways that participants render them as particular forms of silence. It is argued that lapses come to be the things they are for participants based on the projectability of silence for a given course of action and the availability of alternative non-talk engagements. With this chapter I establish lapses as discriminate objects of study and in the subsequent empirical chapters I build on these findings.

Chapter 3 concerns lapse management, or how participants deal with the problems that certain lapses present. I focus on settings where participants have forsaken other possible activities so as to engage in conversational interaction. For lapses in these settings, as described in §1.3, this situation presents a problem of no next speaker and no next thing to do. Something that recurrently happens in these circumstances is a speaker produces an utterance that neither forwards the previous talk nor starts up something new. With this utterance, they recomplete the prior sequence. In this chapter, I describe this practice of sequence recompletion, showing

four specific ways that it gets done. I also provide quantitative evidence for viewing the practice as an alternative to other forms of lapse management.

Chapter 4 is about a recurrent problem that appears in lapse environments: how to balance your involvement in talk versus another available activity. I use drinking as a case study to analyze how participants organize multiactivity settings. This simple embodied action is analyzed both in lapses and other sequential positions. With this chapter, I provide an account for the placement of drinking in interaction, and I describe the minute adjustments that participants make to drinking-in-progress in response to interactional contingencies. Rather than being a mere accompaniment to interaction, drinks are shown to be a material resource for the organization of participation in the course of interaction. The placement and adjustment of drinking behavior reveals participants' online analyses of the current participation framework by rendering the current or pending moment as 'a moment where I don't speak'.

Chapter 5 concerns lapse resolution, or the ways that speakers end lapses such that turn-by-turn talk resumes. I describe three logical alternatives in going on with talk after a lapse in conversation: ending the interaction, continuing with something from before, or starting something new. I argue that lapses in ordinary conversation are places for the management of multiple courses of action. In choosing where to go after a lapse, participants reveal their understandings of where they are situated with respect to the prior sequence, potential courses of action, and the interaction as a whole. I also provide suggestive evidence for a preference for continuation after a lapse.

The thesis concludes in Chapter 6 with a discussion of the findings from Chapters 2-5. I return to the issue of lapses and structural organization, and connect it other relevant domains of social life. I also discuss limitations of this study and point toward future work.

Chapter 2

Lapses: How people arrive at, and deal with, discontinuities in talk[7]

Interaction includes moments of silence. When all participants forgo the option to speak, the silence can be called a 'lapse'. This chapter builds on existing work on lapses and other kinds of silences (gaps, pauses and so on) to examine how participants reach a point where lapsing is a possibility, and how they orient to the lapse that subsequently develops. Drawing from a wide range of activities and settings, I will show that participants may treat lapses as 1) the relevant cessation of talk; 2) the allowable development of silence; or 3) the conspicuous absence of talk.

2.1. Introduction

When people in a scene fall silent, the meaning of that silence depends on what went just before. This simple observation is at the heart of the "simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking" identified by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) in Conversation Analysis's seminal article. But although those researchers and others since have described many features of pauses and gaps in talk, much work remains to be done on other varieties of silence appearing in and around talk. In this chapter, I outline previous work on the subject, then offer some answers to questions which have so far remained unresolved about one particular kind of silence: the 'lapse' that occurs when all participants forgo their turn to speak.

According to Sacks et al. (1974), turn-taking provides for discontinuous conversational interaction by giving participants the option to refrain from speaking when given the opportunity to do so—producing a lapse. Specifically, the current speaker may refrain from selecting a next speaker, all other parties may refrain from self-selection, and current speaker may refrain from continuation. Sacks et al. (1974) describe the resulting lapse as a period of non-speech constituted by 'rounds of possible self-selection' occurring at 'certain classes of transition-places, characterizable by reference to the organization of sequences'. The authors illustrate this with the following example, in which Chris and Jean enter a car and drive off.

---

[7] A version of this chapter was previously published as Hoey, E. M. (2015). Lapses: How people arrive at, and deal with, discontinuities in talk. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 48*(4), 430-453.

Extract 2.1 (C-J:2, retranscribed from source audio)

```
01     J:  oh I could drive if you want me to.
02     C:  well no I'll drive (I don' m[in')
03     J:                              [hhh
04         (1.0)
05     J:  I meant to off*ahh.
06 →       (16.0) ((audible during this time: car doors open, C and
              J seat themselves, doors shut, and engine starts up))
07     J:  those shoes look nice when you keep on putting stuff on
08         'em.
09     C:  yeah I 'ave to get another can cuz cuz it ran out.
10         I mean it's a[lmost(h) ou(h)]t=
11     J:               [Oh:::       ah]he .hh heh=
12     C:  =yeah well it cleans 'em and keeps ['em clean
13     J:                                      [Yeah right=
14     C:  =I should get a brush too and you should getta brush 'n
15         [you=
16     J:  [yeah suh::
17     C:  =should fix your hikin bo[ots
18     J:                           [my hiking boots=
19     C:  =which you were gonna do this weekend.
20     J:  pooh, did I have time this wk- well::
21     C:  ahh c'mon=
22     J:  =wh'n we get— (uh::kay),
23         I haven't even sat down to do any— y'know like
24         .hh today I'm gonna sit down 'n read while you're doing
25         yur coat,
26         (0.7) do yur- hood.
27     C:  yehhh=
28     J:  =(okay)
29         (2.0)
30     J:  I haven't not done anything the whole weekend.
31     C:  (okay)
32 →       (14.0)
33     J:  dass a rilly nice swe::der,
34         (.hh) 'at's my favorite sweater on you,
35         it's the only one that looks right on you.
36     C:  mm huh.
37 →       (90.0)
```

Three lapses appear here (arrowed as in the original). The first occurs in line 6. While entering the car, Jean offers to drive (line 1). She prefaces this with the change-of-state token *oh* (Heritage, 1984b), which marks her offer as 'just realized' and indexes the fact that she could have offered to drive earlier. Chris declines her offer and treats its late placement as unproblematic (line 2). This sequence ends with Jean acknowledging that her offer had come somewhat late (line 5). During this sequence-final turn, Jean doesn't

select a next speaker, and the subsequent silence shows neither self-selection by Chris nor continuation by Jean. The ruleset specified by Sacks et al. (1974) is therefore exhausted, and a 16 second lapse develops. These same rules generate the other lapses (lines 32, 37): a course of talk-in-interaction reaches possible completion (Schegloff, 2007), and nobody self-selects despite the option for anyone to do so.

Some unresolved matters. This account, while specifying how discontinuous talk develops, leaves some matters unresolved (see §1.3). For instance, what, if anything, is observed during the lapse itself? What do rounds of possible self-selection actually look like? We can infer from the audio in Extract 2.1 that during the first lapse, Chris and Jean entered the car and started it up (line 6). But are all lapses understood by reference to some intervening activity? Another unresolved matter is how lapses relate to gaps. Participants often do intricate interactional work to minimize the occurrence of gaps between turns, but the development of lapses clearly shows that this isn't an omnirelevant task. What sort of circumstances, then, provide for the non-minimization of gaps and the subsequent development of lapses? By what practical procedures do participants enter and inhabit lapses? In short, how do participants arrive at a lapse and deal with its occurrence then and there? The analysis addresses these matters by showing how lapses come about and how they are treated by participants.

2.2. Methods

To survey how lapses come about in a variety of situations, I sampled the audio and video recordings commonly available in the Conversation Analysis research community, Leah Wingard's Language and Social Interaction Archive (2014), and Giovanni Rossi's Corpus of English, collected in 2011 (see §1.4.3). These corpora feature mostly American and British English, and capture various activities across mundane and institutional settings. The recordings used for my collection of lapses feature, for instance, mealtimes, study sessions, board games, retail clothing stores, bicycle repair shops, car rides, food preparation, hanging out, and watching television (see Table 1.1). Informed consent was secured for the extracts and images used in this chapter. All identifying information has been anonymized, and most images have been obscured to preserve anonymity.

Lapses were located by following a generous interpretation of the description in Sacks et al. (1974, pp. 714-715; see §1.4.4). Any silence was considered a candidate lapse if

it developed due to the non-operation of the turn-allocation techniques. So, silence is *not* a lapse if current speaker selects a next speaker (Sacks et al., 1974; Goodwin, 1981; Lerner, 2003; Schegloff, 2007), or if any party indicates incipient speakership with some pre-beginning behavior (Sacks et al., 1974; Streeck & Hartge, 1992; Schegloff, 1996b; Mondada, 2007a; Hoey, 2014). Silences appearing after so-called outloud utterances (Goffman, 1981) were included as candidate lapses. Even though these do not appear to involve speaker selection, they nonetheless afford and often engender specifiable trajectories of action and forms of participation (Heath et al., 1995, 2002). This procedure generated a collection of 500+ lapses out of 22+ hours of video data.

The focus of this chapter is on situations where, after a given turn, there are what Sacks et al. (1974) call rounds of possible self-selection, which no-one immediately takes up. Using Conversation Analytic methods (e.g., Sidnell & Stivers, 2013), I present cases where participants treat lapses as 1) the relevant cessation of talk; 2) the allowable development of silence; or 3) the conspicuous absence of talk. For each set of cases, I trace the sequential developments leading to a particular lapse and analyze participants' orientations to it. I will try to show that rounds of possible self-selection are often accountable—that is, observable-and-reportable (Garfinkel, 1967)—by reference to the projectability of silence in and for a given activity and to the availability of engagements other than talk.

2.3. Analysis

2.3.1. Lapses as the relevant cessation of talk

As Szymanski (1999) puts it, participants may "implicate the relevance" of lapsing out of talk-in-interaction. That is, they may signal that silence is the appropriate medium through which some now-relevant thing gets done. For instance, students may visibly 'go on' with their classroom assignment as a way to implicate the relevance of stopping talk to resume their prior task (Szymanski, 1999). Lapses may also be implicated by interruptions like doorbells or telephone calls (Rae, 2001; Licoppe & Tuncer, 2014) or by practical incompatibilities between simultaneously carrying on with talk and another activity (Keisanen et al., 2014; see Chapter 4). Building on these previous investigations, this section examines the interactional work undertaken to transition from talk-in-interaction to copresent silence. It focuses on how participants arrive at a place where talk lapses and how they render that lapse as the relevant cessation of talk. Extract 2.2 shows two friends, Harold and Fred, working out the

logistics of meeting up with Fred's friends before they all go to a street fair later on. Another friend, Brian, is present but uninvolved in the conversation.

Extract 2.2 (LSI_Folsom_2_3350)

```
01    HAR:  ∆you shd have em js come over to our place. (0.4)
      bri   >>∆sitting on couch, reading and drinking------->
02          and then we can go down (.) to Folsom %together.
03          (1.7)
04    HAR:  cuz literally by the time you get out there? (1.0)
05          y:ou're not gonna get there til eleven thirty, <and
06          then they're gonna wan- (.) h:ead back over here t'go
07          da the fa:ir.
08    FRE:  .tk that's a good idea. (I)think we shd just do tha:t.
09    HAR:  tell'em t'#come meet us here¿ fifth en Mission.
      fig             #a
10          (1.0)
11    FRE:  h:okay. l*#emme call.
                      *gets up, walks to table to retrieve phone->
      fig             #b
12          (1.0)+(1.1)
      har         +gets up from seat, phone in hand->
13    HAR:  u#:hm
      fig    #c
14          +*(1.8)
      har   ->+gazes at phone, moves to bed->
      fre   ->*picks up phone, returns to bed------>
15    HAR:  cz otherwise that's+ g#onna be a pain in the a::ss.+
      har   ------------------>+sits-------------------------->+
      fig                         #d
16          (1.3)
17    FRE:  *°°alright°°
            ->*sits, dials->>
18          (0.3)∆#(1.0)     ∆+(3.0)#(0.7)
      bri   ---->∆rattles ice∆
      har   ---------------->+stands, takes BRI's glass away->>
      fig         #e                 #f
```

Figure 2.1. Harold and Fred project relevance of stopping talk for Fred to make a phone call

In this interaction, Harold and Fred collaboratively project the relevance of 'making a phone call' as the next step in their joint project. Harold suggests that Fred tell his friends to come to Harold's apartment, since that makes more logistical sense (lines 1-7). Fred accepts this suggestion (line 8). This acceptance projects a course of action whereby Fred should now call his friends to update them on their plan. 'Making a phone call' is thereby established as the next-thing-to-do. And since 'making a phone call' is an activity that typically affords a single copresent participant, cessation of talk and mutual disengagement from interaction are implicated. Harold and Fred both orient to this projected course of action: Harold tells Fred where his friends should come (line 9), and Fred moves to retrieve his phone (figure 2.1a-b, circled). They depart from a face-to-face body configuration and attend to their own phones (lines 11-14, figure 2.1c-e), marking the beginning of the lapse. The lapse is briefly interrupted by Harold, who supplies another motivation for his suggestion (line 15), after which the lapse resumes as he goes to the kitchen to make Brian another drink (figure 2.1f). Participants can thus collaboratively project the relevance of stopping talk to take up a next-positioned practical matter.

Lapses may be projected by participants, as shown in Extract 2.2, but they may also be *projectable* for a given activity. That is, lapses may be expected to occur by reference to an activity's overall structural organization. The overall structural organization of some activity embraces the sequential ordering of that activity's sub-components, and what gets done through them in that order (Levinson, 1992; Schegloff, 2011; Robinson, 2013). It includes all manner of conduct, including that which gets done

in silence. Lapses may thus be expectable at specifiable junctures in the formal organization of an activity. This is seen in Extract 2.3, where an undergraduate student meets with her graduation counselor for him to look at her application to graduate. Both participants orient to the relevance of lapsing out of talk as they move from the 'greetings' phase to the 'inspecting the application' phase of the encounter.

Extract 2.3 (LSI_Graduation_2_3418)

```
01    GC:   **+he+#llo¿
            >>+gazes to STU+gazes to her documents->
      stu   >>**enters office, seats herself------->
      fig         #a
02    STU:  hi.
03    STU:  *+#(I have my) application?*
            *sets documents on desk--->*
      gc    ->+gazes to space on desk, takes pen,
              and shifts mouse pad over--------->
      fig   #b
04    GC:   y**eahp.
      stu   ->**
05    GC:   +lemme se#e this then¿
            +takes, gazes at her application->
      fig             #c
06          **(0.5)+(0.4)
      gc    ------>+shifts STU's other documents slightly away-->
      stu   **leans forward, observes GC with application------>>
07    GC:   °m*ove this a lit#tle +bit?*°
            ---------------------->+repositions application,reads->
      stu   ->*shifts her other documents with the GC's movement*
      fig                    #d
08          (1.3)
09    GC:   I see you're (goin) ri+ght through there¿
            ---------------------->+inspects document with pen in
                                    'checklist' fashion--------->>
10          #(4.6)
      fig   #e
```

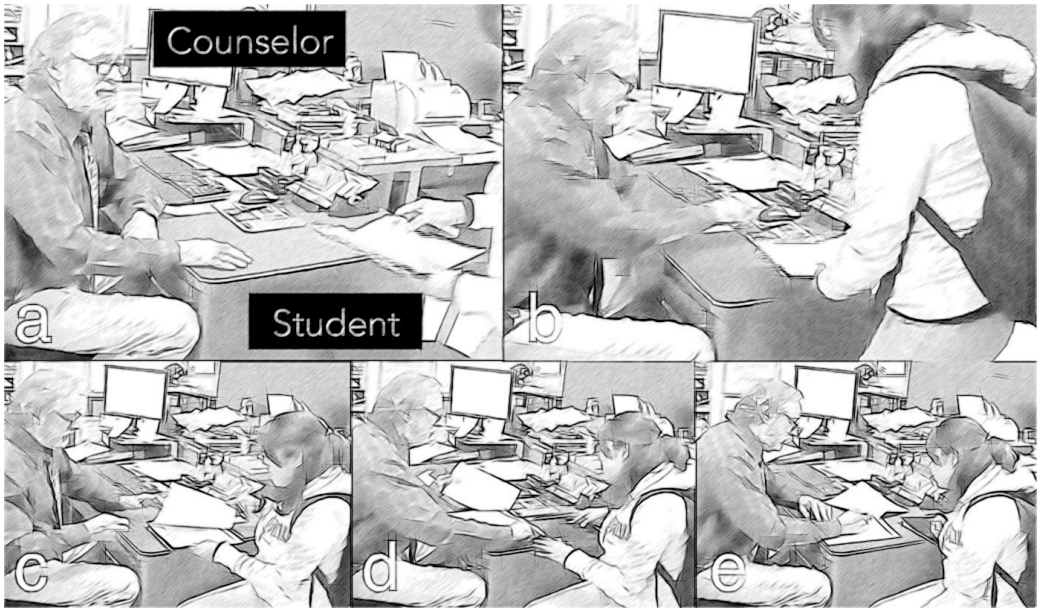

Figure 2.2. Counselor and student attend to the application form

The student and counselor interactively constitute the student's application form as central to their activity (Hazel & Mortensen, 2014), not only as a contentful object indicating the student's progression towards graduation, but also as a manipulable resource reflexively shaping their institutional encounter (Drew & Heritage, 1992). The counselor first orients to the potential relevance of the document by gazing to it while greeting the student (line 1, figure 2.2a). The document then becomes consequential for the interaction as the counselor gazes to his desk and takes up his pen in preparation to handle it (figure 2.2b). As he prepares his workspace for the document, the student also treats her application as relevant for their interaction by announcing that she's brought it with her (line 3). The counselor acknowledges her announcement (line 4) then concertedly attends to the document itself: he removes it from her stack of papers and pushes away the other documents she brought with her (lines 5-7, figure 2.2c-d). As he starts inspecting her application, the student adopts an 'observing' posture: she leans forward and monitors his progress through her application (figure 2.2d-e).

The student and counselor have thus prepared their environment and positioned their bodies to begin the 'inspecting the application' phase of their interaction. The participatory affordances of this phase permit the counselor to do 'reading and checking' while the student does 'observing and waiting'. This particular sub-component of their interaction favors silence. The lapse that develops (lines 8-10) is

only briefly interrupted by the counselor's initial assessment of her application. The overall structural organization of an activity may thus place the occurrence of silence in particular sequential positions. This is observed in participants' treatment of the lapse as now-relevant for the development of their interaction—that is, in their moment-by-moment orientations to the document as a material resource facilitating a transition into silence.

Summary. These extracts highlight participants' spatial-orientational configurations as foundational for the intelligibility of a given lapse. Since lapses are constituted by the absence of talk-in-interaction, order is produced and located via non-verbal channels. Important in this regard are notions from research on multimodality, like F-formation systems (Kendon, 1990), body torque (Schegloff, 1998b), contextual configurations (Goodwin, 2000), and interactional space (Mondada, 2013b). Concepts as these shed light on how participants enter and inhabit lapses. For instance, at the start of Extract 2.2, Harold and Fred are positioned face-to-face—an arrangement favoring mutual attention and closely coordinated action. But by the end of Extract 2.2, they have disengaged from that arrangement, and pursue different activities in different sectors of their environment. That is, what these participants are 'up to' is observable through their body idiom (Goffman, 1963). The dynamic placement of bodies relative to one another in a particular setting, the flexible orientation of different body segments (eyes, head, torso, hands, and trunk), and the interaction of these with relevant features of the material environment provide an embodied contextual framework for the intelligibility of a given lapse.

Extracts 2.2-2.3 also show how participants collaboratively arrive at a lapse-relevant places and how they render the subsequent lapse as the appropriate occurrence of silence. Participants were shown to project and orient to the relevance of silence through the mobilization of audible, visible, and material resources. These findings align with those of Szymanski (1999) and Rae (2001), among others. What this analysis adds is a specification of the stances that participants take up regarding the very relevance of talk in a place where it could lapse. For both extracts, talk-in-interaction was treated as instrumental for a given activity up to a point, whereupon it was then treated as unsuitable as the activity progressed. These stances are tied to the participatory affordances of activities like 'making a phone call' and 'inspecting an application', which constrain the occurrence of talk-in-interaction. And so once these

sorts of activities get established as the next-thing-to-do, then the relevance of lapsing out of talk becomes increasingly salient. Rounds of possible self-selection, then, may be understood as the appropriate cessation of talk in such situations. These cases contrast with those in the following section, where instead of being now-relevant, silence is treated as an ongoingly-relevant contingency.

2.3.2. Lapses as allowable silences

Some lapses are allowed to develop due to the ongoing relevance of other activities. The management of multiple courses of action and sites of involvement is characteristic of multiactivity settings (Haddington et al., 2014; see Chapter 4). In such settings, participants are routinely presented with the choice to either proceed with talk or proceed with something else. This section shows cases where participants elect to proceed with 'something else'. In Extract 2.4, three coworkers in a retail clothing store concurrently carry on a conversation and go about their individual duties related to closing store.

Extract 2.4 (LSI_Closing_1_2850)

```
01    WEN:  *EN I'M LIKE (.) so she was do:ing her jo:b. euhuh
            >>counting money--------------------------------->>
      bet   >>*handling receipts and other documents--------->
      oma   >>folding clothes------------------------------->>
02    BET:  *>enmlike< thanks SH:auna >uh,*we haven't seen many=*
            *turns to WEN--------------->*gazes to documents-->*
03    BET:  =of that.
04    WEN:  [*((h)I(h)]kno(h)w ri(h)(h)ght).
05    OMA:  [*huh  huh]
      bet    *steps right->
06          (1.3)
07    OM?:  °heh°
08          *(1.5)
      bet   ->*handling documents->>
09    OMA:  I did like fi:ve¿ ((to another coworker))
10          (5.0)
```

While gossiping about another coworker (lines 1-7), Wendy counts money, Betty handles receipts, and Omar folds clothing. Their 'gossiping' activity reaches a place of possible completion through shared affiliative laughter (Holt, 2010; Gilmartin et al., 2013), after which their talk lapses (lines 8-10). The participants orient to this silence neither as a hitch in their shared activity of 'closing the store', nor as a delay in their individual tasks comprising that overarching project. Rather, the lapse is treated as a

place to simply go on with 'closing the store', only without talk: Wendy continues counting money, Becky proceeds with handling some documents, and Omar directs work-related talk to an off-camera coworker. By simply going on with their ongoingly-relevant activity, the participants treat the conclusion of talk and onset of silence as an unremarkable event, one that is largely inconsequential for the progressive development of 'closing the store' (see Lerner, 1998). Two regimes of activity may thus be managed in parallel (Mondada, 2014b), with one persisting as the other concludes.

Another setting where lapses are allowed to develop is during 'watching television' (Berger, 2012). In Extract 2.5, some family members are watching a program about an Olympic athlete.

Extract 2.5 (LSI_Olympics_3_3722)

```
01     PAU:  that guy's r:ipped.
       all   >>facing television->>
02     CAI:  he's- (1.0) very lea:n.
03           (10.2)
```

On-screen developments occasion an assessment by Paul, which is met with a downgraded second assessment by Caitlin. This assessment sequence concludes, and a lapse develops as they continue watching television. Extract 2.5 demonstrates that things like assessments can engender more talk in such settings (Ergül, 2014, 2016). However, this is not always the case. Participants watching television routinely issue assessments that receive no response. In Extract 2.6, the same family members are watching a news report about a wave that injured beachgoers.

Extract 2.6 (LSI_Olympics_3_2539)

```
01     PAU:  ouch, tha:t's broken.
       all   >>facing television->>
02           (3.9)
03     PAU:  oh, (t's) that o:ld guy.
04           (5.5)
```

Paul's running commentary provides opportunities for others to participate in talk-in-interaction. His co-participants, however, do not respond. Silence emerges after each utterance (lines 2, 4), showing that things like assessments need not receive responses.

Extracts 2.5-2.6 provide a useful contrast regarding the places where lapses may occur. The description of lapses in Sacks et al. (1974, p. 715fn) suggests that lapses may

only properly occur at sequence endings. This is the case for Extract 2.5, where a lapse develops after an assessment sequence. But this is not the case for Extract 2.6, where silences emerge after possible initiating actions. Though they occur in two sequentially distinct positions, I suggest that these silences are all lapses because participants treat them as the same *kind* of silence. During the silences in Extracts 2.5-2.6, the participants remain oriented to the television in their maintenance of a common focus (Kendon, 1988). These silences develop and are understood by reference to the ongoing relevance of 'watching television'. These silences, as far as the participants are concerned, are evidently cut from the same cloth. This commonality indicates that lapses may persist past opportunities to reengage in talk, which means that lapses are not restricted to occurring sequence endings, but may occur in environments where participants have the option to speak, but refrain from doing so.

The next extract lets us pursue a bit further the issue of where participants allow lapses to develop. Here, participants transform a lapse into a gap. This interaction takes place in a car, a perspicuous setting for the recurrence of lapses (Sacks et al., 1974; Goodwin & Goodwin, 2012; Mondada, 2012b).

Extract 2.7 (LSI_Driving_2_0105)

```
01    LIN:  (I feel) like we're going to Vermo:nt.
02          #(6.4)+(0.3)#
      lin          +turns to RAY->
      fig   #a           #b
03    RAY:  w*hats that?
             *turns to LIN->
04          (0.4)+(0.1)*
      lin         +faces forward------->>
      ray               *faces forward->>
05    LIN:  we're goin:ah Vermon'.
```

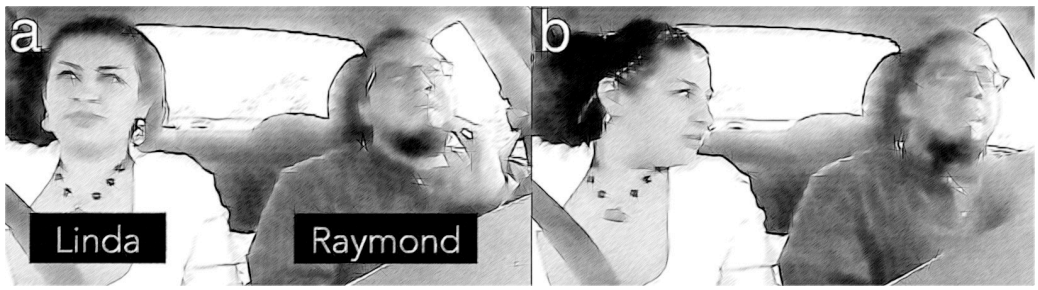

Figure 2.3. Linda pursues a response through gaze

In line 1, Linda produces an inner-state announcement, possibly referring to the passing trees. Then, for 6.4 seconds, both she and Raymond remain completely stationary while gazing forward. The non-occurrence of a response for this lengthy interval of silence, and the fact that this is apparently unproblematic, show the silence to be a lapse. The participants allow this lapse to develop by reference to the ongoingly-relevant activity of 'driving/passengering' (Laurier et al., 2008). What then happens is Linda turns to face Raymond (figure 2.3a-b), at which point talk promptly starts up (line 3). She transforms the lapse into a gap through her gaze pursuit; the silence is transformed from one of mutual disengagement from talk to one in which a response is now apparently expected.[8]

While Extract 2.7 shows how a lapse may become a gap, Extracts 2.8-2.9 show the inverse: gaps becoming lapses. These are cases where an incipient silence is first treated as a gap, with one participant orienting to further talk. This gap then becomes a lapse after both participants mutually orient away from the relevance of talk (cf. Rossano, 2012 on mutual gaze withdrawal/aversion). Below, Rosa is working at her computer while Lena prepares drinks for the two of them.

Extract 2.8 (LSI_Visiting_3_4750)

```
01          *(56.0)                              *(0.9)*
      len   >>*distributing ice cubes to cups*drops ice cube*
      ros   >>facing computer------------------------------>>
02    LEN:  #oh shit.*#
                      *gazes to ROS->
      fig   #a         #b
03          (0.5)
04    LEN:  *#th::huh huh
            *turns away from ROS->
      fig   #c
05          *#(3.5)                         *(0.3)
      len   *picks up ice cube from floor*goes to kitchen->>
      fig   #d
06    LEN:  °ew gross.°
07          (51.0)
```

[8] Another plausible analysis of Linda's gaze pursuit is that it underscores the conditional relevance already present in her announcement (Couper-Kuhlen, 2010, see also Stivers & Rossano, 2010). Under this analysis, the entire silence would be a gap. I would argue that because the interval of silence is so long and unproblematic, and because nothing else in the video accounts for it (e.g., changing lanes or adjusting the camera), the participants understand this as a lapse for the span of its duration, and then only upon Linda's pursuit does it become a gap.

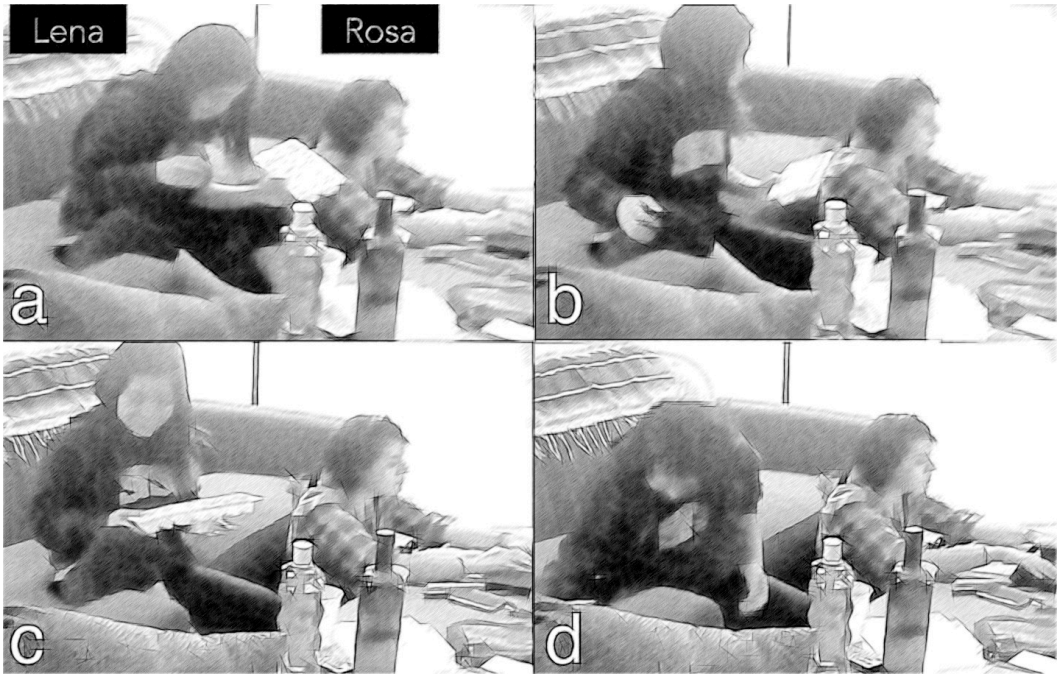

Figure 2.4. Lena drops ice then picks it up after no reaction from Rosa

Lena drops an ice cube while making them drinks, marking it with an *oh shit* imprecation (lines 1-2). This spill cry (Goffman, 1981, p. 101) alerts Rosa to the possibility of trouble and creates an opening for prosocial intervention (Kendrick & Drew, 2016). Lena turns to Rosa immediately after her spill cry (figure 2.4a-b), orienting to the appropriateness of some kind of reaction from Rosa. However, Rosa remains oriented to her computer (figure 2.4b). The participants' divergent analyses are thus seen in their bodily dispositions: Lena orienting to a potential reaction, and Rosa showing that no reaction is necessary. Upon observing no reaction from Rosa, Lena laughs off the matter and attends to the dropped ice cube (lines 4-5, figure 2.4c-d). In doing so, she orients away from the possibility of joint action and aligns with Rosa regarding the relevance of talk then and there, transforming the gap into a lapse. This lapse is thus permitted to occur after initial misalignment regarding the appropriateness of talk-in-interaction in that space.

Gaps may also become lapses at possible sequence completion. In Extract 2.9, Ruth and Levi are working on a chemistry assignment together. When reaching a place where talk could end, Ruth orients to the relevance of more talk, while Levi orients to continuing the assignment.

Extract 2.9 (LSI_StudyHour_2_3345)

```
01     RUT:  transla:tional energy gets it to that po:int %right¿
       lev   >>head down, body in writing posture-------------->>
02           (0.7)
03     LEV:  [yeah.
04     RUT:  [but then it needs vibra:tional energy (t)go back en
05           fo:rth °and° (0.6)+(0.9) cr- like turn the cor*ner?
                              +gazes to LEV------------------->
       lev                                                 *shaking
                                                            head-->
06           (0.9)
07     RUT:  +I'm not %really,        +%that's- (0.5) %Idunno.
             +gazes down, takes pencil+gazes at LEV, holds pencil->
08           (0.8)+(1.0)     +*(1.1)+(4.2)
       rut   ---->+gazes down+at LEV+down, and resumes writing->>
       lev   --------------->*
```

The transcript begins with Ruth asking Levi a question, which he answers with a minimal response (lines 1-3). Although Levi's static writing posture projects resumption of the assignment (line 1), Ruth continues with her line of questioning (lines 4-5). Her second question is met with an even more minimal response from Levi, who simply shakes his head 'no' (lines 4-5). In light of his unresponsiveness, Ruth begins to move toward sequence closure: she reorients to her work by taking her pencil in her hand, and issues two claims of uncertainty (line 7), which work to neutralize the relevance of her project (Beach & Metzger, 1993). During this time and in the silence that follows, she gazes away, toward, away, toward, and finally away from Levi, visibly providing him an ample amount of opportunities to engage in talk (line 8). This negotiated transition from partial disengagement to mutual disengagement finally results in a state of silent co-presence. Participants may thus pass through a gap before settling into a lapse.

Summary. In this section, when confronted with the option to continue with talk or lapse into silence, participants chose the latter. In Extracts 2.4-2.7, this movement into silent co-presence was virtually unmarked, as participants simply continued doing what they were already accountably doing. And in Extracts 2.8-2.9, this decision required more negotiation, as participants were initially misaligned regarding the option to talk or lapse. Overall, participants used ongoingly-relevant alternative engagements as resources for shifting out of talk. For such multiactivity settings (Haddington et al., 2014), one practical concern is the mutual adjustment of talk relative to alternative engagements. The participatory affordances of activities like 'closing the

store', 'studying', 'driving/passengering', and 'watching television' influence how lapses emerge in these settings. Activities like 'studying', for instance, afford the routine permissibility of lapses. Part of how one accountably participates in 'studying', in other words, includes orienting to the *optionality* of talk at a place where more talk could occur. In contrast to these multiactivity settings, lapses are managed quite differently in settings organized for just one activity (i.e., talk-in-interaction), as shown in the next section.

2.3.3. Lapses as the conspicuous absence of talk

The lapses analyzed so far have been understandable by reference to now-relevant or ongoingly-relevant courses of action. But lapses can nevertheless appear without being projected to occur and may develop in settings where participants apparently have few alternative engagements to take up. These lapses occur *within* talk-in-interaction and may be treated as the conspicuous absence of talk—as silence where talk should be.[9] A clear illustration of this appears below. Here, Maureen, Abby, and Terry are waiting to resume a board game while Pat takes a phone call in the kitchen. The transcript begins with some talk about Pat's nephew[10].

Extract 2.10 (GameNight_0411)

```
01    ABB:  well at least he didn't send his list to Santa.=
02    TER:  =that's right=
03    MAU:  =°yeah.°
04          #(4.0)
      fig   #a
05    ABB:  Δ#((sniff)) [(.) (a)hhh
      pat   Δwalks out of kitchen->
      fig   #b
06    PAT:              [°hold on°
07    PAT:  Δ#I'll be there ve:ry sho::rtly.
            Δpeers around corner, gazes at others->>
      fig   #c
```

[9] The silences in this section hover somewhere between gaps and lapses. They are distinctively gap-like in that participants observably orient to the relevance of continued talk-in-interaction for the duration of their occurrence. At the same time, they are lapse-like by virtue of occurring via rounds of possible selection. For this reason, they could called something like growing gaps, incipient lapses, or, vernacularly, awkward silences. I refer to them as lapses here not only for consistency, but also because this is arguably another way that talk is discontinuous. The gap vs. lapse issue is addressed more fully in §2.4.

[10] This is analyzed again in Chapter 4, Extract 4.1.

```
08    TER:  >kay.< >izzat Lou?<
09    PAT:  talk quietly amongst yourselves. yes.
```

Figure 2.5. Pat enters the room in reaction to the lapse

Their talk about Pat's nephew comes to possible completion (line 3) and then lapses into silence (lines 4-6). In reaction to the silence, Pat walks over to update them on the progress of her phone call (lines 5-7, figure 2.5a-c). The progress of her call is relevant because its ending would enable them to resume their board game. She also instructs them to *talk quietly amongst* [*themselves*] (lines 9). So, even though Pat had no part in the generation of the lapse, she nevertheless treats it as the conspicuous absence of talk and as requiring remediation.

Extract 2.10 demonstrates that some rounds of possible self-selection are understood as silence where talk should be. Such lapses come about by the coincidence of two structurally provided possibilities in talk-in-interaction. In the beginning of Extract 2.10, the participants are lodged in a state of sustained talk (Goffman, 1967, p. 34; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973), then they arrive at possible sequence completion (line 3). The potential ending of a sequence of talk is a critical juncture because it provides the option to do something else (e.g., return to a prior matter, launch a new sequence, etc.) (Schegloff, 2007). At the same time, it is possible that no next-thing-to-talk-about awaits at sequence completion. This may coincide with participants electing not to self-select (Sacks et al., 1974), which is structurally provided by the turn-taking system. When this happens, we observe lapses like the one in Extract 2.10. So, lapses of this sort may develop if the turn-taking machinery yields no next speaker, and sequence organization furnishes no apparent next-thing-to-talk-about.[11]

[11] The placement of lapses here differs from those in previous sections. The lapses in this section only come about at sequence closure, whereas other lapses can appear in places that are analyzably *not* sequence-final. For example, lapses occasioned by an interruption like a doorbell may appear in any sequential position. And lapses that develop after some utterance is not taken up (Extracts 2.6-2.8) arguably occur in (what would be) sequence-medial position.

Another feature of such lapses is the relatively static positioning of participants' bodies. During the lapse in Extract 2.10, the participants remain in a spatial configuration that supports mutual attention and collaborative action (figure 2.5a-b). In approaching sequence completion, and for the duration of the lapse itself, they merely engage in minor disengagements like drinking, stretching, and face-touching (figure 2.6a-c; Goodwin, 1981, 1986a; see Extract 4.1). In other words, they do not recognizably take up some new course of action that would remove them from their present involvement, and so remain visibly committed to carrying on with conversational activity. And indeed, the participants orient to the relevance of talk as soon as Pat enters and addresses them (lines 7-9). A clearer instance of how these disengagements work is shown in Extract 2.11. The transcript involves the same three friends seen in Extract 2.2, and starts with Harold describing a store he's thought about opening up.

Extract 2.11 (LSI_Folsom_3_0123)

```
01    HAR:  it's like that storefront that we talked about,
02          (0.8)
03    HAR:  that Bud and I were talking about,
04          (1.8)*(0.2)
      har         *gazes to FRE->
05    HAR:  high end boutique.
06    FRE:  mmm.
07    BRI:  that'd be awesome.
08    HAR:  #((sound object))
      fig   #a
09          (1.0)*∆(0.8)      *#(1.0)              +*#(1.3)
      har         *turns to dog*swivels chair to dog*pets dog->
      fre         ∆facing HAR-------------------------------->
      bri                                          +gazes away
                                                    from HAR->
      fig                     #b                   #c
10    BRI:  and I'v- (and) we've also talked about having a
11          +res:taurant, or some (.) °ty∆pe+ of café* o∆r°=
            ->+gazes to FRE---------------->+away from FRE------>>
      fre   --------------------------->∆turns to BRI, nodding∆
      har   ---------------------------------,,,,,,,,>*gz to BRI->>
12    HAR:  =I js' think restrants are- (.) such money pits.
```

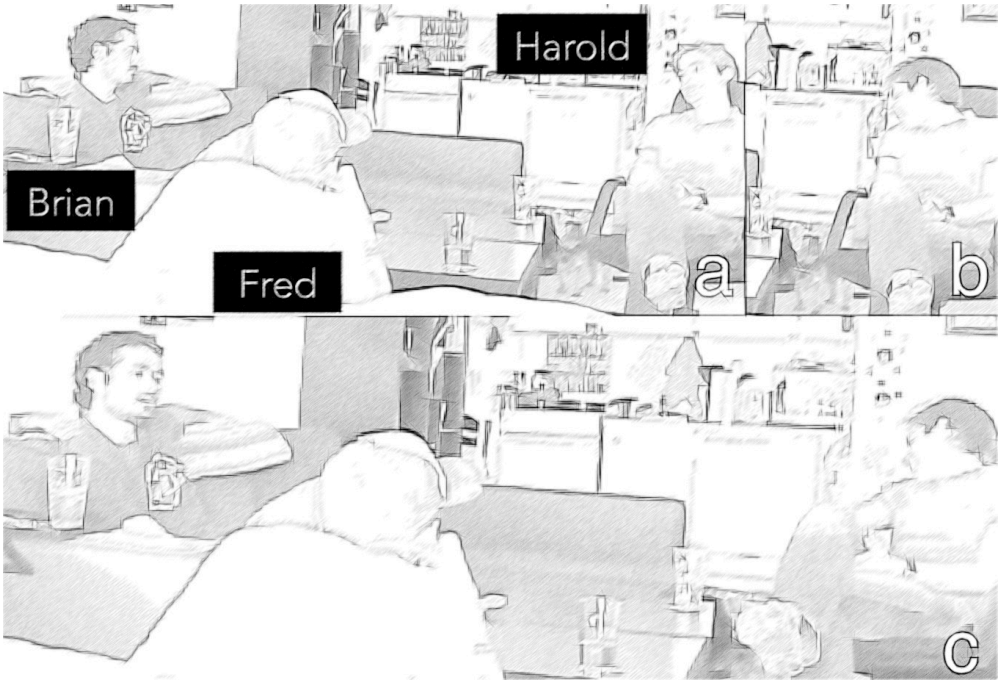

Figure 2.6. Harold uses the dog to disengage from talk during a lapse

In describing the kind of business he's considered starting, Harold encounters trouble with establishing recognition (lines 1-2). He first treats the trouble as one of referential specificity, disaggregating *we* into *Bud and I* (lines 1, 3) (Lerner & Kitzinger, 2007). This fails to secure recognition, so Harold supplies the referent explicitly (lines 4-5), which succeeds in getting responses from his co-participants (lines 6-7). Harold receipts their responses with a lip smack sound object, which brings the sequence to closure and marks the start of a lapse (lines 8-9). After one second of silence, Harold turns to the dog nearby (figure 2.6a-b). Then after 1.8 s of silence, he reaches out to pet it (figure 2.6b-c). Harold thus uses the dog as resource for disengaging from talk (Bergmann, 1988).

The placement of Harold's disengagement in this sequential environment indicates its strategic use. During the silence at the beginning of line 9, Harold observes that neither of his co-participants have chosen to self-select. Subsequently, rather than continuing his turn (Sacks et al., 1974), he disengages. By attending to something that is decidedly not talk, and by doing so in an environment where turn-transfer is relevant, Harold shows himself to be both ineligible and disinterested in speaking next. Another participant, Brian, shares this understanding of the disengagement as indicating 'I will

not speak': after Harold disengages, Brian gazes away from Harold (figure 2.6c) then ends the lapse by extending the topic (lines 9-11). Finally, we may note that Harold promptly returns to talk once Brian ends the lapse (lines 11-12). This shows that his disengagement is avertable and implies no major change in the nature of their activity. Disengagements like this target a problem in speaker selection. In settings organized for sustained talk, lapses may be treated as the conspicuous absence of talk because they are silences without a next speaker. The problem, then, is arranging a place for a next speaker to appear. By disengaging from interaction, participants show themselves to as unlikely to speak next and leave it to the remaining participants to self-select.

Another method targeting the speaker selection problem in these lapses is sequence recompletion (see Chapter 3 for an extended treatment). Through sequence recompletion, participants reoccasion the relevance of sequence completion even after possible sequence closure was already reached (see Schegloff, 2009 on a similar device). This is seen in Extract 2.12, which involves Hannah and Molly chatting about a mutual acquaintance.

Extract 2.12 (RCE25_2148)

```
01    HAN:  the way that he recounted that story, he was so
02          disdainful,
03          (0.5)
04          [about e:ven] like his own fe[elin(h)gs:
            >>facing forward---------------------->>
05    MOL:  [uhuhuheh   ]                [.h hihih (.) hiheheheh
06          *(1.2)*
      h&m   *silently laughing*
07    MOL:  .h:::[::
08    HAN:       [uh=.H (.) huh
09          (0.6)
10    MOL:  aw:.
11          (1.3)
12    HAN:  .h °%yeup.°
13          (2.0)
14    HAN:  .ptk (0.7) °yeah.°
15          (2.4)+(0.2)Δ(1.6)                  Δ(1.5)
      env         +someone exits from door behind them----->>
      mol               Δgazes at person exitingΔfaces fwd->>
16    MOL:  I haven't eaten a:ll day, >and I am< ve:ry hungry.
17    HAN:  mm.
```

Their talk comes to possible completion as they laugh together affiliatively (lines 1-8; Holt, 2010). At this juncture, either participant may self-select and move onto

something else. Rather than progressing to a next thing, though, both participants recomplete the sequence. Molly first produces an appreciative *aw:* (line 10). With this, she marks her stance towards the story, treats the story as complete, and provides a place where Hannah could start up something else. What follows, however, is not the start of something else, but the start of a lapse (line 11). Hannah curtails this lapse with a quiet *yeup* (line 12). With her *yeup*, she acknowledges Molly's *aw:*, and projects no further elaboration (Raymond, 2013). And by projecting no elaboration, Hannah displays no resistance to moving on and positions herself as a recipient to whatever talk Molly might produce next. After two more seconds of silence in which neither participant self-selects, Hannah indicates possible turn entry with a lip-parting sound (*.ptk*), only to withdraw this claim to the turn-space with a soft *°yeah°* (line 14).

This extract shows both participants passing up the option to speak at possible sequence closure. In the place where some prospective orientation is relevant (e.g., sequence initiation), the participants instead display a distinctively retrospective orientation through their sequence recompleting tokens. These minimal tokens perform subtle interactional work (Gardner, 2001), and their placement in this sequential environment reveals their tactical utility. Jefferson (1984b) observed that in the selective distribution of these acknowledgment tokens, not only can they "serve as indices of a participant's current status vis-à-vis recipient and speakership, but can themselves be deployable devices with consequence for the shape of the interaction" (p. 17, emphasis original). Sequence recompleting tokens are a minimal 'something' where 'something' is due. On the one hand, they do the work of showing continued commitment to engaging in talk-in-interaction. And on the other, they defer the initiation of talk to another party. Phrased differently, sequence recompletion is a way to protract the process of bringing a sequence to closure (Schegloff, 2007). It shows interactants engaged in a game of turn-transfer 'hot potato', with each sequence recompleting move sufficing as a minimal turn and furnishing the opportunity for some other party to self-select. Sequence recompletion is thus well fitted to the speaker selection problem that such lapses present.

When participants treat a lapse as the conspicuous absence of talk, they are largely orienting to an uncertainty regarding who will speak next. Extracts 2.10-2.12 showed two methods for handling this speaker selection problem: disengagement and sequence recompletion. Both of these methods are observed in the following extract, as well as a third method: removing the relevance of a next speaker. This is done by

transforming the lapse from a 'problematic' one into an 'allowable' one. Here, the same participants as in Extract 2.12, Hannah and Molly, are talking about a couple in their graduate program.

Extract 2.13 (RCE25_2000)

```
01    HAN:  it must be rea:- ↓oh well, maybe it's no:t (0.3) but
02          (.) you kno:w, (0.4) that they're da:ting and she's
03          like °the one< who gets fu:nded and he doesn't.°
04          (0.9)
05    MOL:  (m)uh:huh*huh heh?*
                      *gazes away from HAN*
06          Δ+(1.5)+
      han   +faces fwd, shrugging+
      env   Δgroup of men talking loudly passes by->>
07    HAN:  °I don't %kno:w.°
08          (0.5)
09    HAN:  .h*::
      mol     *lifts drink->
10          (1.0)*(1.2)
      mol   ---->*drinks->
11    HAN:  *°mm:.°
      mol   ->*lowers drink, faces forward->
12          (1.1)*(0.6)
      mol   ---->*turns to HAN->
13    HAN:  (m)h:: ((single pulse of nasal laughter))
14          *(0.4)              *(2.8)
      mol   *gazes at HAN's face*follows HAN's gaze->>
15    HAN:  °they're just so loud.°
16    MOL:  °I kn:ow.°
```

The transcript begins with Hannah remarking that the girlfriend receives funding for her research, while the boyfriend does not (lines 1-3). Molly laughs and gazes away in response (line 5), bringing the sequence to possible closure (Rossano, 2012). Hannah ends the sequence by backing off her potentially threatening remarks with an embodied and verbal *I don't know* (lines 6-7; Beach & Metzger, 1993). A lapse then begins to emerge (line 8). Molly treats this silence as the relevant place to disengage from talk by taking a drink (lines 9-10; see Chapter 4). Hannah similarly shows that she will not speak next by recompleting the sequence with a quiet *mm* (line 11; Jefferson, 1981a; Gardner, 2001). So, both treat the silence as the absence of talk.

The participants then transfigure the lapse from one in which 'nobody is talking' to one where 'now we're doing something that doesn't require talk'. This stepwise progression begins with Molly's turn to Hannah (line 12). By turning to her,

Molly both orients to the unoccupied 'slot' for a next speaker and furnishes herself as 'someone to speak to'. In response, rather than beginning a turn, Hannah laughs (line 13). This laughter prompts Molly to search for what occasioned it (Schegloff, 2007, p. 217). She first looks to Hannah's face then follows Hannah's gaze (line 14), locating at the end of it a group of men talking loudly (first audible in line 6). By gazing to this new site of focus, Molly joins Hannah in an activity that isn't structured by talk-in-interaction. The reconfiguration of their embodied participation framework opens up a new activity that they may engage in: 'observing loud passers-by'. By visually attending to the group of men, and by doing so *together*, they switch from 'chatting' to 'observing loud passers-by'. The lapse thus becomes one that is allowed to occur by reference to this newly available alternative engagement rather than one characterized by problems in speaker selection.

Summary. Lapses can be problematic if they disrupt what should be an unbroken flow of talk, which can occur if the orders of turn-taking and sequence yield no next speaker and no next-thing-to-do.[12] This occurred in Extracts 2.10-2.13, which all took place in settings organized for sustained talk-in-interaction. During these lapses, participants displayed their orientations to the continued relevance of talk through the procedures of disengagement and sequence recompletion. Through disengagement, participants displayed an ineligibility and reluctance to speak next. Through sequence recompletion, participants actively deferred the opportunity to speak. It was also shown that participants could circumvent the speaker selection problem in these lapses by orienting to a newly established alternative engagement.

2.4. Discussion

The general aim of this chapter was to bring lapses into focus and begin unearthing their organization. Accordingly, lapses from a range of social situations were examined

[12] There is clearly cross-cultural/linguistic variability in how members account for a given silence (e.g., Berger, 2011; Gardner & Mushin, 2015). My claim, however, is not about the universality of specific lapse behaviors, but a more general one about the relationship between talk and the arenas of social life in which it appears. Though it remains to be seen, the issues engendered by lapses (what do we do now that nobody is talking? are we doing something together? what do we do next?) are likely generic enough such that members of different cultures might arrive at similar kinds of practiced solutions (Schegloff, 2006b). See §6.4 for greater discussion.

with respect to how they came about and how participants treated them. The first section showed participants treating lapses as the relevant cessation of talk—as silence where silence should be. In these cases, participants prepared a place to lapse out of talk to attend to some now-relevant contingency, such as proceeding to a next step in a joint project or initiating the reason-for-the-interaction (Extracts 2.2-2.3). The following section showed participants treating lapses as the allowable development of silence—as silence where either talk or silence could be. In these cases, participants oriented to the *optionality* of talk. Some of these lapses were allowed to develop as participants simply went on with what they were already doing (Extracts 2.4-2.7), while others emerged only after some misalignment regarding the relevance of talk (Extracts 2.8-2.9). The final section showed participants treating lapses as the conspicuous absence of talk—as silence where talk should be. Participated in these cases faced the problem of locating a next speaker where none was immediately apparent. In dealing with this problem, participants shied away from speakership (Extracts 2.10, 2.11, 2.13), actively deferred it (Extracts 2.12-2.13), or neutralized the relevance of a next speaker entirely (Extract 2.13).

These findings contribute to our understanding of lapses by providing detailed descriptions of some of the pathways leading to environments where talk may lapse. They highlight the diversity of ways that participants may arrive at the possibility of lapsing out of talk: participants may project, anticipate, revert to, settle into, negotiate, or encounter a lapse.[13] The findings also provide some account of what rounds of possible self-selection actually look like. Because lapses are constituted by non-speech, of critical importance are participants' spatial-orientational configurations, gaze distribution, and engagements with relevant features of the material world. This visible body idiom (Goffman, 1963) supplies an embodied interpretive framework for the recognizability of a scene and communicates what participants are accountably doing during a lapse. Major bodily realignments, for instance, can mark relatively lasting shifts in activity (Extracts 2.1-2.3, 2.8), while minor postural changes typically embody participants' commitments to the same activities (Extracts 2.4-2.7, 2.9-2.13).

Inextricably tied to participants' bodily conformations are the very circumstances in which they are enmeshed and the activities to which they are

[13] Some of these procedures recall what Schegloff and Sacks (1973, p. 325) called 'adjournments' from talk (cf. Ergül, 2016).

accountably committed (Goodwin, 2000). The reflexive relationship between an activity and its local production (Heritage, 1984a) is detectable through that activity's participatory affordances (cf. Gibson, 1979; Chemero, 2003). Participatory affordances furnish the normative ways to participate in some activity and regulate the relevance of things like number of participants, material artifacts and surroundings, distribution of focus, bodily dispositions, and modality of participants' contributions. Talk-in-interaction is afforded to different degrees at different times in different activities. It may be required, expected, tolerated, or prohibited for the discernable coherence of a given activity at a given moment. This is a particularly salient issue when faced with the possibility of a lapse. In these environments, participants may orient to participatory affordances for talk by treating talk itself as instrumental but inapposite (Extracts 2.2-2.3), appropriate but inconsequential (Extracts 2.4-2.5), ignorable (Extracts 2.6-2.8), permitted but interruptive (Extract 2.9), hearably absent (Extract 2.10), or relevant but stalled (Extracts 2.11-2.13). By taking up these various stances to the relevance of talk, participants facing the possibility of a lapse show themselves to be concerned with how talk itself features in the constitution and progressive realization of their activities.

To situate lapses in the scaffolding of interaction more generally, consider the fact that Sacks et al. (1974) are explicitly concerned with turn-taking for *conversation*, and not necessarily the organization of talk in other realms of social life. This qualification implies that the turn-taking system, in its full bore operation, may be inappropriate for organizing social settings where one-at-a-time talk with recurrent speaker change isn't observed (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). The turn-taking machinery, however, provides for the occurrence of lapses and so provides a way to transition into settings where talk isn't the central activity. Lapses, seen in this way, offer the possibility to organize a social encounter through methodic procedures that are unrelated to turn-taking. In particular, lapses present the possibility to moderate the relevance of turn-transfer, current/next speakers, gap minimization, and the like. Lapses occupy a privileged position in talk-in-interaction because they invite participants to display their understandings regarding the relevance of turn-taking for organizing their current and/or next activity. They embody a prominent interface

between turn-taking as an organizational system and other collections of organizational practice.[14]

These considerations let us address the difficulties in distinguishing gaps from lapses. Sacks et al. (1974) perhaps oversimplify the matter in characterizing gaps as 'inter-turn' and lapses as 'inter-sequence' (pp. 714-715). This formulation cannot address cases like Extracts 2.5-2.6, where silences are treated identically even though they appear in different sequential environments. Further complicating the matter are silences treated as the conspicuous absence of talk (Extracts 2.10-2.13). These are gap-like insofar as participants orient to the relevance of talk, but lapse-like in that the very thing participants are reacting to are rounds of possible self-selection. One way past this terminological impasse is implied in cases like Extracts 2.8-2.9. In these extracts, participants are misaligned regarding the relevance of talk in going forward—the silence is gap-like for one participant and lapse-like for another. That is, participants may treat silence as embodying the relevance of more talk, in which case it is more gap-like; or they may treat it as embodying the relevance of some non-talk activity, in which case it is more lapse-like. So although the analysis presented three 'types' of lapses, these are better thought of as three semi-distinct assemblages of practices for interactively rendering some possible lapse into a recognizable social object.

The topic of this chapter resonates with several notions about participation (see §1.2.5.1): open states of talk (Goffman, 1967), continuing states of incipient talk (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973), focused/unfocused interactions, main/side involvements, and dominant/subordinate involvements (Goffman, 1963). However intuitively sensible, these conceptualizations regarding talk, silence, and activity are essentially unexplicated (Berger, Viney, & Rae, 2016). They rely on a kind of topographic perspective on talk and silence, where the borders between talk and silence are clearly

[14] The forms that these other orders of organization might take are not as fully articulated as those for talk and sequentiality. Research on gesture and multimodality is fairly well developed (e.g., Hazel et al., 2014; Streeck et al., 2011), and a vibrant line of research has extended CA methods and concerns to domains like multiple activities (Haddington et al., 2014), space (Hausendorf et al., 2012), mobility (Haddington et al., 2013), and objects (Nevile et al., 2014). This is not to suggest a strict division between activities organized by turn-taking and activities organized by something else. Rather, the turn-taking organization supplies a package of procedures, elements of which may be transposed à la carte to other spheres of activity (e.g., coordinating turn-construction with bodily-vocal displays, Keevallik, 2014). Participants are promiscuous in their sense-making methods and apply the procedures they do for all practical purposes according to the constraints and affordances of a given moment.

discernable. Participants, however, are in the business of constructing the interactional landscape, not surveying it. When reaching a possible lapse, participants must assess the relevance of talk then and there as if 'for another first time' (Garfinkel, 1967). By detailing how participants deal with such contingencies, this chapter shows how concepts like 'continuing states of incipient talk' might be grounded in participants' conduct.

Silence is an inescapable feature of social encounters of all kinds. This chapter examined an understudied form of silence: lapses. An account was provided for how participants reach places where talk lapses and how they constitute these rounds of possible self-selection as meaningful silences. The diversity of ways in which participants arrive at and account for lapses shows that they are not monolithic social objects. Rather, the import of a given lapse is interactively achieved and is sensitive to the structure of participants' activities and the availability of alternative engagements (see Chapter 4). The consequentiality of a given lapse turns on participants' calculations regarding the role of talk for their current projects and potential courses of action. In this way, lapses present a noteworthy site for examining how higher levels of structural organization reach into the local production of talk-and-other-conduct in interaction (see Chapter 5). This chapter thus respecifies the usage of talk itself as a pervasive concern for members in their management of everyday affairs and participation in the social world. In the next chapter, I provide a fuller treatment to one common practice shown in Extract 2.12, sequence recompletion.

Chapter 3

Sequence recompletion: A practice for managing lapses in conversation[15]

Conversational interaction occasionally lapses as topics become exhausted or as participants are left with no obvious thing to talk about next. In this chapter I look episodes of ordinary conversation to examine how participants resolve issues of speakership and sequentiality in lapse environments. In particular, I describe a recurrent verbal practice—sequence recompletion—whereby participants bring to completion a sequence of talk that was already treated as complete. Using Conversation Analysis, I describe four methods for sequence recompletion: turn-exiting, action redoings, delayed replies, and post-sequence transitions. With this practice, participants use verbal and vocal resources to locally manage their participation framework when ending one course of action and potentially starting up a new one.

3.1. Introduction

It is a regular occurrence in conversational interaction for silence to emerge at the end of a sequence of talk, and then for someone to end that silence with some utterance that neither forwards the topic nor implicates some next action. Take for example Extract 3.1, which begins with Hannah informing Molly about their university's interlibrary loan program (a more technical analysis is given in §3.3.1). Transcripts follow Jefferson (2004) for verbal/vocal conduct and Mondada (2014a) for bodily conduct.

Extract 3.1 (RCE25_1)

```
01    HAN:  you're only allowed a certain number of inter: (.)
02          library loans though aren't you.
            ((some lines omitted))
03    HAN:  I think it's something like thi:rty.
04    MOL:  [oh okay.]
05    HAN:  [but- (.)] just s- (.) so you know.
06    MOL:  °awright,° wl I put in I think maybe an order
07          uv (0.4) five of thm.
```

[15] A version of this chapter was previously published as Hoey, E. M. (2017). Sequence recompletion: A practice managing lapses in conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics, 109,* 47-63. DOI: 10.1016/j.pragma.2016.12.008.

```
08     HAN:  °oh okay.°
09           (0.8)
10 →   HAN:  °mm.°
11           (0.9)
12     HAN:  .h I'm going out to dinner tonight.
13     MOL:  where'r you going?
```

In this sequence of talk, Hannah informs Molly that they're allowed to borrow up to thirty books (lines 1-3). Molly receipts this information (line 6) and reveals that she only ordered five, which is safely below the maximum. Hannah, in turn, receipts this information (line 8), which brings the sequence to a place where it could stop and something else could start up. The range of things that could happen next includes topic continuation, resumption of some prior matter, initiation of new interactional business, and so on. None of these options are selected, however. Instead, there is silence (line 9). This silence is a lapse; it results from both participants forgoing the chance to speak. In this lapse environment, Hannah produces a quiet *mm* (arrowed). With this token, she merely registers what transpired in the prior sequence, implicates no specific next action, and brings the sequence to completion once more. That is, she *recompletes* the sequence. In this chapter I expand on observations made in Chapter 2 by examining this practice—sequence recompletion—through which participants reoccasion the relevance of sequence closure in a place where a sequence was already complete. I will try to show that participants use things like *mm* in lapse environments as a way to manage issues related to turn-taking, sequence organization, and participation.

3.2. Sequence completion and lapses

Sequences are vehicles through which participants collaboratively bring off courses of action in interaction. A generic concern for participants is locating where sequences might end (see Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). According to Schegloff (2007), the definitive mark of sequence completion is the initiation of another sequence, as this reveals a speaker's understanding of the prior sequence as finished. However, participants do not always know in advance whether someone will initiate a new sequence. They can only parse the unfolding interaction for indications of *possible* completion (see Schegloff, 2006a), whereupon they may justifiably treat the sequence as complete by, for instance, initiating another one. The general question addressed in this chapter is how participants produce and recognize possible sequence completion.

How participants arrive at possible sequence completion is bound up with how a sequence begins. A sequence-initiating action may straightforwardly indicate what it would take to adequately address it. For example, a sequence initiated with a request comes to possible completion once that request is either granted or denied (Schegloff, 1990). And a sequence that begins with other-initiated repair may be complete upon the provision of a repair solution (Schegloff, 2007). These sequences form adjacency pairs, where an initiating action makes conditionally relevant a type-matched responsive action from another participant (Schegloff, 1968, 2007; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). Many sequences, then, may be treated as finished with the production of a type-matched response to the initiating action.

This picture is complicated by the fact that possible sequence completion is inherently provisional, as participants may always expand the sequence (Schegloff, 2007). Even if some turn constitutes an adequate sequence ending, participants can always go on with that course of action. Sequence expansion may be minimal, as with sequence-closing thirds (SCT) like *oh, okay,* or assessments, through which participants display preparedness for ending the current sequence and produce something that could embody its completion. Conversely, sequence expansion may project further talk, as with repair initiation or topicalization of something from the prior sequence (Schegloff, 2007).

The abiding possibility of expansion permits sequences to grow rather long and complex such that recognizing completion is not so straightforward. Sequences that are organized by topic talk, for instance, systematically obscure what it would take to count as adequate completion. This is because they characteristically progress in a stepwise fashion, with the boundaries of topics/sequences shading into one another, and participants shifting between speakership and recipiency (Jefferson, 1981b, 1983a; Button & Casey, 1988/1989; Schegloff, 1990; Sacks, 1992b). For closing such extended sequences, participants can use sequence-closing sequences. This typically involves a proposal to end the sequence—for example, through an upshot, summary assessment, or something that demonstrates a grasp of what just transpired—followed by alignment in movement to closure by coparticipants (Schegloff, 2007, p. 168; see also Curl, Local, & Walker, 2006; Schegloff, 2009; Park, 2010). Participants also use certain multimodal practices to recognize sequence completion, like attenuating prosody from one turn to the next (Goldberg, 1978), gaze withdrawal (Rossano, 2012), and retraction of or shifts in bodily disposition (Goodwin, 1981; Schegloff, 1998b; Mondada, 2015).

However participants arrive at possible sequence completion, the basic range of operations available at that point are to stay with the same course of action (expansion), go on to something else (sequence initiation), or neither of these (silence). If this last option is chosen by all participants, then a lapse emerges (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974; see Chapter 2). There are many ways that participants arrive at places where talk may lapse, and many ways that participants orient to them once they emerge. Lapses may occur during 'states of talk' (Goffman, 1967, p. 34), where participants have arranged themselves to engage in turn-by-turn talk, and for which talking is the central remit of their gathering. For such settings, lapses emerge when all participants refrain from sequence expansion and sequence initiation. The silence results from participants doing nothing where something could have been done. These lapses can pose problems in turn-taking (who speaks next?) and sequence organization (what's relevant next?). The development of a lapse at possible sequence completion indicates both the absence of a next speaker and the absence of something to talk about next. Without a next speaker and without an apparent next thing to talk about, what can speakers do? I suggest that these circumstances provide for sequence recompletion. Through sequence recompletion, speakers exploit the pliability of sequence endings to reoccasion the relevance of sequence closure and display that they will not speak immediately next.

Sequence recompletion resembles practices described elsewhere. Notably, Jefferson (1981b, 1983a) described how recipients use acknowledgment tokens and assessments in sequentially weak, topically neutral, and disengaged ways so as to shift or close down topics/sequences. Specifically, when participants in sequence-final environments twice pass up the chance to initiate a sequence, conversations enter a state of "topic attrition" (1983a, p. 21). Similar observations about acknowledgment tokens and assessments have been made for Australian English (Gardner, 2001), Finnish (Sorjonen, 1996, 2001), Korean (Hayashi & Yoon, 2009), and Japanese (Iwasaki, 1997; Hayashi & Yoon, 2009; Tanaka, 2010). This chapter builds on these studies by describing how English-speaking participants use acknowledgment tokens, assessments, and other closure-implicative objects in managing the practical issues related to lapses in conversational interaction.

This study uses Conversation Analysis (e.g., Sidnell & Stivers, 2013) to describe sequence recompletion, a practice whereby participants reoccasion the relevance of sequence completion after the sequence was already treated as complete (i.e., after a

lapse). With this practice, participants in lapse environments provide a minimal 'something' where 'something' is due, and no more than that. The practice is analyzed through individual cases and through the collection as a whole. I begin with a detailed analysis of an initial specimen to present the general features of the practice and specify the procedure used in building a collection. Then, I discuss some aspects of the entire collection. In the bulk of the chapter, I describe four methods used for sequence recompletion (turn-exiting, action redoings, delayed replies, and post-sequence transitions) and analyze a deviant case. With this study of sequence recompletion, I aim to show one recurrent way that participants in a lapse manage the interstice between one course of action and a next one.

3.3. The practice

3.3.1. An initial specimen

Many features of sequence recompletion are exhibited in Extract 3.1, presented below as Extract 3.2 with visible conduct transcribed. Possible sequence completion is marked with an arrow →, and sequence recompletion with a double arrow →→.

Extract 3.2 (RCE25_1)

```
01     HAN:  you're only allowed a certain number of inter: (.)
02           library loans though aren't you.
             ((some lines omitted))
03     HAN:  *I think it's something like th+i:rty.
                                          +turns to MOL->
       mol   >>*gazing to HAN----------------------------->
04 →   MOL:  *[oh okay.]
05 →   HAN:  *[but- (.)] just s-+ (.) so you know.+*
             ------------------>+turns away------>+
       mol   ->*turns away----------------------->*
06     MOL:  °awright,° wl I put in I think maybe an order
07           uv (0.4) five of thm.
08 →   HAN:  +°oh okay.°+
             +turns slightly away more+
09           (0.8)
10→→   HAN:  °mm.°
11           (0.9)
12     HAN:  .h *I'm going out to* dinner tonight.
       mol      *turns to HAN--->*
13     MOL:  where'r you going?
```

Just before this extract, Molly reported that she used their university's interlibrary loan system to get some books. This topic occasions a warning from Hannah, who cautions

Molly of a limit on the number of books she can get through interlibrary loan (lines 1-3). Molly receipts this with the SCT *oh okay* (Schegloff, 2007) and turns away from Hannah (Rossano, 2012), thereby treating the sequence as nearing completion. In overlap (line 5), Hannah also orients to sequence closure by turning away from Molly while producing an upshot *just so you know* (see Drew & Holt, 1998), which serves to end her warning to Molly. And so this sequence has arrived at possible completion, as each participant has disengaged both verbally and bodily (Goodwin, 1981; Rossano, 2012). The sequence does not end here, however. Molly expands it by acknowledging Hannah's upshot and dispelling her concern about surpassing the maximum number of books (line 6-7). Hannah quietly receipts this with the SCT *oh okay* while turning away even more (line 8), bringing their sequence to possible completion again.

At this juncture, either participant could self-select and, for instance, keep talking about interlibrary loans or some other matter. Alternatively, they could remain quiet—which is indeed what happens, resulting in a 0.8 second lapse (line 9). This lapse represents each participant's choice to do nothing in the place where something could be done, and as such amounts to sequence closure (Schegloff, 2007).

Hannah ends the lapse with sequence recompletion. She produces a quiet *mm* (line 10). This decision to speak comes after her initial decision to not speak. However, with this decision to speak she retains the stance embodied in her first choice. That is, she shows with *mm* that she will not speak. It lets her display that she will not produce something that would implicate a next turn (Jefferson, 1983a; Schegloff, 1982). *Mm* is a designedly weak acknowledgment token that selects no next speaker and projects no further talk (Gardner 2001). For this particular token, several features cumulatively operate to allow her to recognizably display that she will not produce more immediate talk. She produces the *mm* quietly, with a falling intonation contour, in closed-lip formation (Raymond, 2013, p. 188), while turned away from her coparticipant (Goodwin, 1981), all of which project no further talk.

Hannah thus twice indicates that she won't produce more talk: first when refraining from self-selection at possible sequence completion, and then again with *mm* after the lapse. By passing on the chance to speak, Hannah renews the opportunity for Molly to self-select. There is a corollary here with telephone openings (Schegloff, 1986). After exchanging how-are-yous, the caller typically gets the chance to launch the interactional business. The caller, however, may pass on this opportunity, which provides the called party a chance to do something with that slot. Similarly, with

sequence recompletion participants pass on the opportunity to do something that would project more talk, thereby implicitly nominating some other party as next speaker.

The production of something in this space reveals an orientation to the continued relevance of talk here. Hannah's *mm* is a minimal 'something' where 'something' is due. This points to an understanding that 'talking' is their current activity, even though no talking is going on. It lets her show nominal engagement in their activity *as* that activity, while at the same time doing no more than that (see Chapter 2). We also see that her *mm* is followed by silence (line 11). This silence (a second lapse) confirms the analysis above that she designed her *mm* as complete, rather than the beginning of a turn. This is also evidenced by the fact that her *mm* doesn't attract Molly's gaze, indicating that the *mm* is not hearable as turn-initial.

Hannah then takes an audible inbreath (line 12). Once she does so, Molly swiftly turns to her, thereby orienting to it as turn-initial. And indeed, Hannah's inbreath is immediately followed by a talk that ends the lapse (line 12). So while a quiet *mm* doesn't attract Molly's gaze, an inbreath does. This shows that it's hearable as an incipient turn-beginning (Jefferson, 1981b; Lerner & Linton, 2004; Schegloff, 1996b), and suggests that participants in lapse environments are sensitively attuned to the issue of who speaks next.

3.3.2. General features

Extract 3.2 serves an exemplary instance of sequence recompletion and lets us describe the general features of the practice, which is schematized as follows:

A: POSSIBLE SEQUENCE COMPLETION
(LAPSE)
A/B: SEQUENCE RECOMPLETION

First, some participant produces something that brings the sequence to possible completion (e.g., a sequence closing third). These correspond with the production of type-matched responses that complete adjacency pairs (Sacks & Schegloff, 1973), sequence-closing thirds that round off a sequence, or sequence-closing sequences that wrap up extended sequences (Schegloff, 2007). Possible completion was also identifiable via prosodic (Goldberg, 1978) and bodily practices for sequence closure

(Mondada, 2015). Gaze withdrawal is an especially reliable indication of sequence closure; a first instance of gaze withdrawal proposes and enacts possible closure, and subsequent (i.e., mutual) withdrawal by other(s) displays alignment to closure (Rossano, 2012).

Second, a lapse emerges. Silence was considered a lapse under two conditions. First, no speaker-selection technique (e.g., Sacks et al., 1974; Lerner, 2003; Mondada, 2007a) was observed in the prior turn or in the 500-ms of silence thereafter. And second, the participants remained observably committed to the interaction, as displayed through their bodily configurations (Goffman, 1963; Schegloff, 1998b). 500-ms was used not because all lapses necessarily occur at this threshold, but because it represents an estimated lower limit for exercising the options in the turn-taking ruleset, as suggested by the timing of 'same speaker continues' in Dutch (ten Bosch, Oostdijk, & Boves, 2005) and other-initiated repair in English (Kendrick, 2015). And while impressionistic measurements of timing have been shown to be analytically useful (e.g., Couper-Kuhlen, 1993), instrumental measurements are used here for quantitative analyses (see §3.4.1).

And third, some participant (either the same one as before or someone else) produces something that could serve as another sequence ending, *re*completing what was already treated as adequately complete. Any verbal/vocal form was counted as a sequence recompleter if it was analyzably tied to the prior sequence (see §3.4.2), but did not implicate a response or otherwise forward the prior sequence.

3.4. The collection

The collection is 90 cases of sequence recompletion. These were identified in recordings of casual conversations in American and British English between friends, coworkers, and intimates in homes, at university, and over the phone. Informed consent was given for all recordings. Most cases (83/90) come from a sample of 500 lapses that were systematically identified in ten video recordings (see Table 1.1 and §1.4.3.1). This sample of 500 lapses was created by taking the first 50 lapses from these ten recordings. The first 50 were selected because I did not expect them to behave differently from the last 50, the middle 50, or a randomly selected 50 lapses in a given recording. These 83 cases are used in the quantitative analyses and descriptive statistics in the next section. The remaining cases (7/90) were identified in an additional sample of recordings for the purpose of supplementing the 83 cases with clearer instances of

the practice. Because these seven cases were identified in a more selective way, they do not figure into the quantitative analyses below.

3.4.1. Lapse duration

Silence may be a constitutive part of a practice (e.g., Kendrick, 2015; Kendrick & Torreira, 2015). For sequence recompletion, a natural question is how long a lapse goes on before participants end it. Quantitative analysis of lapse duration shows that most cases of sequence recompletion occur after about one second of silence (M = 1.67 sec, Mdn = 1.12 sec, SD = 1.46, n = 60).[16] This suggests that participants wait about a second before recompleting the sequence (cf. Wilson & Zimmerman, 1986). This in itself is an interesting finding as it comes very close to Jefferson's (1983b) proposal of a one second standard maximum of silence for conversation.

We can compare lapse duration before sequence recompletion (n = 60) to lapse duration before anything other than sequence recompletion (e.g., sequence expansion or initiation), of which there are 440 cases in the sample of 500 lapses. When we look at lapse duration before actions other than sequence recompletion, we see a similar median duration of just over a second (M = 1.84, Mdn = 1.24, SD = 1.84, n = 440). This similarity is visualized in Figure 3.1.

[16] n = 60 here instead of 83 because I only measured silence occurring before a *first* instance of sequence recompletion. That is, 23/83 cases were non-initial instances. This is seen in Extract 3.8, which shows a first sequence recompleter in line 10 and a subsequent one in line 14. The silence before the first recompleter was used (i.e., part of the 60/83); the silence before the subsequent one was not used (i.e., part of the 23/83)

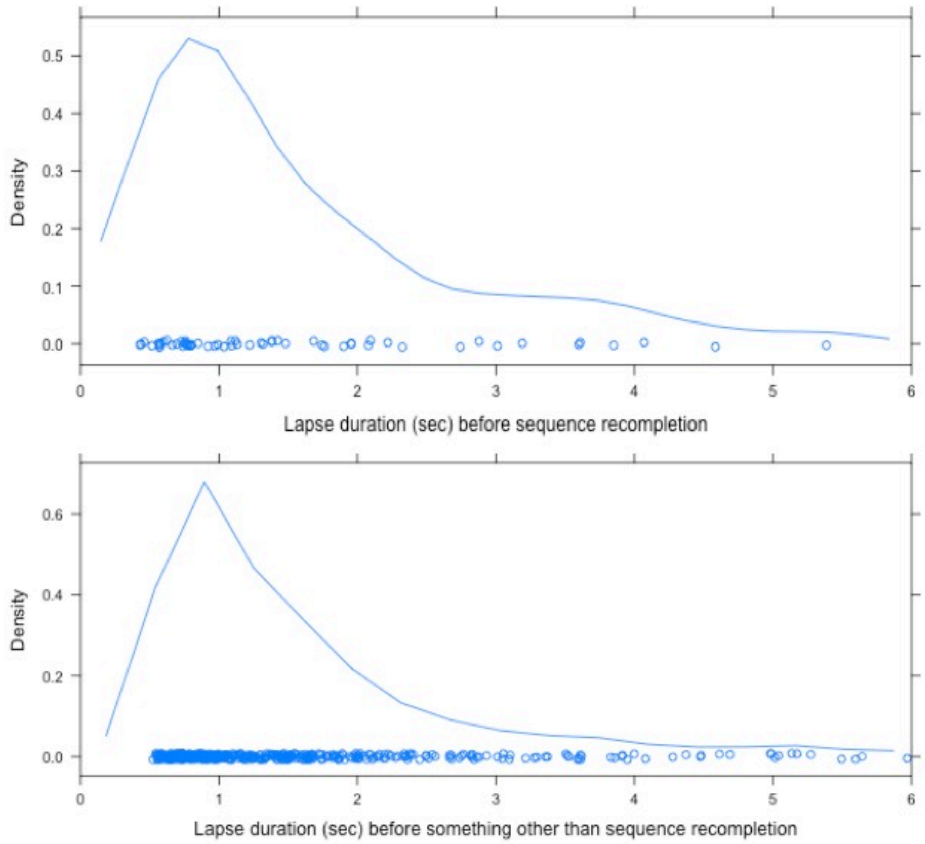

Figure 3.1. Timing of sequence recompletion vs. non-sequence recompletion

I tested in R (R Core Team 2013) whether the use of sequence recompletion affected lapse duration. I used a general linear mixed effects model with lapse duration as the outcome variable, lapse behavior as the predictor (usage of sequence recompletion [n = 60] vs. non-usage of sequence recompletion [n = 440]), and the recording and number of participants as random effects. The usage of sequence recompletion did not significantly affect lapse duration; β = -.32, z = -1.24, p = .22. Most participants evidently wait about one second before ending a lapse, whether through sequence recompletion or something else. While suggestive, these results are limited by the sample, which was not fully randomized, and await confirmation by further testing using a more controlled sample.

These findings support Jefferson's (1983b) proposal that conversationalists tolerate one second of silence before speaking. They also provide evidence for viewing sequence recompletion as an alternative to things like sequence initiation and

expansion in a lapse. One second is apparently the temporal neighborhood for things like sequence initiation, expansion, and recompletion, indicating a kind of positional equivalence between these actions. The time it takes for participants to realize that no one is speaking, locate something to say, and then say it, is similar for both sequence recompleting moves and non-sequence recompleting moves. And so while silence is a constitutive part of the practice of sequence recompletion, the specific length of silence (just over a second) appears to be a more general property of lapses in conversation.

3.4.2. The sequence recompleting turn

How does sequence recompletion get done in concrete terms? Regarding verbal/vocal format, participants use various forms for sequence recompletion. These are grouped into types in Table 3.1. All formats for which there was only one token are listed as "Other".

TYPE	*N*	PROPORTION	FORMAT	*N*	PROPORTION OF TYPE
Acknowledgements, agreements, and confirmations	36	43.4%	*yeah*	14	38.9%
			mm	8	22.2%
			Other	8	22.2%
			hm	4	11.1%
			okay	2	5.1%
Assessments	18	21.7%	*it's X {good, weird, awful, funny, annoying*	6	33.3%
			Other	5	27.8%
			that's X {good, cute, great, cool, interesting}	4	22.2%
			oh dear	3	16.7%
Affective vocalizations	15	18.1%	Sighing, deep exhalation	8	53.3%
			Laughter	5	33.3%
			Other	2	13.3%
Other	14	16.9%	*so*	7	50%
			Idunno	4	28.6%
			Other	3	21.4%
Total	83	100%			

Table 3.1. Inventory of sequence recompleters.

Unsurprisingly, this inventory shares much in common with what's found in environments of topic-shift (Jefferson, 1981b) and sequence closure (Schegloff, 2007). Forms of agreement, acknowledgment, and confirmation comprise the largest group of sequence recompleters, followed by various forms of assessment, including constructions like *it's X* and *that's X*. Also observed are affective vocalizations, which are assessment-like in their conveyance of a speaker's stance. Rounding out the collection are things like standalone *so* prompts (Raymond, 2004) and *Idunno* disclaimers.

Other features contribute to the recognizable recompletion of a sequence. Sequence recompleting turns tend to be short (mean duration = .64 sec, n = 90), and though spectral measurements weren't taken, they tend to exhibit falling intonation. Regarding bodily movement, most sequence recompleting turns involve gaze withdrawal, which is a systematic occurrence in sequence-final environments (Rossano, 2012). Of the 82/90 cases where a speaker's gaze was detectable, only in two cases did a speaker gaze to a coparticipant while doing sequence recompletion, and only in seven did the recompleter attract coparticipant gaze (see §3.5.5 for a deviant case analysis). And finally, all cases were followed by something other than immediate same-speaker talk. This indicates that they were produced and understood as complete utterances.

The selection of specific compositional features is undoubtedly a sequentially sensitive matter reflecting participants' understandings of just this sequence ending at just this time. However, this study does not explicitly compare the types to one another (for an analysis of this sort, see Hoey, 2014). Rather, the cases analyzed in the next section are grouped structurally according to how a given method for sequence recompletion relates to the prior turn, action, or sequence. Four methods are shown: *turn-exiting, action redoings, delayed replies,* and *post-sequence transitions*. Turn-exiting and action redoings are systematically available to the same speaker who spoke before the lapse. Delayed replies, by contrast, are available to other participants. And post-sequence transitions are available to any party. Table 3.2 shows the distribution of these methods and the types of formats employed for them. As the table shows, post-sequence transitions and action redoings are more common than delayed replies and turn-exiting in my collection. And the types of formats used to carry out these actions are varied, although delayed replies and turn-exiting chiefly rely on acknowledgements, agreements, and confirmations.

METHOD	*N*	PROPORTION	TYPE	*N*	PROPORTION OF METHOD
Post-sequence transitions	31	37.3%	Affective vocalization	9	29.0%
			Assessments	8	25.8%
			Acknowledgments, agreements, and confirmations	7	22.6%
			Other	7	22.6%
Action redoings	23	27.7%	Acknowledgments, agreements, and confirmations	8	34.8%
			Assessments	8	34.8%
			Affective vocalizations	6	26.1%
			Other	1	4.3%
Delayed replies	15	18.1%	Acknowledgments, agreements, and confirmations	13	86.7%
			Assessments	2	13.3%
Turn-exiting	14	16.9%	Acknowledgments, agreements, and confirmations	8	57.1%
			Other	6	42.9%
Total	83	100%			

Table 3.2. Methods for sequence recompletion and types of formats used

3.5. Analysis

Four methods for sequence recompletion are described here, beginning with those methods available to the same speaker (turn-exiting, action redoings), followed by those available to other participants (delayed replies) and to any participant (post-sequence transition). The section ends with a deviant case analysis.

3.5.1. Turn-exiting

Just as participants have methods for extending (e.g., Schegloff, 1996b; Couper-Kuhlen & Ono, 2007) or retaining a turn (e.g., Schegloff, 2000; Walker, 2010), so too do they have methods for abandoning or exiting it. Turn-exiting can be done in English with *yeah*, as shown in Extract 3.3 in a non-lapse environment. Here, Kelly begins her turn with *I remember*, then revises it into a question before cutting it off, pausing, then terminating her turn with (*m*)*yeah*.

Extract 3.3 (RCE28_27)

```
01     KEL:  I remember- (.) was it like that for the (r)ep- (0.8)
02 →        (m)yeah.
03          (0.3)
04     KEL:  ((sniff))
05     HEA:  yea:h it was this color when I did your experiment,
```

With (*m*)*yeah*, Kelly truncates her turn-in-progress and abandons whatever was projected. Turn-exiting is possibly motivated by her having 'realized' an answer to her question while formulating it. Whatever the reason, with (*m*)*yeah* she effectively treats the turn she projected as not in need of completion, exits the turn-space, and provides a place for Heather to speak.

Turn-exiting *yeah* can be used in lapse environments for sequence recompletion. Once a lapse emerges, the same speaker from before the lapse can produce *yeah.* With this, she can exhibit her prelapse turn as having been complete when it was produced the first time and therefore not in need of modification or completion, as seen below.

Extract 3.4 (GB07-7_8). Lex telling Marie and Rachel about her landlord and apartment

```
01     LEX:  I guess she wa:nted to be the way it's meant-
02           like [the way it's]#built¿[#%ns+o:.
03     RAC:       [myeah]              [#mhm+
04 →   MAR:                           [#mhm+m
       fig                      #a      #b
05           (0.8)
06→→   LEX:  %ye:ah,
07           (1.4)
08     RAC:  no bu'like her en her husbin like,
```

Figure 3.2. Lex withdraws her gaze at end of telling (L-R: Lex, Marie, Rachel)

Once Lex completes her telling she verbally and visibly displays preparedness to end that sequence of talk. She produces an upshot of her situation with her landlord (Schegloff, 2007) followed by a turn-final standalone *so* (Raymond, 2004) and gaze withdrawal (figure 3.2a-b; Rossano, 2012). Lex's coparticipants acknowledge and ratify Lex's movement to sequence closure by producing weak *mhm* tokens (Schegloff, 1982; Jefferson, 1983a; Drummond & Hopper, 1993; Gardner, 2001) and also disengaging from talk by orienting to their food (figure 3.2a-b). These constitute possible completion of the telling activity, after which a lapse emerges (line 5).

These circumstances provide for the relevance of turn-exiting. The space following possible turn completion is the relevant place to revise, repair, or expand that turn (Schegloff 1996b). Lex orients to her right to speak in this space by self-selecting. However, by producing *yeah* (line 6), she hearably passes up the chance to modify her turn. She instead uses the post-completion space of her turn to indicate that nothing more is coming from her. She utters *yeah* with creaky phonation, which is regularly used for sequence closure (Grivičić & Nilep, 2004). The 1.4 seconds of silence that follow is further evidence that Lex uses *yeah* to withdraw from the turn-space, rather than revise her turn or project more talk.

Two more cases of turn-exiting after a lapse are shown below. In each case, the same speaker continues after a lapse with *yeah* to display that no more talk is forthcoming.

Extract 3.5 (RCE25_15). Molly and Hannah talking about drinking habits

```
01     HAN:  I'm gonna t(h)ry not to dri(h)nk toni(h)ght.
             ((some lines omitted))
02     MOL:  we:ll a li:ttle wine with dinner:'s not [gonna hur:t.]
03     HAN:                                          [no::,]
04     MOL:  ehheuh=
05  →  HAN:  =(thad) be fi:ne.
06     MOL:  .khuh
07           (2.0)
08  →→ HAN:  °yeah°
09           (1.2)
10     MOL:  I drank lots of water las night bt'I still feel
```

Extract 3.6 (GB07-7_27). Rachel asks Marie when she plans to have children

```
01     RAC:  wul when were you thinking, like before thirty %right
02  →  MAR:  eeyeah y+eah, [before thir]ty.=mhh
03     RAC:                [°%yeah.°]
04           (0.7)
05  →→ MAR:  yea[:h.
06     RAC:     [.h tha[t's (super-)
07     LEX:             [I know my mom had me like when she got
08           married
```

In these cases, Hannah (Extract 3.5) and Marie (Extract 3.6) continue speaking after the lapse by producing *yeah,* with which they exhibit their possibly sequence final turns as being *actually* sequence final. By rendering the prior sequence as complete again, participants protract the activity of sequence closure, reoccasion the relevance of moving on, and extend the space for others to self-select. With turn-exiting, speakers perform an action that's distinct from whatever they did before the lapse. This contrasts with the action redoings in the next section, where speakers continue speaking after a lapse to redo, in so many words, whatever it was that they did before.

3.5.2. Action redoings

With action redoings, the same speaker continues after a lapse with something not substantially different from what they provided before. The utility of doing observably the 'same thing' as before is that speakers show themselves as passing up the chance to do something different. By demonstrably not modifying a prelapse turn, speakers can both commit to their action as it was produced and display disinterest in developing the topic/sequence further (Jefferson, 1981b). Action redoings let speakers situate themselves at the end of a course of action where they are 'still responding'. In

this way, they still occupy a sequence-final position where the next turn can be given by another participant. Three variants of action redoings are shown: self-repetition, giving an equivalent version, and unpacking an indexical.

Self-repetition is the most straightforward way to redo an action in a lapse. In Extract 3.7,[17] Lex tells her coparticipants about a cheap deal on travel. Marie and Rachel register and positively assess it as a *good deal* (lines 2-4), furnishing what could constitute the end of this sequence. A lapse then emerges (line 5).

Extract 3.7 (GB07-7_76)

```
01     LEX:  for two people it was five fifty.
02     MAR:  w:o::w thas:o chea::p.
             ((some lines omitted))
03     MAR:  °yeah it'[s a good deal.°
04 →   RAC:            [definitely.
05             (2.7)
06→→   RAC:  %(n)definautly:.=hh
07             (2.7)
08     RAC:  dya hafta leave soon? for class
```

After nearly three seconds of silence, Rachel repeats *definitely* (line 6). With this reproduction, she shows herself as resolute in her assessment of the ticket price, and as having nothing else to say about it.[18] She produces it with altered phonetic shape (prevocalization, creakiness, and final-lengthening), which is one way to implement sequence completion (Grivičić & Nilep, 2004; Curl et al., 2006). And so by indicating that she has nothing more to add, Rachel's self-repetition works to recomplete the sequence.

Rather than repeating the same linguistic content as before, speakers can also provide an equivalent version of that action. In Extract 3.8, Ann reveals that she thought a rock band under discussion had broken up. Bud corrects her, and adds that in fact they're still active (line 4). Ann receipts the news as unexpected, interesting,

[17] This extract is analyzed again in §3.5.5 as a deviant case.

[18] While it's plausible that Rachel's self-repeat (line 6) is produced due to the fact that it is first produced in overlap (lines 3-4), there is evidence that this is not the case. First, her *definitely* overlaps with quietly produced speech (*s a good deal*), and so it wouldn't be unduly obscured. Second, her agreement doesn't implicate any next move in particular, which means that it may be 'safely' overlapped. And third, there are 2.7 seconds of silence separating her self-repeat and the material that gets repeated, and so it's apparently not of dire importance to have gotten her agreement in the clear; we would have expected it to arrive earlier if that were the case.

remarkable, etc. (line 7). At this point, Bud has the opportunity to expand on the matter (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2006; Schegloff, 2007), but instead he merely affirms Ann's reaction (line 8). Bud's decision against saying more on the topic brings the sequence to possible completion, after which a lapse develops (line 9).

Extract 3.8 (SWB4092_300)

```
01     ANN:  oh I jis thought thet they dun broke up=m:
02     BUD:  n:[o they'r- they're stil]l together.
03     ANN:    [le:ft.]
04     BUD:  .h they're s[till making a]lbums.
05     ANN:              [hm.]
06           (1.0)
07  →  ANN:  wo:w I didn know that.
08     BUD:  °mhm.°
09           (0.9)
10→→   ANN:  hm. ((with 'contemplative' prosody))
11           (1.0)
12     BUD:  .tk=uh:,
13           (0.5)
14→→   ANN:  'tsinteresting
15           (2.2)
16     BUD:  .tsk yeah in fact I mean there are people that,
```

Ann ends the lapse with an equivalent version of her previous reaction by providing another kind of receipt. She produces *hm* with falling prosody (line 10), which is hearable in this sequential context as a display of subdued interest. While not as enthusiastically appreciative as her *wow* in line 7, the stance embodied in this *hm* (line 10) is the same kind of sentiment she verbalized in her initial reaction, in that she gives positive uptake of Bud's informing. Ann's action redoing does not engender more talk, though, and so more silence ensues (lines 11-13). Ann ends this second lapse with yet another equivalent version of the same kind of stance from her previous reactions (line 14). With each of these, Ann locates herself as still reacting to Bud's informing, and as not doing any more than that.

Another way that actions get redone is through unpacking an indexical form (see Garfinkel, 1967). Speakers may continue after a lapse to explicate something that was perhaps only indexically or implicitly communicated. Something like an agreement is always indexically tied to its specific occasion of use and may be interpreted in a variety of ways. In Extract 3.9, Molly's joke about a mutual acquaintance receives laughter and agreement from Hannah in response (lines 1-3). With Molly's laughter

particle (line 5), the two participants are officially 'laughing together', which serves to complete this joking sequence (Holt, 2010; Gilmartin et al., 2013), after which a lapse develops (lines 4-6).

Extract 3.9 (RCE25_20)

```
01     MOL:  if he's looking for £extra work, then maybe you cn
02           *empl(h)oy him t'do your ironing.£
03     HAN:  .HHuh (.) °yea:h.°
04           (0.4)
05 →   MOL:  khh
06           (1.0)
07→→   HAN:  £°that'd be great.°£
08           (1.2)
09     MOL:  d*oes he- When you like met up with him for a drink or
```

Hannah ends the lapse by unpacking what might have been weakly or tacitly conveyed in her initial agreement. She specifies *that'd be great* (line 7), which is a stronger and more explicit version of her first reaction in line 3. Because weak agreements may be treated as less-than-full agreement (Pomerantz, 1984a), speakers can avoid that possible interpretation by upgrading their agreements. That is, lapses might point to a potential insufficiency in the prelapse turn and also provide a place to address it.

Speakers may thus redo their actions from before the lapse as a way to reinvoke the relevance of moving on and expand the opportunity space for others to self-select. Both turn-exiting and action redoings are systematically available to the same speaker from before the lapse. By continuing after the lapse, they render the silence as a pause, or intra-turn silence. This contrasts with delayed replies, shown in the next section, which transform a lapse into a gap.

3.5.3. Delayed replies

Some forms of sequence expansion—notably sequence-closing thirds—are relevant but not required for the coherence or completion of the sequence that they expand. They are relevant insofar as the prior talk provides for their intelligibility. But at the same time, they are not required in that they were not projected to occur, nor would they be noticeably absent if they weren't produced (Schegloff, 2007; cf. Jefferson & Schenkein, 1978; Kevoe-Feldman & Robinson, 2012; Persson, 2015).

It is this kind of sequence expansion that I have in mind with delayed replies. These replies are relevant and appropriate for their sequential context, but rather than

arriving 'on time', they appear after a lapse. Delayed replies are produced in the 'right' place at the 'wrong' time. With them, participants exploit the continued relevance of a reply as a way to end a lapse. In Extract 3.10, Kelly requests confirmation from Heather about where a mutual friend has lived, and Heather supplies that confirmation (lines 1-2). At this point, Kelly might expand the sequence by, for instance, receipting the answer, targeting it as problematic, asking another question, and so on. Instead, she does nothing, and a 1.1 second lapse emerges (line 3).

Extract 3.10 (RCE28_28)

```
01     KEL:  so you said he's lived there all his life.
             ((some lines omitted))
02 →   HEA:  %yeah he's been in Helmsley all his life.
03           (1.1)
04→→   KEL:  t's cool.
05           (0.4)
06     HEA:  I think. you might hafta text'im.
```

This lapse embodies the participants' orientations to the prior talk as complete. And so when Kelly produces her assessment, *t's cool* (line 4), she recompletes what they already treated as complete. Her assessment is analyzably tied to the prior sequence—it is a receipt of Heather's confirmation—yet it is not required for the coherence of that sequence. The participants treated the sequence as adequately complete in line 2. Kelly's delayed reply points to the continued relevance of a reply in the absence of anything else occurring. By producing a reply *after* the lapse, Kelly draws out the process of sequence closure and provides an additional opportunity for self-selection by Heather. And indeed, the extract ends with Heather self-selecting to expand the sequence (line 6).

Two more instances of delayed replies appear below. In each case a lapse is followed by some relevant-but-not-required reply.

Extract 3.11 (RCE02_13). Fabrice giving Kate advice

```
01     FAB:  gotta mix it up, [(.) mix it up, [don't be af]rai::d.
02     KAT:                  [%yea:h.         [I know.]
03 →   KAT:  yeah yeah. I know.
04           (5.6)
05→→   FAB:  ts good.
06     KAT:  °mm.°=.mt
07           (3.2)
08     FAB:  (well) (.) so how's the rest'a the week lookin f'you
```

```
09          like.
```

Extract 3.12 (GB07-7_68). Rachel asks Lex about a mutual acquaintance

```
01    RAC:  is he living there nex year too?
02          *(1.4)*(0.2)
      lex   *thinking face*
03 →  LEX:  I think'ez living in the suites %but not withuh same
04          people.
05 →  RAC:  °oh.°
06 →  LEX:  he's gonna (go) live with'is pledge brothers.
07          (1.7)
08→→  RAC:  coo(l)=((sigh))
09          (0.4)
10    MAR:  how're things with his ex:: girlfriend.
```

These replies (line 5, Extract 3.11 and line 8, Extract 3.12) are analyzably a part of the sequences that they recomplete. Participants use the optionality of such replies as a way to end a lapse. The speakers first treat such replies as 'something you don't need to produce', then once the lapse appears, they are treated as 'something you can produce if no one else is speaking'. Speakers may thus produce some sequentially relevant reply after a lapse, essentially placing it in the 'right' place at the 'wrong' time.[19]

The sequence recompletion methods shown so far have been analyzably grounded in the prior turn or sequence. However, participants' talk may be recognizably *about* the prior sequence, yet not direct outgrowths *of* it (e.g., Schegloff, 2007, p. 142). In the next section, I show participants treating prelapse sequences *as* finished units as a way to recomplete and transition away from them.

3.5.4. Post-sequence transitions

Lapses can weaken the bond of contiguity between one item and the next, decoupling whatever transpired before from whatever comes afterwards. Participants may use this feature of lapses as a resource in transitioning away from the prior sequence and onto something else. With such post-sequence transitions, participants simultaneously treat the prior sequence as finished and display preparedness to move on. This often appears as a stance taken up regarding the prior sequence as something that's now finished. In Extract 3.13, Heather describes to Kelly how disgusting her dad's

[19] Sequence recompletion in Extract 3.11 is enabled by Kate moving to curtail development of that sequence with her multiple sayings in line 3 (e.g., Stivers, 2004; Golato & Fagyal, 2008; Barth-Weingarten, 2011).

skin is. Kelly responds by joking about her own dad's appearance (line 4). The two converge in their assessments and laugh together, as Kelly turns away (lines 4-9). This brings their joking activity to possible completion (Holt 2010), after which a lapse develops.

Extract 3.13 (RCE28_10)

```
01     HEA:  it's disgusting:, (0.3) like=h (.) you look at my
02           dad's skin and it's like=h (.) dark an (.) it's all
03           bubbling (n)it's- ((disgust sound object))
04     KEL:  better than my dad's elbow. nhh huhuh[Huheh hih=.h
05     HEA:                                       [uHUH ihih
06     HEA:  %£n:i[ce.
07     KEL:       [£Ye:h.
08     HEA:  £%that wz r:ank=h£%.
09  →  KEL:  £(n)thaz gross.£
10           (0.8)
11  →→ KEL:  oh: dear.
12           (0.6)
13     KEL:  I need t'find someone t'help me move house now,
```

Kelly ends lapse with an outloud utterance (Goffman, 1978) *oh dear* (line 11). With this, she neither continues with joking, nor starts up something new. Instead, she publicly muses on the matter, treating it as unamenable to change. While her *oh dear* is not grounded in the prior sequence, it is still recognizably *about* it. She shows herself as alighting from that playful state, which renders it as complete again and provides for the resumption of serious talk.

The same transitioning work may be done through sighing (see Hoey, 2014). In Extract 3.14, three friends are talking about the board game they're playing. Maureen comments on how the other team is farther ahead than hers (lines 1-2). Terry responds by exaggeratingly attributing this state of affairs to her teammate Stacy (line 3), who is not present for this exchange. Terry's coparticipants all display appreciation of her joke (lines 4-8), which constitutes a possible ending to that sequence. In this environment, all participants are seen disengaging from talk (line 8): Maureen takes from the table a pen and notepad, which are related to the board game they've paused; Terry is engaged in drinking after making her joke (cf. Extract 4. 6); and Abby repositions her sitting posture. With all the participants demonstrably taking up something that isn't conversational activity, a lapse emerges (line 9). And during the lapse, both Abby and

Terry withdraw their gaze, which indicates their collective understanding of the prior sequence as being finished (Rossano, 2012).

Extract 3.14 (GameNight_24)

```
01     MAU:  look at tha:t. (.) you were back here'n
02           (we were) a:ll the way over the:re.
             ((some lines omitted))
03     TER:  can you say, (.) STA-CY? [ehhuhhuh
04     (A):                          [ehhuhhuhhuhhuhhuh
05     (M):                          [huhhuhhuhhuhhuhhuh
06           haha-ha-ha huhhuhhuh [heh huhhuhhuh
07     ABB:                       [£I say we keep her.£
08 →   MAU:  *+goΔ::lly:,
             *takes notepad and pen----------------->
       ter   +drinking------------------------------>
       abb       Δrespositions body, withdraws gaze->
09           (0.9)+(0.7)*(1.0)              +Δ(0.8)+
       mau   ---------->*
       ter   ---->+returns drink---------->+withddraws gaze+
       abb   ------------------------------>Δ
10→→ ABB:  hu::gh.
11           (1.4)
12     MAU:  what a team, S T, A K, T L,
13     ABB:  that's right.
```

Abby ends the lapse with a sigh (line 10). By producing something that is neither sequence initiation nor a continuation of the joking activity, Abby passes on the opportunity to do either. Instead, with her sigh she disengages from that activity and orients to it as winding down. Her sigh works as an audible transition from a lighthearted state to some next activity.

With post-sequence transitions, participants convey some stance toward whatever transpired in the past sequence *as* something that's finished or finishing. And so in the same way that speakers can use *yeah* to exit a turn, they may also use post-sequence transitions to exit an activity or sequence. But in contrast to the other methods shown so far, this device doesn't appear to be restricted to any particular party. Any party in a lapse may thus use things like *oh dear* and sighing to locate themselves as past the conclusion of a previous course of action, but not yet at the beginning of a next one.

3.5.5. A deviant case

The implementation of a practice does not ensure its success, and its failure can reveal participants' understandings of its normative operation. The analysis put forward here holds that sequence recompletion is designedly *not* sequence-initial, which means that it is not relevant for recipients to gaze to the speaker who is recompleting the sequence. Of the 82 cases in the collection where gaze was detectable, however, seven deviate from this pattern. This was seen in Extract 3.7, shown again below as Extract 3.15. Rachel's self-repeat *definitely* was analyzed above as a sequence recompleter. However, upon its production, Rachel's self-repeat promptly draws the gaze of Marie (line 4, figure 3.3a-b).

Extract 3.15 (GB07-7_76)

```
01     MAR:  °yeah it'[s a good d*eal.°]#
02 →   RAC:            [   definit*ely. ]#
       mar                        *watching LEX manipulate food->
       lex   >>eating, oriented to food----------------------->>
       fig                               #a
03           (2.7)
04→→   RAC:  %(n)de*finautly:.=hh*
       mar   ----->*turns to RAC-*
05           #(0.4)+#(1.1)*#(1.2)*
       rac         +makes tight-lipped smile at MAR+
       mar                *turns away from RAC*
       fig   #b    #c     #d
06     RAC:  dya haft*a leave soon? for class
       mar             *turns to RAC-------->>
```

Figure 3.3. Deviant gaze behavior by Marie (L-R: Lex, Marie, Rachel)

By turning to Rachel at this moment (i.e., while Rachel produces *definautly*), Marie treats Rachel's self-repeat as potentially sequence-initial. This would appear to contradict this chapter's analysis, which holds that sequence recompletion is a recognizably sequence-final move. However, other factors can account for its deviance from this norm.

First, vocalizations like %(*n*) (line 4) are routinely used as pre-beginning elements when gearing up to talk (Gonzales Temer & Ogden, 2015), meaning that Marie is justified to some degree in hearing it as potentially sequence-initial. Second, Rachel treats Marie's gaze shift to her as misplaced. Rachel gazes back to Marie, thereby acknowledging that Marie is treating her as 'someone who might speak next', and then produces a tight-lipped smile (line 5, figure 3.3c-d). With this mouth formation, Rachel visibly projects no imminent talk, affirms her stance of 'I will not speak', and retroactively shows her turn in line 4 as having been the end of the sequence. In this way, she shows Marie's analysis of speakership as having been incorrect. And third, Marie understands Rachel's bodily display in this way. After observing Rachel's tight-

lipped smile, Marie turns away from Rachel (figure 3.3d), visibly abandoning her prior orientation to Rachel as 'someone who might speak next'. This deviant case provides evidence that sequence recompletion is normatively understood as forecasting no further talk.

3.6. Discussion

This chapter focused on a particular environment in conversational interaction—lapses—and described a practice for managing the kind of practical problems that lapses can introduce. Lapses can be problematic insofar as they embody the absence of a next speaker and a next-thing-to-do. Confronted with this kind of impasse, participants may recomplete the sequence that they had already treated as adequately complete. Sequence recompletion addresses the issues introduced by the development of a lapse by furnishing someone to speak (the one who self-selects) and something to do (show you won't speak more).

The analysis suggested that sequence recompletion is an alternative to actions like sequence initiation and sequence expansion in lapse environments (§3.4.1), and that the forms used to accomplish sequence recompletion overlap with those linguistic resources used in environments of topic-shift and sequence termination (§3.4.2). Analyses of individual cases showed several methods for sequence recompletion. With turn-exiting (§3.5.1), speakers exhibited their prior turns not as having been merely possibly complete, but as having been actually complete. With action redoings (§3.5.2), speakers produced observably the 'same thing' as before the lapse, which positioned them in the course of action as 'still responding'. With delayed replies (§3.5.3), speakers furnished some relevant-but-not-required reply to conclude a sequence that they had already treated as complete. And with post-sequence transitions (§3.5.4), speakers treated the prelapse sequence *as* a completed unit and displayed preparedness to take up something else.

With respect to the turn-taking organization, these findings elaborate the ways in which "turns are valued, sought, and *avoided*" (Sacks et al., 1974, p. 701, emphasis added). Participants were shown using verbal and vocal resources in lapse environments to display that they would neither expand the prior sequence, nor initiate a next one. Perhaps paradoxically, this yielding of the turn-space to other participants amounts to 'speaking so as to show that you won't speak'. In line with Jefferson's (1981b, 1983a) observations on topic-shift and recipiency, the findings reveal

participants' tactical usage of acknowledgment tokens, assessments, and other objects for bringing sequences to completion after a lapse, and for displaying disinterest in further topical/sequential development. This chapter also sheds light on the organization of topic-attrition environments (Jefferson, 1983a). Specifically, while Jefferson held that a conversation entered a state of topic-attrition upon two successive passes by speakers, the analyses above show that the same can happen with a single lapse, which represents a collective pass on self-selection.

With respect to sequence organization (Schegloff, 2007), the findings indicate that sequence recompletion is an alternative to things like sequence initiation, sequence expansion, and silence in lapse environments. More precisely, sequence recompletion is somewhere between sequence expansion and silence. It resembles sequence expansion in that what gets added is produced and understood as a minimal addition to or outgrowth of the prior course of action. But at the same time, the choice made in recompleting a sequence is functionally equivalent to remaining silent: either way, a participant indicates that she will not start something new at that moment.

This practice points to the inescapably contingent nature of adequate unit completion (Schegloff, 1982; Ford, 2004). Participants used closure-implicative objects in places where closure was already achieved. This apparent redundancy shows that sequence endings are pliable regions of talk-in-interaction. It shows how arrival at possible sequence completion slackens the adjacency-pair relations that characterized the sequence that is now ready for closure. In sequence organizational terms, sequence recompletion instantiates one way that sequence post-expansion differs fundamentally from pre-expansion or insert-expansion (Schegloff, 2007, p. 181). In this way, this practice may be conceived of as sequence protraction, where for practical purposes the course of action is extended past its apparent and agreed-upon ending. This points to a peculiar aspect of the practice: sequence recompletion regularly results in more silence (and sometimes another recompletion of the sequence), which puts the participants back into the same dilemma as before regarding what should happen next. Even though it doesn't successfully resolve the lapse and restart turn-by-turn talk, though, the utility of the practice is that it provides more time to locate something to say, and renews the opportunity for others to say it.

This chapter shows some ways that participants design their turns to recognizably cohere with what went before a lapse—with the prior turn, action, or sequence. Paramount in this is participants' concern with the local accountability of

action (Garfinkel, 1967), part of which means continually displaying to and for others what you will do at that moment and what you won't do. With sequence recompletion, participants manage issues of turn-taking and sequence at the potential ends of courses of action by showing that they will speak at that moment, that they will minimally engage, but that they will do no more than that. In the next chapter, I turn to another commonplace occurrence in lapse environments—involvement in multiple activities—and examine it using the act of drinking as a case study.

Chapter 4

Drinking for speaking: The multimodal organization of drinking in conversation[20]

Commonly in lapses participants take up some activity that is not talk, such as eating, drinking, smoking, and the like. The availability of multiple activities requires of participants some way(s) to organize one activity with respect to another. In this chapter, I examine the organization of multiactivity by taking as a case study ordinary conversations involving drinks. Because physiological constraints largely preclude speaking and drinking at the same time, participants must coordinate one with the other. Based on a collection of 300+ drinking actions analyzed using Conversation Analysis, the act of drinking is examined with respect to the organization of talk-in-interaction. Through quantitative and qualitative analyses, three issues are taken up: where participants initiate drinking in the course of ongoing talk, what actions get done through drinking at a given location, and how participants integrate drinking and speaking if selected to speak next. It is shown that drinking, rather than being randomly distributed, tends to occur at particular places in the current speaker's turn. Detailed inspection of these places shows that drinking is understood as a display of current/pending non-speakership, and that participants employ a range of multimodal resources when drinking and speaking are in direct conflict. By demonstrating how participants integrate these activities, this chapter illustrates the interactional work that goes into rendering the act of drinking as an orderly, seen-but-unnoticed part of conversational settings.

4.1. Introduction

When conversation lapses into silence, participants have the opportunity to engage in something other than talk. Often, this takes the form of auto-involvements, which are self-directed self-absorbing disengagements from interaction (Goffman, 1963). This is seen in Extract 4.1 (previously analyzed in Extract 2.10), which involves three friends (Maureen, Abby, and Terry). Terry and her partner Pat had hosted Pat's young nephew earlier that year, and he recently sent them a thank you card to express his gratitude.

[20] A version of this chapter has been submitted as an invited contribution to *Social Interaction: Video-Based Studies of Human Sociality.*

Just prior to the exchange below, the participants joked about how his sending the card around Christmastime was a strategic prompt for them to send him Christmas gifts. The transcript starts as Abby and Maureen both produce upshots of Terry's situation (lines 1-2). All participants are demonstrably engaged in the conversation at this time, with Maureen and Abby generally oriented to the center of their interactional huddle and Terry gazing in their direction as they speak (figure 4.1a).

Extract 4.1 (GameNight_0411)

```
01 ABB:  at le[ast he didn't send his list t#o San][ta.]
02 MAU:       [no sense in sending it in Au:#gust.]
03 TER:                                        [tha]t's right#=
   fig                                          #a          #b
04 MAU:  =°yeah.°
05       (1.1)#(1.6)#(0.2)
   fig       #c    #d
06 ABB: .nhh (.) Hhhh ((a sniff followed by a sigh))
07 PAT: #I'll be# there ve:ry sho:rtly.
   fig  #e      #f
```

Figure 4.1. Auto-involvements in a lapse (L-R: Maureen, Abby, Terry)

Their talk on this topic comes to possible completion as both Terry and Maureen confirm those upshots (lines 3-4; Schegloff, 2007). In this environment, Terry withdraws her gaze (Rossano, 2012) and Maureen moves her hand to her eye (figure 4.1b). These

are forms of disengagement that contribute to the conclusion of the sequence of talk. With no one self-selecting to speak next, their conversation lapses into silence (line 5). From this moment and up until the lapse is ended (lines 5-7), each participant engages in her own auto-involvement. Maureen rubs her eye continuously; Abby drinks from her glass, returns it to the table with a sniff and a sigh (line 6), then crosses her arms while gazing downward; and Terry stretches her shoulders, scratches her cheek, and wipes her nose (figures 4.1c-f).

In this chapter, I argue that conduct such as this is orderly. I focus on one particular activity—the act of taking a drink—and examine how participants integrate that bodily activity into the organization of talk-in-interaction. The chapter contributes to ongoing Conversation Analytic work on multiactivity (discussed in the following section) by showing the skilled ways in which participants selectively advance the activities of speaking and drinking. This contributes to an analysis of lapses in an oblique but fundamental way: because lapses routinely host moments of multiactivity, a detailed examination of one specific form of multiactivity can shed light on the organization of lapses more generally. And so this chapter differs somewhat from the others in that drinking is analyzed across a range of sequential locations, including lapses. What will be seen is the delicate interactional work that goes into balancing engagement in drinking with opportunities and obligations to speak.

4.2. Multiactivity and drinking

Being engaged in more than one activity at the same time is a pervasive feature of social life. Goffman (1963) first drew attention to this in his discussion of multiple involvements and the normative character of sustaining engrossment in certain activities over others (i.e., main vs. side involvement, dominant vs. subordinate involvement). These ideas received empirical grounding in subsequent Conversation Analytic work, notably by C. Goodwin, M. H. Goodwin, and Heath who demonstrated the gradient, collaborative, and dynamic nature of coordinating involvement across different activities (M. H. Goodwin, 1980, 1996; C. Goodwin, 1981, 1984, 1986a; Heath, 1982 1984, 1985, 1986, 1992; C. Goodwin & M. H. Goodwin, 1996). These elaborations show how participants accountably display their degree of immersion in a given activity from one moment to the next in fine coordination with the conduct of others. They also foreground the indissolubly multimodal nature of such situations. Practical engagement in multiple activities involves not only the sequential organization of

speaking turns (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974; Schegloff, 2007), but also the moment-by-moment coordination of bodily movement with the unfolding talk (e.g., Keevallik, 2013, 2015; Mondada, 2014b, 2015), with material objects (Nevile, Haddington, Heinemann & Rauniomaa, 2014), and with relevant aspects of the situated environment (Goodwin, 2000; Mondada, 2013b).

The presence of more than one activity often implicates more than one participation framework. A participation framework refers to interactants' embodied, situated, temporally unfolding, and dynamic enactment of particular roles in interaction (speaker, hearer, unaddressed recipient, etc.), as observed in the relative configuration of bodies in space, the distribution of attention, and the sequential location in talk (Kendon, 1990; Rae, 2001; Goodwin & Goodwin, 2004; Sidnell, 2009; Mondada, 2013b). It embraces all the concrete ways in which people may be said to be part of some activity (or not), and accentuates the discriminate relationships that exist between interactants with respect to whatever is currently underway (Goffman, 1981; Levinson, 1988). The organization of participation is an ongoing accomplishment; interactants shift between different roles turn-by-turn and moment-by-moment in the collaborative constitution of their activity.

These themes converge in research on multiactivity (Haddington et al., 2014a, 2014b). Multiactivity refers to the ways in which participants recognizably engage in multiple concurrently relevant activities through verbal, vocal, bodily, and material resources (Goodwin, 1984; Mondada, 2011, 2012a, 2014b, 2014c; Haddington et al., 2014b). It is characterized by the contemporaneous relevance of multiple involvements, participation frameworks, or courses of action that variably intersect, overlap, conflict, or run in parallel from one moment to the next. Multiactivity settings may be contrasted with singularly focused 'monoactivity' settings such as telephone calls, where participants do not ordinarily distribute their resources of attention and involvement among various sites of potential engagement, but instead undertake a single course of collaborative action. Multiactivity has been analyzed for ordinary situations as well as for more specialized settings and activities, such as surgical theaters (Mondada, 2007b, 2011, 2014b), design workshops (Day & Wagner, 2014), cars (Laurier, 2004; Haddington & Rauniomaa, 2011; Laurier et al., 2008; Goodwin & Goodwin, 2012; Mondada, 2012), writing (Jakonen, 2016; Mondada & Svinhufvud, 2016; Svinhufvud, 2016), massage sessions (Nishizaka & Sunaga, 2015), medical encounters (Hindmarsh & Pilnick, 2002; Nielsen, 2016), and so-called 'centers of coordination'

(Suchman, 1997) in airports control centers (Goodwin, 1997; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1996) and underground transport control centers (Heath & Luff 1992, 1996).

Participants in multiactivity settings are tasked with determining how, when, and where to mobilize a given set of resources so as to recognizably participate in a given set of activities. An essential notion here is the progressivity of action. Progressivity refers to the recognizable movement from one unit to the next with nothing intervening (Schegloff, 2007, p. 15). While it is usually used to refer to the forward progression of talk-in-interaction—word-by-word and turn-by-turn (e.g., Lerner, 2002b; Stivers & Robinson, 2006; Schegloff, 2007)—progressivity also applies to the forward trajectory of a visible action (Lerner & Raymond, 2017a). One central issue in multiactivity settings is coordinating the progressive development of multiple activities, involvements, or courses of action. The methodic manner in which participants selectively advance one activity or another gives rise to the recognizability of various hierarchical, temporal, and sequential relationships between activities (Haddington et al., 2014a, Mondada, 2014b; Raymond & Lerner, 2014). Previous research has described the orchestrated accomplishment of suspension and resumption (Licoppe & Tuncer, 2014; Mondada, 2014b; Raymond & Lerner, 2014; Sutinen, 2014; Ergül, 2016), postponement (Nevile, 2004; Keisanen, Rauniomaa, & Haddington, 2014), abandonment (LeBaron & Jones, 2002; Ticca, 2014), synchronization (Heath & Luff, 2013; Mondada, 2014b; Cekaite, 2015), insertion (Raymond & Lerner, 2014), and interleaving (Goodwin, 1984; Hindmarsh & Pilnick, 2002; Toerien & Kitzinger, 2007; Deppermann, 2014; Mondada, 2014b; Raymond & Lerner, 2014). This chapter examines how participants selectively advance the progression of multiple activities by taking as a case study the coordination of speaking and drinking.

Apart from studies focusing on food-related talk (Wiggins, 2002, 2004a, 2004b; Wiggins & Potter, 2003; Mondada, 2009; Pomerantz & Mandelbaum, 2016), relatively little attention has been paid to the organization of talking, eating, and drinking. Goffman (1963) considered eating and drinking to be forms of auto-involvements—types of momentary withdrawal from interaction that, if overly indulged, carry the risk of expressing disloyalty to the social occasion within which they occur. Though not generally regarded as a types of gesture, eating and drinking nevertheless have the capacity to regulate social interaction (Kendon, 2004, p. 9). For example, because they occur at the face, they are potentially of the class of actions (along with face-touching and face-scratching) that are systematically disattended by coparticipants (Goodwin,

1986; see also Goffman, 1974 on the 'disattend track'). Previous work on the coordination of talk with food and drink has shown how unaddressed participants modulate the act of distributing food according to the structural organization of a storytelling (Goodwin, 1984), how the completion of a drink can be coordinated with the pre-closing section of a coffee break (Laurier, 2008; see Schegloff & Sacks, 1973), and how a drink can be used in the progressive disengagement from speakership (Walker, 2012; see Extract 4.9). I build on these studies by restricting myself to an analysis of drinking in conversation.

Several aspects of drinking recommend it as a site for the analysis of multiactivity. First and most importantly, drinking inhibits most forms of speaking. When liquid occupies the mouth, the oral articulators are practically inoperable, and when swallowing, exhalation through either the oral or nasal cavity is impossible. Participants must therefore coordinate moments of speaking with moments of drinking out of physiological necessity. Second, despite this ostensive conflict between drinking and speaking, the two commonly go together. The natural pairing of drinking and conversation suggests a degree of generality to the practices detailed in this chapter for many social occasions. Indeed, even when 'going for drinks' (coffee, beer, tea, etc.), the very drinks themselves are not ordinarily the focus of the encounter. Rather, drinking tends to operate as an alibi for interaction (Laurier, 2008) and may even scaffold particular forms of sociability (Frake, 1964; Manning, 2012). Third, people appear to be invested in the propriety of speaking and drinking. At least in many middle-class Western populations, drinking is among of the set of oral behaviors (along with chewing, eating, and smoking) around which norms of etiquette have emerged for 'polite' society (e.g., Douglas, 1975; Ochs & Shohet, 2006). This indicates not only that drinking is subject to physiological constraints, but that social restrictions related to face and politeness may also be in play. And fourth, drinking is relatively unrestricted in its placement. With the exception of things like toasts (Manning, 2012), participants appear to be able to drink whenever they please. Its placement is not motivated by the actions of others in any obvious way (although, as we will see, the act is often decidedly social). We may surmise, then, that participants choose when and where to engage in drinking.[21]

[21] While these same features also arguably apply to eating, drinking remains distinct in some respects. Most relevantly for us, they differ in their affordances for talk. Most foods can be held securely in the mouth when speaking, and would not spill in the same way that liquid would. Relatedly, whereas eating

The empirical analysis offered here differs from other social scientific research on drinking in social situations. Most studies approach the topic from a public health perspective, where the aim is to understand the factors surrounding 'problem drinking' (alcoholism, binge drinking, etc.) among different populations (e.g., Hughes et al., 2011). It also differs from anthropological work where concerns often center on drinks as a form of 'embodied material culture' (Dietler, 2001) and on drinking practices as key in the construction of socio-cultural worlds (e.g., Frake, 1964; Dietler, 2006). Rather than approaching drinking as a pathology or analyzing it in terms of its cultural role(s), this chapter presents an examination of how the mundane bodily actions related to drinking are organized with respect to conversational speech. Its most direct contribution is to our understanding of how participants organize multiactivity settings, in particular the skillful orchestration of manual, facial, oral, verbal, and vocal resources. It also provides an empirical specification of a widespread 'technique of the body' (Mauss, 1979 [1934]; Crossley, 1995) by contextualizing it in its socio-interactional particulars. In taking this commonplace action and revealing its technical accomplishment, the analysis shows how the act of drinking comes to be a seen-but-unnoticed feature of many social settings.

Based on actual episodes of social interaction, the analysis contains three subsections. The first two subsections address the question of where drinking gets initiated. This is of evident practical concern to participants, who must place the action *somewhere*. Quantitative analysis of drinking initiations shows a biased distribution towards particular locations in the current speaker's TCU (§4.4.1), and detailed qualitative analyses of these moments shows drinking to be produced and understood as a visible display of current/pending non-speakership (§4.4.2). These two subsections

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usually requires lengthy engagement of the mouth, drinking tends to be a fleeting affair. The swiftness with which drinking can be done can impart to the act a fugitive quality not typically found in the act of eating. Drinking can be 'slipped in' to the current proceedings in a way that chewing cannot. Perhaps as an outcome of its relatively short duration, drinking isn't often done by all participants at the same time (again, with the exception of toasts). By contrast, the longer duration of eating might contribute to the regularity of extended lapses during which 'we are now eating' emerges as the consensus. Indeed, many cultures institutionalize this difference, where eating is partnered with silence and drinking with conviviality (Jeannearet, 1991; Meneley, 2011). Eating and drinking also differ in the amount that can be consumed. Whereas having another bite of food becomes physically unbearable at some point, having another sip is almost always feasible (intoxication perhaps being the limiting case). In principle, then, drinking is unbounded in its occurrence.

may be thought of as showing how participants place drinking actions *around* moments of speakership such that the two don't coincide. This contrasts with the third subsection (§4.4.3), which takes up precisely those situations where drinking and speakership are simultaneously relevant. The cases examined in that subsection all involve a drinking participant who is selected to speak next (see Sacks et al., 1974; Lerner, 2003). The analyses show that drinking participants employ various multimodal resources to selectively participate in the conflicting activities of speaking and drinking.

4.3. Methods

The data for this chapter come from 4.5+ hours of video-recorded naturally occurring interactions in American and British English between friends, intimates, classmates, and coworkers (see Table 1.1). The recordings capture scenes of hanging out, mealtimes, playing board games, and preparing documents. These data were inspected for all observable drinking actions, which were identified as follows.

A complete drinking action included three phases: preparation, focal action, and return (Lerner & Raymond, 2017b; cf. Kita, van Gijn, & van der Hulst, 1998; Sacks & Schegloff, 2002). A preparation phase began with a *drinking initiation*, or the first visible indication of a drinking action. Drinking initiation took on different forms depending on the location of the vessel (cup, mug, bottle, glass, etc.) and the starting configuration of the participant's body or home position (Sacks & Schegloff, 2002). Drinking initiation was observed in the following ways: in a head turn or gaze shift if the vessel was not within the participant's seize-without-looking domain; in the reach of the hand/arm if the vessel was resting on the table; in the grasp of the fingers if the vessel was being held loosely; or in the lift of the vessel if it was being held mid-air. After a drinking initiation, the vessel was conveyed to the lips and 'docked' at the mouth. I take up drinking initiations in particular in §4.4.1-4.4.2. The ending of a preparation phase and the start of a focal action phase was marked by the vessel being tilted at the mouth, allowing liquid to flow inward. Marking the end of the focal action phase and the beginning of the return phase was the reverse of that tilt. The ending of the return phase (and the ending of the entire drinking action) was marked by the vessel being brought back to home position or to a new resting position.

Not all drinking actions consisted of three full phases. If the action was aborted during the preparation phase, then the focal action and return phases could not properly occur. Relatedly, during any phase the participant may come to a provisional

resting position (Cibulka, 2014). For instance, a participant may initiate drinking and seem to be on the way to fulfilling a drinking action, but then may halt the trajectory of the preparation phase and simply hold the vessel for some time. In cases like these (see Extracts 4.8 and 4.9), there may be said to be more than one drinking initiation. That is, the initial reach for a vessel from home position counts as a drinking initiation, as does the lift of the vessel from provisional home position to the mouth.

Two types of drinking actions were not considered for this study because they arguably have a basis in something other than the organization of talk-in-interaction. I excluded cases where a participant initiates a drinking action shortly after observing another participant do so. The occurrence of these may be due to mimicry or modeling of coparticipant behavior (e.g., Chartrand & Bargh, 1999; Quigley & Collins, 1999), and therefore not directly tied to the organization of talk-in-interaction. I also excluded cases where drinking initiation was timed to the completion of eating/chewing by the same participant, since these could be attributed to a need to clear food from the mouth or taste from the palate, rather than to chiefly interactional considerations.

This procedure resulted in an overall collection of 300+ drinking actions, which includes both complete three-phase drinking actions as well as incomplete ones. These data were first analyzed using Conversation Analytic principles and methods (e.g., Sidnell & Stivers, 2013; Hoey & Kendrick, in press). This analytical approach to natural interactions involves detailed sequential analysis of verbal, vocal, gestural, bodily, facial, and instrumental conduct as they make visible participants' practical methods for ordering their own circumstances.

After an adequate grasp of the phenomenon was gained through CA methods, the data were then coded to quantitatively determine whether drinking initiations were randomly distributed. Using the overall collection of 300+ drinking actions, a balanced sample of 102 drinking initiations was systematically collected and coded for quantitative analysis. These 102 cases were located by taking the first six drinking initiations from every participant who had a drink (i.e., the first six from 17 participants). Each drinking initiation was then coded for where it occurred in the course of the current speaker's turn-constructional unit (TCU; Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 1996b): TCU beginning, mid-TCU, transition-relevance place (TRP), or transition space. To be technically explicit, a TCU beginning was taken to include pre-beginning and beginning elements; mid-TCU included post-beginning and middle elements; a TRP included pre-possible completion and possible completion elements;

and a transition space included post-possible completion elements and silence (i.e., gaps). Two additional coding categories were used if there was not a single current speaker: a drinking initiation was coded as occurring in 'Overlap' when there was more than one speaker (see Schegloff, 2000), and as 'Lapse' when there was no apparent next speake (see Chapter 2).

4.4. Analysis

4.4.1. The distribution of drinking initiations

In coordinating drinking with talk-in-interaction, participants must first decide where to initiate a drinking action. Based on the sample of 102 drinking initiations, Table 4.1 shows where participants placed the action in the course of a current speaker's TCU.

Location in current speaker's TCU	*N*	Proportion
Transition-relevance place	47	46.1%
Mid-TCU	19	18.6%
TCU beginning	17	16.7%
Transition space	12	11.8%
Overlap	4	3.9%
Lapse	3	2.9%
Total	102	100%

Table 4.1. Placement of drinking initiations

It does not appear that participants launch drinking actions indiscriminately. Were they randomly distributed, we would expect a roughly equal proportion of drinking initiations at different locations in the TCU. Instead, there is a biased distribution towards certain locations, and towards TRPs in particular. This alone suggests an orderliness to the occurrence of drinking. Furthermore, we may note that these places are not all equal, but that each bears its own affordances and constraints (Schegloff, 1996b). Three of these positions in particular are known to systematically bear considerable interactional significance: TCU beginnings, TRPs, and transition spaces (Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 1987, 1996b; Clayman, 2013; Deppermann, 2013; Kim &

Kuroshima, 2013). These constitute the boundaries of a TCU and are intimately connected to matters of speakership and turn-transfer. Taken together, these three locations cumulatively account for 75% (76/102) of drinking initiations. This suggests that drinking has something to do with turn-transfer, and therefore that it may be connected to the proceedings of talk-in-interaction. In the next subsection, I grapple with the phenomenon more directly by examining drinking initiations in several sequential positions. This is done not only to provide a systematic basis for the observed distribution, but also to show what gets done by placing drinking initiations at these locations.

4.4.2. The placement of drinking initiations

Drinking initiations can expose a drinking participant's analysis of the current participant framework. The act reveals that moment as 'a moment where I do not or will not speak'. The analyses below demonstrate how drinking acts as *a visible display of current or pending non-speakership*. I begin with drinking initiations by non-speaking participants then progress to those by speaking participants. This is done to show where drinking gets placed with relation to someone else's talk and to one's own talk, respectively. Drinking by non-speaking participants may serve to display alignment to some unit underway (turn, sequence, telling, etc.), whereas drinking by current speakers may serve to display commitment to unit completion. To the extent that these uses represent distinct functions of drinking or jobs that drinking does, they do so primarily as a reflexive indication of their sequential positioning in talk and of the current participation framework.

Displays of alignment by non-speakers. When done by a non-speaker (recipient, unaddressed recipient, etc.), drinking initiation may serve to underscore the incompleteness of a given unit underway. This can amount to a display of alignment. Alignment refers to actions that support, facilitate, or otherwise cooperate with an activity on a structural level (Stivers, 2008). For example, story-recipients align with the storyteller when producing continuers that indicate passing on the opportunity to speak (Schegloff, 1982); and they disalign when interrupting the development of the story to request clarification. These actions either support or work against the structural asymmetry between the storyteller, who has rights to the turn space until the recognizable ending of the story, and story-recipients, who have restricted rights and

opportunities to verbally participate in the telling (Mandelbaum, 2013). An example of alignment appears below. Here, two couples are sharing a meal as Nancy informs her coparticipants of the cold weather in Cleveland (lines 1-3).

Extract 4.2 (ChickenDinner_1417)

```
01    NAN:  ts forty degrees in Clevel'n.
02          (0.2)
03    NAN:  °with snow on the ground.°
04    SHA:  *#they js had [ a big-*#
05    VIV:                [they js*#had three feet a'sno:w.
      sha   >>*hand on glass----->*grasps, lifts glass--->>
      fig   #a                    #b
                          250ms
06    MIC:  whe[:re.
07    VIV:     [back eas:t.
```

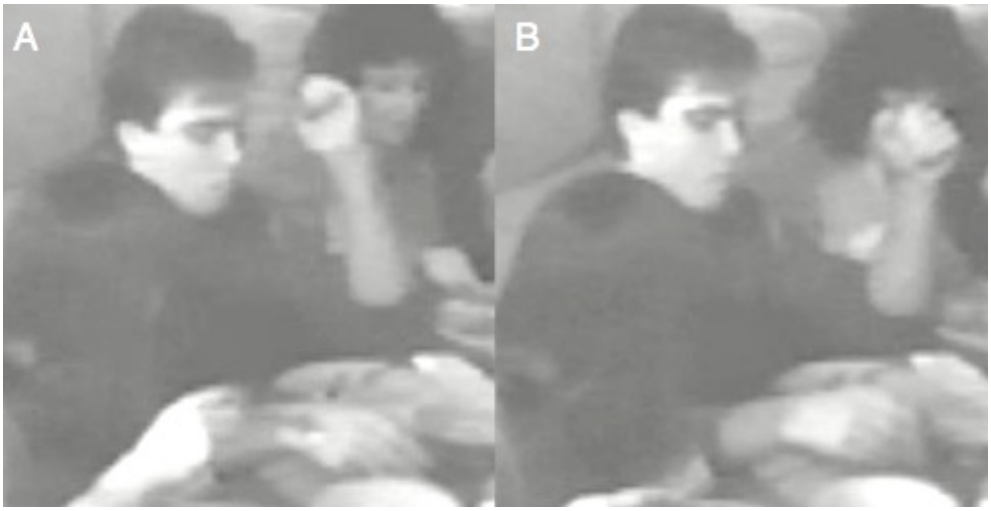

Figure 4.2. Drinking initiation after period of overlap

Nancy's informing touches off a turn from Shane (line 4). Before he can complete his turn, though, his girlfriend Vivian enters in overlap (line 5). Overlapping speech is regularly oriented to as a problem because it violates the one-at-a-time feature of conversation (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974; Schegloff, 2000). In this example, Shane orients to overlap by lifting his drink and abandoning his turn. His hand had been resting around his glass for the previous seven seconds, but after just 250 ms of overlap, he simultaneously cuts off his turn and grasps his glass to lift it (line 5, figure 4.2a-b). His drinking initiation and turn cut-off work in concert to effect definitive withdrawal from overlap (Oloff, 2013) and the accomplishment of overlap resolution

(Schegloff, 2000). Shane aligns to the current speaker, Vivian, by treating her as having rights to the turn space until her turn comes to possible completion. Though he had self-selected first, and therefore had rights to the turn-space (Sacks et al., 1974), Shane chose to abandon the turn he had started, and instead initiate drinking. His alignment consists in the visible movement towards non-speakership in an environment where another speaker had a concurrent demand for the floor.

Alignment to the current speaker is also seen in the next three examples, where a recipient initiates drinking at a specific location in the current speaker's turn. In each case, the current speaker arrests the forward development of her or his turn, pauses, and then continues to speak. And in each case, after the speaker's turn is arrested, a recipient initiates drinking. In Extract 4.3, Molly directs a question to Hannah about a couple they know. Hannah starts her answer and then cuts it off after *lives*—that is, at a point where more talk is to come (i.e., a prepositional phrase specifying where Vicky lives). After a half second pause, Molly lifts her can to drink.

Extract 4.3 (RCE25_0254)

```
01    MOL:  *and they're still there?
            *gazing away, holding can->
02    HAN:  .h no (.) uh Vicky lives-
03          *(0.5)           *on Palmgate bt in her own flat
      mol   ->*gazes to HAN->*lifts, drinks--------------->>
```

In Extract 4.4, Rowan is holding forth on a UK political party, and Lon is gazing at him attentively. Rowan comes to possible turn completion at *tactics* (line 5), but then projects more talk with *like,* after which he pauses. During the pause, Lon turns to and reaches for his mug.

Extract 4.4 (RCE07_0906)

```
01    ROW:  *as far as: (.) fa:r right parties go,
      lon   >>*gazing at ROW--------------------->
02          the B N P is pretty shit.
03    MAT:  uhhUhHUH, (.) thas [true.
04    ROW:                     [like=h, (1.0) of a- in- I mean in
05          its tactics. like, (0.3)*(0.6) look at- look at France
      lon   ---------------------->*gazes at, reaches for mug-->>
```

And in Extract 4.5, Michelle finishes up an eerie story about her dog, after which Laura starts up a second story (Sacks, 1992b) about her own dog. Laura continues through the

launch of her telling until cutting it off at the word *when,* then she pauses (lines 4-5). During the pause, Michelle turns to and reaches for her glass.

Extract 4.5 (Farmhouse_3110)

```
01    MIC:  *and the bark was a w::eird bark too. it was not a
            >>*gazing to LAU--------------------------------->
02          normal bark.
03          (0.6)
04    LAU:  w- i- we can tell a difference in Fancy too, when-
05          (0.3)* .h when there's somebody <walkin on the roa:d,>
      mic   ---->*turns to glass, reaches, and lifts---------->>
```

These cases show one systematic position where recipients place drinking initiations.[22] Recipients regularly initiate drinking once the current speaker pauses at a place of "maximum grammatical control" (Schegloff, 1996b, p. 93), where the turn is recognizably grammatically, prosodically, and pragmatically incomplete. In each case, the recipient could have initiated drinking at any time, but instead waits until the cut-off and pause to do so. That is, up until the hitch in the current speaker's turn, the recipient displays attentiveness and full engagement. By initiating a drink during a hitch in talk, a recipient orients to it as a moment in which full recipiency is not required. Furthermore, the placement of a drinking initiation here acts as an alternative to entering the turn space. Cases of progressional overlap, where a recipient starts up in overlap after a hitch in talk (Jefferson, 1984a), provide evidence for this location as furnishing just such an entry point. For some turn types under some circumstances, arresting a turn through word cut-offs, disfluencies, and pauses affords the recipient the opportunity to provide a next turn or collaboratively complete an incomplete turn (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1986; Sacks, 1992a; Lerner, 1996, 2004). So in placing a drinking initiation at a place where entry is a relevant possibility, a recipient observably refrains from taking up that option and treats the current speaker as retaining rights to the turn space. The act of drinking can thus be a part of aligning to the current speaker's turn-in-progress in this sequential position. While not exactly the same as alignment achieved through a verbal continuer like *uh huh* (Schegloff, 1982), the momentary disengagement afforded by drinking can amount to alignment due to its association with non-

[22] These were coded as "mid-TCU" for Table 4.1, which shows that drinking initiations are interactionally motivated for at least some of these cases.

speakership and its occurrence in the same position where something like *uh huh* might be expected.

The next extract shows an association between alignment and drinking initiation at a higher level of structural organization—tellings. Here, Betty is midway through a telling about how she went downstairs to confront a band that was playing too loudly (lines 1, 3, 5-7).

Extract 4.6 (Housemates_1038)

```
01    BET:  they kept sayi[ng we suc]k, don't we. we suck.
02    JEN:                [ahhhuh   ]
03    BET:  .hh and I'm like=h,
04    JEN:  Uhoa:h.
05    BET:  cause like I s- I talked to them before, (0.6) I came
06          up here °I was talking to them°, that's why I went
07          ba[*ck down.
08    JEN:    [*and you told them that they sucked.*
               *facing BET, straight-faced-------->*
09          (0.4)
10    BET:  ↑No:.
11    JEN:  (h)(h)I'm ju(h)st ki[(h)*dding
12    BET:                      [KHh*=.Hh
      jen                           *gazes to, reaches for cup->
13    BET:  I walked outside and the fi*rst thing they said to me,
      jen   ------------------------->*lifts then drinks------->>
```

In line 7, Betty reaches a point where some feedback or token of understanding is relevant (Schegloff, 1982; Goodwin, 1984, 1986b). But instead of producing something like *uh huh,* her story-recipient Jennifer uses this space to tease Betty. Jennifer proposes a farcical version of what happens next in Betty's story, delivered with a straight face and falling intonation (line 8). Jennifer's deliberately incorrect version of events subverts the forward development of Betty's story. Rather than going on with her story, Betty takes up Jennifer's misunderstanding seriously with a po-faced response (Drew, 1987). Through an affectively intoned *No* (line 10), Betty rejects Jennifer's version of events along with the implication that she would behave in such a way.

Having elicited a rise out of her mark, Jennifer observably backs down from her provocation. Through laughter, she explicitly labels her action as being nonserious (line 11). This neutralizes whatever her tease may have set in motion, releasing Betty from the obligation to 'set the record straight', as teasing recipients often do (Drew, 1987). It is in this environment that Jennifer initiates drinking, specifically at the TRP of her own turn and in overlap with Betty's laughter (lines 11-12). Jennifer's projection of non-

speakership marks the ending of her own teasing activity and implicates the resumption of Betty's telling. And indeed, Betty resumes her telling as Jennifer goes through with her drinking action (line 13).

This extract shows the placement of a drinking initiation at a moment where one activity (jocular teasing) makes way for the resumption of another (storytelling). The drinking participant (re)aligns with the storyteller by projecting no further talk, which effectively indicates discontinuation of the teasing activity. In my collection, this post-joke locus is a common place for drinking to occur. This might have to do with the placement of jokes. Apart from jokes told in rounds (Sacks, 1989), many jokes operate parasitically on whatever just preceded (cf. teases [Drew, 1987] and retro-sequences [Schegloff, 2007, p. 217]). A joke, if taken up, has the power to subvert the current course of action. This means that participants need a way to get back to non-joke talk (e.g., Schegloff, 2001). The availability of something like drinking is an apt device for this. Drinking is a way for the joke-teller to recede from the limelight by providing a visible indication of non-speakership, which provides the opportunity to resume the course of action that the joke interrupted. We might also speculate that drinking in this environment may serve as a kind of diversion that obscures self-laughter/self-satisfaction at one's own joke.

Non-speakers may thus initiate drinking in the process of aligning as recipients to some unit underway. In the cases shown above, they were placed at interactionally salient locations: in overlap, at a place of maximum grammatical control, and at the end of an interruptive sequence. With respect to Table 4.1, drinking initiation was shown occurring in overlap, mid-TCU, and at a TRP. While these drinking initiations resulted in different interactional outcomes (overlap resolution, turn-completion by the current speaker, and the resumption of a telling), they each relied on the association between drinking and non-speakership.

Displays of unit completion by current speakers. Whereas the prior examples showed how drinking initiation was bound up with the incompletion of a given unit, the extracts analyzed next show how it can also play a part in unit completion. Participants as a matter of course orient to the possible completion of a given unit-in-progress. This is partially due to the ever-present possibility of unit expansion. Interactional units of every grain are expandable past a point of projected completion, from TCUs (Ford, 2004; Schegloff, 2016) and multiunit turns (Schegloff, 2011) to

sequences of action (Schegloff, 2007) and whole episodes of interaction (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). Drinks and drinking may be used as material and bodily resources in the management of unit completion—specifically as a display of the speaker's commitment to unit completion. This can be seen in Extract 4.7. Here, the current speaker initiates both her turn and her drinking action simultaneously (line 1; figure 4.3a-b).

Extract 4.7 (GameNight_645)

```
01    MAU:  *#has she tri:ed Chick#adee De*#:pot,
            *lifts can--------------------*tilts->>
      fig   #a                    #b      #c
02    ABB:  .h we went to Chickadee Depot fir::st,
```

Figure 4.3. Drinking initiation at turn-beginning of sequence-initial turn

Maureen's question makes an answer conditionally relevant from Abby, the selected next speaker (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Sacks et al., 1974). One practical task here is collaboratively achieving smooth turn-transfer from Maureen to Abby. Their task is aided in part through shared grammatical, prosodic, and pragmatic conventions that routinely signal possible turn completion (Ford & Thompson, 1996). Both participants avail themselves of these conventions in treating the word *Depot* as a possible turn ending. Maureen stops speaking upon production of that word, and Abby starts up promptly afterwards.

Their achievement of turn-transfer is also aided by Maureen's drinking action. Maureen initiates her drinking action simultaneously with the initiation of her speaking turn. This lets her project a period in the near future where she will be unable to speak. Further, she aligns the trajectories of her drinking action and her speaking turn such that her drink reaches her lips just as turn-transfer becomes relevant (line 1, figure 4.3a-c). Maureen's verbal and visible conduct form a complex multimodal Gestalt (Mondada, 2014c) that accountably exhibits her turn as being finished in the place it

was projected to end. The preparation phase of her drinking action visibly indexes the progression of her turn, and once she tilts her drink, she renders herself unavailable to speak.

Note that the focal action phase of her drinking action begins at possible turn completion. In the environment of possible turn completion, the speaker may decide to circumvent the projected occurrence of a TRP, an action that permits turn-continuation by that same speaker (Schegloff, 1996b; Clayman, 2013). With this in mind, the choice to drink in this environment is an alternative to the choice to circumvent the TRP. By aligning the trajectories of speaking and drinking, Maureen displays a commitment to ending her turn at its projectable ending place. She reveals her understanding of the participation framework by skillfully coordinating a display of non-speakership (drinking) with the TRP of her own turn.

This same process is seen in Extract 4.8, though rather than working at the level of turn completion, the drinking initiation coincides with the completion of the sequence. The current speaker places her drinking initiation at the TRP of a potentially sequence-final turn, specifically at the TRP of a sequence-closing third (Schegloff, 2007). The exchange begins with Vivian asking Michael a question while concurrently lifting her glass (figure 4.4a).

Extract 4.8 (ChickenDinner_724)

```
01    VIV:  *when'r you#doing Raging Bu:ll.*#
            *lifts glass, gazes to MIC---->*holds glass near face->
      fig              #a                  #b
02          (1.0)
03    MIC:  the eleventh.
04          (0.7)
05    VIV:  oh that's*# right
            -------->*turns face glass then tilts->>
      fig            #c
06          (1.3)
```

Figure 4.4. Drinking initiation at TRP of sequence-closing turn

In contrast to Extract 4.7, Vivian does not drink at the TRP of her questioning turn. Instead, at the end of her question, she holds her glass near her face in 'on deck' position while gazing at Michael (figure 4.4b). With this provisional home position (Cibulka, 2014), Vivian does 'waiting for a response'. She halts the forward development of the preparation phase of drinking and shows herself as a ready recipient to Michael's forthcoming response. In doing so, Vivian accountably prioritizes the progression of the sequence of talk over the progression of her drinking action (see Raymond & Lerner, 2014; Lerner & Raymond, 2017a; and §4.4.3). Vivian brings the sequence to possible completion after Michael's answer. She produces a change-of-state token *oh* (Heritage, 1984b) and treats the information as known-but-not-remembered (*that's right*). At the TRP of this turn, Vivian (re-)initiates drinking: she turns to face her glass (figure 4.4c) then tilts it at her mouth. With this multimodal complex of behaviors, Vivian treats Michael's answer as adequate and thereby treats the sequence as complete.

Launching a drink in this environment (at possible sequence completion) is an alternative to unit expansion—in this case, sequence expansion. After a question gets answered, the questioner is systematically afforded the next turn to produce uptake of the answer (Sacks, 1992; Schegloff, 1997). To accept an answer is to display no trouble with it, which clears the way for the sequence to end (Schegloff, 2007). Part of Vivian's display of 'no trouble' is her drinking initiation. Her placement of drinking projects pending non-speakership in an environment where sequence expansion is an option. And so through her bodily action she visibly forgoes the option to speak. Were she to expand the sequence (e.g., by targeting Michael's response as problematic), then the moment to do so is passed up in favor of drinking.

The next example is rather similar, but instead of placing drinking initiation at possible sequence completion, the current speaker places it in a lapse environment, which is to say, *after* possible sequence completion. A lapse is a period of silence that emerges when all participants pass up the opportunity to speak (Sacks et al., 1974; see Chapter 2). The placement of a drinking initiation in this environment lets the current speaker not only treat the prior sequence as complete (like in Extract 4.8), but also indicate that she won't initiate a new sequence. Here, Donna, Laura, Mom (of Laura),

and Michelle are chatting on a veranda. Their exchange begins with Mom giving an excuse for why she didn't participate in a race last year (lines 1-2).[23]

Extract 4.9 (Farmhouse_0336)

```
01    MOM:  I couldn't afford it at that time, I think I-
02          [(   ) just to say I did it] one time.
03    LAU:  [but you can make lunches] and (0.5) get in +free cz
      don                                               +nods-->
04          that's what+ Ka[ra and Ashley were gunna=
05    DON:                 [yeah.
            ---------->+
06    LAU:  [=do they were gunna help run it-
07    DON:  [the kids helped,
08          (1.0)
09    DON:  fo:r um (.) t'go to that- (.) young life camp. they
10          helped and got like twenny bucks each, >bt they also
11          got a shirt.
12    MOM:  mmhm.
13    DON:  +they picked up garbage+ °and_°
            +reaches for glass---->+holds->
14          (2.2)
15    DON:  +so:.
            +lifts, drinks->
16          (0.7)*(1.9)             *(0.2)*
      lau         *turns away from DON*gazes to MOM*
17    MIC:  (  )
18          (0.5)*(0.5)Δ(0.3)*(0.2)Δ(0.4)+(0.4)
      lau         *..shrugs,,,*
      mom               Δ..shrugs,,,Δ
      don   ---------------------------->+returns glass->>
19    MIC:  it's so nice and peaceful now,
```

Both Laura and Donna counter Mom's excuse by informing her that she could participate for free if she volunteered (lines 3-11). Mom receipts the suggestion with a continuer, after which Donna continues, explaining what volunteering entailed (lines 12-13). She ends her turn with a trail-off conjunction *and,* which is produced with pitch and loudness levels consistent with the preceding talk (i.e., it's designed-as and hearable-as a turn ending). This is a practice for signaling turn completion and the relevance of self-selection by others (Walker, 2012). While adding this additional detail, Donna moves her hand to her glass and holds it, thereby adopting a provisional home position (Cibulka, 2014) and prefiguring the eventual drink to come. Donna's verbal and visible behaviors indicate readiness to close the sequence. With Donna having

[23] This exchange is also analyzed as Extract 5.9 in Chapter 5.

displayed a disinclination to continue speaking, the others are left with the opportunity to do so. As it happens, though, nobody else speaks and a lapse emerges (line 14).

In this lapse environment, it is unclear who speaks next. One possibility is for Donna to self-select and produce something that would implicate more talk (i.e., a sequence-initiating action; see Chapter 5). Donna orients to this possibility by observably passing it up. She self-selects only to produce a standalone *so* while lifting her glass to drink (line 15). With this complex of actions, she projects non-speakership and prompts others to act (Raymond, 2004). She indicates not only that she won't continue the prior sequence, but also that she won't start a next sequence.

Donna's coparticipants orient to Donna's actions as projecting non-speakership and yielding the floor to someone else. Laura moves her gaze away from Donna after 0.7 seconds (line 16). With her gaze withdrawal, Laura also withdraws her recipiency (Goodwin, 1981), and so she treats Donna as 'someone who is not going to speak'. Laura then turns to Mom, potentially in a search for a next speaker. Finding herself sharing mutual gaze with Mom, Laura shrugs, as if to communicate 'I have nothing to add', to which Mom shrugs in response, as if to reply, 'Neither do I' (line 18; Kendon, 2004, p. 275; Streeck, 2009, p. 189). Michelle is the only participant at this stage who hasn't publicly renounced the role of next speaker. So it is perhaps not a coincidence that she is the one who ends the lapse (line 19). With this example, the initiation of a drink in a lapse lets Donna indicate neither sequence expansion nor sequence initiation in the place where both are relevant options for her.

Current speakers may thus initiate drinking as part of displaying commitment to unit completion. Initiating drinking in the locations shown above (i.e., turn-beginning of a sequence-initial turn, TRP of a sequence-final turn, and in a lapse environment) let current speakers visibly indicate that no turn continuation, sequence expansion, or sequence initiation were forthcoming in environments where such options were possible. Their occurrence reveals speakers' orientations to the completeness of the unit underway and the relevance of something else coming after.

Strategic usage of drinking. What has been shown so far might be taken as indicating a relatively straightforward principle: drinking may accompany movement into or retention of non-speakership. The final example of this subsection presents a case where drinking is used in a less straightforward way. Here, drinking initiation displays pending non-speakership as part of implementing a tease. The participants in

this recording (Lon, Matt, and Rowan) had been chatting on campus when they were approached unexpectedly by a researcher, who asked if he could record their conversation for scientific purposes. Just prior to this extract, Matt noted that the camera was pointed directly at him and joked that he was *the star of the show* (not shown). We join the interaction as the researcher takes his leave and the participants return to their conversation (lines 1-5). The *forms* that Rowan references in line 1 are consent forms for being recorded.

Extract 4.10 (RCE07_0039)

```
01    ROW:  y'get the forms an we'll jus talk.
02    RES:  okay.
03    LON:  kay.=
04    ROW:  =awrigh-.
05    MAT:  (m)yeah.
06          (0.5)+(0.9)+
      row         +turns to MAT+
07    ROW:  .TKh (.) +£so Ma*tt.£
                     +grasps, lifts mug, closes lips in smile->
      mat                  *gazes to ROW--------------------->
08          (0.4)*(0.2)
      mat   ---->*smiles->>
09    MAT:  >let's not (w)eu-+Better not say anyf+ing bad you know
      row   ---------------->+tilts----------------------------->>
```

In transitioning back to conversation, Rowan turns to Matt and addresses him using the format *so* + ADDRESS TERM (lines 6-7). With this, Rowan bounds off the prior activity (Butler, Danby, & Emmison, 2011) and positions Matt as centrally implicated in their next one (Bolden, 2006, 2009a). Rowan is foreshadowing something to come, but he is clearly doing more than that. He audibly produces his turn with smile-voice quality, which indicates nonseriousness. Additionally, he grasps and lifts his mug at turn beginning (cf. Extract 4.7). Through this manual action, Rowan commits to ending his turn and projects no more to come. What this means is that he leaves conspicuously unarticulated precisely how Matt figures into their upcoming talk. What's more, Rowan controls his lifting pace such that Matt can view him smiling at Matt, which further contributes to the special character of his action. And so Matt has been treated as *the star of the show*, but is left to locate for himself the probable content of Rowan's thoughts. This amounts to the recognizable teasing or baiting of Matt, and indeed, Matt responds in kind. After gazing to Rowan and seeing that he is smiling, Matt smiles back (line 8), thereby acknowledging and entering into that nonserious frame. He goes on to

treat Rowan's action as a playful incitement or prompt by warning him against saying *anyfing bad* (line 9), which would be recorded on camera, embarrassing him for posterity. In this strategic usage of drinking, Rowan exploits the association between drinking and non-speakership to abscond from the turn-space with whatever he might have said about Matt. This demonstrates that drinking initiations do not merely reflect participants' understandings of TCU boundaries and speakership. They may also constitute a flexible device in the construction of specific actions that trade on an association between drinking and not speaking.

For the act of drinking to be folded into the course of talk-in-interaction, participants must first decide where to initiate drinking. The analyses of drinking initiations in this subsection provide a systematic account for the distribution shown in Table 4.1. The thread tying these examples together is the shared understanding of drinking as a visible display of current or pending non-speakership. The placement of drinking initiations shows that participants monitor the ongoing talk—both their own and others'—for places where drinking is a relevant possibility. Participants coordinate the initiation of drinking with moments where transitioning into non-speakership is or is about to be relevant, and in this respect it reveals their online analyses of the participation framework.

4.4.3. Integrating drinking and speaking

The previous examples show that participants make some effort to initiate drinking *around* talk such that the focal action phase of drinking coincides with moments of non-speakership for the drinker. This might suggest that drinking entails unavailability to speak next. In my collection, however, there were no cases where a drinking participant was treated as unable to speak next.[24] That is, participants currently engaged in either the preparation phase or focal action phase of a drinking action were still treated as possible next speakers. If a drinking participant is allocated a next turn, then there emerges a conflict between speaking and drinking. Because

[24] Compare to those moments in eating where chewing is treated as unavailability. A speaker might address the chewing participant without looking, and then after gazing over, produce an apology of some sort (e.g., "oh sorry I'll let you finish, didn't see that you were eating"). Or the chewing participant herself might produce a pre-beginning *mm* to indicate that a turn is forthcoming but only after displacing the food (Gonzales Temer & Ogden, 2015). I expected to find something like this going on with drinking as well, but there were no cases of it in my collection.

drinking renders the oral articulators practically inoperable, a drinking participant who is positioned as next speaker must decide how to balance the conflicting activities of drinking now and speaking next. This amounts to a choice between completing the drinking action or delaying the progressivity of talk. In the examples below, drinking participants are shown employing a range of multimodal resources such that the progressivity of talk is upheld. The focus here is on how participants deal with the conflict between a drink-in-progress and a turn-to-come, so analyses of drinking initiations are not shown.

Participants can sustain the progression of both drinking and speaking at the same time through vocalization (see also Wiggins, 2002; Gonzales-Temer & Ogden, 2015). In the following two extracts, a participant is provided the opportunity to speak next, and in each case, that participant produces a vocal response during the focal action phase of drinking. In Extract 4.11, Marie positively receipts an answer in third position with ↑*mm.* (line 4), and in Extract 4.12, Jennifer responds to a question with the negative answer token *mm-mm* (line 4).

Extract 4.11 (GB07-7_2915)

```
01    MAR:  *(wait/what) you started a*t four?
            *holds bottle chest level-*lifts->
02          (0.3)
03    LEX:  *no five.
      mar   ->*tilts->>
04    MAR:  ↑mm.
```

Extract 4.12 (Housemates_0746)

```
01    TER:  w*ould you like* to have some like that* some[time?
02    JEN:                                             [mm-mm.
             *reaches------*lifts-----------------*tilts------>
03          (0.4)*
      jen   ---->*
04    TER:  I'll make you some¿
```

While it's conceivable for Marie and Jennifer to have produced verbal responses only after completing their drinking actions, that is not what happens. Instead, they produce sequentially appropriate vocal responses and do so on time with minimal gap (Extract 4.11) or overlap (Extract 4.12). In the absence of the ability to verbalize, participants who are allocated the next turn may nevertheless participate in a sequentially relevant way and in accordance with the temporal demands of talk-in-interaction.

Aside from vocal resources, participants may also mobilize bodily resources while drinking. The next extract shows the usage of facial movement during the focal action phase of a drink, specifically an eyebrow flash. At the start of this exchange, Jamie asks Max a question about the number of lines on a painting that they've been talking about. Over the course of his question, Jamie gazes from Max, briefly toward Will, then back to Max (figure 4.5a-c). The import of this slight head movement is that Jamie is asking on behalf of both himself and Will as a party. Jamie's head gesture works to 'include' Will as equally invested in the question and Max's eventual answer.

Extract 4.13 (RCE15B_0324)

```
01    JAM:  #is it thr#ee?#
      WIL:  >>glass tilted at mouth->>
      fig   #a        #b  #c
02    MAX:  Δi#s*h.Δ+it's got+*(.)#* u:m a couple of (.) diagonal=
            Δgaze to WILΔ
      jam           +gaze to WIL+
      wil       *gaze to MAX--*eyebrow flash*
      fig     #d                  #e
03    MAX:  =hh (.) fine (.) lines'n,
```

Figure 4.5. Eyebrow flash during drink-in-progress (L-R: Will, Max, Jamie)

Max's answer comes in two TCUs. During the first (*ish*), he turns to face Will, thereby treating Will as a recipient to the answer (figure 4.5c-d; Goodwin, 1981). And as Max continues with an additional TCU (*it's got...*), Jamie too turns to gaze at Will (figure 4.5d-e). With both of his coparticipants now turned to him, Will is in a position to produce some reaction to Max's answer. From the start of this extract, however, and continuing past the end of it, Will is drinking; his glass remains tilted at his mouth

throughout the exchange. But even though he is not disposed to respond verbally, he nonetheless gazes back at Max and produces an eyebrow flash (figure 4.5e; cf. Levinson, 2005, 2015). With this, he treats his coparticipants' gaze toward him as requiring some reaction (Stivers & Rossano, 2010) and produces a non-verbal movement that would be visible to both of them.

What should be clear from these examples is that drinking does not totally inhibit communication, and that management of two mutually exclusive activities does not in all circumstances necessitate the suspension of one for the advancement of the other (Mondada, 2014b). One activity (drinking) can constrain the ordinary progression of another (speaking), but they may nonetheless run in parallel through the allocation of multimodal resources to one activity or another (Mondada, 2014a; Raymond & Lerner, 2014; Lerner & Raymond, 2017a). Furthermore, participants exhibit sensitivity to the temporal order of interaction insofar as they produce these non-verbal reactions in the same temporal 'slot' that a speaking turn could have occupied. The preservation of the forward movement of interaction during a drink is thus accomplished through the flexible adaptation of multimodal resources for a given sequential environment.

The previous examples showed how the parallel progression of both drinking and speaking could be supported through the use of vocal and facial resources. By contrast, in the next extract a participant modifies the trajectory of drinking so as to support the progressivity of talk. This may be done through elementary adjustments made to any phase of a drinking action (Raymond & Lerner, 2014; Lerner & Raymond, 2017a). These elementary adjustments include the suspension, retardation, or, as shown below, acceleration of drinking. Extract 4.14 begins as Jamie suggests that Will prepare an email for him and another student (lines 1-2).

Extract 4.14 (RCE15B_1716)

```
01     JAM:  *if you wanna just u:m type up (.)* like (.) an email,
       wil   >>*holding glass near face------->*tilts glass------->
02           (f)sor'of- (.) me# and S+*ara.#
                                  +gazes to WIL->
       wil   ----------------------->*lowers------->
       fig                    #a          #b
03           *(0.3)#(0.5)*
       wil   ->*swallows, nodding, gazing at JAM*
       fig         #c
04     WIL:  a draft
05     JAM:  yeah.
06           (0.5)
```

07 WIL: yeah.(.) I won't be doing it tonight °I don't think°

Figure 4.6. Acceleration of drinking action

Will is holding his glass near his face from the start of Jamie's turn. He initiates drinking (i.e., he tilts his glass) when Jamie comes to a place of grammatical incompletion and pauses (cf. Extracts 4.3-4.5). This sets up an impending conflict: Will is currently in the focal action phase of drinking, but he is also expected to respond to Jamie's suggestion. Jamie's turn ends at the word *Sara* (line 2), at which point he gazes to Will in a visible display of next speaker selection (Lerner, 2003). At the very same time, Will quickly decouples his glass from his mouth (figure 4.6a-b). That is, Will accelerates the focal action phase of his drinking action. This liberates the resources with which he fashions a response. In the place where he should begin responding, Will nods while gazing at Jamie (figure 4.6c), which is a sequentially relevant action for this environment. And after swallowing, Will follows his nodding with a candidate understanding (*a draft*), which Jamie confirms (lines 4-5). What's seen in this extract is the acceleration of the focal phase of a drinking action, which results in the release of Will's head/facial and verbal resources for the production of an on-time next action.

This extract also points to a drinker's understanding of the affordances of different response modalities (cf. Levinson & Brown, 2016). Whereas drinking participants in Extracts 4.11-4.13 used vocal and facial resources to construct a response, the interactional circumstances in this example evidently called for the verbal modality. To make sense of this, compare the multimodal responses shown above: the ↑*mm* (Extract 4.11) suitably corresponds to a verbal change-of-state token like *oh* (Heritage, 1984b); the *mm-mm* (Extract 4.12) to a negative particle like *no*; and the eyebrow flash (Extract 4.13) to a surprise token like *really?* (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2006). By contrast, the candidate understanding (*a draft*) in Extract 4.14 is not as easily substituted by other communicative resources, and therefore the verbal channel needs to be available. This suggests that the calculus for next speakers is somewhat more complex if they are

currently drinking. In addition to planning the timing and content of their responses (e.g., Levinson, 2016), participants engaged in drinking must take into account the optimal response *modality*. If a response can take a non-verbal form, then drinking may proceed normally. But should the relevant response be something that's best expressed through words, then elementary adjustments of the drinking action are in order.

The usage of multimodal resources by participants who are allocated a speaking turn provides for the selective advancement of drinking and/or speaking. These demonstrate the practical work that participants do to display their involvement in and commitment to conversational interaction while engaged in the individual act of drinking. And they suggest that planning a response involves online consideration not only of timing and content, but channel of expression.

4.4. Discussion

The title of this chapter is a play on Dan Slobin's (1996) 'thinking for speaking' proposal. This is the idea that putting some thought into words involves attending to whatever your linguistic code might require (evidential marking, manner-vs.-path verb framing, etc.). The cognitive act of formulating some utterance, the idea goes, is organized by reference to grammatical conventions of speaking. In a similar way, the findings of this chapter illustrate how the embodied act of drinking, insofar as it is bound up with the organization of talk-in-interaction, may be said to be done 'for speaking'. Quantification of the placement of drinking initiations suggested that participants in ordinary conversation do not randomly engage in drinking, but monitor the unfolding interaction for places where drinking is unlikely to conflict with speaking. The initiation of drinking was analyzably tied to overlap resolution (Extract 4.2), places of maximum grammatical control (Extracts 4.3-4.5), getting back to an interrupted telling (Extract 4.6), moments of turn (Extract 4.7) and sequence closure (Extract 4.8), lapse environments (Extracts 4.1, 4.9), and the construction of a tease (4.10). Drinking may serve as a display of alignment to a given unit underway when done by non-speaking participants, and as a display of commitment to unit completion when done by current speakers. This account of drinking as a visible display of non-speakership provides a systematic basis for the occurrence of drinking in interaction. Finally, participants were shown using a range of multimodal resources in balancing current engagement in drinking with the social obligation to speak next (Extracts 4.11-4.14).

This account of the technical accomplishment of coordinating drinking and speaking in conversation contributes to our understanding of the organization of multiactivity. It shows in detail how participants accomplish the advancement of two activities that are largely mutually exclusive. Though drinking constrains engagement in speaking, participants were shown using methodical practices for proceeding with one or both at the same time. Participants demonstrably relied on the organization of talk-in-interaction, with its projected opportunities and obligations to speak, to distribute the occurrence of drinking around moments of speakership. The orchestration of speaking and drinking shows "the real-time endogenous analysis participants constantly achieve within conversation and within other actions, monitoring them in order to exploit methodically sequential positions as occasioning and even affording complex coordination" (Mondada, 2012b, p. 227). Additionally, the findings provide empirical grounding for Goffman's (1963) pronouncement that "the individual is obliged to demonstrate involvement *in* a situation through the modulation of his involvements *within* the situation" (p. 196). Participants accountably prioritized involvement in conversation over involvement in drinking through the practices detailed above. This was clearest in Extracts 4.11-4.14, where participants deftly managed the constraints that drinking and speaking place on one another. And so rather than categorizing drinking as a subordinate involvement and speaking as the dominant involvement in a once-and-for-all manner, such categorizations were shown to emerge from members' practical procedures for integrating the organization of talk-in-interaction with the organization of drinking.

These observations also relate to the organization of lapses, and in particular the intersection of lapses, disengagement, and multiactivity. The findings indicate that lapses attract disengagements like drinking, or in the very least that participants treat lapses as one place for such acts. When placed in a lapse, which is defined by the absence of a current or next speaker, drinking may do double-duty: the act not only progresses the activity of drinking (i.e., drinking until the drink is all gone), but also operates on the current participation framework (i.e., visibly displays non-speakership). In this way, the ending of a sequence and the placement of nothing in particular to occur next systematically affords multiactivity.

Taking drinking as a case study also allows us to probe the nature of social action. It's clear that drinking is dissimilar to communicative bodily actions like waving hello, which by themselves constitute recognizable actions. Yet at the same time, it's

insufficient to say that drinking is a merely instrumental action with no interactional import, as the analyses above demonstrate. In those extracts, participants treated drinking as a specifically disattended sort of action (Goffman, 1974; Goodwin, 1986a) from which social information was 'given off' rather than 'given' (Goffman, 1963). It appeared to fulfill a regulatory function for interaction (e.g., Ekman & Friesen, 1969; Kendon, 2004), disclosing participants' understandings of the completion or incompletion of various interactional units. As with other liminal and arguably meaningful actions like sighing (Hoey, 2014) and blinking (Hömke, Holler, & Levinson, 2017), we gain significant purchase on an interactional phenomenon by situating it in its most proximal context—the local order of turn and sequence. It is by reference to the organization of interaction that any specific drinking action gained its constitutive accountability. The dynamic restraints and resources continually presented in talk anchor the act of drinking. Even in lapses, whose main feature is the lack of talk, drinking comes to be understood by reference to that sequential location. And so the extent to which drinking in interaction may be deemed a social action depends on how, in its occurrence, it is oriented to the setting which it respects and reproduces.

In this chapter the ordinary act of drinking was shown to be a delicately regulated affair that exhibits sensitivity to emergent interactional contingencies. The analyses demonstrate the practiced ways in which participants interleave an individual manual activity into the collaborative and joint activity of conversation. In this way, the chapter explicates some basic yet easily overlooked aspects of a universal domain of social life: drinking with others.

In the next chapter, I move away from practices for avoiding talk (which was the focus of this and the previous chapter), and onto ways that talk gets restarted after a lapse.

Chapter 5

Restarting talk: Resources for lapse resolution[25]

This chapter addresses a recurrent issue in interaction: how to restore turn-by-turn talk after a lapse in conversation. Conversation ordinarily progresses one turn after another, with the ending of one turn implicating the start of another one in the formation of coherent sequences of collaborative action. When arriving at the potential end of some sequence of talk, participants have the option to refrain from speaking. If all participants forgo the option to speak, then an extended silence may emerge in the place where speaking was possible. This silence—a lapse—can indicate a lack of anything to talk about next. If the interaction is to proceed recognizably as a conversation, then the issue facing participants at this juncture is locating something that would provide for more talk, that is, something that could resolve the lapse. Using conversation analysis, I examine lapse resolution in ordinary conversation in UK/US English, focusing on three logical alternatives regarding where to go after a lapse: end the interaction, continue with some prior matter, or start something new. Participants are shown using resources grounded in the interaction's overall structural organization, in the materials locatable in the interaction-so-far, in the mentionables they bring to interaction, and in the situated environment itself. In comparing these three alternatives, there is suggestive quantitative evidence for a preference for continuation. Through the analysis of how turn-by-turn talk gets restored after lapses, I argue that lapses are places for the management of multiple possible courses of action.

5.1. Introduction

Much of social life occurs in situations where conversation is the central activity (Schegloff, 2006b). For such states of talk (Goffman, 1967) or speech events (Hymes, 1972), participants arrange themselves for sustained mutual involvement (Goffman, 1963; Kendon, 1990), and exchange speaking turns one after another with minimal gap and overlap (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974). Any observer of such a scene could identify it as 'a conversation'. It's somewhat of an idealization, however, to picture these situations as uniformly consisting of continuous turn-by-turn talk. Certain

[25] A version of this chapter was invited to appear in a forthcoming special issue of *Research on Language and Social Interaction.*

contingencies might result in the occurrence of periods of extended silence. The conversation might be paused for participants to attend to another matter, it might get interrupted by an unexpected event, or—as I address in this chapter—the conversation may lapse into silence for lack of something to talk about. The problem I am concerned with here is how participants in ordinary conversations restart talk after it lapses.

Lapses are periods of non-talk that develop when all participants to an interaction forgo the opportunity to speak in a place where speaking is a relevant possibility (Sacks et al., 1974). Prior work has described how participants enter lapses and render them as particular social objects (see Szymanski, 1999; Chapter 2). The relevance of lapsing out of talk and the meaning of that silence for participants, as reflexively shown through their observable conduct, turns on the sort of activity they are engaged in and where they are in the course of that activity (on activity, see Levinson, 1992). Some activities provide for the emergence of lapses, especially those in multiactivity settings (Haddington, Keisanen, Mondada, & Nevile, 2014), where the occurrence of a lapse may be expected, allowed, or otherwise accounted for. For example, lapses that come about during group coursework (Szymanski, 1999) or when watching television (Ergül, 2016) are accountable by reference to participants' engagement in those activities rather than talk—they are activity-occupied lapses.

Yet other activities do not as readily provide for the occurrence of a lapse, as there is no other activity to 'step in' and account for the silence. The central remit of activities like 'catching up' and 'cocktail chat' is the very act of conversing, without which the recognizability of such activities may be compromised. Participants in these settings generally forgo alternative engagements that might otherwise account for a lapse. This means that the occurrence of a lapse may be understood and treated as the conspicuous absence of talk, or as silence where talk should be (Chapter 2).

Lapses in these circumstances regularly appear in a specific structural location: at the end of a sequence of talk (cf. Chapter 2 on the placement of lapses). Sequences are series of linked actions/turns through which participants collaboratively bring off courses of action (Schegloff, 2007). They minimally consist of two paired actions (e.g., a question-answer sequence), but are routinely expanded beyond two turns with the addition of pre-expansions, insert expansions, and post-expansions (Schegloff, 2007). A sequence starts with some sequentially implicative action, which is an action that provides for a determinate range of appropriate and (conditionally) relevant next actions (Schegloff, 1968; Schegloff & Sacks, 1973; Sacks, 1992b). Actions like questions

and accusations are sequentially implicative because they make relevant in next position actions like answers and denials, respectively.

Sequence endings are less well defined than sequence beginnings because endings are necessarily provisional. A sequence may always be expanded past a place of possible completion. Generally, a sequence may be treated as possibly complete when the conditions of whatever launched that sequence are met. Sometimes this takes place over just two turns (e.g., a greeting-greeting sequence). Other times, sequences are prolonged for some time before getting closed. Participants' methods for drawing a sequence to a close may be seen as the inverse of those methods for sequence initiation. That is, for proposing and enacting sequence closure, participants produce actions that are *not* sequentially implicative and do *not* provide for a range of next actions. Such practices include minimal engagement in talk (Jefferson, 1981b; Drummond & Hopper, 1993; Gardner, 2001), passing on the opportunity to speak (Schegloff, 1982), and proposing the completion (Schegloff, 2007) or recompletion of a sequence (Chapter 3).

Arrival at a place of possible sequence completion systematically provides for the emergence of a lapse. By collectively treating the current course of action as adequately complete, participants not only furnish the space to move onto something else, but also set the stage for 'nothing' to come next. If all participants refrain from self-selection at possible sequence completion, then a lapse emerges in the place where turn-transfer should have occurred. The emergence of a lapse in this environment presents a problem: for a social occasion constituted by turn-by-turn talk, a lapse embodies the absence of a next speaker and, by implication, the absence of something to talk about next. Nobody is speaking during an activity normally characterized by continuous talk. The practical issue facing participants is restarting a conversation that seems to have run aground, or phrased more technically, forming some sequentially implicative turn that would end the lapse and reinstate turn-by-turn talk.

This chapter describes three logical alternatives available to participants in these environments. Participants may choose to 1) end the interaction, 2) continue with something from before, or 3) start something new. These options cover a substantial range of responses to the question of 'what next?' in a lapse, but of course they do not exhaust the range of behaviors observed in lapse environments—for example, talk that does not implicate more talk (Chapter 3), disengagement (Goodwin, 1981), or departure (Goodwin, 1987). The focus here is on sequentially implicative post-lapse turns, or what participants do such that a lapse in conversation gets resolved. The analyses below

show participants orienting to these three alternatives in lapse resolution. In choosing from among these options, respectively, participants reflexively display their understandings of where they are in the course of their interactions, exhibit sensitivity to the (in)completion of extant courses of action, and introduce as relevant something from 'outside' the interaction. Through their lapse resolving turns, participants manage the relevance of multiple possible courses of action.

5.2. Methods

The data for this chapter are video recordings of ordinary conversations in American and British English between friends and intimates in homes and at university (see Table 1.1). I first analyzed ten such video recordings for all candidate lapses, which resulted in a base collection of 500 lapses (see §1.4.4).[26] Silences were counted as lapses for this study under two conditions. First, no speaker-selection technique (Sacks et al., 1974; Lerner, 2003; Mondada, 2007a) occurred in the just-prior talk or in the 500 ms of silence afterwards. I used 500 ms as an estimated lower limit for lapses because that is where the turn-taking option 'same speaker continues' (Sacks et al., 1974) tends to cluster, as shown in Dutch (ten Bosch, Oostdijk, & Boves, 2005) and as suggested by the timing of other-initiated repair in English (Kendrick, 2015). Second, all participants sustained their commitment to the conversation, as detectable in stable bodily orientations (Goffman, 1963; Goodwin, 1981; Kendon, 1990; Schegloff, 1998b; Mondada, 2013b), and did not recognizably take up some other activity.

This main collection of 500 lapses contained cases where the silence featured some bodily-visual conduct that could be analyzably tied to the ongoing talk. For instance, some lapses featured sequentially relevant non-verbal behaviors (responsive head nods/shakes, embodied compliance with a directive, facial reactions, etc. [e.g., Olsher, 2004; Nishizaka, 2006; Arminen, Koskela, & Palukka, 2014]), or bodily conduct that was integrated with and interpretable by reference to talk (e.g., gesticulations and whole-body movement [Keevallik, 2013, 2014, 2015]), facial gestures [Kaukomaa, Peräkylä, & Ruusuvuori, 2013], or shrugs [Ford & Raclaw, 2016]). I excluded all cases where such embodied conduct was directly linked to the participants' conversational actions. This was done in order to arrive at a set of lapses in which 'nothing' was going

[26] Extracts 5.6 and 5.9 are not part of the collection of 264 lapses, and therefore do not figure into the descriptive statistics in this chapter. They are used here because they more clearly exhibit the phenomena under consideration than any of the instances in the collection of 264.

on—nothing that could be grounded in the proceedings of their talk (see §1.4.4.3). After excluding these cases, I ended up with a collection of 264 lapses, which is what the analyses below are based on. The analysis proceeds according to conversation analytic principles (e.g., Sidnell & Stivers, 2013), and all extracts were transcribed following Jefferson (2004) for verbal and vocal conduct and Mondada (2014a) for visible conduct.

5.3. Analysis

5.3.1. End the interaction

Participants may treat lapses as closure-implicative by recognizably moving toward ending the interaction. Such closings are collaboratively brought off (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). They tend to begin with a pre-closing section, where coparticipants establish warrant for ending the interaction, then can proceed to the closing section proper, which ultimately ends in the terminal exchange (e.g., *bye-bye*). Built into this process are opportunities to resist closing the interaction and engage in things like making arrangements, introducing unmentioned topics, and reintroducing previous materials. What this means is that initiating movement to closure projects more talk (i.e., it is sequentially implicative) because it makes conditionally relevant either progression to closure or introduction of other matters. In this respect, initiating closure is one way that lapses get resolved.

Participants may explicitly propose closure after a lapse. In Extract 5.1, Kate and Fabrice were sitting on campus together when they were approached unexpectedly by the researcher who asked to record their interaction. After setting up the camera and before taking his leave, the researcher told them that he would wait in the distance and to 'just wave' when they wanted to summon him to stop the recording.[27] The extract starts as Kate directs Fabrice's attention to a group of people looking at them, which initiates a sequence in which they speculate about why they're *being spotted*.

Extract 5.1 (RCE02_39)

```
01    KAT:  I think you're being spotted.
            ((lines removed; FAB locates the gawkers))
02    FAB:  because we've got the fucking kit facing our
03          £faces haven't we.£
04    KAT:  £(h)oh y(h)eah£
05    FAB:  hhh-hah (.)£Y(h)ou'd be f(h)ucking like,
```

[27] These same recording circumstances hold for Extracts 5.2, 5.4, 5.5, and 5.6, which come from the Rossi Corpus of English (RCE) collected by Giovanni Rossi in 2011. See Table 1.1.

```
06          <u:h>, .hh what's going on, <uh>£ hh-hah-ah. .hhh
07    FAB:  and then: (.) being me:, then they're probly wondring
08          (yeh) what the fuck (h)is he doing, an:d=h (.) [yeah.
09    KAT:                                                 [yeah.
10          (0.6)
11    KAT:  £oh, cause you're:e that important.£
12    FAB:  yeah I ca- exacly.
13          *+(0.7)        *(0.3)+(0.4)*
      fab   *facing forward*turns in direction of researcher*
      kat   +facing forward------+withdraws gaze----------->>
14    FAB:  °t's [weird.°
15    KAT:       [°okay.°
16    FAB:  a*lright. shall we head.
             *gazes to KAT-------->>
17    KAT:  yeah.
```

Fabrice connects their gawking to *the fucking kit* pointed him and Kate (lines 2-3). Kate accepts his explanation and, through laughter and smile voice, admits some embarrassment at not having taken the conspicuousness of the camera into account (line 4). At this point, the sequence is potentially complete; they've adequately accounted for why a group of people were looking at them and may move onto something else. However, Fabrice continues with the sequence. In a laughing and teasing manner, he suggests that their being gazed at may have something to do with him (lines 5-8). Kate at first accepts these additional explanations (line 9), constituting another place of possible sequence completion, but then after a moment (line 10), redoes her turn as a sarcastic tease (line 11). She treats Fabrice's explanation as bragging or self-praise (Pomerantz, 1978; Speer, 2012). According to Drew (1987), a teased party ordinarily rejects the tease, backs down, or corrects the record after being called out for bragging. But even though he's given these options, Fabrice chooses to let the self-praise stand by agreeing with Kate (line 12). Perhaps because it's somewhat tricky to move on from a situation like this, neither of the participants self-select, which results in a lapse (line 13).

During the lapse, Fabrice turns in the direction of the researcher, whom they had located and talked about prior to this extract. By looking in that direction, he orients to what the researcher embodies: the person needed to end the interaction. Both participants end the lapse by starting up in overlap. Fabrice gives a summary assessment of the situation (line 14), which is often used in sequence closure (Schegloff, 2007; see Chapter 3), and Kate quietly utters *okay* (line 15), with which she displays preparedness to move onto some next-positioned matter (Beach, 1993). And so both

have oriented to ending the interaction. Fabrice treats Kate's *okay* as moving toward closings; he endorses her motion to end the interaction then explicitly proposes its termination (line 16).

This example shows that participants may treat a lapse as implicating the end of their interaction and that doing so has as an outcome their reengagement in turn-by-turn talk. An orientation to closure provides for more talk because it makes relevant either progression toward terminating the conversation or resistance to doing so, both of which require talk (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). In this respect, orienting to ending the interaction constitutes one method for lapse resolution. This example also demonstrates that lapses invite participants to situate themselves in the overall structural organization of their conversation—the beginning, somewhere in the middle, or the end. The fact that closings regularly get initiated in lapses indicates that lapses prompt consideration of higher levels of structural organization, and specifically consideration of whether the interaction may come to an end at just this moment. By moving towards closure, then, participants leverage as a resource their placement in the overall structural organization of their interaction for ending the lapse. This contrasts with the extracts analyzed in the next section, in which participants use their prior talk as a resource for locating something to take up after a lapse.

5.3.2. Continue with prior talk

Participants need not treat a lapse as closure-implicative; they may choose to continue with the interaction after the lapse by building on prior talk. This is the most common choice in my collection of lapse resolution turns, constituting 80% (212/264) of the cases analyzed. The interaction-so-far provides a wealth of accumulated materials with which to construct a sequentially implicative next utterance. Indeed, a fundamental mechanism underlying interactive language use is the reusage and reassembly of prior talk (e.g., Bakhtin, 1981; Sacks, 1992a; Hopper, 2011; Goodwin, 2013; Du Bois, 2014; Auer, 2015). As shown in the extracts below, the materials afforded by prior talk include the current topic (Extract 5.2), the pre-lapse sequence (5.3-5.4), and incomplete or postponed courses of action (5.5-5.6).

Use the current topic. The most common and straightforward way to continue with the prior talk after a lapse is by 'going on' with on-topic talk. There were 70 cases where participants used the current topic to produce a turn that resolved a lapse. This

typically takes the form of shifting to another aspect of the same topic, which refreshes the set of mentionable items (Maynard, 1980). In this way, the topic-of-conversation-so-far furnishes the materials for ending a lapse. Below, during some talk about travel, Hannah announces that she'd *like to go to Japan.* Molly affirms and echoes that desire, which provides space for Hannah to expand on it. Rather than articulating, for instance, what she finds alluring about Japan, Hannah merely provides a bland summary assessment of the idea of going there (line 3). Hannah's display of 'no more to add' brings their talk to possible completion, after which a lapse emerges (line 4).

Extract 5.2 (RCE25_07)

```
01    HAN:  I think I- I'd like to go to Japan
02    MOL:  .tk yeah so would I.
03    HAN:  that'd be really intresting.
04          (1.7)
05    MOL:  my dad's been twice: an'ee ri[llyrilly liked it.=
06    HAN:                               [aas he,
07    MOL:  =yeah.
```

Molly ends the lapse by launching a telling about her father (line 5). This topic shift involves movement from the class 'people who haven't visited Japan' to its contrast class, 'people who *have* visited Japan'. In this contrast class Molly locates her father and reports his evaluation of his trips to Japan. Hannah stabilizes this topic shift by inviting Molly to expand on it (line 6), and turn-by-turn talk continues from there. In going on with on-topic talk, continuity is maintained across the lapse. This may work to dispel the sense of disrupted topical flow, even though turn-by-turn talk was itself disrupted. The topic of prior talk is thus a resource for lapse resolution, in this case through the initiation of a telling.

Pre-lapse and post-lapse talk may be bound together by topical means, but they also share a discriminable *sequential* relationship (see Schegloff, 1990, 2007). Indeed, the tying procedures linking utterances together create sequential coherence in the first instance, and it is arguably this sequential coherence that provides for the emergence and recognizability of topical coherence (Sacks, 1992a, p. 541). For the remainder of this subsection, I focus on how participants exploit the *sequential* infrastructure of prior talk for lapse resolution.

Use the pre-lapse sequence. The sequence immediately preceding the lapse furnishes the most accessible tools for resolving it. One property of sequence endings is the abiding possibility of expansion, a systematic outcome of which is that every instance of sequence closure is a contingent accomplishment. The fact that every sequence ending is provisional may be used in lapse environments as a resource for lapse resolution. Two operations on the pre-lapse sequence are shown: initiation of a sequence-closing sequence and initiation of a reciprocal sequence.

With a sequence-closing sequence (Schegloff, 2007, p. 181) participants can bring to a close some extended topic/sequence. Canonically, sequence-closing sequences begin with a proposal to close the topic/sequence at hand, typically through summary assessments, figurative language, upshots, or something that demonstrates an adequate grasp of whatever went before. Coparticipants then have the opportunity to align or resist the proposal to end the sequence, and should the proposal be ratified, then a new sequence may be launched. This process may be occasioned by a lapse. Below, Lex, Marie, and Rachel are talking about how Lex's landlords buy apartments and remodel them before renting them out (lines 1-3).

Extract 5.3 (GB07-7_09)

```
01    RAC:  her en her husban' like, I guess they jus bu:y¿ (.)
02          apartments and they js like, they redo them,
03    LEX:  and they do it really well:¿
            ((lines removed; LEX describes her apartment))
04    LEX:  there's nothing in the attic. they
05          [did the wh:]ol[e place.]
06    RAC:  [yeah.      ]  [I know I] he[ard.
07    MAR:                             [(myehm/wow).
08          (1.0)
09    RAC:  [bu- uhm:
10    MAR:  [b'yer place'z very nice.=
11    RAC:  =#yeah s[eriously.
12    LEX:          [m:m:.
13    LEX:  th'did the whole place.
14    RAC:  wai- so how much do you pay for like cable #a:nd,
```

Lex describes how the landlords remodeled her place, ending her description with an extreme case formulation (Pomerantz, 1986) about how they redid *the whole place* (lines 4-5). In overlap with Lex's turn, Rachel registers Lex's description and treats it as old news (line 6). By showing herself as someone who already knew this information, Rachel diminishes the relevance of Lex saying more on the matter. And after Marie registers Lex's description (line 7), their talk lapses into silence (line 8).

Marie ends the lapse by launching a sequence-closing sequence. She summarily assesses what went before, namely, that the landlords' handiwork is evident in Lex's *very nice* place (line 10). Rachel and Lex endorse Marie's assessment (lines 11-12), thereby aligning with her movement to close the sequence. Lex—who might conceivably say more on the matter, given that it concerns her apartment—does a self-repeat (line 13). By repeating her stance from line 5, she demonstrates that she has no more to add. This permits movement away from the pre-lapse talk and onto something else. And indeed, what follows is the initiation of a new sequence by Rachel (line 14), with which she returns to a question of hers that got displaced by talk about Lex's apartment.

The practical utility of initiating a sequence-closing sequence after a lapse is that it projects more talk—specifically, it projects either collaboration in or resistance to ending the course of action underway. This structurally resembles proposals to end the interaction (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973), but operates at the level of sequence organization rather than overall structural organization. The pre-lapse sequence thus furnishes the materials with which to resolve a lapse because it affords the option to collaboratively negotiate its termination.

Another operation on the pre-lapse sequence is the initiation of a reciprocal sequence, which involves redoing the prior course of action with reversed participatory roles (Schegloff, 2007, p. 195). Telephone openings (Schegloff, 1986) provide a classic example: one participant initiates a how-are-you sequence, and then once that sequence concludes, the other participant can initiate a reciprocal how-are-you sequence (Schegloff, 2007). Lapses provide a place for such reciprocal initiations, as in Extract 5.4. The first sequence—the one that will later be reciprocated—is initiated by Fabrice, who inquires after Kate's schedule for the rest of the week (line 1). Their conversation then turns to Kate's job search (lines 2-5).

Extract 5.4 (RCE02_15)

```
01    FAB:  so how's the rest of the week looking for you li:ke.
            ((lines removed; KAT details schedule))
02    FAB:  when dyou find out about telephone job?
03    KAT:  well the interview's not til Tyoosday so.
04    FAB:  oh yeah you've got another interview. fuckin 'ell. .h
05          they l:ove to interview you,*go:d.
                                        *turns away from KAT->
06          (0.3)*(0.5)
      fab         *opens mouth then yawns->
07    KAT:  yeah_
08          (1.5)
```

```
09    KAT:  it's very annoying.
10          (0.8)
11    FAB:  ((yawning sound))
12          (1.0)
13    KAT:  +what abo*ut you?*
            ->+gazes to FAB->>
      fab   -------->*closes mouth, turns to KAT*
14          (0.5)
15    FAB:  .MTKh E:hm,=
```

Fabrice solicits an update from Kate about a *telephone job* (line 2). Kate's *well*-prefaced response projects a nonstraightforward answer (Schegloff & Lerner, 2009): she has no update about the job since the interview has yet to occur (line 3). This question-answer sequence arrives at possible completion with Fabrice's next turn (lines 4-5). He receipts Kate's answer with an *oh yeah* realization, after which he offers a commiserative assessment of Kate's prolonged interview process. Fabrice treats his turn as possibly sequence-final, as he turns away from Kate at the end of his turn (Rossano, 2012). This leads to the emergence of a lapse (line 6).

During this lapse, which isn't resolved until line 13, Kate produces two turns that recomplete the prior sequence (Chapter 3). She twice produces something that is directed towards the prior sequence, but which does not implicate a next turn. She first produces a flat *yeah* (line 7), with which she acknowledges Fabrice's assessment from line 5. Then after an additional 1.5 seconds of silence, she expands on her agreement with an assessment (lines 8-9). This assessment, like her *yeah* from before, recompletes the prior sequence; it extends that sequence with something that constitutes another possible ending of it. After even more silence,[28] Kate resolves the lapse by initiating a reciprocal sequence (line 13). She asks *what about you?,* which is a linguistic construction practically dedicated to reprising the last sequence with reversed participatory roles.

These extracts demonstrate that lapses can occasion a kind of objectification of the pre-lapse sequence. The possible ending of a sequence is the dedicated environment for deciding whether to go on with it or not—that is, for reflecting on that course of action, what got done through it, its initiating conditions, and so forth. These considerations lend themselves to the use of sequence-closing sequences and reciprocal

[28] We should note that during this lapse, Fabrice is observably yawning, which makes him less eligible to produce a full turn at talk. However, it's possible that he orients to the relevance of more talk during this lapse by producing a yawning vocalization in line 11.

sequences. For if you are in a position to reflect on whether you're finished with the sequence, then you can propose its closure, and if you are considering whether the initial conditions of the sequence have been satisfied, then, for some sequence types, you may reciprocally reuse those initial conditions.

Use a pre-prior sequence. Extracts 5.3-5.4 showed participants resolving lapses by continuing with the talk that immediately preceded the lapse. In the following extracts, participants are seen using materials from *before* the pre-lapse sequence. Participants have a range of devices for going on with some course of action that was sidetracked, diverted, or otherwise left incomplete (see Sacks, 1992b; Mazeland & Huiskes, 2004; Bolden, 2008, 2009a, 2009b). The examples below show that lapses are a place to use such devices. Just before Extract 5.5, Molly had expressed frustration to her friend Hannah at how men can be oblivious to the danger that women feel when walking alone at night. The transcript begins as Molly launches a story about how this happened to the flatmate of a mutual acquaintance of theirs, Corrine (lines 1-3).

Extract 5.5 (RCE25_27)

```
01    MOL:  do you remember Corrine's (0.4) saying that her
02          (1.0) flatmate was attacked?
03    HAN:  N:o::,
            ((MOL tells story of attack on Corrine's flatmate))
04    HAN:  °oh my go:d.°
05    MOL:  and [so-
06    HAN:      [what- (I mean) wha- what did he do:, like- (.)
07          was h[e trying to mug her °or°.
08    MOL:       [well he was trying to (.) sexually [assault her.
09    HAN:                                           [oh.
10    HAN:  e[:u::gh.
11    MOL:   [yeah.
12          (1.3)
13    MOL:  um, (.) .mth and so, yea:h, I mean- that's happened
14          with Kristofer (0.8) as well, like he:
```

After Molly's story concludes, Hannah responds with shock (line 4). Molly then projects some logical outgrowth of her story with *and so* (line 5). She cuts off her turn, however, once Hannah enters in overlap to target one story detail as unclear (lines 6-7). This initiates a side sequence (Jefferson, 1972) in which clarifying the nature of the attack gets dealt with before going forward. Molly clarifies that the attack was sexual assault (line 8). Hannah then registers this with a change-of-state token *oh* (line 9; Heritage,

1984b) and a second reaction token (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 2006) that's hearable as a vocalized shudder (line 10). Molly acknowledges Hannah's revised understanding of the story, which concludes the side sequence (line 11). After this, a lapse emerges (line 12).

At this point, Molly's story has come to an adequate end after which Hannah gave an adequate response (Jefferson, 1978). And so their storytelling activity is potentially complete, meaning they can take up some other matter, like a second story (Sacks, 1992b). What happens, though, is Molly continues with her complaint (lines 13-14). She recycles her *and so* from line 5, returning to the place where she cut off her turn, and produces an *I-mean*-prefaced utterance. This works to preserve rather than alter the overall complaining course of action she is prosecuting (Maynard, 2013, p. 205). In preserving her complaining course of action, Molly details a personal instance where *Kristofer* was insensitive to her fears about walking alone at night. In this way, Molly treats the lapse as a place to continue an incomplete course of action. In selecting from among different directions to go after a lapse, then, speakers may treat prior courses of action as incomplete, which reflexively warrants their continuation.

In addition to providing for the continuation of something that was possibly incomplete, lapses may also provide for the resumption of something that was deferred (see Bolden, 2009b; Mondada, Svensson, & van Schepen, 2015). In Extract 5.6, Will had met up with Jamie to review a speech that Will wrote for class. Early in the recording, however, Will tables the task for later (lines 1-2), thereby making it 'something yet to be taken up'. When we join the participants eight minutes later, Jamie spots in the distance the researcher who had asked to record their interaction. They proceed to joke about the fact that the researcher had left expensive recording equipment with them (lines 3-9). Their joking activity is brought to possible completion as they affirm each other's understanding of the humor in their situation.

Extract 5.6 (RCE15A_0040)

```
01    JAM:  alright uhm=hh (.) the speech. mh-hh-hh
02    WIL:  y:eah wul les: (.) les talk about the speech later¿
            ((eight minutes pass))
03    JAM:  MH: he's over th(h)ere.
04    WIL:  is h(h)e:? [hh:hah .h
05    JAM:             [yeah.
06    JAM:  checkin' out we haven' stealn'iz >stolen(h)'iz:,
07    WIL:  yeah.
08    WIL:  #(       ) run away# with it.
      fig   #a                 #b
09    JAM:  yeah.
```

```
10          (0.3)
11    JAM:  uhm, #(0.9)*(0.3)#(0.3)*
                        *gazes to notepad*
      fig         #c          #d
12    JAM:  °yeahp.°=.hh
13          ∆(0.8)∆(0.2)
      wil   ∆gazes to JAM, cups hands over mouth∆
14    WIL:  yeah.
15    JAM:  s:(p)- p=h::: You're sorted for the speech (really)
16          aren't you, *right.
                         *gazes at WIL->>
17    WIL:  yeah wul I've got li:ke, (1.8) I've got practically e-
```

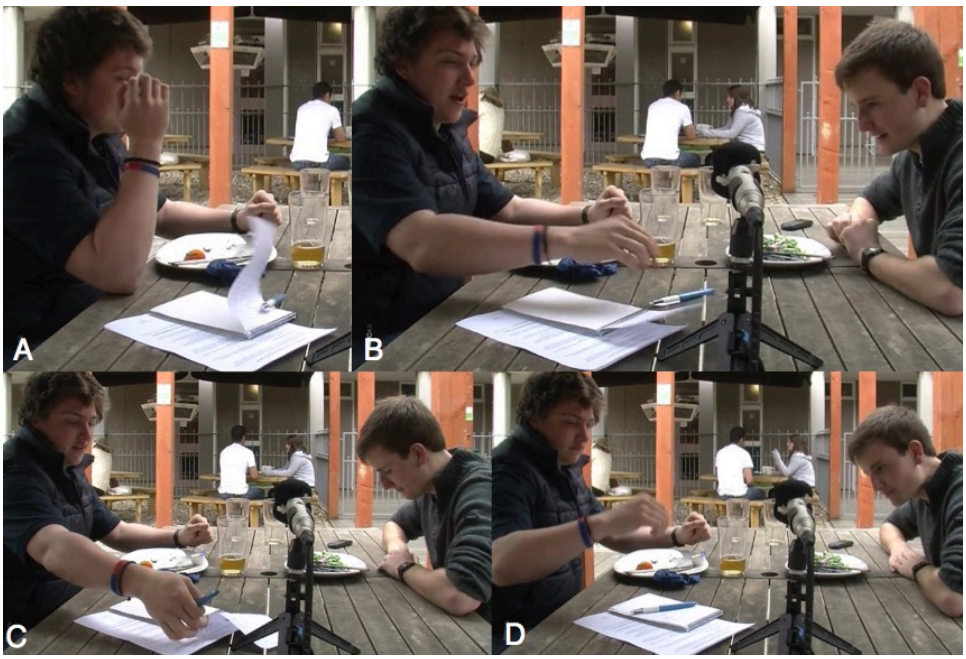

Figure 5.1. Will's paper blows away (L-R: Will, Jamie)

As their joking activity winds down, Will's notepad and pen are blown away from where he had set them by some wind (figure 5.1a). Will promptly re-collects his items, which Jamie observes briefly with a glance (figure 5.1b). Will's items are directly implicated in the activity that they postponed, so it's possible that resuming that postponed activity becomes relevant at this point. As Will gathers his items into place (figure 5.1c), Jamie projects a turn with *uhm* (line 11). In the pause that follows, Jamie gazes to the notepad as Will returns his hands to resting position (figure 5.1d). Jamie's fixation on the notepad indicates the continued relevance of the postponed activity. But rather than producing the turn he had projected, Jamie retracts his claim to the turn-space with a

soft *yeahp,* which is recognizably not a turn beginning (line 12). With no claimant to the turn-space, a lapse emerges (line 13).

During the lapse, Will gazes to Jamie and cups his hands over his mouth. This bodily comportment indicates preparedness to be a recipient to talk and, conversely, *un*preparedness to speak. After a second of silence, Will ends the lapse with a muffled *yeah* (line 14). With this, he hearably passes on the chance to produce a full turn-at-talk (Schegloff, 1982) and treats Jamie as the current speaker. What restarts talk is Jamie's question about whether Will is *sorted for the speech* (line 15). With this question, Jamie orients to the continued relevance of the speech for their interaction and inquires into whether Will still requires his assistance. His question is designed with declarative syntax and two tag questions, which strongly tilts toward getting a *yes* answer (Heritage, 2010, 2012; Raymond, 2010). This means that Will must resist the constraints of the question if he does in fact still need help, which turns out to be the case (line 17). What should be clear is how a lapse in talk may occasion the resumption of postponed tasks. In the absence of some definitive next thing to do, a deferred task presents itself as 'something to do'.

In using some pre-prior course of action to restart talk after a lapse, speakers orient to those materials as latently available. As with operations on the pre-lapse sequence, a lapse can occasion reflection on what has gone on so far in the interaction. If there are 'loose ends', so to speak, then a lapse is a place to tie them up. In the extracts analyzed in this subsection, speakers used materials from the interaction-so-far in going forward after a lapse. In locating an answer to 'what next?', participants may orient to prior matters as still open, available for use, and talk-about-able in some respect. This contrasts with the choice to treat lapses as closure-implicative, as shown in the previous subsection, and with the choice to start up something new, which I turn to next.

5.3.3. Start something new

As opposed to ending the interaction or continuing with something from before, starting up some new course of action poses a different sort of problem. For if you decide against ending the interaction, you commit to going on with it in some way. And if you also decide against continuing with prior or pending matters, then you forgo anchoring your turn in already-established grounds. So what do participants use to start up from cold, as it were? In this section, I show participants' use of two resources: the

things they bring with them to interaction, and the things they find in their environmental setting.

Use unmentioned mentionables. Before ending an interaction, participants routinely provide space for the introduction of unmentioned mentionables (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). These are matters that participants bring to interaction that they might want to talk about, but which they were unable to fit into the natural flow of conversation (see also Button & Casey, 1988/1989). Lapses are another natural environment for hosting unmentioned mentionables, such as complaints, updates, and, as shown below, announcements. This extract starts with two question-answer sequences about the location of Marie's class (lines 1-11), after which a lapse emerges (line 12).

Extract 5.7 (GB07-7_50)

```
01    LEX:  wait where's your class?
02    MAR:  on (.) SCILS building?
03    LEX:  oh Idunno where that is.
04    MAR:  it's by Alameda library.
05          (0.6)
06    RAC:  schoo:l o:[f, (.) commu[nication?
07    MAR:            [of,        [school of communication and
08          information library sciences?
09    RAC:  mhm.
10          (0.7)
11    MAR:  something like that.
12          (1.9)
13    MAR:  oh yeah d'I tell you guys I'm goin: Taiwa:n?
14    RAC:  ((gasp)) no:::::.
```

Marie ends the lapse with an announcement about an upcoming trip (line 13). She prefaces it with *oh yeah,* which marks her forthcoming talk as 'just realized' (Heritage, 1984) and adumbrates some self-attentive matter (Bolden, 2006). This indicates that her turn emerges not as an outgrowth of the prior talk, but from her own set of unmentioned mentionables. She starts the headline (Button & Casey, 1985) of her good news with *d'I tell you guys*, which projects some tellable and treats her recipients as 'people who would care about this news' (see Maynard & Zimmerman, 1984). Rachel responds by gasping and prompting expansion (line 15; Maynard, 1997), after which talk resumes. Marie's announcement is not grounded in their preceding talk; it truly came 'out of the blue'. This shows that lapses can provide for the placement of matters that

didn't emerge organically in the development of interaction, and more generally, that they afford relatively drastic changes in topic and course of action.

Use the situated environment. Another domain that participants draw from in launching new courses of action after a lapse is their situated environment. The material setting of an interaction contains all manner of objects, features, and events of potential relevance. Participants need only detect its relevance for the here-and-now interaction (e.g., Fasulo & Monzoni, 2009). One way that the 'outside' gets into the interaction is through noticings (e.g., Schegloff, 1988, 2007; Sacks, 1992b; Goodwin & Goodwin, 2012; Keisanen, 2012). With a noticing, a participant transforms some previously unremarkable environmental feature into something of potential interactional consequence. In Extract 5.8, four friends are getting ready to resume a board game. The researcher making this recording, Stacy, has just finished setting up the recording equipment and is putting on her coat to leave. Just as they're about to resume the game, the phone rings (line 1).

Extract 5.8 (GameNight_09)

```
01    ENV:  ((phone rings))=
02    TER:  [=it's Mi:chael ca:lling for our:o:rder
03    ABB:  [(it)
04    ABB:  *y(h)ea[(h) he heh heh]
05    MAU:        [Ha ha ha ha.]
      abb   *gazing toward STA->>
06    MAU:  we're ABOUT READY to CLO:SE so for COLD WEATHER,
07          °we wan>wan: know° if you wannid any
08          Δi:ce cream.Δ
      ter   Δnods at MAUΔwithdraws gaze->
09          (0.3)+(0.2)      +(0.3)Δ(0.5)Δ
      mau       +turns to STA+
      ter   ---------------------->Δturns to STAΔ
10    ABB:  that's a great co:at. (.) that looks very wa:rm.
11    STA:  it is ve:ry wa:rm
```

Terry jokingly identifies the caller and a reason-for-the-call (line 2). Her coparticipants laugh appreciatingly (lines 4-5), and Maureen advances Terry's joke by simulating what the caller might say (lines 6-8). Terry affirms Maureen's joke with a nod then withdraws her gaze (line 8), bringing the joking to possible completion (Rossano, 2012), after which a lapse emerges (line 9).

During the lapse, Maureen and Terry turn to Stacy, who is putting on her coat. Their bodily dispositions create a new interactional space (Mondada, 2013b) where

Stacy and her activity are now the visual focus of the interaction. Abby, who turned to face Stacy in line 4, uses this new embodied configuration to assess Stacy's coat (line 10). Abby's assessment isolates an accessible component of the environment that was not previously treated as relevant (Stacy's coat) and transforms it into something of interactional consequence—that consequentiality being that Stacy must now deal with being complimented (see Pomerantz, 1984; Golato, 2005). There is also a temporal constraint here: the coat became accessible when Stacy started putting it on, and would decrease in accessibility once she departed. And so the noticeability of her coat depends in part on noticing it *now* rather than after it passes from visual accessibility (e.g., Goodwin & Goodwin, 2012; Keisanen, 2012). Stacy affirms her noticing with an agreeing expanded clausal assessment (line 11; Thompson, Fox, & Couper-Kuhlen, 2015, p. 166), which restarts talk. The situated environment can thus furnish the resources with which to build a sequentially implicative turn after a lapse. Here, a possessed object became temporarily accessible, was jointly attended to, and was then incorporated into the interaction through a noticing.

The use of noticings during lapses, however, is not predicated on the urgency of noticing something *now,* nor on the materiality or possessability of the noticeable. The utility of a noticing in a lapse is that the set of noticeable items is theoretically unbounded; almost anything can be imbued with interactional relevance. In Extract 5.9, Michelle resolves a lapse through a noticing about the pleasantness of the environment, which is to say, the noticeable absence of commotion. The extract begins with Mom giving an excuse for why she didn't participate in an event last year. Laura takes up Mom's excuse by informing her that she could volunteer next time to gain entry to the event (lines 2, 4-5).

Extract 5.9 (Farmhouse_0322)

```
01    MOM:  I couldn't afford it at that time, I think I-
02          [(   ) just to say I did it] one time.
03    LAU:  [but you can make lunches] and (0.5) get in +free cz
      don                                              +nods-->
04          that's what+ Ka[ra and Ashley were gunna=
05    DON:                [yeah.
            ---------->+
06    LAU:  [=do they were gunna help run it-
07    DON:  [the kids helped,
08          (1.0)
09    DON:  fo:r um (.) t'go to that- (.) young life camp. they
```

```
10          helped and got like twenny bucks each,
11          <bt they also got a shirt.
12    MOM:  mmhm.
13    DON:  they picked up garbage+°and,°
                                  +holding glass->
14          (2.2)
15    DON:  +so:.
            +lifts then drinks->>
16          (0.7)*(1.9)              *(0.2)*
      lau         *turns away from DON*gazes to MOM*
17    MIC:  (  )
18          (0.5)*(0.5)∆(0.3)*(0.2)∆(0.8)
      lau         *..shrugs,,,*
      mom               ∆..shrugs,,,∆
19    MIC:  it's so nice and peaceful now, hh:
20    MOM:  mhm.
```

During Laura's informing, Donna displays independent access to the information by nodding (lines 3-4). She then proceeds to take over the turn space from Laura, specifying what *the kids* did when they volunteered (lines 7, 9-11). Mom weakly receipts this information with a continuer (line 12), after which Donna provides more detail about volunteering (line 13). Donna's turn concludes with a trail-off conjunction *and*, through which she exhibits her turn as being complete (Walker, 2012). In this environment, some reaction from Mom might be appropriate, like an evaluation of the informing. However, she forgoes self-selection, which contributes to the emergence of a lapse (line 14).

During the lapse, Donna remains still while holding her glass, perhaps awaiting some talk from Mom. But after 2.2 seconds of silence, she lifts her glass while producing a standalone *so* (line 13; Raymond, 2004, see Chapter 4). With this, she indicates that she will neither add to the prior sequence, nor initiate a new one. The option to self-select thus passes on to her coparticipants. Laura and Mom orient to the possibility of speaking next by meeting each other's gaze and exchanging shrugs, effectively communicating that they each have nothing to add (lines 16-18). Michelle resolves the lapse with a noticing about their environment, assessing it as *so nice and peaceful now* (line 19). Mom confirms Michelle's observation (line 20), after which talk resumes.

In this extract the noticing and assessment of a perceptible feature of the environment ends up restoring turn-by-turn talk. But the kind of thing that gets noticed here is the absence of commotion. The tranquility of the setting is not time sensitive in

the same way as the coat of someone taking her leave; it was presumably available since the start of the interaction. Nor is tranquility a material object that can be pointed to; it's an absence that contrasts with some expected state. What's remarkable in this regard is that participants can take something as insubstantial as an absence and press it into interactional service. Speakers may thus treat lapses as occasions to probe their surroundings for something to talk about, and through a noticing, impart meaning to something previously treated as unremarkable.

Participants' recourse to unmentioned mentionables and their situated environment demonstrates the value of these resources for lapse resolution. As compared to ending the interaction or continuing with some prior matter, the choice to initiate a new course of action is less provided for, as its relevance is bound not up with anything from before or with anything that could reasonably be anticipated. In answering 'what next?' after a lapse, the speakers in this subsection treated lapses as the decisive ending of the prior course of action, though not yet as implicating the ending of the interaction.

5.3.4. A preference for continuation?

Given the availability of the three alternatives for lapse resolution shown above, we might ask if there's a preference for one over another. Going by sheer ubiquity, my collection is biased toward some form of continuation (n = 212, 80%), with instances of starting something new (n = 45, 17%) and ending the interaction (n = 7, 3%) being much less common. This distribution suggests that continuing with something that's grounded in the prior talk is preferred over the other options. Another form of evidence for this possible preference for continuation is observed in lapse durations. Table 5.1 provides counts of each lapse resolution type along with descriptive statistics for the lapse durations before each type. Figure 5.2 visualizes these statistics in density plots.

Type of lapse resolution	*N*	Lapse duration (sec)			
		Mean	Median	Mode	SD
End the interaction	7	3.74	2.89	2.04	3.00
Continue with prior talk	212	1.36	.99	.79	1.1
Start something new	45	3.14	2.54	1.82	2.15

Table 5.1. Count and lapse duration for each type of lapse resolution

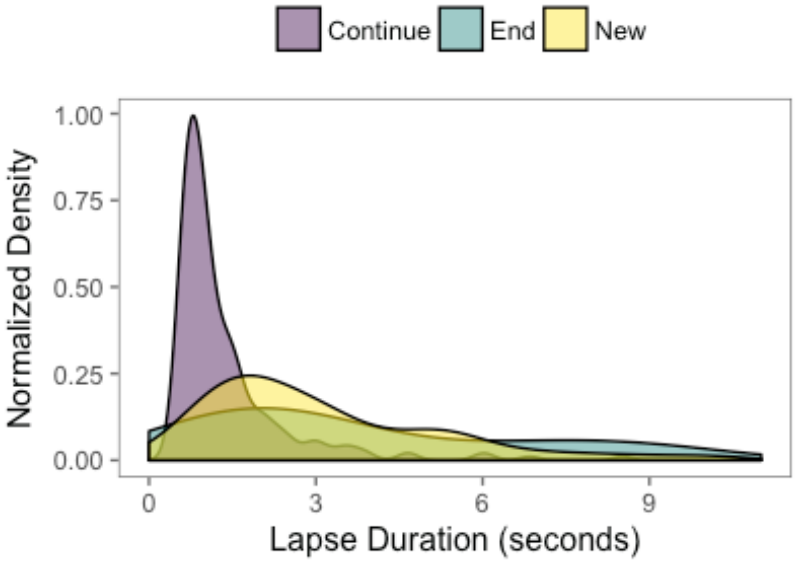

Figure 5.2. Density plots of lapse duration before three lapse resolution alternatives

Across all measures of lapse duration (mean, median, and mode), the choice to continue with prior talk takes less time than starting something new, which takes less time than ending the interaction. That is, old things come faster than new things, which come a little bit faster than closings. This relative ordering is illustrated in Figure 5.2, in which the peak for Continue appears temporally before the mounds of observations for New and End.[29] The tight concentration of observations for Continue contrasts with the greater variability seen in the plots for New and End, both of which have rather long tails. This suggests that situations in which speakers choose Continue may be rather alike, whereas situations in which speakers choose New or End may be more diverse.

These results are consistent with an interpretation where speakers first attempt to ground their turn in some bit of prior talk; failing this, speakers search for something new to say, something that isn't tied to the interaction-so-far; and failing this second option, speakers orient to closing the interaction. Or conversely for would-be speakers: participants hold off starting something new or moving to end the interaction, which provides time for other participants to say something connected to the interaction-so-

[29] Note also that the three peaks for these alternatives all appear before the three-second mark. This can be compared to McLaughlin and Cody (1982), which only examined lapse behaviors occurring after three seconds (see §1.2.5.2).

far. These data support the idea of a preference for continuation in that the options to either start something new or end the interaction are 'delayed' with respect to the option to continue with something from before.

While these data give prima facie evidence for a preference for continuation after a lapse, they await further confirmation through more robust sampling and additional forms of evidence. To be confident that such a preference is real for participants, there would need to be more cases of ending the interaction, and, ideally, evidence of normativity, which would reveal participants' situated understandings of the differences between lapse resolution alternatives (see Schegloff, 1996a; Clayman, 2002).

5.4. Discussion

For many social occasions, when conversation stalls participants face the question of what should come next. The ways that participants resolve this issue, and the things they use to do so, have been the focus of this chapter. I described three logical alternatives regarding the question 'what next?' after a lapse. First, participants may treat the lapse as closure-implicative by moving to end the interaction, as through explicit proposals to leave (Extract 5.1). Second, participants can treat the lapse as a place to go on with something from their interaction-so-far, which was shown in their usage of materials from the proximate topic (Extract 5.2), from the pre-lapse sequence (Extracts 5.3-5.4), and from extant courses of action (Extracts 5.5-5.6). And third, participants may use the lapse as a place to initiate a new course of action, which was seen in their deployment of unmentioned mentionables (Extract 5.7) and noticings of features of their situated environment (Extracts 5.8-5.9).

In comparing these three options, I presented quantitative evidence suggesting a preference, or in the very least a clear bias, for continuation over starting something new or ending the interaction. How might we account for this distribution? The bias toward continuation may simply reflect the typical length of the different structural phases of an interaction; participants usually spend more time in middles rather than beginnings or endings. It may also be a reflection of the principle of contiguity (Sacks, 1987), according to which participants work to fit their contributions into the sequential position at hand. It is perhaps easier to use what is already available in going forward given that its relevance need not be established for it to be intelligible. The prior talk offers more readily graspable and deployable resources than fashioning a sequentially

implicative turn *de novo*. Additionally, by operating on the accumulated materials of the interaction-so-far, participants resolve lapses such that their current turn is connected to something that went before. This way, lapses are rendered as occurring *within* some course of action, rather than as irruptive silences. Maintaining contiguity across a lapse gets at Sacks's (1992b) assessment that "the measure of a good topic is a topic that not so much gets talked of at length, but that provides for transitions to other topics without specific markings of that a new topic is going to be done" (p. 352; see also Maynard, 1980).

What emerges from these findings is a picture of lapses as junctures for the management of multiple possible courses of action (cf. Chapter 4). From a coarse grain perspective, stopping, continuing, and starting are all directions to go in a lapse. In choosing one or another, participants reveal their understandings of where they are situated with respect to current, past, and potential courses of action. Lapses in ordinary talk can prompt consideration of what has happened so far as it bears on what can or should happen next. They are silences that invite examination of the adequate completion of the current sequence, of previous courses of action, and of the interaction as a whole. They provide for the placement of things that otherwise might go unmentioned, and for the incorporation of 'outside' elements into the interaction. Together, the findings demonstrate how "local resources are what people make conversations out of, what they can make conversations out of, and endlessly" (Sacks, 1992b, p. 93).

In this chapter I have examined the ways in which speakers form up sequentially implicative turns after a lapse, detailed the resources they avail themselves of in doing so, and suggested some bases for their use. The focus in this chapter represents the endpoint in the natural history of a lapse in ordinary conversation—the silence has ended, and talk has resumed. This concludes the empirical portion of the thesis. In the final chapter, I summarize the findings of the previous chapters and synthesize them for a general discussion of lapses in interaction.

Chapter 6

General discussion

Conversation is of immense importance for humans. It is the matrix in which language is learned, it serves as the primary domain of language usage, and when people stop conversing in a given language, then we say that that language has died. Half a century of cumulative findings in CA have attested to the orderliness of conversational language use. Given that the historical focus of CA has been language and social action, looking precisely at those moments where inaction prevails may at first seem somewhat perverse. However, this thesis can be viewed as an exploration of the boundaries of the orderly system of conversation. With this thesis I wanted to find out what happens when all parties to an interaction refrain from speaking when speaking was possible. The aim was to discover participants' methods for organizing such moments in their everyday affairs so as to render them understandable periods of non-talk. By articulating participants' understandings of when and where talk is relevant, necessary, or appropriate, the research in this thesis thus brings into focus the borderlines between talk-in-interaction and other realms of social life.

Using Conversation Analysis, I described a kind of natural history of a lapse. I described the generic ways in which lapses begin (Chapter 2), the operation of a specific verbal practice for managing speakership in lapses (Chapter 3), specific bodily practices for organizing participation in lapses and other environments (Chapter 4), and some general ways in which talk resumes after a lapse (Chapter 5). With these studies, I have provided the first extensive account of a previously unstudied form of silence. In this concluding chapter, I summarize and discuss the account provided.

6.1. Summary of findings

I began in Chapter 1 by highlighting an omission in the research on silence in social interaction. Whereas investigations of pauses and gaps have been integral to our analyses of many domains of talk-in-interaction, the possibility that lapses might similarly inform our understanding of social organization has been scarcely explored. The studies in this thesis are addressed to that lack. Each chapter addressed a different aspect of how participants produce and locate order in lapses.

In Chapter 2, I asked how participants arrive at places where lapses occur, and how they treat those silences as and once they develop. Three general trends emerged. First, participants treated lapses as the relevant cessation of talk. This was observed in cases where they disbanded to attend to individual matters or when the formal structure of their activity favored silence. Second, participants allowed lapses to develop by reference to the ongoing relevance of other activities that could accommodate either talk or non-talk—for example, when watching television or sitting in a car. And third, participants treated lapses as the conspicuous absence of talk, as in settings organized for sustained talk-in-interaction. These three ways that participants organized lapses demonstrated that lapses are a place for participants to orient to the relevance of talking itself as a mode of participating in social interaction. Usage of the turn-taking system (speaker selection techniques, transition-relevance places, etc.) was shown to be squarely a participants' concern, as they themselves organized their circumstances according to the practical relevance of speaking or not speaking in lapse environments. I suggested that lapses are where participants have the opportunity to structure their current setting according to principles and procedures unrelated to turn-taking. It was also shown that lapses are an achieved product; participants may be misaligned regarding the relevance of talk or silence in going forward. Situations as these shed light on the classificatory problem of empirically distinguishing gaps from lapses.

In Chapter 3, I extended findings from Chapter 2 by describing the operation of a particular verbal practice that recurs in lapses: sequence recompletion. This practice is a solution to the problem of 'who speaks next?', which is an issue in lapses that emerge in settings organized for sustained turn-by-turn talk. With sequence recompletion, speakers end lapses with something that constitutes another possible ending of the previous course of action—for example, with minimal acknowledgements, assessments, or affective vocalizations. Through these verbal and vocal resources, participants speak so as to show they will not speak any more. In this way, speakers produce something where something is due—thereby satisfying the demands of the overall activity—but stop short of implicating a particular next move. Sequence recompletion lets participants show themselves as still committed to the interaction, but in a non-speaking capacity. Four methods for sequence recompletion were shown, all of which rely on the inherent pliability of sequence endings. Quantitative analysis of the timing of sequence recompletion suggested that it is an

alternative to things like sequence initiation in lapse environments. Through sequence recompletion, participants locally manage their participation framework when ending one course of action and potentially starting up a new one.

In Chapter 4, I focused on something very common in lapse environments: the management of multiple activities. Periods of non-talk naturally invite inspection of the participants' bodies, their situated environment, and other ongoing activities. For this chapter, the act of drinking was used as a case study of how participants routinely and tactfully manage participation in both activities. Given that speaking and drinking are largely mutually exclusive acts, participants must coordinate one with the other. I analyzed the placement of drinking across a range of sequential positions, and showed drinking to be a visible display of current or pending non-speakership. In this respect, the act reveals drinkers' online analyses of the participation framework. Drinking, rather than being a random or periodic occurrence, is specifically placed in interaction, often at times of heightened participatory sensitivity and around opportunities to speak. Even when drinking and speaking were in direct conflict, participants were shown deftly employing multimodal resources to get around the constraints that drinking places on speaking, such that the progressivity of talk was upheld.

In Chapter 5, I asked how speakers restart talk after a lapse in conversation. Here, rather than addressing the turn-taking problem of 'who speaks next?', I took up the complementary sequence organizational issue of 'what comes next?'. The occurrence of a lapse in conversational interaction can indicate that there's nothing to talk about in particular. And so given this state of affairs, what do participants talk about? I described three logical alternatives to this problem: speakers could move to end the interaction, continue with some prior matter, or start up something new. In selecting from among these options, participants revealed their understandings of where they were situated in the course of their interactions, they exhibited sensitivity to the completion or incompletion of prior or latent courses of action, and they introduced as relevant things from 'outside' their interaction, respectively. Participants used resources grounded in the interaction's overall structural organization, in the materials locatable in the interaction-so-far, in the mentionables they bring to interaction, and in the situated environment itself. Lapses were shown to be places for the management of multiple possible courses of action. It was suggested that there is a preference for continuation after a lapse, as indicated by the different lapse durations

and the numeric bias towards forms of continuation versus forms of ending or starting something new.

In what follows, I discuss these findings. I first synthesize them for a more general picture of lapses in social interaction (§6.2). I then extend the findings of the thesis for a discussion of awkward silences (§6.3) and silences in cross-cultural perspective (§6.4). The thesis concludes with a discussion of the limitations and potential extensions of this work (§6.5).

6.2. Lapses and structural organization

So what kind of thing is a lapse? Throughout the four studies, lapses were described in a number of ways, each of which highlighted a particular aspect of the phenomenon as was appropriate for the topic of the chapter. Below, I assemble the findings for a more generalized conception of what lapses are for participants in social interaction.

6.2.1. The lapse environment

In some respects, this thesis is not really about silence, but about a structural position in talk. Lapses are places in an interaction where no one chooses to speak. In this way, lapses are defined with reference to the turn-taking organization (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974). They emerge at a transition-relevance place where no one has been selected to speak next, and no self-selecting next speaker is apparently forthcoming. This regular contingency in the organization of turn-taking very often coincides with a systematic occurrence in the organization of sequences (Schegloff, 2007). Participants regularly elect to refrain from speaking at the end of a sequence of talk. And so in this way, lapses are also defined with reference to sequence organization. Having focused intensively on this environment through the four empirical studies, we are now in a place to say what kind of environment it is.

Given that lapses develop in a place where talking could have occurred, but didn't, one practical issue that participants face is whether or not turn-by-turn talk is still relevant. Lapses are places to indicate whether, how, and to what degree the turn-taking system is appropriate for organizing the social encounter from that point on. This respecification was one of the central points of Chapter 2. The turn-taking system offers a collection of methods for organizing talk-in-interaction—speaker selection devices, places of transition relevance, overlap resolution devices, etc.—such that one-at-a-time talk with recurrent speaker change can be collaboratively achieved turn-by-

turn. That is to say, the turn-taking system is not wholly suited to organize social situations where these features (one-at-a-time talk with recurrent speaker change) are not relevant. In this respect, upon arriving at a lapse, participants have the opportunity to structure their interaction from that point using methods and practices that are not directly tied to the organization of conversation. Conversation may be partially, wholly, or not at all integrated into participants' activity. A lapse provides an occasion to orient to such contingencies.

What this means is that lapses are sites for organizing relatively large structural units of interaction. For example, lapses are where participants recurrently initiate closing sections (Extract 5.1), place departures (Extracts 2.2, 2.8), redirect talk in entirely new directions (Extracts 2.12, 5.7-5.9), reconfigure the current shared activity (Extract 2.13), resume unfinished courses of action (Extracts 2.10, 5.6), reengage other participation frameworks (Extract 2.4), and so forth. Lapses may serve as inflection points in the overall structural organization of an episode of social interaction (Chapters 2, 5). The research presented in this thesis thus contributes to the relatively neglected area of overall structural organization (Robinson, 2013). It specifies lapses as the place where participants routinely orient to the general direction of the activity, the completeness of prior units, and the purpose of the social occasion (Chapter 5). It is in lapse environments where participants relevantly display their understandings of what's happened so far, what's going on right now, what remains to be done, and what they're doing there together at all.

Of critical importance for how lapses are understood and treated is the projectability and relevance of non-talk engagements (Chapter 2). Lapsing out of talk can be projected through participants' coordinated actions such that the outcome of some strip of talk may implicate silence in going forward (Szymanski, 1999). In contrast to this locally coordinated projection of silence, participants may also orient to the relevance of silence at particular points in the structure of their activity (Extract 2.3). Participants may jointly orient to their position in the overall structural organization of their activity at a lapse by treating the next phase of the activity as favoring silence. And so lapses may be implicated, expected, or appropriate for a given sequential environment in the course of a given activity. Naturally implicated by the projectability of silence is the availability and relevance of some non-talk engagement. The expectation of silence at a given juncture is tantamount to the expectation of something other than another turn-at-talk at that juncture. If there is some relevant

next positioned matter to take up, or something that can be relevantly done instead of talk, then a lapse is one place to do it.

Such decisions about the appropriateness, expectability, and relevance of talk-in-interaction are embodied not only in the production of talk or the maintenance of silence, but also in the participants' spatial-orientational configurations and in their engagement with relevant features of the environment. Insofar as lapses provide for participants' coordinated movement between different courses of action, they also necessarily provide for participatory reconfigurations (Nishizaka & Sunaga, 2015). Lapses are places where participants place departures, (re)engage with other involvements, and otherwise moderate their engagement in sustained talk-in-interaction. Indeed, because lapses are constituted by the absence of talk, participants' understandings of the surrounding talk and activity are brought into relief and made accessible to analysts through their visible conduct. This body idiom (Goffman, 1963) is what lets cointeractants and observer analysts gauge the degree of integration between the participants' involvements (individual, communal, complementary, joint, etc.) and the temporality of those engagements (instantaneous, brief, periodic, sustained, long-tailed, etc.). These considerations about involvements have direct bearing on the interactants' participation in multiple activities (Haddington et al., 2014; Mondada, 2014b) to the extent that they affect how participants manage the coordination, co-incorporation, and mutual adjustment of one activity (talk-in-interaction) with another (e.g., drinking—see Chapter 4).

However participants negotiate the relevance of talk-in-interaction in a lapse, or however they navigate the overall structural organization of their activity, they necessarily do so locally through speaking turns and other modes of participation. If lapses are the relevant place for participants to display their understandings of the relevance of turn-taking for organizing their affairs, as I've argued, then what behaviors do we observe? I turn to this in the next section.

6.2.2. Lapse behaviors

What sorts of behaviors do we observe in and around a lapse? And how do these behaviors reveal participants' orientations to the relevance of talk-in-interaction? Table 6.1 lists the lapse behaviors shown in this thesis, and provides some specific extracts where the behaviors were documented. This table does not exhaustively account for what's seen in lapses, of course. Some lapse behaviors that appear in my

collection were not shown in this thesis, like instances of singing and humming (see Stevanovic, 2013).

TYPE OF BEHAVIOR	BEHAVIOR		EXTRACT
Embodied withdrawal	Gaze withdrawal		Many
	Manual withdrawal		2.9
	Postural withdrawal		2.4, 2.9, 2.11
	Departure		2.2, 2.8
Shift in involvement	To something in the environment	Implicated by prior talk	2.2, 2.3, 2.9, 5.1, 5.6, 5.8
		Not implicated by prior talk	2.11, 2.12, 2.13, 3.14, 5.6
	To self (auto-involvements)	Drinking	2.10, 2.13, 3.14, 4.1, 4.9, 5.9
		Eating	3.4
		Self-grooms	2.10, 4.1
	To a coparticipant		2.7, 2.8, 2.9, 2.11, 2.13, 3.15, 5.9
Outlouds	Response cries	Sighing	2.10, 3.12, 3.14, 4.1
		Yawning	1.3, 4.1, 5.4
		Spill cry	2.8
		Startle cry	1.2
	Self-talk		1.1, 2.2, 2.6, 2.7
Speaking	Sequence recompletion		Many, Chapter 3
	Post-lapse sequence initiation		Many, Chapter 5

Table 6.1. Lapse behaviors observed in this thesis

We can begin with the different forms of embodied withdrawal observed during lapses, where participants reconfigure their body torque (Schegloff, 1998b) so as to disengage from the interactional huddle or F-formation (Kendon, 1990), either momentarily or for longer durations. Chief among forms of withdrawal is gaze withdrawal, typically to 'nothing in particular'. This behavior is often strongly indicative of sequence endings (Rossano, 2012) and is therefore common to lapses as well. Gaze withdrawal alone is a distinct analysis of who speaks now and what happens next. It visibly communicates, 'whatever is to come next, I am not the one who will provide it, nor am I in a position to provide it'. It also works by hampering the ability of others to select you through gaze (Goodwin 1981; Heath, 1984; Lerner 2003). In terms of displaying a stance towards who speaks next, gaze withdrawal in a lapse environment may also

embody a 'wait and see' stance. A lapse only could have emerged if all participants elected to refrain from speaking. What this means is that, for participants merely gazing downward during a lapse, they may simply be waiting to see if someone else will speak. They are passing up not only the first opportunity to self-select, but also the subsequent one(s).

As with gaze withdrawal, other forms of embodied withdrawal shift a participant's site of activity elsewhere. In general, practices of bodily withdrawal amount to giving up, abandoning, releasing, or otherwise discontinuing whatever was embodied by the previous body formation. Depending on the participants' circumstances—and depending in particular on the projectability and relevance of non-talk engagements—withdrawal from interaction can embody different stances toward the relevance of talk-in-interaction. In Extract 2.11, Harold uses a local resource (the proximity of his dog) to disengage from interaction during a lapse. He does so only temporarily though, and jumps right back into conversation once another participant ends the lapse. Conversely, in Extract 2.9, Ruth withdraws from the F-formation by gazing down, bringing her hand back to her chemistry assignment, and resuming a writing posture. Through this multimodal Gestalt she disengages from talk and projects resumption of her assignment.

While embodied withdrawal can be thought of as the removal of attention from interaction, shifts in involvement may be conceived movements *toward* some specifiable site of (anticipated) action. Involvement shifts are typically observable in gaze movement, but can also incorporate changes in body torque. Such shifts can, but need not, afford reconfigurations in the participation framework. For if you can be seen attending to something, then that something will be inspected for its relevance to the participant doing the attending and also for its relevance for the interaction as a whole. The stance taken up towards the relevance of talk-in-interaction is bound up with the local relevance of the object of attention. We can discern at least three types: involvement shifts to something in the environment, to the self, or to another participant.

Participants may shift their attention to some feature, object, event, or person in the environmental surround. The new involvement may either be implicated by the prior talk or not implicated by it. Something is implicated by the prior talk if it is grounded in, connected to, projectable from, or otherwise directly traceable to the talk that preceded the lapse. In Extract 2.2, Fred accepts Harold's suggestion to call his

friend, which commits him to doing so. Fred departs interaction to get his phone, and in this way he shifts his attention away from the interaction and toward something that was implicated by that interaction. Ordinarily, if something is implicated by talk, then the participants have mutually ratified, either explicitly or implicitly, the relevance of the lapse. Contrariwise, participants may shift their attention to something that is *not* analyzably an outgrowth of what occurred in the talk. If a lapse emerges with nothing to occupy it, then participants are left somewhat adrift. Under these circumstances, an involvement shift to something not implicated by the talk can occasion shifts in participation and activity. During the lapse in Extract 2.13, Hannah gazes to a group of loud passers-by, an act which occasions a transformation of her activity with Molly. Molly follows Hannah's gaze and attends to the loud passers-by *with* Hannah. And in doing so the lapse is transformed from silence where 'nothing' is happening to silence where they're engaged in a particular activity together. Again, as with bodily withdrawal, the stance taken up to the relevance of talk-in-interaction is connected to the projectability of non-talk engagements in and for a given activity.

Shifts in involvement to oneself are associated with self-directed, self-absorbing acts known as auto-involvements (Goffman, 1963). These include acts like drinking and eating, and also self-grooming behaviors like scratching, eye rubbing, stretching, and so forth. These individual non-interactive activities regularly appear in lapse environments. They are forms of disengagement from interaction (Goodwin, 1981) that permit the dismantling and reconfiguration participation frameworks in that the disengaged participant becomes temporarily unavailable for speaking at that moment. Auto-involvements visibly indicate a diminished readiness to speak. Goodwin (1986a) goes as far to argue that things like self-grooms, because they stand in alternation with utterance-tied gestures, actually repel attention. Lerner and Raymond (2017c) also argue that auto-involvements, because they are ordinarily understood as emerging from private experience, are practical devices for accountably disengaging from talk. In this way, by placing something like drinking in a lapse, participants accountably engage in something that *isn't* talk-in-interaction, and do so at the *expense* of engagement in talk-in-interaction. Auto-involvements communicate a temporary unpreparedness for what the situation may demand, whether that be talk or something else. Further, because auto-involvements are voluntary and controllable, the decision to render oneself temporarily unprepared for whatever the circumstances demand can also implicate a disinclination to do so.

The third sort of involvement shift observed in this thesis was gaze to a coparticipant during a lapse. A participant may bodily reorient to another participant in a lapse, as in Extract 3.15, which treats the gazed-at participant as someone from whom something is due. This act embodies a positive stance toward talk-in-interaction. By gazing toward someone else in a lapse environment, a participant displays an analysis of speakership: the gazed-at person is someone who can talk, and the gazing participant is someone who can listen.

When we turn to outlouds (Goffman, 1978), we come closer to the sorts of behaviors that can afford and engender talk. These are vocal expressions that are produced 'out loud', like sighing, yawning, spill cries, and self-talk. While they do not normatively require a response, they nonetheless afford specifiable trajectories of action (Heath et al., 1995, 2002). In Extract 2.8, the dropping of ice cubes occasions a spill cry from Lena. Lena then gazes toward Rosa, who is working at her computer, but Rosa does not react at all to the spill cry. And so while Lena oriented to the possibility and relevance of some sort of reaction from Rosa, Rosa's analysis of the situation was that it did not require her participation. Talk that is produced out loud, then, orients to the opportunity for and potential relevance of talk-in-interaction. It puts on offer the possibility to engage in talk (Schegloff, 2010), should coparticipants similarly orient to that possibility. They resemble other lapse behaviors like shifts in involvement in that they publicly disclose an ostensibly private sensation or thought. Outlouds also underscore participants' inescapable duty to make themselves accountable in normative ways. They make overhearers privy to some ostensibly private sentiment, intention, mood, belief, etc. This window of access permits an accounting and rendering recognizable of the current state of affairs. When there is no talk, and when there is no activity-related or goal-related action going on, then the utility of such outlouds becomes clearer. In the absence of some course of action structuring and enabling intersubjective understanding, making oneself accountable through outlouds allows co-present others to develop a sense of the scene and offset potential ambiguity about what's going on and what's happening next.

Finally, participants in lapses may speak, thereby ending the lapse. By speaking, participants orient to the continued relevance of talk-in-interaction for their immediate circumstances. I considered in depth one form of speaking in Chapter 3—sequence recompletion—which I described as 'speaking so as to show that you won't speak'. Like other lapse behaviors, this is something that allows *other* participants to speak. Through

sequence recompletion, a participant orients to the relevance of someone speaking in that place, though stops short of providing something that would implicate more talk. The production of a sequence recompleting turn does not ordinarily result in the resumption of turn-by-turn talk, however. It's common for the lapse to continue after one is produced. Implicating more turn-by-turn talk is done through post-lapse sequence initiations, as examined in Chapter 5. Even when initiating the pre-closing section of an interaction, as in Extract 5.1, participants nonetheless did so through turn-by-turn talk.

6.3. Lapses and 'awkward silence'

Lapses are connected to the classic sociological concern of alienation, though not principally of the sort theorized as Marx's *Entfremdung* or Durkheim's *anomie*. Instead, the sort of alienation that lapses can engender is more akin to Goffman's *interaction-consciousness* (1967), which is a form of alienation from social interaction that he describes as follows:

> A participant in talk may become consciously concerned to an improper degree with the way in which the interaction, *qua* interaction, is proceeding … Once individuals enter a conversation they are obliged to continue it until they have the kind of basis for withdrawing that will neutralize the potentially offensive implications of taking leave of others. While engaged in the interaction it will be necessary for them to have subjects at hand to talk about that fit the occasion and yet provide content enough to keep the talk going; in other words, safe supplies are needed. What we call 'small talk' serves this purpose. When individuals use up their small talk, they find themselves officially lodged in a state of talk but with nothing to talk about; interaction consciousness experienced as a 'painful silence' is the typical consequence. (p. 119-120)

The painful silence that Goffman refers to here can likely be found in a number of examples in this thesis. People report experiencing such awkward, discomfiting, and ungainly silences as moments of intense awareness of their own and others' social behavior, and uncertainty about appropriate situational behavior (McLaughlin & Cody, 1982; Clegg, 2012a, 2012b).

These painful silences are a form of embarrassment, which Goffman (1956) enshrined as the central emotion of social life (Miller, 1996). Embarrassment occurs when "the expressive facts at hand threaten or discredit the assumptions a participant finds he has projected about his identity" (Goffman, 1959, p. 269). While scholars of embarrassment have followed Goffman in locating embarrassment in the social situation, rather than in the individual, the precise mechanism underlying processes of embarrassment remains disputed. Different researchers have attributed feelings of embarrassment to things like loss of situational self-esteem (Modigliani, 1971), perception of unfavorable evaluations (Buss, 1980; Edelmann, 1981), and disruption of the social interaction (Weinberg, 1968). I follow Heath (1988) in viewing embarrassment as emerging from participants' self-awareness when managing their own ambiguous involvement in interaction. For lapses, I suggest that embarrassment is an interactionally generated phenomenon arising from ambiguities and incompatibilities in the local configuration of action. That is, the mechanism underlying this particular form of embarrassment can be located in the first instance within the structure of interaction.

We can trace feelings of embarrassment in lapses to the turn-taking system. For every TRP, all participants are given the *option* to speak in a hierarchically organized way (Sacks et al., 1974). I emphasize here the optionality of speaking and each participant's right to not self-select. For a lapse to occur, all participants must pass up a first chance to self-select. But if no one else self-selects, then the silence may develop into painful silence. The incompatibility here is between maintaining your own position (I will not self-select) and respecting the position of others, which happen to be the same as yours. It is an incongruity between 'everyone can choose to not speak' and 'someone must speak'. The resulting awkward silence is thus connected to the organization of turn-taking itself via rounds of possible self-selection. Sacks (1992b) noted that, "under the more general rule of the turn-taking techniques we're dealing with, silence is a terrible thing. The turn-taking rules say that somebody should be talking all the time; not more than one person, but somebody" (p. 225).

Also implicated in this process is the organization of turns into sequences of action (Schegloff, 2007). The reported feelings of ambiguity can be connected to the fact that lapses often arise in the juncture between one sequence and the next. The armature of sequences provides for the intelligibility of whatever occurs in its course. That is, the turn-by-turn sequential organization of talk procedurally creates and

maintains an "architecture of intersubjectivity" (Heritage, 1984b; Schegloff, 1992; Deppermann, 2015). Many lapses, however, emerge at the junctures between sequences, in a place that isn't always completely supported by that architecture. That is, the collaboratively achieved ending of one sequence may effectively tie off that course of action and not project something to come next. In the absence of something to take up, participants are left somewhat unmoored from the intersubjective grounds ordinarily supplied by sequences. For such periods without a common agreed-upon focus of attention or mutually ratified course of action, Heath (1988) writes,

> "Individuals become increasingly aware of their own actions during the episode of embarrassment; the self attention emerging as they attempt to deal with the local configuration of action. The emotion, experience of the situation and its heightened sensitivity, emerging as the individuals progressively attend to the production of their own actions; the emotional experience deriving from their perception of and involvement in the action in which they are engaged" (p. 156).

More generally, embarrassment emerges, "in circumstances in which the nature of the individual's involvement in interaction is at issue or ambiguous" and where "persons are found in each other's immediate co-presence whilst lacking a mutually co-ordinated activity to which they are committed" (pp. 156-157). In terms of the lapse behaviors detailed above, embarrassment may be seen as silence without an accountable shift in attention or involvement.

This ambiguity, conflict, and heightened sensitivity to action emerges from the sequential organization of interaction. As I've argued, lapses are places for the management of multiple courses of action and invite participants to consider a range of things: what just happened in the previous sequence, what it implicates (if anything), how the previous course of action began, whether the previous course of action can be reciprocated, whether there are any unresolved matters to take up, what news there may be to deliver, what updates there may be to solicit from others, what sites of interest there are in the environment, and so on. As shown in Chapter 5, these sorts of considerations may act as resources in the resolution of a lapse, and in this way they can be seen as a countervailing force to potential awkward silences. At the same time, though, they may serve to fluster a cognitively burdened participant, who may not expect a lapse or may be unprepared to address questions like these. In this case, the

collective preponderance of these questions may be felt as unwieldy. Even though answering these questions offers a way out of the lapse, a participant can feel encumbered by the wide range of possibilities of what to talk about. The heightened sensitivity to potential courses of action may derive from feeling compelled to weigh the merit of each one and feeling pressured to select from among them, all while the clock is still ticking.

Lapses may expose to participants the interactional machinery of which they are ordinarily kept unaware. Questions about what's happened so far, what remains to be done, etc., lay bare the organization of conversation to a participant, who becomes conscious of the local configuration of action, and self-conscious of their particular position in it. The participant becomes aware of the immediate circumstances while still embedded in them and while still responsible for dealing with what they require. Such moments reveal to participants the inherent fragility and precariousness of the interaction order (Goffman, 1964), and implicate the participants in their failure to sustain it. Compounding this is the reciprocal nature of participation. Participants as a matter of course mutually monitor one another, if only for the possibility of being selected to speak next. This means that whatever embarrassment you might feel is potentially shared by your coparticipants, and moreover, everyone is aware that everyone else may be feeling that way.

This moment of ambiguity in selecting from among different relevant courses of action can easily share space with feelings of embarrassment. For participants officially committed to maintaining a state of talk, lapses rupture what should be continuous operation of the turn-taking system. Participants become trapped in a situation where there is a palpable absence of talk. In these circumstances, an overlong discontinuity can not only expose participants' collective failure to coordinate turn-transfer, but can also belie the interaction itself by implying uncomfortable answers to the omnirelevant question 'why that now?'. That is, a lapse can invite consideration of potentially delicate matters, such as who my coparticipants are, who they are to me, what this silence says about me, what it says about them, what it says about us, what it means for our relationship, how I might be seen as 'being silent' (cf. Sacks, 1992a, p. 101), how the silence reflects on what just happened, how it reflects on the interaction as a whole, and so forth.

It is possible to detect in participants' lapse behaviors some indication of this embarrassment. I have in mind things that offer an 'escape hatch' from interaction, like

self-grooms, eating, drinking, sighing, yawning, and other forms of momentary disengagement. Psychologists and ethologists have examined very similar self-directed conduct in humans and non-human primates. "Displacement activities" like scratching, yawning, face/mouth-touching, lip-biting/licking, and hand fumbling have been linked to situations of social tension, anxiety, and uncertainty, and correlate with increased autonomic arousal (Troisi, 2002). Similarly, gesture researchers have associated "body manipulator" behaviors with anxiety, guilt, conflict, stress, and discomfort (Ekman, 1977; LeCompte, 1981). Not only are these displacement activities and body manipulations virtually identical to the auto-involvements that regularly occur in lapses, but reports of awkward situations similarly support the link between such behaviors and anxiety, stress, and uncertainty (Clegg 2012a, 2012b). The value of these behaviors in a lapse, as I've argued, is that they permit situational presence without substantive involvement. A participant is still officially engaged in the interaction, but is accountably involved with something else, and is therefore a less-than-eligible candidate for next speaker. We can further speculate that taking up some side involvement is a way to *not* consider the multitude of questions posed above, or conversely, that attending to some side involvement is a way to buy time while actively considering those questions.

The discomfort that people report feeling during awkward silences arises from the difficulties in managing conflicting courses of action and ambiguous sequential constraints. This thesis contributes to work on embarrassment by specifying the organization of one particular sequential environment where embarrassment recurs, and offering a discussion of the interactional mechanisms generating that emotion.

6.4. Lapses and other cultures

There is an inherent tension in this thesis between cultural specificity and generality. My collection and analysis is based on Minority World, WEIRD (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010), US/UK English-speaking participants, and so I cannot assume that my particular findings will generalize to every culture. Indeed, a long tradition of work on language in social interaction has emphasized the multiplicity of interpretations, uses, and values associated with silence both cross-culturally (Boromisza-Habashi & Martinez-Guillem, 2012) and inter-culturally (Carbaugh, 2005; Nakane, 2007). Ethnographers have shown silence to be widely used as a rich semiotic practice; they have documented a range of speech events into which silence figures; and they have

detailed how silence comprises part of a culture's symbolic system (see §1.1.2). Cultural specificity, rather than generality, appears to be the default case when it comes to silence. Where, then, do the findings of this thesis fit with respect to this attested cultural diversity?

While acknowledging the value of this research, there is nevertheless reason to maintain skepticism regarding differences found across cultures. Rather than pointing to specificity, cross-cultural research on the basic organizations of interaction (Schegloff, 2006b) has pointed to stability and generality. Across different languages and cultures, studies have found consistency in gap durations (Weilhammer & Rabold, 2003; Stivers et al., 2009; Kousidis, Schlangen, & Skopetea, 2013), strategies for repair (Moerman, 1977; Dingemanse, Torreira, & Enfield, 2013; Enfield et al., 2013), procedures for turn-taking (Moerman, 1988; Hopper et al., 1990; Lerner & Takagi, 1999; Sidnell, 2001), and methods for organizing courses of action (Kendrick et al., 2014). The organizations of interaction (see §1.4.2) that underpin all CA research appear to exhibit strong consistency across cultures.

At the same time, the CA perspective on cultural differences in interactional organization allows for local calibrations. Differences have been documented, for instance, in repair practices (Ochs, 1984; Egbert, 1996; Fox, Hayashi, & Jasperson, 1996) and gaze behavior (Rossano, Brown, & Levinson, 2009). One key domain of cross-cultural research has concerned gap durations. In contrast to reports that show modal gap duration to be around 200-300ms (Weilhammer & Rabold, 2003; Stivers et al., 2009; Kousidis, Schlangen, & Skopetea, 2013), studies of indigenous languages like Athabaskan (Scollon & Scollon, 1981), Garrwa (Gardner, Fitzgerald, & Mushin, 2009; Mushin & Gardner, 2011; Gardner & Mushin, 2015), and ǂAkhoe Haillom (Hoymann, 2010) have shown much longer silences between turns. These differences, however, appear to be systematic, and do not challenge the basic underlying organization of turn-taking (e.g., Sidnell, 2001; Gardner & Mushin, 2015). That is, where differences are found they appear to be local adjustments of a generic organization (Schegloff, 2006b).

This stance on cross-cultural differences is not dissimilar to the one espoused by ethnographers of communication or scholars of politeness—disciplines practically dedicated to comparative research and inclined to attend to cultural specificity. Braithwaite (1990), for example, in an extension of Basso's (1972) findings on silence among the Western Apache, managed the tension between generality and particularity by insisting on the local adaptations of universal principles. Similarly, in articulating

what animates studies in politeness, Brown and Levinson (1987) proclaimed that, "interactional systematics are based largely on universal principle. But the application of the principles differs systematically across cultures, and within cultures, across subcultures and groups" (p. 283).

What distinguishes the CA approach to cross-cultural study is the reluctance to use "culture" as explanatory of a particular (pattern of) behavior. Instead of defaulting to culture as the relevant dimension for an analysis, the emphasis is on the immediate contextures of action—the contingencies embodied by particular interactional activities in particular sequential environments. The very situation in which participants are inextricably embedded is the most relevant context for understanding the things they do. It is the local configuration of action that participants must deal with as *practical* matter in the first instance. Activities like coordinating turn-transfer or linking one turn to the last one are assumed to be generic problems with recurrent solutions (Schegloff, 2006b). They are practical problems not for English speakers only, but for anyone who wishes to engage in conversation. And to the extent that different communities arrive at particularized solutions to these generic problems, then that is where culture may be located in the organization of interaction.

To return to the issue of lapses, the findings of this thesis are likely to generalize to other languages and other cultures insofar as the practical problems embodied by lapses (§6.2.1) remain consistent. The generic organizational issues that participants confront in a lapse concern things like whether they're still in conversation, whether they're doing something together, whether that engagement requires speaking, whether it requires close coordination of turns, whether they've finished what they gathered to accomplish, whether they can disband the interaction, whether there's anything else to address, and so on. To the extent that participants in interaction deal with these issues, we can expect similar sets of practiced solutions. That is, participants must have some way of dealing with the edges of talk as a system of social engagement. They need to collectively and collaboratively come to answers regarding where to stop speaking, whether the prior course of action is finished, whether some next thing awaits, how to integrate other activities into talk-in-interaction, and whether interaction can be ended or modified. These are the sorts of generic questions that this thesis can address. It contributes, in a particular way, to the program of research that Hymes (1972) inaugurated with his observation that, "The distribution of required and preferred silence, indeed perhaps most immediately reveals in outline form a community's

structure of speaking" (p. 40). This research goes beyond a mere distributional account of required and preferred silences by analyzing in detail actual instances where participants must deal with the possibility of speaking or not speaking.

6.5. Limitations and outlook

Given that this is the first extensive study of lapses, much work remains to be done. It was argued in this thesis that talk-in-interaction is one social activity among others, and that engagement in conversational activity in a given context is a member's phenomenon. This underscores the fact that talk is not the only means, and perhaps not even the primary means (Stevanovic & Monzoni, 2016 and references therein) for carrying out interaction. Indeed, communication scholars estimate that only 20-35% of our communicative time is spent in conversation (Emanuel et al., 2007; Janusik, n.d.).[30] In this respect, the studies in this thesis are limited by the materials used. Given that my aim was to provide a basic organizational account of lapses, I relied primarily on ordinary interactions between friends and intimates in mundane and domestic settings. The particularities of lapse organization would likely come into starker relief if examined in a greater range of settings and for a greater set of activities. For institutional interactions or workplace settings, the oriented-to relevance of some business-at-hand renders lapses completely different sorts of social objects, and so the ways in which participants manage participation and speakership during these lapses must also be different. Similarly for multiactivity settings (Haddington et al., 2014), where participants orient to multiple relevant sites of engagement, the findings of this thesis can be extended for examinations of how, where, and when talk is integrated in the organization of other concurrent engagements. For instance, a study of silences where one participant engages individually in some common activity while their coparticipant observes and waits would have implications for our understanding of coordination and joint action in shared activities.

[30] Unfortunately, most time use studies in communications research do not consider 'face-to-face conversation' as a separate communicative activity, but instead have separate categories for 'speaking' and 'listening'. Complicating matters, 'listening' often includes such disparate activities as 'listening to music' and 'listening to a lecture' in addition to 'listening in conversation'. Therefore, the 20-35% figure reported here is based on the range given in such studies for 'speaking', since it's assumed that most speaking is done in interaction (i.e., not to oneself, in a speech, while sleeping, to an animal, etc.).

Another limitation of this thesis has to do with the sorts of silences collected (see §1.4.4). There are some silences that I did not collect that arguably emerge via the same mechanism as lapses. For example, I did not deal with situations where participants refuse to speak to one another ('the silent treatment', 'the cold shoulder', etc.), which are manifestly lapse-like since they come about due to choosing not to speak in a place where speaking was relevant. Furthermore, I deliberately set aside those silences that result from two overlapping speakers both dropping out at the same time. These, too, have a lapse-like quality in that it remains unclear who speaks next. Though rather than being a silence without a next speaker, as with lapses, these are silences with more than one claimant to the turn-space. A fuller account of these and other silences would repay investigation as they could enrich and contextualize the findings of this thesis.

Quantification of different features of lapses is another area where this thesis might be strengthened, and thus presents another productive avenue for inquiry. For communications studies in particular, the question remains regarding what sorts of lapse resolution behaviors work 'best' and which ones should be avoided. This would be of transparent interest to conversationalists all over who care about what makes a good topic or a good conversation. We saw many examples where lapses weren't resolved immediately; oftentimes another lapse would occur after the first one ended. Quantitative evidence could be used to identify the lapse resolution devices that tend to engender more talk and the ones that tend to result in more silence. It would also be possible to document using statistical analyses the different effects of behavioral or situational features on lapse duration or lapse resolution. For instance, what is the relationship between lapse duration and things like number of participants, availability of food or drink, and F-formation?

If lapses are as I have described them (see §6.2), then this thesis bears implications for cognitive studies of interaction. A lapse environment is very different from the adjacency pair environment typically studied in cognitively inclined research on conversation (see §1.2.6). Lapses differ in that they are systematically detached from other courses of action that would otherwise provide for what gets said and done. Lapses occur in moments where the sequential organization of interaction systematically hampers the predictive capacities of participants, in other words. And in this respect, it is a cognitive feat for participants to recognize that no one is speaking, decide to self-select, locate something to say, and then say it, typically in just about one

second (see Chapter 2). Further study of lapse duration and lapse resolution could reveal some of the cognitive processes and mechanisms at work when participants are tasked with resituating themselves in their social interaction and making sense of what's going on. Another area of potential interest would be the neuro-cognitive effects of lapses. Goffman (1964) long ago argued that social interaction was a social domain analyzable on its own terms. This perspective has since been taken up by cognitive scientists committed to enactive approaches to the mind, and who see social interaction as a self-organizing, autonomous, dynamic system (De Jaeger, Peräkylä, & Stevanovic, 2016). The findings of this thesis implicate lapses as a particularly salient area for matters of participation—both in talk and in other activities. That is, it is in lapses that the integrity or fragility of social interaction is foregrounded. They are where interactions can unravel, and so we should be able to detect in the neural signature a sensitivity to that possibility.

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Samenvatting

Conversatie is van enorm belang voor mensen. Het is de matrix waarin taal geleerd wordt, het dient als het primaire domein van taalgebruik, en wanneer mensen niet langer converseren in een bepaalde taal, dan zeggen we dat die taal is uitgestorven. De cumulatieve resultaten van een halve eeuw Conversatieanalyse (CA) hebben de ordelijkheid van conversationeel taalgebruik aangetoond. Met behulp van dit proefschrift wilde ik erachter komen wat er gebeurt tijdens (*lapses* ("tussenpozen") in conversatie—die momenten waarin alle deelnemers zich onthouden van spreken en de conversatie tot stilstand komt. Omdat de historische focus van CA op taal en sociale interactie ligt, lijkt het wellicht een beetje tegenstrijdig om te kijken naar momenten waarin conversationele inactie de overhand heeft. Echter, dit proefschrift kan worden gezien als een verkenning van de grenzen van het geordende systeem van conversatie. Mijn doel was om methoden te ontdekken die deelnemers gebruiken om *lapses* in de alledaagse gang van zaken op een manier te organiseren die ze tot begrijpelijke perioden van niet-spreken maken.

Door het begrip van deelnemers te beschrijven met betrekking tot waar en wanneer spreken relevant, noodzakelijk, of passend is, brengt het onderzoek in dit proefschrift de grenzen tussen spreken-in-interactie ("talk-in-interaction) en andere domeinen van het sociale leven in beeld.

Met behulp van Conversatieanalyse heb ik een soort van een natuurlijke geschiedenis van een *lapse* beschreven: hoe *lapses* ontstaan, hoe ze behandeld worden als ze voorkomen, en hoe ze tot een eind gebracht worden. Ik begon in Hoofstuk 1 met het benadrukken van een leemte in het onderzoek naar stilte in sociale interactie. Terwijl onderzoek naar andere vormen van stilte zoals *pauses* ("pauzes") en *gaps* ("onderbrekingen") onontbeerlijk zijn geweest voor analyses van veel verschillende domeinen van spreken-in-interactie, is de mogelijkheid dat *lapses* op een soortgelijke manies inzicht zouden kunnen bieden aan ons begrip van sociale organisatie nog nauwelijks verkend. De vier empirische hoofdstukken in dit proefschrift zijn gericht op dat gebrek, waarbij elk hoofdstuk de focus legt op een ander aspect van hoe deelnemers ordelijkheid in *lapses* produceren en lokaliseren.

In Hoofdstuk 2 vroeg ik hoe deelnemers op plekken komen waar *lapses* voorkomen en hoe ze ermee omgaan als die zich ontwikkelen. Drie verschillende trends kwamen naar voren. Ten eerste behandelden deelnemers *lapses* als de relevante beëindiging van spreken. Dit werd geobserveerd in gevallen waarin deelnemers uiteengingen om zich te richten op hun eigen zaken of als stilte de voorkeur genoot

vanwege de formele structuur van hun activiteit. Ten tweede stonden deelnemers het ontstaan van *lapses* toe met het oog op de continue relevantie van andere activiteiten die ruimte boden voor spreken of niet-spreken—bijvoorbeeld, tijdens televisiekijken of autorijden. En ten derde behandelden deelnemers *lapses* als de opvallende afwezigheid van spreken, zoals in situaties die georganiseerd waren voor aanhoudend spreken-in-interactie.

Deze drie manieren waarop deelnemers het begin van *lapses* organiseerden hebben aangetoond dat *lapses* een plek zijn voor deelnemers om zich te oriënteren op de relevantie van spreken als een op zichzelf staande manier van deelnemen aan sociale interactie. Het gebruik van het beurtwisselingssysteem (beurttoewijzingstechnieken, plaats-relevant-voor-overdracht, etc.) bleek resoluut een taak van de deelnemers te zijn; de deelnemers hebben hun omstandigheden zelf georganiseerd afhankelijk van de praktische relevantie van spreken of niet spreken in *lapse*-omgevingen. Ik heb gesuggereerd dat *lapses* een omgeving zijn waarin deelnemers de gelegenheid hebben om de huidige omstandigheid te structureren op basis van principes en procedures die los staan van beurtwisseling. Het werd ook aangetoond dat *lapses* een tot stand gebracht product zijn; deelnemers zijn soms niet op elkaar afgestemd met betrekking tot de relevantie van spreken of stilte. Situaties zoals deze werpen licht op het classificatieprobleem bij het empirische onderscheiden van *gaps* en *lapses*.

In Hoofdstuk 3 heb ik de bevindingen van Hoofdstuk 2 uitgebreid door de werking van een karakteristieke practice te beschrijven die herhaaldelijk voorkomt in *lapses*: sequence recompletion (“sequentie-hervoltooiing”). Deze practice is een oplossing voor het probleem van ‘wie spreekt als volgende?’, wat een probleem is bij *lapses* die ontstaan in omstandigheden die georganiseerd zijn voor aanhoudend beurt-voor-beurt spreken. Met sequentie-hervoltooiing beëindigen sprekers *lapses* met iets wat een alternatief einde vormt voor de vorige activiteit—bijvoorbeeld, met minimale erkenningen, evaluaties, of affectieve vocalisaties. Met hulp van deze verbale en vocale middelen spreken deelnemers op een manier die laat zien dat ze niet meer zullen spreken. Op deze manier produceren sprekers iets waar iets nodig is dat voldoet aan de eisen van de algehele activiteit, zonder daarbij een specifieke, volgende actie te projecteren. Door sequentie-hervoltooiing laten de deelnemers dat ze nog steeds toegewijd zijn aan de interactie, maar in een niet-sprekende hoedanigheid. Vier methoden voor sequentie-hervoltooiing werden getoond die allemaal gebaseerd zijn op

de inherente plooibaarheid van sequentie-beëindigingen. Een kwantitatieve analyse van de timing van sequentie-hervoltooiing suggereerde dat deze practice een alternatief is voor zaken zoals sequentie-initiëring in *lapse*-omgevingen. Door middel van sequentie-hervoltooiing beheren de deelnemers hun deelnamekader lokaal wanneer één activiteit wordt beëindigd en eventueel een nieuwe wordt gestart.

In hoofdstuk 4 heb ik me gericht op iets heel gebruikelijks in *lapse*-omgevingen: het regelen van meerdere activiteiten. Periodes van niet-spreken nodigen vanzelfsprekend uit om de lichamen van de deelnemers, hun omgeving, en andere lopende activiteiten te inspecteren. Voor dit hoofdstuk werd de handeling van drinken gebruikt als een casestudy van hoe deelnemers routinematig en tactisch de deelname aan de twee activiteiten van spreken en drinken beheren. Aangezien spreken en drinken grotendeels wederzijds uitsluitende handelingen zijn, moeten de deelnemers de twee met elkaar coördineren. Ik analyseerde de plaatsing van het drinken over een reeks sequentiële posities en liet zien dat drinken een zichtbare vertoning is van huidig of aanstaand niet-sprekerschap. In dit opzicht onthult het drinkgedrag de doorlopende analyse van het deelnamekader van de drinkers. Drinken komt niet random of periodiek voor, maar wordt specifiek geplaatst in interactie, vaak bij momenten van verhoogde gevoeligheid voor het deelnamekader en rond gelegenheden om te spreken. Zelfs wanneer het drinken en praten met elkaar in conflict waren, werd van deelnemers getoond dat ze van multimodale bronnen gebruikmaken om de beperkingen die drinken leggen op spreken op te lossen, zodat de progressiviteit van het gesprek werd gehandhaafd.

In hoofdstuk 5 vroeg ik hoe sprekers verder gaan met praten na een *lapse* in gesprek. In plaats van het beurtwisselingsprobleem van 'wie spreekt het volgende?' te behandelen, richtte ik me hier op de complementaire sequentieel-organisationele kwestie van 'wat komt als volgende?'. Het voorkomen van een *lapse* in conversationele-interactie kan erop duiden dat er niets speciaals is om over te praten. En zo gezien deze situatie, waar praten de deelnemers dan over? Ik heb drie logische alternatieven voor dit probleem beschreven: sprekers kunnen de interactie beëindigen, verder gaan met voorgaande zaken, of iets nieuws starten. Bij het kiezen uit deze opties onthulden de deelnemers hun begrip van waar ze zich bevonden in het verloop van hun interacties; vertoonden gevoeligheid voor voltooide of onvoltooide, eerdere of latente activiteiten; en ze introduceerden dingen als relevant van ‘buiten’ hun interacties. Deelnemers gebruikten middelen gegrond in de algemene structurele organisatie van de interactie,

in de materialen van de interactie tot nu toe, in de noemenswaardigheden die ze in de interactie hebben ingebracht, en in de omgeving zelf. *Lapses* bleken plaatsen te zijn voor het beheer van meerdere mogelijke activiteiten. De variabele duur van *lapses* en de numerieke bias voor verschillende vormen van doorgaan in verhouding tot stoppen of met iets nieuws beginnen wezen op een preferentie voor doorgaan na een *lapse*. Dit hoofdstuk was de vierde en laatste empirische studie voor het proefschrift.

Ten slotte heb ik in hoofdstuk 6 de bevindingen als geheel besproken, en in het bijzonder de *lapse*-omgeving, *lapse*-gedrag, de zogenaamde 'ongemakkelijke stilte', en *lapses* in een cross-cultureel perspectief. De *lapse*-omgeving is waar de deelnemers uitgenodigd zijn om aan te geven of, hoe, en in welke mate het beurtwisselingssysteem geschikt is voor het organiseren van hun sociale ontmoeting vanaf dat moment. *Lapses* bieden de mogelijkheid om een interactie te structureren op manieren die afwijken van de basiseigenschappen van conversatie (i.e., een gesprek met een regelmatige beurtwisseling), en zorgen ook voor de organisatie van relatief grote structuren van interactie (vertrekken, heropeningen, afsluitingen, enz.). Deze worden waargenomen door middel van *lapse*-gedrag: namelijk verschillende soorten lichamelijke intrekkingen (blik, handmatig, postuur, enz.), verschuivingen in betrokkenheid en aandacht (naar iets anders, naar zichzelf, naar een ander) en verschillende vormen van vocale/verbale uitdrukkingen (*outlouds*, sequentie-hervoltooiing, *lapse*-oplossing, enz.). Bij het kiezen uit de verschillende vormen van *lapse*-gedrag, nemen de deelnemers gedurende een *lapse* een standpunt ten opzichte van de relevantie van de conversatieactiviteit met betrekking tot de beschikbaarheid van andere bezigheden, series van acties, activiteiten en deelnamekaders. Veel van de *lapses* die in het proefschrift gedocumenteerd zijn, zouden beschouwd kunnen worden als beschamend, onhandig, of 'ongemakkelijke' stilte. Ik stel voor dat dergelijke gevoelens van schaamte in *lapses* direct kunnen worden geaard in de lokale configuratie van interactie; ze vloeien voort uit praktische moeilijkheden bij het beheersen van tegenstrijdige acties of ambigue, sequentiële beperkingen. Tenslotte situeer ik *lapses* in een culturele context, en stel voor dat de soorten praktische problemen veroorzaakt door *lapses* (wat doen we daarna, doen we nog iets samen, wie moet eerst gaan, enz.) zo algemeen zijn dat we soortgelijke praktische oplossingen zouden mogen verwachten in verschillende talen en culturen.

Publications

Hoey, E. M. & Kendrick, K. H. (In press). Conversation Analysis. In A. M. B. de Groot & P. Hagoort (Eds.), *Research Methods in Psycholinguistics and the Neurobiology of Language: A Practical Guide.* Wiley and Sons.

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Biographical note

Elliott Hoey received his BA in Linguistics and Biology in 2007 from the University of Texas at Austin, after which he worked for two years in Turkmenistan as a Peace Corps volunteer. He received his MA in Linguistics from the University of California, Santa Barbara in 2013. That same year, he was awarded a PhD fellowship to conduct research in the Language and Cognition Department at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics. He is currently a post-doctoral researcher in the Social Sciences Department at Loughborough University. His research sits at the interface of social interaction, bodily movement, activities, and emotions.

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