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Printed and bound by Ipskamp Drukkers
Cover picture by Anastasija Serbouh
ISBN: 978-94-92910-06-6

Reasons for every-day activities

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor
aan de Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen
op gezag van de rector magnificus prof. dr. J.H.J.M. van Krieken,
volgens besluit van het college van decanen
in het openbaar te verdedigen op dinsdag 21 januari 2020
om 10:30 uur precies

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The research reported in this thesis was supported by the European Research Council (project HSSLU 240583) and by the Max-Planck-Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaften, München, Germany.

For my family

Acknowledgments

Looking back, I don't even think I ever planned on doing a PhD. However, it turned out to be the best job I had ever had. I really had a great time doing it (most of the time).

As a psychology student I thought I had a neat plan for the rest of my life. Becoming a clinical psychologist was certainly an important part of that plan. During my bachelor and master's I learned a lot about doing research, but none of the methods I learned about seemed personally satisfying to me. For some reason it did bother me. The psychological topics that interested me the most, such as interpersonal relationships, empathy, persuasion and manipulation, social roles, emotions, social inclusion and exclusion, and many other topics seemed to lose something important when quantified and operationalised. It is only when I got acquainted with conversation analysis that I felt I found the answer that I was looking for. Everything I wanted to know about psychology was right there ready to be noticed from the way people interact with one another!

I feel very grateful to Nick Enfield who introduced me to the world of conversation analysis, linguistics, ethnography, and philosophy. Nick shared many brilliant ideas with me, many of which I only started understanding towards the end of my PhD project. The entire experience was tough, but enriching. Right now, I am simply very glad to be both a conversation analyst and a psychologist. Thank you, Nick, for this! A lot of thanks to Paul Drew for educating me in the specifics of conversation analysis and for our discussions, formal and informal. Thank you, Steven Levinson, for forcing me to take my analyses one step further and finally state my own ideas and opinions. Mark Dingemans deserves special thanks. He read every version of my chapters and discussed with me every research idea that I had ever had. Thank you for your advice, feedback, and encouragement!

Thanks to all my colleagues for the exciting data sessions and discussions that we had; and for all the fun we had at work and after work as well: Ely Manrique, Gaby Garrido Rodriguez, Giovanni Rossi, Saskia van Putten, Rebecca Defina, Binyam Gebrekidan Gebre, Rósa Signý Gísladóttir, Ewelina Wnuk, Mathias Barthel, Paul Hömke, Simeon Floyd, Gunter Senft, Kobin Kendrick, Sara Bögels, Marisa Casillas, Francisco Torreira, Sebastian Sauppe, Joe Blythe, Penny Brown, Lila San Roque, Kang-Suk Byun, Connie de Vos, Elliot Hoey, Jeremy Collins, Emma Valtersson, Judith Holler, Elma Hilbrink, and Elizabeth Norcliff. I am very grateful to my friends and fellow-students at different stages of my education, Saskia van Putten and Nina Zuurveen, for being my paranymphs. It is a lot less scary with you by my side!

I also got lots of inspiration and practical advice from Herbert Clark, Jack Sidnell, Betty Couper-Kuhlen, Paul Kockelman, Ruth Parry, Tanya Stivers, Galina Bolden, and many others. Thank you all very much for your input! The International Max Planck Research School represented by Kevin Lam, Els den Os, and Dirkje van der Aa, and Edith Sjoerdsma, the secretary of the Language and Cognition department, thank you! To the members of the reading committee, thank you for your time and comments. Also a special thanks for everyone who participated in my recordings and experiments.

The technical, financial, and administrative support of the MPI is exceptional. I'm particularly grateful for the assistance given by Han Sloetjes, Paul Trilsbeek,

Tobias van Valkenhoef, Ad Verbunt, Angela Heuts, Rik van Vierssen, Nick Wood, Alex Dukers, Alex König, Peter Nijland, Jan Achterberg, Rober van Thiel, Karin Kastens, Meggie Uijen, Marie-Luise Janssen-Ekat, and Perry Janssen. I would also like to manifest my gratitude to the European Research Council for their financial support.

My entire family played an important part in my research as well. The fact that I even have any data to present in this thesis is thanks to my father Sergej Baranov, his girlfriend Valentina Fetisova, and my mother Jelena Charitonova. They encouraged their friends and relatives to participate in my recordings and studies and participated in them themselves. My special thanks goes to the Baranov, Labutin, and Belyoglov families, as well as to my cousin Ruslan who made so many transcriptions for me. My sister Anastasija made the cover for this book. It is exactly what I imagined it to be and I'm really happy with it! My brother Sebastiaan often asked me what kind of book I was writing. Although I was never able to provide an exciting answer that would also be intelligible to a child, it did force me to think of the purpose and meaning of my study outside of the academic world. You all helped me so much, thank you!

Вся моя семья сыграла очень важную роль в моём исследовании. Сам факт, что у меня набрался материал для анализов, это благодаря моему папе Сергею Баранову и Валентине Фетисовой, а также моей маме Елене Харитоновой. Они представили меня своим русскоязычным друзьям и сами участвовали в моих видео-записях и экспериментах. Отдельное спасибо семье Барановых, Лабутиных и Белиогловых, а также моему двоюродному брату Руслану, который сделал для меня так много транскрипций. Моя сестра Анастасия нарисовала обложку для этой диссертации, которой я очень довольна! Мой брат Себастьян за эти годы часто спрашивал меня, что за книгу я пишу. Я скорее всего так и не смогла объяснить ему это доходчиво и интересно, но его вопросы заставили меня задуматься над целью и значением моего исследования. Вы все мне очень помогли, спасибо большое!

So, as you can see, many people contributed to this thesis in some way or another. Many contributions were conceptual and practical, many people encouraged and advised me. However, there is only one person who witnessed and lived through all the stages of this project with me. This person had to deal with the highs of my enthusiasm and productivity as well as the lows of my doubts and stagnation. I am talking about my husband Bart, of course. I feel that my most important and creative ideas were born out of our conversations, where you were so good at asking questions and pointing out the bits that did not make sense. Even though this PhD was my job to finish, there is no way I could have done it while being out of contract and a mom for our children as well. Thank you very much for being there for me!

Our children, Emily and Simon, deserve a special mention here as well. Although they did not consciously contribute to this thesis, being a person whom they look up to has been a huge motivation for me.

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Transcription conventions

Data are presented in three-line transcripts. The first line provides the original Russian utterance represented phonetically using Roman script. The second line gives a word-by-word gloss of the utterance in English. The third line gives an English translation of the entire utterance.

wo[rd [word	Beginning of an overlapping turn.
word= =word	The equal sign indicates that an utterance had to be broken up and continues on the following line. The line below can belong to the same or to a different speaker.
(1.0)	Silence indicated in second.
(.)	Silence that is shorter than 0.2 seconds.
wo:::rd	A stretched sound just prior to the semicolon.
word-	A word is not articulated completely but is cut off.
.hh word	An audible inbreath.
<u>word</u>	An entire word is intonationally emphasised. It is also possible that only a part of a word is emphasised.
WORD	A word or multiple words are pronounced louder compared to the adjacent talk.

(word)	There is some doubt concerning hearability of the word.
{word}	Words or phrases that were added to the original utterance to make it sound more properly English. They are only encountered in the English gloss.
((comment))	Comments added by the author, often used to make a comment about the setting wherein the conversation unfolds.
<word>	The word or utterance is produced slower than the adjacent speech.
>word<	The word or utterance is produced faster than the adjacent speech.

Abbreviations used in glossing

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
SG	singular
PL	plural
F	feminine
M	masculine
N	neuter
DIM	diminutive
NOM	nominative case
GEN	genitive case
DAT	dative
ACC	accusative
INSTR	instrumental
LOC	locative
VOC	vocative
IMP	imperative
INF	infinitive
PFV	perfective
IMPFV	imperfective
FUT	future
PST	past
MOD	modal verb
REFL	reflective verb
NEG	negation
DEM	demonstrative
INTJ	interjection
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
Q	question
PCL	particle
NAME	proper name

1 General introduction

1.1 Aims and scope of this thesis

Social life is made possible by cooperative language use. We use language to relate to others and to do things together. Much of this is fuelled by unspoken assumptions of cooperative motivation: we expect our questions to be answered and our requests for assistance to be met. But sometimes, matters of motivation come to the surface: when we give or ask reasons. This thesis studies reason-giving in everyday interaction.

Consider the following two examples from the corpus of everyday conversations in Russian collected for this thesis. Both take place in the kitchen, a focal place for social interaction in this society, as in many. In Extract 1 Yana asks Lida for a spoon and gets it without further ado.

Extract 1. 20120114_memorial_1_835270

Yana sits at the table, Lida stands at the kitchen counter.

- 1 Yana ^daj mne lozhichku mama
 Give-IMP-PFV I-DAT spoon-DIM-ACC mama
 Give me a (little) spoon, mama
- 2 (0.7)
- 3 Lida ((turns towards closet, takes spoon and gives it to Yana))

The second extract from another interaction is similar as it also involves a request for a spoon. Katya is holding a spoon to scoop instant coffee into her mug when she looks closely at the spoon and issues a request to Maria.

Extract 2. 20110827_Family_2_820127

- 1 Katya d ↑ aj lo:shku druguju pazhalu(sta)
 Give-IMP spoon-ACC other-ACC please
 Give me another spoon, please
- 2 Maria =^lo:shku- (.) drug↑uju?
 Spoon-ACC Other-ACC
 A spoon? Another one?
- 3 Katya = uhu:m,
 Uhum
- 4 Maria ((opens the drawer))
- 5 Katya [ana v malake: pa xodu dela eta
 She in milk along route business DEM-F

It looks like this one has been (dipped) in the milk

Katya and Yana's requests for spoons have a similar format. However, Katya's request, which even seems more polite because of the added "please", is not immediately complied with. Instead, Maria asks for clarification. In response, Katya gives a reason for needing another spoon: the one she has (which Maria can see she has) is dirty. With the reason for the request clear, Maria complies and gives Katya another spoon.

These two extracts lead us to ask several questions: Why are some requests immediately complied with, while others require more work? Why do people ask or provide reasons for requests in some cases but not in others? When do people decide that reasons are needed, how do they provide them, and how do they help smooth out interactional trouble? These are some of the questions addressed in this thesis.

This thesis is a study of how human beings understand their social world and how they communicate this understanding to others through reasons. This thesis will show how every social being expects others to act in a certain manner, as if following unwritten rules of social conduct. Deviations from these expectations do not go unnoticed, even in casual conversations with a friend in the safe surroundings of one's home. At the same time, reprimanding divergence from the expected is a delicate matter, even when it concerns something you do a dozen times a day – making a request. Studying reasons in interaction, as intertwined with the broader socio-cultural setting will provide new insights on the role and function of this phenomenon.

The main research question of this thesis is: what is the role of reasons in social interaction? To answer it, this thesis presents a holistic study of reasons with special attention to reason giving, withholding and soliciting; all in relation to speakers' shared cultural knowledge and socio-cultural context.

Several features of this thesis ensure its broad relevance. First of all, it studies reason-giving in casual interaction as opposed to institutional contexts, giving us access to the resources that represent solutions to interactional challenges encountered in everyday language use everywhere. Second, this thesis raises the question of how context-free interactional resources are combined with local members' knowledge by studying reason-giving in the Russian socio-cultural setting. This is a setting sufficiently different from the Western societies, where reason-giving in interaction has mostly been studied so far. The researchers in interaction are accustomed to the study of interactional phenomena in a Western culture setting so that the contribution of the culture into the conversation might easily be overlooked and taken for granted. Studying

reasons in Russian might make the import of the Russian culture into the conversation more visible because of a reader's lack of familiarity with it. Finally, because the topic of reasons in interaction is multifaceted, this thesis explores it from different angles by using a combination of methods.

Much work on causal explanations in interaction has favoured delicate conversational contexts in which reasons serve a mitigating function (Antaki 1994, 68–91; Davidson 1984; Heritage 1988, 1984b, 265–73; Schegloff 2007a, 58–96, 1988; Sterponi 2003; Wootton 1981). In contrast, this thesis uses informal interactions among friends and family members during routine activities. In this type of data, where the status distance between the participants is little and the actions associated with reason-giving are mostly small and local, mitigating reasons seem to be less likely to be involved. A major advantage of the (video-) recorded interactional data is in the fact that participants' behaviour can be observed *in situ*, where it has immediate and real consequences for the social relationships between the people involved.

The current thesis examines provision of reasons in a Russian cultural context, with special attention to reasons given for requests. Much research on conversational structure in general, and on reasons specifically, has focused on English and some other well-studied languages, mostly from the Romance and Germanic language families. To counteract this bias and to ensure a broad evidential base for conversation analytic findings, this study uses data from Russian.

There is a secondary goal to using data from a language that not all readers will be intimately familiar with: to bring home the importance of members' knowledge to understanding routine activities in social interaction. Some of the chapters in this thesis use insights from Moerman's culturally contexted conversation analysis (Moerman and Sacks 1988; Moerman 1988) and methods from ethnography. These methods are used to make visible members' knowledge that may be intuitively understood by members (like the author), but may remain opaque to non-members in conversational exchanges. Russian is the author's native language. Besides speaking and understanding the language, the author has special access to the communities studied and member knowledge, giving her an important advantage when studying subtle and culture-dependent phenomena, such as reasons.

Finally, the current thesis makes use of a novel mixed-methods approach, where each method targets a different aspect of reason-giving in interaction. This thesis combines Conversation Analytic techniques, ethnographic interviews and a breaching experiment. Combining analysis of interaction with other methods has been proved fruitful in previous studies (de Ruiter and Albert 2017; Enfield, Stivers, and Levinson 2010;

Stivers et al. 2009; De Ruiter, Mitterer, and Enfield 2006; Keitel et al. 2013; Levinson 2016). These studies have shown that conversation analysis can provide testable theories and categories that can further be used and analysed with other methods. In the current thesis, Conversation analytic techniques are used to derive interactional patterns, the analysis of which will reveal conditions that determine reason-giving, but also any factors that allow reasons to be left unspoken (chapter 3). This is an important issue that has been underexplored in the literature so far. These findings are verified against the socio-cultural background of the participants using ethnographic interviews (chapter 4). The results from these analyses are further tested in the controlled environment of a breaching experiment. Breaching experiments test specific hypothesis in a relatively natural conversational environment and allow for both quantitative and qualitative analyses of the resulting data (chapter 5). The data and methods will be discussed in more detail in section 1.4.

1.2 Russian grammar and interaction

Russian is an East-Slavic language, spoken by at least 150 million ethnic Russians living in the Russian Federation and in the former Soviet republics. Russian is the official language of the Russian Federation, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. The basic word order in Russian is SVO (Hawkins 1983; Tomlin 1986). Interrogation is mainly achieved through prosody, interrogative particles and question words. Russian verbs come in aspectual pairs: perfective and imperfective. They inflect for tense, person, number and, on certain occasions, for gender. Russian nouns are marked for gender (feminine, masculine and neuter), number (singular and plural), and case (six cases).

While Russian grammar is widely studied, we are only beginning to understand how Russian is used in everyday interactions. Concerning Russian as an interactional medium, this thesis builds particularly on earlier work by Galina Bolden (e.g. Bolden 2018; Bolden and Guimaraes 2012; Bolden 2011, 2003). In the remainder of this section I provide an overview of some of the most relevant studies for this thesis.

A large part of this thesis is concerned with reasons in the context of request sequences. It has been noticed for some time that Russian speakers prefer imperatively formatted requests in cases when speakers of other languages might use other formats instead (Benacchio 2002a; Xrakovskij 1988). For example, imperative requests in English and Italian are only appropriate when they are issued within an already-established joint project (Rossi 2012, 2015; Zinken 2013; Zinken and Ogiermann 2013). For Russian requests, imperative formatting seems to be “a default or unmarked request form for ‘here-and-now’ actions in

interactions between family and friends” (Bolden 2017). This suggests that in such settings, Russians do not seem to take into consideration factors that proved important for the construction of requests in English and Italian. These factors were, for instance: the likelihood of compliance, the costs of compliance for the recipient or the requester’s entitlement for making this particular request. These are the factors that proved important for the construction of requests in English and Italian.

Although we know little about reason-giving in conversational Russian, we *do* know something about how reasons are asked for. Asking someone to provide a reason for their behaviour carries the speaker’s negative stance about the recipient’s actions. When addressees are somehow responsible for the accountable event or conduct, explicit solicitations of accounts are frequently hearable as criticism and complaint. Both English and Russian speakers tend to avoid asking for addressee’s reasons directly in such circumstances (Robinson and Bolden 2010). They do, however, use indirect strategies to do so. For instance, they sometimes stop talking, thereby providing the recipient a chance to step in and provide a reason. They also sometimes initiate a repair. A repair is often a question that indicates problems of hearing or understanding. For both strategies, it holds that if the addressees provide a reason in response, they ‘seem’ to do it on their own accord.

The Russian repair system shares many important features with other languages, as studies by Dingemanse and colleagues demonstrate (Dingemanse and Enfield 2015; Dingemanse, Torreira, and Enfield 2013). For example, Russian has ways to target problems of hearing or understanding ranging from the unspecific *huh?* (or *a?* for Russian) to the more specific *who?* (chapter 2). While the response to a repair initiation often solves the problem of hearing or understanding, it also sometimes includes a reason (see also Extract 5 in chapter 2). Such repair initiations can be seen as indirect account solicitations in the terms of Robinson and Bolden (2010).

This thesis will provide more information on the interface between requests and the repair system, enriching not only research on Russian interaction but also providing new insights relevant to the study of interaction in other languages.

1.3 Theoretical contexts

The vast body of work on reasons in interaction and, more broadly, on causal explanations and human reasoning ability in general is too large to summarize here. Instead, I focus on the concepts that are directly relevant for the current thesis and set the scene for the following chapters.

Individual chapters will offer additional literature overview where needed.

1.3.1 Human reasoning and its flaws

Causal explanations have traditionally been of major interest to philosophers due to their power in understanding the natural world. In general, philosophers have studied human reasoning from the individualistic point of view, where reasoning serves a private function of improving individuals' belief systems, resulting in superior knowledge. Until recently, psychologists assumed that human reasoning ability was based on the principles of logic. However, we now understand that this ability is flawed, raising doubts about its superior role in knowledge formation.

We seem to perform poorly on many logical and decision-making tasks. For instance, we are not good at determining probability rates for events. In general we seem to rely on heuristics that are prone to error and bias. For example, in Tversky and Kahneman's (1973; 1983) Linda problem, participants in their experiment were given a description of Linda:

Linda is 31 years old, single, outspoken and very bright. She majored in philosophy. As a student, she was deeply concerned with issues of discrimination and social justice, and also participated in anti-nuclear demonstrations.

Then participants were asked to indicate which of the following statements was more probable.

1. Linda is active in the feminist movement.
2. Linda is a bank teller.
3. Linda is a bank teller and is active in the feminist movement.

The majority of the participants rated the last answer as more likely. When answering this question participants seemed to take into account how representative the answer was for the description of Linda and neglected the probability of the statements, hence the name of the heuristic: *the representativeness heuristic*. They ignored the fact that the probability of the conjunctions is never greater than that of its conjuncts. So, for Linda to be either a bank teller *or* to be involved in the feminist movement is actually more probable than to be both.

Kahneman and Tversky also described another heuristic, *the availability heuristic*, and how it can lead to incorrect judgments. They showed that when determining the probability of an event, participants tend to use the ease with which this event can be brought to mind, i.e., its availability, as evidence for its frequency. Instances of more frequent events are usually more easily recalled than rare ones. However, events

that are easily recalled are not always the most frequent ones. Some of them are recalled better because they are familiar, happened more recently, received wide media coverage or are tragic, shocking or surprising.

A different experiment invented by Peter Wason and now known as the Wason selection task exposes *confirmation bias*. It is a tendency to search for and select information that confirms our pre-existing beliefs and ignore or disregard information that might contradict them (Wason 1960). The experiment presents participants with four cards. They all have a letter on one side and a number on the other side, e.g.: A, D, 4, 7. Participants are told a rule of the “if P then Q” type. For instance, *If a card has a vowel on one side, then it has an even number on the other side. Which card(s) must you turn over in order to test the truth of this rule?* Most participants seek information that would confirm this rule, so they choose to turn card ‘A’ or ‘4’. The rule, however, says nothing about what is on the other side of an even number. So, turning the card with a ‘4’ would not confirm or falsify the rule. However, turning card ‘7’ could potentially falsify the rule if there is a vowel on the other side. That is why the cards with ‘A’ and ‘7’ should be chosen.

What determines these limits to human reasoning? There are two competing hypotheses that attempt to explain this: mental logic and mental model hypothesis. For mental logicians, reason has built-in abstract rules of logic, like the previously introduced “if P then Q” rule. The more logical steps we have to take and the more logical rules we have to apply, the more vulnerable we will be to making errors when making a decision. The mental model hypothesis suggests that we have models or mental pictures of situations in our mind that represent reality. The more models we have to make and integrate in order to answer to a problem, the more likely we will fail (Johnson-Laird 1995, 2010)

Whatever the mechanism for reasoning is, it seems to happen at multiple levels. The general idea in modern cognitive psychology is that human reasoning involves two systems that are essentially opposites of each other. While system 1 reasoning is fast, nonverbal, effortless, unconscious, automatic and associative, to name just a few characteristics, system 2 reasoning involves effort and language; it is conscious, controlled and rule-based. This type of reasoning takes more time and effort and is not always manageable in real-life situations requiring immediate action. It is thought that type 1 reasoning makes use of heuristics and quick judgments and that is why it is prone to biases. Type 2, on the other hand should result in better judgments (Kahneman and Tversky 1979; Tversky and Kahneman 1973).

1.3.2 The argumentative theory of reasoning

The recently articulated argumentative theory of reasoning rejects the conventional approach where reason is contrasted with heuristic judgments and intuition. According to Mercier and Sperber (2017), the function of human reason has been misunderstood. Instead of having a purely private function of improving beliefs and acquiring knowledge, its function is social and is expressed through reasons in interaction with others. As a speaker, reasoning ability enables us to convince others with our arguments. As a recipient, it enables us to evaluate arguments provided by others. Therefore, in this view, the goal of human reasoning is not to make the best decisions, but to make the best arguments in interaction.

This theory places cognitive biases and flaws of human reasoning in a different light. Confirmation bias exists because it serves the goal of convincing others. We are pre-programmed to search and select information *in favour* of our arguments to persuade others. Information that does not confirm our argument is neglected because it does not serve the purpose of making our argument or belief compelling.

The theory also explains why people may initially produce arguments that are just good enough as opposed to the best that they can be. To save effort, the best arguments will only be produced when initial ones fail to convince the opponent. Furthermore, Mercier and Sperber ascribe participants' poor performance on some reasoning tasks, such as the Linda-problem above, to researchers' failure to create a maximally natural environment that allows for conveying arguments to others and participants' commitment to defend their views. Only in such context can reasoning serve its main function.

Argumentative reasoning is crucial for successful communication. The mere expectation that recipients will evaluate the arguments they are confronted with will force speakers to stay as close to the truth as possible (Sperber, Clément, et al. 2010). Reasoning then provides us with a mechanism for *epistemic vigilance*. This thesis can be seen as an empirical study of the role of reasons in interaction – from general interactional resources used in giving and asking for reasons (chapters 3 and 5) to the ways in which cultural norms and values affect reason-giving and the content of reasons (chapter 4).

The argumentative theory of reasoning is a promising theory when it comes to the study of biases and human cognitive processes in general. It encourages researchers to relate psychological concepts to their participants' social reality. There is however, a major limitation to the argumentative theory of reasoning that has not been addressed yet: the authors are claiming that argumentation is used in interaction without

having evidence that this is actually the case. Furthermore, the authors assume that the function of reasoning in interaction is to persuade others. Again, they provide little interactional evidence to support this. Indeed, the authors of the argumentative theory of reasoning only make use of laboratory evidence in support of their claims, something that the authors themselves recognise (Mercier and Sperber 2011).

There is a major opportunity now for empirical research on social interaction to make a contribution to the empirical grounding of the argumentative theory of reasoning. This thesis fills that gap by studying reasoning and reason-giving in casual interaction. To start with, this thesis will demonstrate how reasoning can be detected and analysed in the interactional context. This is not a straightforward task since reasons do not have a clearly recognisable format and can potentially take the form of a question as well as a declarative statement. Furthermore, with respect to the function of reasons in interaction, this thesis will not only show that it is to persuade the recipient, but it will also explicate *how* they do so. The following section will provide some background information on the topic of reasons in interaction.

1.3.3 Linguistic resources for structuring reasoning

In linguistics, reasoning has mostly been studied through a focus on causal connectives. Causal connectives like English *so* and *because* are acquired relatively early in childhood and are already used correctly around the age of 2;6 (Hood and Bloom 1979; Peterson and McCabe 1985). One can think of causal connectives as being related to one of the following coherence sources: content, epistemic and speech act (Sweetser 1990). Consider the following examples, where the causal connective *because* has different readings:

1. John came back because he loved her.
2. John loved her, because he came back.
3. What are you doing tonight, because there's a good movie on.

The first example represents the use of *because* in the content domain, which simply connects the clause “John came back” and “he loved her” so that the sentence directly expresses the causal relation between the two events. The second example refers to the speaker's knowledge that John's return caused the speaker to think that John loved her (it glosses as ‘I know he loved her because of the available evidence – he came back’). This exemplifies the use of *because* in the domain of epistemics. The final example cannot be interpreted in terms of the direct causality or by involving epistemics. It makes more sense when paraphrased in speech act terms, such as: “I *asked* what you are doing

tonight because I want to suggest that we go see this good movie” (Sweetser 1990, 77).

While the connective *because* can be felicitously used in all three reported English examples, this is not the case in many other languages. Some languages restrict the use of certain causal connectives only to certain domains of use. French, for example, has two causal connectives: *car* and *parce que*. *Car* is often used to mark epistemic and speech act relations, while *parce que* seems to be restricted to the content domain (Zufferey, Mak, and Sanders 2015; Zufferey 2012). Dutch makes a similar distinction between the causal connectives *want* and *omdat*. *Want* is more frequently used in the epistemic domain, and *omdat* in the content and speech act domains (Sanders & Stukker, 2012; Stukker & Sanders, 2012).

1.3.4 Reasons in spoken interaction

A spoken reason in interaction is usually a subordinate phenomenon that explains the main action, for instance, the main action of requesting or rejecting an offer. The action that the reason is designed to explain can be an *initiating* action or a *responsive* action. An initiating action makes a response conditionally relevant. A request is an example of an initiating action (reasons for requests are analysed in chapter 3). A conditionally relevant response to it is compliance or an explanation for its absence or delay (Schegloff 2007:59; Schegloff 1968; Schegloff and Sacks 1973). Reasons can also support *responsive* actions. For instance, when the recipient of the request rejects compliance, such a rejection is normally accompanied by a reason. Reasons can also be used *instead* of the main action. So, a request can sometimes be left out and the reason can function in its place as an indirect request (Searle 1975, 1969).

Sometimes a reason is not a supporting action but a main action. This is the case after complaints and explicit reason solicitations, which make a reason conditionally relevant (Bolden and Robinson 2011a; Drew and Holt 1988; Manusov 1996). Calling for reasons is, however, a delicate action that can damage the relationship between the interactants. Therefore, speakers often resort to more neutral strategies that function as indirect reason solicitations. Initiating a repair is one such indirect strategy that can occasion reason provision (Bolden and Robinson 2011; Robinson and Bolden 2010). The role of other-initiated repair in asking for reasons is explored in chapters 2 and 5.

Previous research investigating spoken reasons in interaction has mostly concentrated on accounts in institutional settings or on accounts for delicate conduct in informal interaction. The contexts included accounts provided for the rejection of offers, invitations and requests in a casual setting (Heritage 1988), accounts for proposals in educational

contexts (Waring 2007), requests in doctor-patient encounters (Parry 2013, 2009), reasons as a part of request sequences in a service encounter setting (Raevaara 2011) and offenders' accounts in traffic court (Cody and McLaughlin 1988).

Conversation analytic findings shed light on the functions of reasons and the features of determining their production in the local context of a conversation. However, reasons have the potential to reveal information beyond the borders of one conversation. This calls for a different approach to conversational data.

The current thesis follows a course in the study of reasons, one which was set out by Harold Garfinkel (Heritage 1984 b; Garfinkel 1967; 1964). He proposed that accounts are manifestations of deviations from common-sense knowledge, and the giving of reasons “contributes to the maintenance of stable routines of everyday life” (Garfinkel 1967, 185). This presents a view of accounts as heavily context dependent, helping to preserve the ordinary order of social life. In this sense, the study of accounts does not only shed light on their use and function, but also on what is considered common sense, ordinary and expected in a society. Accounts have a sense-making function due to their ability to link the event under consideration to common-sense knowledge that is presumed to be available to everyone in the given society (Mills 1940). This view broadens the analysis to any deviation from what can be expected in the given situation and encourages consideration of various situational factors, such as cultural expectations in the given context and distribution of knowledge among the participants.

There are views that incorporate the analysis of conversation with some form of ethnographic analysis. One view is represented by Hymes' *ethnography of communication* (1964, 1962). It encourages interdisciplinary work between linguists, psychologists, sociologists and ethnographers. Hymes argues that the study of linguistic phenomena cannot be separated from the cultural setting wherein they occur, as this context not only affects their form, but also their meaning. As part of the study of contextual features, Hymes' focus is on social norms that speakers and recipients follow in interaction (1974, pp. 29–67).

Another view is presented in Moerman's culturally contexted conversation analysis (CCCA). CCCA was his way to improve ethnographic methods, but also the analysis of interaction, where no or little information from outside the recording is taken into account. Moerman compared American English and Thai conversations (Moerman 1988). Importantly, he noticed that ethnographic knowledge was often necessary to grasp the meaning of the interaction. For a more recent study on a combination of anthropological and conversation analytic techniques see Dingemans and Floyd (2014).

Culturally contexted conversation analysis as introduced by Moerman (1988) involves a great deal of ethnographic information, which he accumulated in his role as a professional ethnographer. In this thesis, I will demonstrate how ethnographic information can specifically be acquired for the purpose of enriching the analysis of conversation.

1.3.5 Terminology: reasons vs. accounts

The traditional definition of an account states that it is “a statement made by a social actor to explain unanticipated or untoward behaviour” (Scott and Lyman 1968, 1). Although this definition is broad, Scott and Lyman focused on reasons or accounts that legitimise controversial, illegal or otherwise problematic behaviour. Since their study, much attention has been paid precisely to this use of accounts in delicate interactional contexts. However, an agreement exists that the phenomenon of explaining oneself in interaction comes in two types: 1) reasons can be provided for the conduct that is delicate or somehow problematic; and 2) there are reasons for events that are rather neutral and do not have an untoward character (Buttny and Morris 2001; Parry 2013, 2009; Waring 2007).

This thesis uses the term *reasons* as a broad category that includes accounts for sensitive behaviour or events, but also explanations for the more neutral ones. This is done to avoid the connotation of delicateness attached to some uses of the term *account* and also to mark the link between the work presented in this thesis and the Argumentative theory of reason. Mercier and Sperber (2011, 2017) make no distinction between the mental faculty that can be called human reasoning and accounts, explanations, justifications, etc. that are provided in interaction. They in fact refer to the former by the term *reason* and to the latter by *reasons*.

The terminology that we use in this thesis is only slightly different for the purpose of clarity. Human reasoning ability or human reason is reserved as a reference to the mental faculty. The term *reason* is used for the verbal explanations and justifications encountered in interaction. We use *reasons* only to indicate plurality when it is appropriate. A *reason* is defined here as a proper answer to a why-question in interaction. Content-wise, *reasons* usually refer to the past, present and/or future state of affairs (Baranova & Dingemanse 2016; see also Draper 1988).

1.3.6 Requests

A large part of this thesis is concerned with the reasons given in the context of one specific interactional event: requesting. Requests are defined here rather broadly as one person’s behaviour that instigates another to act. This behaviour is “making an immediate physical need, problem or wish overt and publicly available” (Drew and Couper-Kuhlen

2014, 28; Floyd, Rossi, and Enfield in press; Rossi 2015). Requestees respond to this by performing a visible action that solves the problem or fulfils the wish. Traditionally, requests are distinguished from offers, suggestions or advices. This, however, requires attribution of intent to the requester, which is arguably subjective. It can be argued whether these categories are relevant for interactants themselves. Is it a distinction they make themselves in interaction? Does it help them to formulate their response? Such categories seem fluid: an offer can be imperatively formatted and a request can be entirely nonverbal. Our definition does not rely on such abstract categories, it focuses on the visible behaviour of the requestee that can be seen as assistance. Some requests do not require an observable response because they make requestee's assistance conditionally relevant. This is the case for imperatives, for example.

Usually, requests that are considered in this thesis fall into one of the following three categories: transfer of an object ("Give me a spoon"), provision of a service ("Open the window") or alteration of recipient's ongoing behaviour ("Don't taste this") (see also Rossi 2015). In this thesis, I only look at requests that concern an immediate action that is or can be performed in the here and now. Such an approach to requests enables the study of the entire request sequence, i.e. including the response that it receives (Dingemans and Floyd 2014; Floyd et al. submitted; Floyd, Rossi, and Enfield in press; Rossi 2012, 2014).

Requests are frequent in interaction and possess various features that make them a suitable environment for the study of reasons. A request reveals the socially interdependent nature of human agents. Requesters cannot or do not wish to perform an action themselves and rely on recipients to do so. In doing so, requesters put themselves in a vulnerable position where they become obliged to return the favour. At the same time, they make an imposition on the recipient who might not be willing to comply. Such a sensitive character of requests is expressed through a range of imperative, interrogative, declarative and other formats, which can in addition be supported by reasons (see e.g. Curl and Drew 2008; Rossi 2012; Taleghani-Nikazm 2006; Rossi 2014). In the next sections, I will further clarify the relevance of requests for the study of reasons.

1.3.6.1 Politeness theory

This thesis builds on prior work on reasons in interaction. Two precursors in particular must be mentioned. Politeness theory (Brown & Levinson, 1987) provides a general theoretical framework that can help explain reason-giving. In their politeness theory, Brown and Levinson reintroduce and refine the notion of the face first developed by Goffman (1955). The face is a social presentation of a social agent that has to be protected. Individuals are thought to have a positive and a negative face.

Requesters risk coming across as needy and incompetent, which threatens their positive face. Negative face is threatened when a person's autonomy might be restricted. This is the case when a request is made. Requesters have various politeness devices at their disposal. Providing a reason for your request is one possible politeness strategy. The theory proposes three factors as determining whether a request will be supported by a politeness device, such as reasons: the degree of imposition of the requester act, the power of the requester in relation to the requestee, and the degree of social distance between them.

Politeness theory makes general statements about why politeness is important and how it is expressed through language. It does not, however, predict which politeness device will be used in what conversational circumstances. Reason-giving is considered a politeness strategy because of its mitigating character. However, taking into account that reasons serve multiple functions in interactions, it remains to be seen whether they all are mitigating.

1.3.6.2 Entitlement and contingencies

A slightly different take is provided by Curl and Drew's work on entitlement and contingency (2008; Fraser 1990; Tracy 1990). They introduce the entitlement status of the requester combined with the efforts required for compliance as the main factors determining syntactic format of the request. The entitlement status concerns the right of the requester to make this particular request. The efforts or contingencies concern the obstacles that the recipient has to overcome when complying with the request. Curl and Drew present a comparative analysis of the request formats "Can you X?" and "I wonder if X?" Requests associated with high contingencies made from a low entitlement position were more frequently prefaced with "I wonder if...".

Although this thesis does not consider reasons to be a request format, they can certainly be part of the requesting turn and contribute to the requesters' goal of achieving compliance. So, the factors that affect requests might also affect the production of reasons. However, it might well be that reason-giving is a different animal than the prefaces analysed in Curl and Drew's study. First of all, a reason can be given for a request of any format and can either reinforce whatever the format is designed for or perform a different function in parallel.

1.4 Data and methodology

This thesis makes use of several methods to study spoken reasons, taking into account both a conversation analytic perspective on this phenomenon and the role of cultural norms and values in the study of

spoken reasons. This thesis also makes use of the breaching experiment method.

To understand when and why people give reasons in interaction, there is no substitute for primary data: rich records of language use in interaction. Conversation analysis provides a method to analyse this data that is robust and repeatable. By anchoring claims in transcripts of data that are available for repeated inspection, the analysis is made accountable to the facts as directly as possible. By drawing attention to recurrent phenomena across collections of cases, the ground is prepared for more quantitative or experimental investigations. The use of a combination of methods will secure generalisability of the findings outside of the recorded conversations (de Ruiter and Albert 2017).

Conversation Analysis is used to describe the interactional resources, through which reasons can be produced and the sequential positions in which they occur (chapter 2). It is also used to chart the contexts in which reasons are produced and withheld with an emphasis on their functions, and to generate hypotheses (chapter 3). Ethnographic interviews are applied to explore the role of cultural norms in the construction of requests (chapter 4). A breaching experiment puts to test our predictions concerning the contexts in which a reason is expected to occur. Furthermore, it allows for an observation of various formats for reason solicitations (chapter 5).

1.4.1 Method I: Conversation analysis and conversational corpus

Conversation Analysis (CA) has its origins in the work of Harvey Sacks, Gail Jefferson and Emmanuel Schegloff. CA's main sources of data are audio and video recorded conversations. The conversations are usually transcribed in as much detail as possible, preserving intonational features of the talk, as well its linguistic and (to some extent) paralinguistic features. The general idea of CA is that attention to conversational detail will reveal systematicity in how people use conversational practices.

CA focuses on the tasks that participants in interaction have to perform. One such task or challenge is deciding who speaks when, as handled by the turn-taking system (e.g. Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974a; Stivers et al. 2009). Another challenge lies in how to relate turns at talk to each other, a problem handled by the sequential organisation of the talk. Conversation analysts identify various sequences: request sequences, offer sequences, question-answer sequences and so on. Many of these come in pairs, also known as *adjacency pairs*. In a request sequence, the requesting turn forms the *first pair part*, which makes a response conditionally relevant. The requestee has two options: to grant

the request or decline it. These responses are called *second pair parts*. The same holds for question-answer sequences. A why-interrogative, for instance, forms the first pair part. The reason that it receives in response is the second pair part.

Related to the organisation of adjacency pairs is the issue of *preference* (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974; Schegloff 2007; Sacks and Schegloff 2007). The preferred (normatively expected) response to practical request would be to carry out that request. A dispreferred response would be to challenge the request and ask for a reason. Evidence about response preference comes from within the interaction: dispreferred responses are generally more complex, more delayed and more indirect than preferred responses.

Another challenge in a conversation is solving problems of hearing, speaking and understanding (Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks 1977). Conversational repair deals with these problems. A repair sequence is a so-called insert sequence that is placed after the first pair part and before the second pair part. Only after a problem of understanding is resolved can the initial sequence be resumed. For example, a recipient of the request might not be able to produce a fitted response – granting or refusal – because the request was not heard or understood. The recipient can initiate a repair by saying something as simple as *ha?* or *what?* (Baranova 2015; Dingemanse, Torreira, and Enfield 2013a, 2013b). In turn, this will occasion a repetition or a redoing of the problematic request. Only then can the recipient produce a fitted response to the request and complete the sequence. As mentioned earlier, repair initiations sometimes occasion reason provision. This is suggestive of their possible function as indirect reason solicitations (see chapters 2 and 5).

Understanding the content of an utterance is not necessarily the same as understanding what the utterance does or, in other words, what its conversational action or function is. Ascribing an action to an utterance and recognising actions within actions is another matter that interactants have to deal with (Heritage 2012; Levinson 2013). This is an essential process if the interlocutor is to respond appropriately. Request sequences can be used to perform most primarily the action of requesting, but they can also be used for complaining, joking and many other actions. A reason accompanying the request can help to clarify its intended action (see chapter 3 for how reasons can assist the recipient in action ascription).

The data sets used in this thesis come from the corpus collected by the author during three field trips between 2011 and 2012. The recorded data sum up to about 20 hours of informal interaction. About seven hours of these data from 17 different recordings were selected for further

analysis. The recordings took place on several locations in Russia in the Chelyabinsk region. Sixty-two adults¹ and 13 children² participated in the recordings. The participants are family members (11 interactions), friends (4 interactions), and colleagues (2 interactions) engaged in everyday activities such as cooking and eating. The video recordings were made at participants' homes and on two occasions at their work place. All participants gave their informed consent, parents and guardians gave consent for their children's participation in the recordings.

1.4.1.1 Identification of requests

This thesis adopts the identification procedure of requests described by Rossi and introduced previously by other researchers (Kendrick and Drew 2014; Floyd et al. submitted; Enfield 2014; Floyd, Rossi, and Enfield in press). Any communicative behaviour (ranging from a pointing gesture to the more conventional "pass me the salt") that instigates the recipient to do something is considered a request in this thesis. Furthermore, only requests that are or can be immediately complied with in the here and now are identified as such. So, requests for future actions are excluded. In this manner, the entire request sequence, including the requesting move and the response that it receives (or its absence), can be analysed.

In this thesis, 7 hours of the recordings were exhaustively analysed for requests. Subsequently, requests were divided into two broad categories: request with a reason and requests without one. Reasons were identified based on the definition provided in section 1.3.5.

1.4.2 Method II: Breaching experiment

While corpus data provide an excellent opportunity for the study of participants' behaviour *in situ*, they are less effective for practices that are rare or delicate. Asking for reasons is one such practice. Speakers tend to avoid bluntly asking *why*; they prefer to call for reasons using less direct strategies (Robinson and Bolden 2010). In this thesis, a breaching experiment was conducted to examine conditions under which a reason can be solicited and to find out how it is done.

Chapter 5 is based on a collection of 99 telephone conversations between the experimenters and initially naïve call takers. All calls were structurally similar, except for the part involving the experimental manipulation. Some participants were asked *how are you?* – a question that is commonly encountered in a telephone conversation and not requiring a reason. Others were asked an unexpected question with no

¹ Seventeen of them are my own distant family members.

² Five of them are my own distant family members.

accompanying reason at all: *Do you have friends in Minsk?* Two more conditions were added to further manipulate the expectedness of the questions.

A breaching experiment combines the advantages of experimental and qualitative methods. The breach can be introduced in a controlled environment enabling comparison of recipients' responses across multiple experimental conditions. The responses to the breach are revealing about the implicit social norms people follow.

1.4.3 Method III: Culturally Contexted Conversation Analysis

Conversation analysts emphasise the importance of only analysing features that are directly observable in interaction. This practice ensures objectivity and thus reliability of the analysis. However, we can question whether it is possible to even understand a piece of data without access to some talk-extrinsic data, such as participants' unrecorded previous encounters with each other and, more broadly, their shared cultural norms and values. Not taking them into account might unduly limit the analysis.

As members of a society, participants in interaction bring all sorts of knowledge to the table that may or may not be available to the analyst. One way to make this knowledge explicit is through ethnographic methods. There have been several studies combining ethnographic data with the study of interaction. Ethnographic information of some sort is usually acquired after the analysis of conversation is completed (Maynard 2006, 2003; Silverman 1999; Schegloff 1998). Ethnographic data are used to confirm and explain conversation analytic results, but can also give access to information not directly available in the interaction (Pomerantz, Fehr, and Ende 1997; Waring et al. 2012; Lutfey and Maynard 1998).

In the current thesis (chapter 4), I selected a handful of request sequences encountered in my corpus (chapter 3) to serve as the basis for semi-structured interviews I conducted with native Russians. There were four interviewees and each interview lasted about an hour. The interviews were video or audio recorded.

For the interview, recurrent request themes were selected (i.e. transfer of objects, toasting and eating and drinking in a group). This provides a way of tapping into members' knowledge and metalinguistic reasoning that is complementary to the interaction-internal evidence used in other chapters. For instance, extra-conversational information can provide information on how exactly the reason justifies or explains the request that it was given for. For other cases it might be necessary to explore the extra-conversational conditions that allow the requesters to omit reason-giving.

All interviewees were asked the same main questions, while follow-up questions differed from person to person depending on the answers they gave to the main question. The semi-structured character of the interviews allowed for interviewees' own spontaneous contributions to the theme being discussed.

1.5 Outline of this thesis

Each content chapter of the thesis explores a different aspect of reason-giving in interaction. While doing so, each chapter makes use of a different combination of methods.

This chapter, chapter 1, has provided a brief overview on the general topic of causal reasoning as a private activity, but also on its application in interaction. Chapter 2 provides a descriptive overview of the system of casual requests and the ways in which reasons are called for in Russian (e.g. 'why'-interrogatives and repair initiations). This chapter sets the scene for chapters 3, 4 and 5 that provide further analysis of the described conversational structures.

Chapter 3 examines reasons for requests in the video-recorded interactions among Russian participants. It explores the main factors that determine production of reasons in request sequences as well as their absence using Conversation Analytic techniques.

Chapter 4 takes the results of the previous chapter to test their reliability and gain a deeper understanding of their implications by means of ethnographic interviews. This chapter uses ethnographic interviews to collect information about cultural norms and values held in the society and see how they are reflected in the way the requests are produced.

While the previous chapters mainly present reasons as achievement of the speaker, chapter 5 focuses on the role of the recipients and explores their contribution to the phenomenon of reason-giving in interaction. Special interest of this chapter lies in the ways interlocutors can elicit reasons from others.

Finally, chapter 6 summarises the main findings of this thesis. It formulates the implications of the results and discusses directions for future research.

2 Russian requests, repair initiations, and ‘why’-interrogatives³

2.1 Data collections

Before going into detail on how and why reasons are given in interaction (see chapter 3), the current chapter will describe several interactional structures that are relevant for the study of reason-giving in interaction: Russian requests, repair and why-interrogatives. This chapter will present three data collections that all come from the Baranova corpus introduced in chapter 1.

The procedure, based on which these three collections were created, was uniform and involved dividing video recordings in multiple ten-minute segments. These segments were selected from as many different recordings as possible to guarantee a higher diversity among the participants and settings. The segments were exhaustively coded for request sequences, repair sequences and why-interrogatives.

The collections of repair, requests and why-interrogatives can be seen as independent from each other but, because they come from the same corpus, there is some unavoidable overlap between them. For example, repair initiations can be found within request sequences when the request is not immediately understood. Repair initiations can also play an important conversational role when they precede ‘why’-interrogatives. In this manner, repair is encountered in all three collections. It should, however, be noted that collections of requests and why-interrogatives do *not* overlap. Even when requesters end up providing a reason for their requests, these reasons are never solicited with direct why-interrogatives.

2.2 Requests in Russian

Russian requests form an important conversational phenomenon for the study of reasons in this thesis. It is in the specific context of

³ After:

Baranova, J. (in press). Recruiting assistance in casual interaction: the case of Russian. In S. Floyd, G. Rossi, & N. J. Enfield (Eds.), *Getting others to do things: A pragmatic typology of recruitments*. Berlin: Language Science Press.

Baranova, J. (2015). Other-initiated repair in Russian. *Open Linguistics*, 1(1). <https://doi.org/10.1515/opli-2015-0019>

requests that reasons are studied here. So, reasons are subordinate to the main action of requesting. The link between these two phenomena is established through Sweetser’s third type of coherence (1990). Usually, this link can be explicated with a paraphrase of the type: “I’m asking you (to do) this because X.”

In this section I will offer an overview of the main linguistic features of Russian requests including the mitigating strategy of providing reasons for requests. Finally, some attention will be given to the responses that requests receive. The aim is to offer a descriptive account of Russian requests before giving a detailed analysis of how reasons for requests are given and called for (chapters 3, 4, 5).

The request data presented in this chapter are based on nineteen recordings. The total sampled recording time was 3h 20 min. This sample was exhaustively coded for requests until the number of requests reached 200 request cases. The length of the examined recording varied from 10 to 25 minutes per recording (see

N hours recorded	N 10-min segments	N requests	Sampled time per recording	N different recordings
3h 20 min	20	200	10 to 25 min	19

).

Table 1. Collection of Russian requests

Minimally, a request sequence involves a requesting turn followed by compliance. We have seen a request like that in Extract 1 of the previous chapter: “Give me a (little) spoon, mama”, followed by mom’s passing the spoon to her daughter. There is no single recipe for a successful request, but the use of a suitable linguistic format for the request increases its chances for compliance. Direct conversational context (Rossi 2015) as well as cultural preferences for (in)directness (Bolden 2017; Ogiermann 2009) affect the format of the request. In general terms, a request might be entirely nonverbal, entirely verbal (when the requester and requestee do not see each other) or a composition of these elements.

2.2.1.1 Nonverbal behaviour in requests

In a limited number of situations, verbalising a request appears unnecessary and a mere gesture might be clear enough to explicate what kind of assistance is being called for. This is demonstrated in Extract 1 below, where Pavel is one of Anna's guests at the dinner gathering. The extract starts with Anna offering Pavel a drink.



Figure 1. Pavel holds out his cup and Anna puts a tea bag into it.

Extract 1. 20120602_family_friends_2_1085520

- 1 Anna Pavel ^chaj kofe
Name tea coffee
Pavel, tea, coffee?
- 2 (0.7)
- 3 Pavel .hhhh chijku esli tol'ka luchshe
tea-DIM-GEN if only better
If {possible} better some tea
- 4 Anna ((takes a tea bag from [the box]))
- 5 Pavel [((lifts his cup and looks into it))
- 6 o:pa
INTJ
Oh
- 7 u minia yeshio yest' An'
with I-GEN still is Name-VOC
I still have (some), Anna
- 8 Anna [((turns to different speaker)) ^Ir
Name-VOC
Ira?
- 9 Pavel [((finishes his tea))
- 10 (0.9)
- 11 Ira (ni budu [spasiba)
NEG be-FUT-1SG thanks
I won't, thank you
- 12 Anna [((is laying the tea bag on the [table])
- 13 Pavel [((holds out his cup for
Anna)) ←
- 14 Anna ((puts the tea bag into Pavel's cup))
- 15 ((takes the cup, pours hot water into it, gives it back to Pavel))

Pavel accepts Anna's tea offer at line 3. Then he notices there is still some tea left in his cup, which he tells Anna at line 7. She treats it as a rejection of her offer because she subsequently directs it to another guest, Ira. At line 13 Pavel stretches his arm out with his cup in it in

Anna's direction. She interprets this gesture as a request for tea as evident from her behaviour: she immediately puts a teabag in the cup and fills it with hot water. Such a nonverbal request can only be successful in an environment that limits the range of its interpretation possibilities. In this case, the correct understanding of the gesture was enabled by the preceding offer sequence (Rossi 2014). In my Russian requests corpus there are 31 fully nonverbal requests of this kind.

Requests are, however, more often composite utterances existing of both verbal and nonverbal elements. In 87 requests, speakers' nonverbal behaviour makes a meaningful contribution to a verbal request. In the current collection, nonverbal elements observed in the request turn fall into one of the following categories: 1) pointing, 2) holding out an object to give it to the recipient, 3) holding out a glass for clinking, 4) reaching for an object to receive, 5) holding out a glass for receiving a drink, 6) iconic gestures and 7) others (see Table 2).

Practice	# in sample	%
Pointing	21/87	24,2
Holding out an object to give	19/87	21,8
Holding glass out for clinking	16/87	18,4
Reaching to receive	16/87	18,4
Holding glass/cup out for receiving a drink	8/87	9,2
Making an iconic gesture	2/87	2,3
Other	5/87	5,8

Table 2. Types of nonverbal behaviour in requests (n=87).

2.2.1.2 *Verbal elements: construction types and subtypes*

Russian speakers can make requests using imperatives, declaratives, interrogatives and no-predicate constructions (see Table 3). In this section, I will illustrate these request types with some examples.

Sentence type	# in sample	%
imperative	100/159	62,9
no predicate	25/159	15,7
declarative	18/159	11,3
interrogative	16/159	10,1

Table 3. Construction type of requests including spoken elements (n=159).

2.2.1.2.1 Imperatives

Imperatives are the most frequent request format in the current sample. This is in line with Bolden’s recent study, where she identified imperative requests as a default request format in casual Russian (Bolden 2017). As mentioned in the general introduction, Russian imperatives are used in contexts where, for example, Italian and English speakers, would prefer interrogatives (Craven & Potter, 2010; Rossi, 2012, 2015); namely when recipients are not yet committed to carrying out the requested behaviour, when compliance requires recipients to terminate or alter their own activity or when compliance involves a relatively elaborate physical activity. This might mean that Russians more often assume they are entitled to make the request and that the recipient is more willing to comply, or that the Russian imperative system is different from those of English and Italian; or a combination of these factors.

In contrast with imperatives in English and Italian, Russian imperative verbs (like all Russian verbs) are marked for aspect: imperfective versus perfective. The use of the wrong imperative variant can result in an inappropriate request. However, it is yet to be established which request contexts prefer which aspectual type (Benacchio 2002a, 2002b). Furthermore, Russian imperatives can be singular or plural. Second-person singular imperatives are used when there is only one addressee. Imperatives have a plural form when there are multiple recipients or when the recipient is addressed with a plural (polite) form *vy* ‘you (plural)’.

The following extract demonstrates the use of the perfective imperative. The extract introduces a group of family members. Two of them are in the sauna, while the rest is in the living room of the main house. One of the guests, Anna, states that she is about to leave. Her aunt, Lida, finds it problematic because Julija has a present for Anna that she has not been able to give yet. Another relative, Rima, offers a solution for this problem – to look in Julija’s bag for the present. Lida, however, rejects it.

Extract 2. 20120202_cooking_3_209200

- | | | |
|---|-------|---|
| 1 | (0.5) | |
| 2 | Rima | v sumki paglidi
In bag-LOC look-PFV-IMP
<i>Take a look in {her} bag</i> |
| 3 | Lida | da ja chio budu
PCL I what-Q will-1SG
<i>Why should I?</i> |

Rima proposes that Lida takes a look in Julija's bag (line 2). She uses an imperative of the perfective type: *paglidi*, which limits the required action in time, making it sound quick and casual. That is why I translated it as 'take a look'. Lida refuses to do so by questioning the ground for such action: 'Why should I?'

The following extract introduces a young woman Olia and her mother Maria. Olia has just returned from the family vegetable garden where she was harvesting potatoes. She enters the apartment and moves towards the kitchen, where Maria is. Maria meets her daughter with a request: {go} wash {your} feet (line 4).

Extract 3. 20110827_Family_2_545980

- | | | |
|---|-------|---|
| 1 | Olia | [(Enters the kitchen)] |
| 2 | | [chaj (ili) kofe
tea or coffee
<i>tea or coffee</i>] |
| 3 | | (0.2) |
| 4 | Maria | NO:GI moj
Legs/feet wash-IMP-IMPFV
<i>{go} wash {your} FEET</i> |
| 5 | | (0.4) |
| 6 | | kofe ej [()
coffee she-DAT
<i>coffee for her ()</i> |
| 7 | Olia | ((starts making coffee for herself)) |

Maria produces her request at line 4 using an imperfective imperative verb *moj* 'wash'. Word *NO:GI* 'feet/legs' is pronounced louder and with some emphasis, suggesting a degree of urgency. The state of Olia's feet is not visible in the recording. So, it can only be assumed that they are dirty after digging potatoes and Maria is worried that the floor in the kitchen will get dirty as well. However, Olia does not respond to her mother's request and just goes on making herself a drink.

Another imperative type makes use of a so-called double verb construction, where the first verb has a frozen imperative form and the second verb represents the requested practical action (for a similar double imperative in Polish, see Zinken, 2013). The construction in Russian involves a combination of the verb 'give' with the relevant action verb. Its use is shown in Extract 3. Participants in this interaction are several friends who gathered at Natasha's place for dinner and drinks. In the middle of the gathering, Natasha's elderly mother enters the room, where the company is seated and makes a request of Natasha.



Figure 2. Mom's request for Natasha to make a call.

Extract 3. 20110813_School_Friends_2_618255a

- | | | | | | |
|---|---------|--------------|---|--|---|
| 1 | Mom | Natash | [pirashki-
Name-VOC pastries
<i>Natasha, pastry</i> | | |
| 2 | Natasha | | [Vo:f
Name-VOC
<i>Vova</i> | | |
| 3 | Mom | ty davaj | vyzyvaj | etaj (.) gazafshi:cu [nu-,
You give-IMP call-IMP-IMPFV DEM-F gas worker PCL
<i>Go ahead, call the gas worker</i> | ← |
| 4 | Natasha | | | [nu xva:tit
PCL enough
<i>Enough {already}</i> | |
| 5 | | | | [((waves with her hand)) | |
| 6 | Mom | kak su:xa ta | | How dry PCL
<i>But how dry</i> | |

Mom's request at line 3 *ty davaj vyzyvaj etaj (.) gazafshi:cu nu-*, "Go ahead call the gas worker" involves frozen imperative *davaj* combined with the imperative verb expressing the required action *vyzyvaj* 'call'. In this context, where no object transfer is involved, *davaj* loses its independent meaning of *give* and comes to mean 'go ahead' or 'come on'. Mom's request to call gas services is met with obvious resistance from her daughter Natasha: she says *enough {already}* and literally waves the request away. After this response, mom supports her request with a reason: *but how dry*. She refers to the pastry that was made on the same day and turned out dry due to presumed problems with the gas. The frozen imperative *davaj* serves to emphasise the import of the imperfective imperative in the Russian system of requests.

Regardless of the aspectual type, Russian imperatives can be combined with particles. The following request comprises an imperative format with a diminutive particle on the verb. Vladimir and his wife Lilia are having some family over for dinner and drinks.



Figure 3. Vladimir makes a request for Lilia.

Extract 4. 20120202_cooking_3_226998

- 1 (1.9)
 2 Vladimir *daj-ka [riumki nam*
 give-PCL glasses-ACC we-DAT
 give us {some} glasses ←
 3 Lilia [(looks at Vladimir))
 4 (0.3)
 5 [*s pamidorchikam*
 with tomato
 with a little tomato
 6 Lilia [(opens the kitchen cabinet and takes several glasses))

The imperative *daj* 'give' is accompanied with the diminutive particle *-ka* that makes the action sound more casual and quick (thus implying less imposition). After an apparent absence of Lilia's response at a transition relevant place, Vladimir extends his recruitment turn by adding *s pamidorchikam* 'with a little tomato'. Also in this case the diminutive *s pamidorchikam* (as opposed to the regular *s pamidoram*) attenuates Lilia's potential effort.

Although imperatives and interrogatives are examined here as two distinct linguistic formats, it can be hard to separate these two in the case of Russian. To form interrogative constructions, Russians heavily rely on prosody. This means that an imperative construction can be turned into an interrogative one by means of rising or falling intonation alone. This might lead to a hybrid request format containing both imperative and interrogative features.

Let us consider Extract 5. Its simplified version has appeared in the previous chapter to introduce the kind of phenomenon that this thesis is dealing with. Here I will focus on the intonation with which this request is delivered. Extract 5 comes from a conversation between Maria and her daughters Katya and Olia. Maria stands at the kitchen counter talking to Olia, who is in a different room. Maria places a cup with boiled water for Katya who is about to make some instant coffee for herself.

In Extract 6 an imperative request has an interrogative feature in the form of an interrogative particle *eh?* This fragment is from an interaction between Sasha and her friend Natasha. Earlier on, Sasha presented a gift to Natasha: one of Sasha's own holiday pictures. Natasha asks Sasha to leave the picture on Natasha's jacket.



Figure 5. Natasha is holding out her hand with a photograph in it as indicated by the arrow. Sasha reaches to take it.

Extract 6. 20110826_Old_friends_B_1_550898

- 1 Natasha Sash palazhi, mne na ku:rtku a?
 Name-VOC put-IMP-PFV-SG I-DAT on jacket PCL
Sasha, put {it} on my jacket, eh? ←
- 2 ((Natasha stretches out her hand with a photograph in it))
- 3 [tam
 there
There
- 4 [((head pointing))
- 5 Sasha ((Sasha takes the picture and leaves))

Natasha's request instructs Sasha to put the photograph on her, Natasha's, jacket, which is in the corridor. The interrogation is done with the final particle *a?*: *Sash palazhi, mne na ku:rtku a?* This can be translated into English as: 'Sasha, put {it} on my jacket, **eh?**' During the production of the request, she holds the photograph in her hand while stretching her arm in Sasha's direction. Subsequently, she expands on the place where the picture should be put: *tam* 'there', she says. At the same time she head-points in the direction of the corridor. Sasha takes the picture and leaves the room.

So, even though imperatives are used in Russian in a wider range of contexts than, for instance in Italian or English, the Russian system of imperatives is nuanced, involving aspectual pairs (imperfective and perfective), marking for number (singular and plural), the use of interrogative features (interrogative intonation and particles) and diminutive particles on the verb.

2.2.1.2.2 Interrogatives

Although imperatives can be considered the default way of recruiting assistance in Russian, interrogatively formatted requests are also found. As introduced in the previous section, interrogation in Russian can be achieved through interrogative particles and rising or falling intonation (see Extract 5 and Extract 6). There are also other ways to make an interrogative request in Russian.

In the example provided in Extract 7, an interrogative construction consists of a declarative verb in the future tense form combined with a rising intonation. Natasha is visiting her friend Sasha and is asking whether she will let out a guest who is already in the corridor and about to leave.



Figure 6. Natasha is pointing towards the corridor.

Extract 7. 20110826_Old_friends_A_2_66555

- 1 Natasha ((points towards the corridor))
- 2 (0.3)
- 3 pra^vodish=
let out-FUT-2SG
Will you let {her} out? ←
- 4 Sasha =uhum,=
Uhum
- 5 = ((leaves the room to let the guest out))

One of the guests went to the corridor about to leave the gathering. First, Natasha points to the corridor and only verbalises her request when she receives no response: 'Will you let {her} out?' Compared to imperatively formatted requests, interrogative requests like this are thought to involve higher costs of compliance and are made from a low entitlement position (Curl and Drew 2008 on English). Ksenia's entitlement as a guest to make such a request is questionable, indeed, as it intervenes with Sasha's responsibilities as a host. Also, the mere fact that Ksenia has to ask whether Sasha will let the guest out reveals Sasha's

failure to do so in the first place. This explains why the default imperative format would not be suitable for this delicate situation.

Wh-questions can also be used to mobilise recipients' assistance. In the following extract several girlfriends are looking at Sasha's photographs. Natasha is curious about the photographs that Sasha and Lida are talking about.



Figure 7. Lida is showing a photograph to Natasha.

Extract 8. 20110826_Old_friends_B_1_302784

- 1 Natasha chio tam?
what-Q there
What's there? ←
- 2 Lida u tibia ^dve takix?
with you-GEN two-F such
do you have two of these?
- 3 Lena nave:rna u minia vot-
probab;y with I-GEN PCL
probably, I have-
- 4 Natasha kakie paka[zhi,
which-Q-PL show-IMP-PFV-SG
which ones show {me} ←
- 5 Lida [((looks at Natasha and turns the photograph so that it is facing Natasha))

At line 1 Natasha asks Lida: "What's there?" fails to get a response. At this point, it is not clear whether this line is an information question or a request. Natasha's question fails to receive any response, so, she initiates another attempt to elicit response from Lida at line 4. Natasha starts with the interrogative 'which ones' but finishes with an imperative *pakazhi* 'show {me}'. The fact that Natasha is modifying her previous turn into an imperative request, which also contains interrogative features, suggests that line 1 was most likely an interrogative request rather than an information question. Natasha's request at line 4 receives

INTJ

Hey

Instead of instructing Inna to remove the napkin from her baby's mouth in an explicit manner, Nadya describes her child's problematic behaviour: 'she's chewing on the napkin'. Inna responds by leaning towards the child and removing the napkin. Note that Nadya is facing the baby so that she has better visual access to the baby's behaviour than Inna. On the other hand, Inna is in a better position to solve the problem because she is the one who is holding the baby.

Another way of making clear that some action is required is pointing out a general need for it to occur. At a memorial dinner, with the entire family present, Pavel's daughter asks whether it is necessary to eat the rice porridge, implying that she does not want to eat it. In what follows, Pavel tries to convince her to eat the porridge that is traditionally consumed at memorials.



Figure 9. Pavel is serving his daughter some porridge.

Extract 10. 20120114_memorial_1_424599

- 1 Pavel Sa:sha. (.) hm (.) nada abiza:til'na=
Name need-MOD necessarily
Sasha (.) hm (.) one necessarily needs
- 2 =etu vot kashu sjest'
DEM PCL porridge eat-INF-PFV
to eat this porridge (0.7) ←
- 3 Pavel [lozhichku
spoon-DIM-ACC
a little spoon
- 4 [(scoops some rice with a spoon))
5 ((brings the spoon to Sasha's [plate))
- 6 [lo:zhichku fsio ravno nada
spoon-DIM-ACC anyway need
A little spoon is still necessary ←

Some ethnographic knowledge is necessary to fully understand this extract. At Russian memorial dinners it is the tradition to prepare and consume rice porridge with additional ingredients, such as raisins, honey and nuts. As a rice grain will grow again if put into the ground, the deceased will be reborn into the after life. It is thought that the person's spirit leaves the earth and the dinner takes place to say a final farewell to the deceased and to support the family. Eating rice porridge is a part of this ritual.

When Pavel's daughter expresses her reluctance to eating the porridge, Pavel tries to persuade her into doing so. He does it by using the impersonal *nada* 'one needs'. This implies that the need to eat the porridge is not limited to his daughter, it is an obligation that applies to everyone (for a similar impersonal request construction in Polish see Zinken and Ogiermann 2011). Pavel emphasises this obligation by adding *abizatil'na* (line 1) 'one necessarily needs'. Note that the conventional word order for Pavel's request in Russian would be: *abizatil'na nada*. By reversing this word order Pavel is marking the element *abizatil'na* 'necessary'. Furthermore, he even takes the liberty to serve his daughter some porridge without getting her acceptance of his argument first. Pavel does, however, orient to the girl's reluctance to eat it by using the diminutive 'little spoon' (lines 3 and 6), which attenuates her potential efforts in complying with the request.

The peculiar format of Pavel's request involving the impersonal *nada*, the emphasis using *abizatil'na* with a reversed word order, and scooping porridge on the girl's plate without her permission, all serve as evidence that Pavel considers eating rice porridge as a general obligation. However, it is the knowledge of the Russian culture that explains where this obligation to eat rice porridge comes from. It is a cultural fact that all people present in this interaction participate in a memorial dinner, where not following the customs might offend the relatives of the deceased and perhaps even hinder the deceased in the after life.

2.2.1.2.4 No predicate

Most requests specify the action that is required from the recipient of the request. However, there is a group of requests that do not do so. I now turn to a request format where the predicate is not mentioned.

When the required action is self evident, there is no need to explicate it, as in the following extract. A group of people is celebrating Aliona's birthday. After a toast they all start clinking glasses with the birthday girl. The question arises, however: how does a guest manage to clink glasses with Aliona when she has to compete with many others?

Extract 11. 20110804_Colleagues_celebration_1_787500

- 1 Galina Alinachka (.) my s taboj
Name-DIM we with you
Sweet Aliona you and I
- 2 ((Extends her glass towards Aliona))
- 3 ((the women clink glasses))

The timing of Galina's request coincides with everyone clinking glasses with Aliona. For Galina to get Aliona to clink glasses with her, Galina only needs to draw Aliona's attention, which she does by calling her name: *Alionachka* 'sweet Aliona' (line 1). Then Galina puts her glass forward, something that also makes a reference to the required action – clinking glasses (line 2). It is not entirely clear in this request sequence, why Galina specifies the people who should participate in this action: 'you and I' (line 1). Perhaps, by this, she is excluding others from joining them. Finally, the women clink glasses and the request sequence is closed off.

To summarise this section, Russian requests come in four major linguistic formats. Imperatives form the most widely used format, followed by no-predicate constructions, declaratives and interrogatives.

2.2.1.3 Additional verbal elements

The core elements of request turns can be complemented with additional verbal elements, among which are vocatives, benefactive markers, mitigators/strengtheners and reasons. In what follows, I will focus on verbal elements that mitigate the request turn and explain it.

2.2.1.3.1 Mitigators

Requests always involve some degree of imposition on the recipient (Brown and Levinson 1987). Here, I will present several strategies that Russian speakers deploy to attenuate imposition. The speakers can, for instance, express their affection for the recipient while making a request.

This strategy is used in Extract 12. This extract introduces Marina who is visiting her mother-in-law Anna. Both women are sitting at the kitchen table, where Anna is eating soup and Marina is playing with her dog.

Extract 12. 20110807_Family_evening_1_459097

- 1 Marina ((talking to the dog)) sla:tkaja maja: de-
Sweet-F my-F
My sweet gi-

2	Marina	[(devachka) girl (<i>Girl</i>)	
3	Anna	[nu Marish, [pusti: ejo, ja pa- pae:m spako:jna PCL Name-DIM let go-IMP-PFV her I finish eating-FUT-1SG quietly <i>Marisha, let her go, I'll finish eating in peace</i>	←
4		[(waves with one hand from left to right))	
5		(0.2)	
6	Marina	ja sh tibe nichio, ni eta. I PCL you-SG-DAT nothing NEG PCL <i>But I nothing, well</i>	
7	Marina	^my sh tibe nich^io ni delaem, We PCL you-SG-DAT nothing NEG do-PL <i>We aren't doing anything to you</i>	

Anna's request is as follows *nu Marish, pusti: ejo, ja pa- pae:m spako:jna*, it can be translated into English as "Sweet Marina, let her go, I'll finish eating in peace". The address term Marina is turned into the diminutive Marisha. By this, Anna displays her affection for Marina and orients to the delicacy of her request, which requires Marina to stop playing with her dog, an activity that Marina is visibly enjoying. In addition to the affectionate vocative, Anna provides a reason for her request. This is another mitigating device that will be discussed in the next section on reasons.

Rather than using a diminutive address term, more frequently, it is an object reference that takes the diminutive form in an attempt to mitigate the imposition on the recipient (Ogiermann 2009). We saw this in Extract 10, where Pavel is persuading his daughter to eat rice porridge: *lo:zhichku fsio ravno nada* 'A little spoon is still necessary'. The diminutive *lozhichka* (as opposed to the non-diminutive *lozhka*) minimises the effort that his daughter would have to make in response.

As also mentioned earlier, imperatives can also be turned into a diminutive with a particle *-ka*. Extract 4 exemplified this strategy. Recall Vladimir's request: *daj-ka riumki nam* 'give us {some} glasses'.

2.2.1.3.2 Reasons

Complementing a request with a whole clause that offers an explanation for why the request was made seems to go beyond mere mitigation of the request. Reasons are now thought to be used for multiple functions (Parry 2013; Waring 2007; see also Chapter 3 in this dissertation).

In the current sample, 32 requests were produced with a reason. The placement of reasons in the request sequence can be divided in two categories: requests with an immediate reason (n=19) and requests with a

4		vyjdi iz-za: ako:li= go out-IMP from fen- <i>go out behind the fen-</i> ,
5		= eh eta samae Julia pashla (pa-moemu) snimat', PCL Name went (according to me) record-INF <i>uhm Julija went to take pictures, I think</i>
6		(0.3)
7	Pavel	shias (pajdu) now will go-1SG <i>In a bit (I'll go)</i>
8		(0.8)
9	Lida	[pajdiosh? will go-2SG <i>You will go?</i>
10	Pavel	[(goes into the house)]
11		(19.8)
12	Pavel	[(returns to the porch with his jacket on)]
13		[(goes outside where he meets Julija)]

When Pavel returns from outside, Lida makes her request: “Take a look go out behind the fen-,”. This request instructs Pavel to go outside and is in conflict with Pavel’s noticing that it is raining out there at line 2. Lida’s request is also lacking information on what exactly Pavel has to do once he is outside. Immediately, Lida provides a reason why Pavel has to go outside, a reason that deals with both problematic issues: “uhm Julija went to take pictures, I think”. This explanation refers to their niece Julija who went out in the rain to take pictures. Pavel accepts the request at line 7 with *shias (pajdu)* “In a bit (I’ll go)”. After taking his jacket, he leaves the porch to find me outside.

This section discussed additional verbal elements used to mitigate and explain requests in the Russian sample. Russian vocatives, imperatives and nouns can be modulated using diminutives. This was observed in one way or another in 22 out of 200 request cases. Some requests are made with a reason. Thirty-two requests in the current sample were accompanied by a reason that explained why or with what purpose the request was made.

2.2.2 Responses to requests

After having discussed the request turns, let us now consider the responses that they receive. In general, a preferred response for requests is compliance. This is also the most frequent response observed in the Russian sample (see Table 4). Notably, interrogatively formatted requests are granted less frequently (see Table 4). This is congruent with the idea

that interrogative requests convey a stance of low entitlement and high contingency. So, these requests are problematic to start with and, for these requests, compliance cannot be assumed.

Verbal responses to requests are rarely found. In 106 cases, the response is only nonverbal; in 39 additional cases the verbal component of the respondent's behaviour is irrelevant to the request sequence; in 3 cases the response is neither visible nor audible; and in the remaining 52 requests, the response involves a relevant verbal element. Such verbal responses in response to the request can co-occur with compliance, but can also be indicative of a rejection or delay in compliance. In what follows, I will demonstrate how compliance and rejection are carried out in the Russian sample.

Response types	Declarative request	Imperative request	No predicate request	Interrogative requests	Total
Complying	11	56	17	6	90
Ignoring	4	20	5	4	33
Rejecting	0	14	1	3	18
Doing repair	0	5	0	0	5
Other ⁴	3	5	2	3	13

Table 4. Fulfillment, rejection, and other response types for different types of requests in the Russian sample (n=159)

2.2.2.1 Compliance

Compliance is usually evident from requestees' nonverbal behaviour: they hand an object over to the requester, perform a service or stop/alter their on-going behaviour. Occasionally, this nonverbal behaviour is accompanied by verbal elements.

What do these verbal elements consist of? Sometimes recipients of requests express their commitment to comply verbally, followed by actual compliance. Consider again Extract 7 where Sasha accepts the request with confirmative *uhum* and then displays behaviour consistent with this acceptance: she leaves the room to let a guest out. Although Sasha's nonverbal behaviour is already an indication of imminent compliance, the confirmative *uhum* is a fitted response to the interrogatively formatted request: 'will you let {her} out?'

Also in the earlier discussed Extract 13 we saw verbally expressed acceptance of the request followed by actual compliance. In response to Lida's request 'go outside, Julia went to take pictures'. Pavel displays his commitment to comply at line 7 with *shias (pajdu)* '(I will go) now'. The Russian word *shias* 'now' is used to indicate unstable and still changeable

⁴ 'Other' involves response where the response is not clear or does not fit the above-mentioned categories.

time in the present. Basically, Pavel indicates he will comply in the very near future. Perhaps surprisingly, instead of going outside, he goes into the house, as later becomes clear, to get his jacket. So, the verbal element *shias (pajdu)* was necessary to express his acceptance of the request while his actual behaviour at that moment could have been interpreted as a rejection.

So, nonverbal behaviour can be considered the main element when it comes to granting a request. Verbal elements that sometimes accompany compliance are often needed to express acceptance of the request when there is ambiguity involved.

2.2.2.2 Noncompliance

Verbal responses to requests can also be indicative of problems with compliance. They conveyed rejection of the request or a problem of hearing or understanding the request.

In the Russian sample requests were never rejected with a direct ‘no’-response. Rejection was usually achieved by counter proposals and explanations as to why compliance would not take place. Yet another strategy is deployed in the earlier discussed Extract 2, where Rima asks Lida to look in bag of their guest while the guest is absent. Lida, however, does not comply and does not accept this as a valid request by questioning its grounds: ‘why should I?’

A less direct strategy of noncompliance is to ignore the request. We saw it in Extract 3, where Maria requests that her daughter Olia washes her feet. No verbal response comes from Olia and there is no visible evidence of compliance or anything to suggest that Olia will comply any time soon. In fact, she makes herself coffee and stays in the kitchen for at least twenty more minutes.

A similar situation can be observed in Extract 14. Several school custodians are gathered for lunch in their staff room. They are about to have some soup. Vera is making a request for Anna, while Marina and Lena are involved in a conversation of their own.



Figure 11. Vera is making her request for Anna.

Extract 14. 20120120_colleagues_casual_2_339070

- 1 Anna ((is standing next to the closet looking away from Vera))
2 Vera [grenki tam eshio [dastan'
Breadsticks there also take out-IMP-PFV-SG
Also get the breadsticks out ←
- 3 Lena [a?
INTJ
Ha?
- 4 Marina ni uexala eshio?
NEG went away yet
Hasn't she left yet?
- 5 Lena kto?
Who-Q
Who?
- 6 (0.7)
7 Anna ((opens up the closet))=
8 Marina = ((finger [point towards the wall behind her])
9 Vera [Sasha padi tozhe payest =
Name probably also will eat-3SG
Sasha will probably also have {some} ←
- 10 Lena = dir^ektar
director
The director?
- 11 (0.4)
12 [h h h h ana- ushla v- ushli ani s Lugavoy
she left-F in/to left-PL they with Surname
.hhh she left to-, she left with Lugovaya.
- 13 Anna [[(is looking into the closet and takes out two bowls)]

Anna is standing next to the closet and is the most suitable person to get the breadsticks for the soup. However, she does not respond to Vera's request and seems to be looking in Marina's direction instead. It seems that Anna did not hear the request. Problems of hearing in conversation are usually solved by securing recipient's attention and repeating the problematic turn (Drew 1997). Surprisingly though, Vera pursues her request by offering a reason for it at line 9: 'Sasha will probably also have {some}'. So, it appears that Vera is treating Anna's lack of response as something else than a mere problem of hearing or registering the request. With her reason, Vera makes clear that the request is not only for Vera's own benefit, but also for the benefit of another person, who will also have some bread sticks. When the reason also fails at eliciting any response from Anna, Vera does not pursue her request anymore, which is unusual if it indeed were a problem of hearing. It is evident from the recording that Anna does not comply with this request.

All these features summed up indicate that Anna is ignoring Vera's request or at least that is how Vera treats Anna's behaviour.

On several occasions, the requestee initiates repair before complying. This was observed in Extract 5, where Katya requests that her mother gives her another spoon: ↑*daj lo:shku dru[guju pazhalu(sta)* 'give [me] another spoon please?' Katya's mother responds by initiating repair: 'a spoon? another one?' This kind of initiation of repair is usually indicative of a problem of hearing or understanding. It stands out in this case that Katya's response is not a repetition of her request and not a modification of it; rather it is an entirely new clause – a reason explaining why Katya cannot use the spoon that is available to her, and hence why she is making the request (see further discussion of this extract in chapter 3).

Verbal responses after the requesting turn might serve as indication of problematic compliance. They express problems of hearing and understanding the request, but also recipients' unwillingness or inability to comply.

2.2.3 Summary of Russian request practices

This section presented an overview of request practices in conversational Russian. Imperatives constitute the most frequent linguistic format through which request was carried out. This is in line with Bolden (2017) who points out that Russian imperatives are used in a wider range of request contexts compared to, for instance, English and Italian. However, Russian imperatives seem to form a more diverse category than their English and Italian counterparts. First, they involve an aspectual distinction into perfective and imperfective imperatives. Second, imperatively formatted recruitments can be produced with interrogative intonation and diminutive particles.

Similar to the Italian *bisogna* and Polish *trzeba*, declarative requests in the Russian sample may be done by means of the impersonal predicate *nada*, which can be translated into English as 'one needs' or 'it is needed' (Zinken and Ogiermann 2011). In this way, the speakers make clear that the request involves shared responsibilities that hold for the recipient, but also for the speakers themselves.

Russian has rich diminutive morphology. Diminutive nouns, imperative verbs and vocatives were encountered in the requesting turn. They are used to express speakers' affection for recipients and to minimise the potential imposition that is associated with compliance (Bolden 2017).

On the response side, overt rejections are dispreferred and nonverbal compliance is the most frequent response. Rejections are

usually done through counter-proposals and reasons. Overt no-responses were not observed in this sample.

Request sequences form the main context for the study of reasons and reason solicitations in this thesis. Reasons can be seen as a feature of requests assisting them in their main goal of achieving compliance. Spoken reasons are features of requests and should not be studied in isolation from the context in which they occur. For that reason, this chapter provided an overview of the request system in Russian with its various features, such as linguistic formats, intonational contour, particles and mitigating devices (including reasons). Such a survey provides information on what Russian requests look like, in what environments they can be expected and what features they are likely and unlikely to possess. This chapter also paid attention to the responses that requests received because responses are indicative of how “successful” the requesting turn was. Occasionally a reason might be necessary to boost the likelihood that a request achieves compliance.

In this section I focused on the context that might need an explanation, the following section will demonstrate how the recipient can request such explanations or reasons from the speaker.

2.3 Repair and ‘Why’-interrogatives in Russian

Studying instances where speakers fail to provide a reason is just as important as studying instances where a reason is provided spontaneously. When a reason is withheld or absent, soliciting a reason might become necessary. It is, however, a delicate act because it points to speakers’ failure to explain their behaviour and holds them accountable for it (Bolden and Robinson 2011). The strategies that interlocutors use to call for reasons vary from indirect to direct ones. In this section, I describe two interactional structures relevant for the practice of asking for reasons: other-initiated repair and ‘why?’-interrogatives. Chapter 5 will present an experimental study done via telephone on how and when these practices are used. The current section will offer a descriptive overview of how repair and direct why-interrogatives can instigate reason-provision in actual face-to-face interaction.

2.3.1 Repair

Participants in a conversation encounter problems of speaking, hearing and understanding on a regular basis. One function of repair in a conversation is to signal these problems to the speaker. Initiating repair, however, is a practice that can perform actions beyond solving problems of hearing or understanding alone (Schegloff 1997a; Sacks 1992). It was observed to perform actions as varied as expression of surprise (Jefferson

1972; Selting 1996, 299; Wilkinson and Kitzinger 2006), pre-disagreement, news receipt, tease (Gisladottir 2015; Kendrick 2015) but also reason solicitations (Robinson and Bolden 2010).

Despite delaying the progressivity of the conversation, initiating a repair does not have the same disaffiliative and delicate character as direct why-interrogatives. This section presents an overview of the practices of other initiation of repair and focuses on its possible role as a reason solicitation.

The repair collection reported here is based on 3 h 40 min sampled recording time from eleven different recordings. The length of the sample per recording varied from 10 to 40 minutes (see Table 5). This sample was exhaustively coded for repair. The number of repair initiations per 10-minute segment varied from 2 to 26.

N hours recorded	N 10-min segments	N repair	Sampled time per recording	N different recordings
3h 40 min	20	200	10 to 40 min	11

Table 5. Collection of repair in Russian

Often a problem of hearing, speaking or understanding in a conversation is solved in the first attempt at repair and the conversation can continue. The result is a minimal repair sequence that typically consists of three parts: a trouble source (T-1), a repair initiation (T0), and a repair solution (T+1) (Enfield et al. 2013). See Extract 15 for an illustration.

Extract 15. 20110807_Family_evening_b_325846

1	A	Ej skol'ka let ta? She-ACC how many-Q years PCL <i>How old is she?</i>	T-1
2	B	a:? INTJ <i>Huh?</i>	T0
3	A	Ej skol'ka let ta etaj?= She-ACC how many-Q years PCL this one-ACC-F <i>How old is she, this one?</i>	T+1
4	B	=Oj (0.5) Dvatsat' tri shto li ej INTJ Twenty three what PCL she-ACC <i>Oh (0.5) She's twenty three or so</i>	

In this extract, speaker A asks recipient B a question. The question is for some reason not understood by the recipient. After a brief silence, B initiates repair with *a:?* 'Huh'. Speaker A offers then a repair solution containing a full repeat of A's original turn as well as an additional

element *etaj* ((this one)). Participant B accepts this repair solution as satisfactory since it enables B to provide an answer to the question.

2.3.1.1 OIR formats

Initiating a repair can be done in various ways. A common distinction is between the open and restricted repair classes. Repair initiators of the open class do not unambiguously specify the trouble source in a turn (Drew 1997). The entire turn or just one of its elements might be problematic. This is reflected in the repair solution, T+1, that these repair initiators receive. They are often partial or full repeats of T-1. Verbatim repeats of the original turn in T+1 position are rare.

Repair of the open type can be done through the interjection strategy, e.g. ‘huh?’ or by asking ‘what?’ The previously discussed Extract 15 is an example of an open repair initiation done through interjection. After a repair initiation of the open class, speakers of the trouble source turn commonly alter their message in multiple ways to make sure it results in mutual understanding the second time. The trouble source turn and its redoing (the repair solution) can have distinct phonetic forms (Curl, 2005). Repair solutions can also feature changes in word order, additions of new elements and omissions of dispensable ones (Schegloff, 2004).

The restricted type of repair includes repair initiators that make the source of trouble specific. For example, speakers can single out a specific component of the source turn that might be causing trouble by means of a content question word such as *who*, *what*, and *where* (Extract 16). These question words target references to persons, things, and locations. It also happens that speaker B uses the so-called offer-type restricted repair initiations. In such cases, they offer a candidate understanding inviting speaker A to accept or reject it (e.g. Extract 18 and Extract 19).

In Extract 16, the target of the repair initiator is a person reference ‘her’ in line 1 and speaker B uses a question word to single out a problematic person reference.

Extract 16. Extract 15. 20120114_family_visit_1_18360

1	A	Vaz'mite zaftra ejo= Take-PL-IMP tomorrow she-ACC <i>Take her tomorrow</i>	T-1
2	C	=da:= Yes Yes	
3	B	=kavo?= Who-ACC <i>Whom?</i>	T0

4 C =Ta:niu:
 Name-ACC
Tanya

T+1

Speaker B's restricted repair initiator *kavo* 'whom' (line 3) results in the replacement of an ambiguous and unspecific person reference *ejo* 'her' into a more specific one: a reference to the person by her name, Tanya. The pronominal reference is ambiguous because it occurs in the context where participants have just moved from one discourse topic on to another. The repair initiation targets only the person reference, and is treated as such in the repair solutions offered by speaker C (line 4). Note that the elements from T-1 that are not targeted by the repair initiator are omitted from T+1. This is in contrast with the repair solutions for open class repair initiators, where T+1 can contain various modifications targeting multiple problems. So, the more specific the repair initiator is, the more specific its solution is.

Both open and restricted types of repair initiation can be used as a reason solicitation. The following section will make this clear with several examples.

2.3.1.2 OIR as a reason solicitation

Asking why in a direct manner is a delicate strategy because it suggests that the recipient cannot figure out how an event or action makes sense. Initiating a repair might be successful in eliciting reasons while avoiding this implication. This is not uncommon in conversation for repair initiations to precede delicate actions, such as requests (Rossi 2015; Schegloff 2007; Levinson 1983; Curl and Drew 2008; Fox 2015), direct why-interrogatives (Robinson and Bolden 2010) and rejections (Kendrick 2015; Wilkinson and Kitzinger 2006, 169), disagreements and challenges (Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks 1977, 380; Schegloff 2007, 102–4). Twelve repair initiations from the current sample contribute to the eventual provision of a reason by the recipient.

Extract 17 illustrates how a direct why-interrogative *pachemu* is preceded by an initiation of repair.

Extract 17. 20110807_Family_evening_1_616380

1	A	Mne tozhe tyshiu dvesti. I-DAT also thousand-ACC two hundred (<i>They transferred</i>) 1200 to me too	T-1
2		(0.9)	
3	B	a:? INTJ <i>Huh?</i>	T0
4		(0.3)	

- 5 A Mne tozhe tyshiu dvesti T+1
 I-DAT also thousand-ACC two hundred
(They transferred) 1200 to me too
- 6 B pachemu.
 Why-Q
Why.

Speaker A tells the recipient B that she also received money from her employer, namely 1200 rubles. After this announcement, a long 0.9-second silences falls at line 2. This pause can be treated as an opportunity for speaker A to self-repair or even explain her utterance (Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks 1977). However, speaker A refrains from speaking and the recipient B initiates a repair with an open repair strategy: through the interjection *a?* ‘huh?’ (line 3). Speaker A treats this repair initiation as an expression of a problem of hearing by producing a verbatim repeat with a similar intonational contour (line 5) as the original turn.

The subsequent direct why-interrogative *pachemu* ‘why’ at line 6 suggests that the additional function of the repair initiation *a?* was inquiring about the reasons in an indirect manner. When this indirect attempt fails, speaker B asks for it directly with *pachemu*. Thus, the repair initiation *huh?* sequentially and also functionally precedes the direct why-interrogative *pachemu*.

Consider also the following extract that is taken from an interaction involving several girlfriends who are having dinner together. At some point during this gathering, the host of the gathering (speaker A) encourages her guests to eat.

Extract 18. 20110817_Niece_a_1130307

- 1 A Tak chio sidi:te-ta. Esh'te bystra.
 PCL what-Q sit-2PL PCL eat-IMP-PL quickly-ADV
Why are you {just} sitting. Eat quickly. T-1
- 2 B Bystra?
 quickly
Quickly? T0
- 3 A Shias kartoshka s miasam budit.
 Now potato with meat be-FUT-3SG
Potatoes with meat will be {ready} soon T+1

Speaker A starts by holding the recipients accountable for not eating. She does so with the expression ‘why are you {just} sitting.’ This means that the recipients are not doing something that is required of them. In this context, it turns out to be eating. This becomes clear when she produces her subsequent request: ‘eat quickly’ (line 1). Recipient B initiates a repair at line 2 by producing a partial repeat of the T-1 turn:

bystra? ‘quickly?’ This is an offer-type restricted repair initiation that essentially invites speaker A to reject or confirm this candidate hearing. A’s response is, however, neither of these: A provides a reason why the guests should eat quickly – more food will be served soon (line 3).

Also in Extract 19 the repair solution involves a reason. During another gathering, a guest (A) is offered fresh tomatoes by his host (B), which A declines. This offer declination constitutes the beginning of the repair sequence.

Extract 19. 20120202_cooking_3_351377

1	A	ne: ya pamidory ni budu No I tomatoes NEG will-1SG <i>No, tomatoes I won't {eat}</i>	T-1
2	B	ni budesh? NEG will-FUT-2SG <i>you won't?</i>	T0
3	A	ya ni yem () I NEG eat-1SG <i>I don't eat {them} ()</i>	T+1

Speaker A declines the offer by stating that he will not eat them. Recipient B produces a restricted repair initiation of the offer type in response: ‘you won’t?’ Just like in the previous extract, the speaker does not provide a simple confirmation of B’s candidate understanding, but gives a reason why he will not eat tomatoes. Declining an offer is a sensitive action that often comes together with a reason. A’s reason makes clear that he does not eat tomatoes in general: ‘I don’t eat {them}’. From the subsequent talk, which is not provided in the transcript, it becomes clear that speaker A does not like fresh vegetables at all.

The following extract illustrates another instance where a negative statement is given, followed by repair initiation and reason provision. Speaker A in this sequence is a young girl who tells her uncle that she will not go on a family trip.

Extract 20. 20120114_family_visit_1_91145

1	A	Ya ni paye:du. I NEG go-1SG-FUT <i>I won't go</i>	T-1
2	B	^ni paye:dish? NEG go-FUT-2SG <i>you won't go?</i>	T0
3	A	((nodds)) (.) ^Nu ni znayu, ya kashliyu. Well NEG know-1sg I cough-1SG	

((nods) well I don't know, I have a cough.

T+1

A's statement 'I won't go' starts the repair sequence. Recipient B repeats the last part of the T-1 turn, but obviously uses the second person format: 'you won't go?' In what follows, speaker A explains why she might not go 'well I don't know I have a cough.'

In Extract 21, speaker A is telling her relatives about her holidays. In this particular instance, she is telling something that is somewhat surprising.

Extract 21. 20110817_Family_dinner_B_2_1521586

- | | | | |
|---|---|---|-----|
| 1 | A | I rabotajut da chasu da dvux nochi
And
<i>And they work until one or two in the night</i> | T-1 |
| 2 | B | A: nochi?
INTJ night-GEN
<i>Oh, in the night?</i> | T0 |
| 3 | A | Da, a patamu chto samyj narod nochju
Yes PCL because most folk in the night
<i>Yes, because most people {come} in the night</i> | T+1 |

Speaker A tells that in the town where she stayed, the shops were open until the early hours of the morning. The recipient initially displays understanding of the utterance with *A:*, which is similar to the English change-of-state token 'Oh' (Heritage 1984 a). However, adjacent to it, she produces a repair *nochi?* 'at night?' This implies that the problem targeted by her repair initiation is not that of hearing. Just as in the previous examples, this repair initiation is a partial repeat of the part that potentially needs to be explained. Speaker A orients to this need by providing a reason why the shops stayed open so late: 'yes, because most people {come} in the night'.

As mentioned above, initiating repair is a practice that can perform actions beyond repair (Enfield, Dingemanse, Rossi, et al. 2013; Enfield, Dingemanse, Baranova, et al. 2013; Kendrick 2015). Repair has been found to perform actions as varied as expression of surprise and disagreement, news receipts and teasing. Perhaps related to its function of expressing surprise and disagreement, repair can instigate reason-giving from the recipients. The presented extracts illustrate that both open class repair initiations (e.g., *huh?* in Extract 17) and repair initiations of the restricted class (e.g. candidate understanding 'quickly?' in Extract 18) can function as reason solicitations in the sense that the responses they receive are not conventional repair solutions, but reasons.

2.3.2 Why-interrogatives

In general, people tend to avoid direct reason solicitations in natural conversation. Although rarely encountered, they were still observed in the corpus of casual Russian. In this section, I will focus on three direct formats available in Russian that are easily identifiable as why-interrogatives in the video recordings: *zachem*, *pachemu*, and *a chio/ a shto*. Although they are formally inquiring after recipients' reasons and goals, they also play a role in requesting, rejecting to comply and challenging.

The collection of why-interrogatives is based on 5 hours and 20 minutes from 16 different video-recorded interactions resulting in 114 direct why-interrogatives. The length of the sample per recording varied from 10 to 30 minutes (see Table 7).

N hours recorded	N 10-min segments	N why-interrogatives	Sampled time per recording	N different recordings
5h 20 min	20	114	10 to 30 min	16

Table 6. Collection of Russian why-interrogatives.

Why-interrogative	N
Zachem	19
Pachemu	38
A chio	57
<i>Total</i>	<i>114</i>

Table 7. Direct why-interrogatives and their frequency in the Russian sample.

2.3.2.1 *Zachem*

Zachem (see Table 7) is the Russian counterpart of the English 'what for'. Formally, *zachem* is a forward-looking interrogative that enquires about recipients' goals and aims. This format is exemplified by the following extract, where Katya is telling her mother and sister Olga that she had recently seen a kitten at the staircase of her apartment building.

Extract 22. 20110827_family_2_1192520. *Zachem*.

- 1 Katya u nas tam eshio apiat'
with us there also again
In our {building} there's another one again
- 2 nu me:n'she sidel kationak
PCL smaller sit-PST kitten
well {there} was sitting an {even} smaller kitten
- 3 (0.5)
- 4 na lesnichnaj kl(h)etk(h)e

- on stair-ADJ cage-LOC
at the staircase
- 5 (0.5)
 6 u minia byla myslia zatashit' evo
 with I-GEN was idea drag-INF him
I even had a thought to take him in
- 7 =a patom dumaju a: on a^piat' budit,
 and/but then think-1SG and/but he again be-FUT-3SG
but then I thought oh he'll also do it
- 8 (0.7)
 9 Mom Ol' nu- oj Kat' nu za^chem tibe eti zamarochki a?
 Name PCL INTJ Name PCL whatfor you DEM hassle INTJ
Olia oh Katya, what do you {need} this hassle for huh? ←
- 10 ^nu vot skazhi,
 PCL PCL tell-IMP
Do tell {me}
- 11 Olga nu: mat' eta radast' zhi:zn
 PCL mother DEM joy life-GEN
Mother, they {bring} joy {into} life

Mom asks her daughter Katya a why-question using the *zachem*-format at line 9: ‘what do you {need} this hassle for huh?’ Formally, this question starts a new question-answer sequence. Mom even pursues a response from Katya with ‘do tell {me}’ (line 10). However, no answer comes from Katya. Neither verbally nor nonverbally does she orient to this question as requiring a response. This suggests that mom's why-question is not seeking information. This *zachem*-interrogative here functions similar to the Wh-Reversed Polarity Questions reported by Koshik (2005; see also Bolden and Robinson 2011). Instead of genuinely inquiring after someone's reasons, goals or intentions, their function is to complain and criticise. In this case, mom's interrogative “what do you need this hassle for huh?” represents having kittens as a hassle (as opposed to something pleasurable) and implies that there is no valid reason possible for taking a kitten in. Mom's other daughter Olga orients to the criticising character of *zachem* by providing a reason that targets mom's negative stance about kittens. ‘Kittens bring joy into life’, she states. Olga's turn starts with sentence-initial particle *nu*, which foreshadows the disaffiliative character of the utterance. As Bolden puts it, the particle *nu* can be applied before turns that “are not the appropriate unproblematic, expected next” (Robinson and Bolden 2010). In contrast with Mom's criticism of owning kittens, Olga orients to the benefits of having them in the house. Although *zachem* is future-oriented, Olga's reason is not. Instead, it is formulated as a factual statement about kittens.

The data indicate that the *zachem*-format is not only used to inquire about recipients' reasons, but to express disalignment and criticism of someone's actions, wants, and needs. Although it appears to be a future-oriented why-interrogative, it does not often get future-oriented responses. The responses have more in common with responses to criticism in general than with responses to a why-interrogative. The formats discussed in the following sections also underscore this functional distinction.

2.3.2.2 *Pachemu*

Another direct why-interrogative available to the speakers of Russian is *pachemu* (see Table 7). It can best be translated into English as 'why'. Compared to *zachem*, *pachemu* seems to be used in more heterogeneous situations. The use of *pachemu* is illustrated in Extract 23. Several girlfriends take part in this sequence. Lida is reading the informed consent form and asks a question about it.

Extract 23. 20110826_Old_Friends_1_2_789808. *Pachemu*

- | | | |
|---|--------|--|
| 1 | Lida | a pachimu Nidirla:ndy
PCL why Netherlands
<i>Why {does it say} the Netherlands? ←</i> |
| 2 | (0.8) | |
| 3 | Ksenia | a Galandija [Nidirlan(ami) nazyvaca
PCL Holland Netherlands-INSTR call-REFL
<i>Holland is called the Netherlands</i> |
| 4 | Sasha | [Galandia ()da:da
Holland yes yes
<i>Holland () yes yes</i> |
| 5 | Ksenia | kagda ka:k
when how
<i>It depends</i> |

Lida wonders why the form says that the research she is participating in is done in the Netherlands whereas it was referred to as Holland earlier. Her friends, Ksenia and Sasha, orient to this as an information question from someone who is less knowledgeable on this matter, i.e. from the K-1 position (Heritage 2012; Heritage and Raymond 2005). Both Ksenia and Sasha appear to have more knowledge (K+1) about the matter, so they inform Lida that 'Holland and the Netherlands refer to the same country.

Extract 24 provides another example where *pachemu* is used to gain new information. Anna and Dima are talking about a new professor

at Anna's university and some administrative affairs related to her appointment.

Extract 24. 20120602_friends_2_789808. Pachemu.

- 1 Anna nu na adin mesits nu abizatil'na dalzhna pivivisti eyo
PCL on one month PCL obligatory-ADV must-F bring her
she has to transfer her for one month for sure
- 2 sa ftarova fivralia pa tretye
from second February to third
from the second of February to the third
- 3 Dima pachemu na adin mesits
why-Q on one month
why for one month? ←
- 4 (0.5)
- 5 Anna nu f SPRA:FKE ukazana na adin mesits
PCL in certificate indicated on one month
the CERTIFICATE indicates so
- 6 ana skazala budit pradlivat',
she said be-FUT-3SG extend-INF
she said she'll be extending {it}



Figure 12. Dima and Anna are involved in a why-sequence.

Anna is saying that the appointment of the new professor at the university will be for at least one month (lines 1-2). Dima asks why that is the case using *pachemu*. Anna responds that this is what the certificate indicates (line 5). This response deals mostly with the issue of how Anna knows that the appointment is for one month, but not with Dima's question, which seems to be concerned with the reasons for why the appointment of the new professor is so brief. At line 6, Anna does provide more information related to this issue: 'she said she'll be extending {it}'. This answer implies that the appointment will not be brief, as the person in question will be extending her contract.

In this case the main function of *pachemu* is to acquire previously unknown information. In addition, *pachemu* (similar to *zachem*) can be applied to express a disaligning action (e.g. disagreement).

2.3.2.3 *A chio*

This section focuses on another direct why-interrogative, which is encountered in several variants in the current sample: *a chio*, *chio*, *nu chio* (I will refer to it as *a chio*) (see again Table 7). This format does not seem to exclusively orient to the past or the future. *A chio* seems to combine the functions of *pachemu* and *zachem*.

The following Extract 25 exemplifies the use of *a chio* as a why-interrogative with the aim to gain information previously unknown to the speaker. In the sequences preceding this extract, Ksenia asks Natalia where her father went. Ksenia uses a direct why-interrogative to inquire about his reasons to leave the room.

Extract 25. 20120114_family_visit_2

- | | | |
|---|---------|---|
| 1 | Natalia | v komnatu
To room-ACC
<i>{he went} to the room</i> |
| 2 | Ksenia | a chio on
PCL why he
<i>{but} why {did} he</i> ← |
| 3 | Natalia | kameru uvidel
Camera-ACC saw-M
<i>He saw the camera</i> |

Natalia tells Ksenia that her father went to another room (line 1). Ksenia then asks *a chio on* ‘why {did} he’ (line 2). The response is the reason why Ksenia’s father left the kitchen and went to the room – ‘he saw the camera’ (line 3).

The *a-chio*-interrogative does not indicate its orientation to the future or the past. In its use, it seems to combine both the characteristics of *pachemu* and *zachem*. It can be used to gain information about the current or past state of affairs, to question others’ actions and to express disalignment or criticism.

2.3.3 Conclusions

Pachemu, *zachem*, and *a chio* are direct ways to solicit reasons in Russian. This study of the Russian sample, however, revealed that they are rarely used for the task of asking for the speaker’s reasons. *Zachem* is frequently used when inquiring about recipients’ actions, needs and wishes. At the same time, it expresses speakers’ negative stance about

these matters. *Pachemu* can also be used to express disalignment, but most commonly when the previous utterance conveys an assumption that *pachemu* subsequently refutes. As already noted, *zachem* is used to inquire about reasons behind actions, needs, and wishes. On the other hand, *pachemu* is usually encountered when the preceding utterance involves negation and present or past state of affairs. *A chio* is the most general and most common format. It can be used much like *pachemu* and *zachem*.

2.4 Summary

In this chapter, I have provided a broad survey of interactional structures that will be referred to in the remainder of this thesis: Russian requests, repair initiations and why-interrogatives. This chapter introduced the function of these structures in the study of spoken reasons.

Requests constitute the main context in which this thesis examines reason-provision and the factors that regulate it. The system of Russian requests described in the current chapter will prove important in chapter 3, which examines reasons for requests, and in chapter 4, which examines the role of shared cultural knowledge in relation to the earlier introduced request sequences.

Although direct why-interrogatives seem to be obvious ways to solicit reasons from others, often they are actually used to express criticism and disalignment and do not necessarily receive reasons in response. In contrast, some interactional phenomena that have a different main function can, in fact, elicit reasons from the recipient. This is the case with repair initiations. While the main function of repair is to signal problems of hearing, speaking and understanding, they also occasionally function as indirect reason solicitations. The role of repair and why-interrogatives in soliciting reasons will further be explored with a breaching experiment in chapter 5.

3 Reasons for requests in casual interaction⁵

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter has introduced three linguistic structures that are relevant to the study of reason-giving in Russian interaction: Russian requests, repair and direct why-interrogatives. In this chapter, we turn to the central theme of the dissertation: when and why people give reasons in social interaction.

People use reasons to make sense of their social world. However, they do not always make reasons for their conduct explicit. Contrasting request sequences with and without reasons reveals the interactional work people do when they provide reasons. One of the findings is that many requests occur *without* reasons. When reasons are provided, they might be interactionally generated (for instance following a delay in compliance or a repair initiation), while at other times they are formulated as part of the request. Reasons for requests can be used to deal with at least three issues. First, they provide information when the request is informationally underspecified. Second, they justify the requester's (potential) disregard for recipient's deontic and epistemic authority and by this aim to preserve the relationship between them. Third, they explicate that the request in question is performing additional actions such as joking or rebuking.

Most of what we know about reasons comes from research on reasons that are provided for responsive actions, such as rejections of offers and requests (see chapter 1 for an overview). There is still little that we know about reasons that come with initiating actions, such as requests. Requests are traditionally thought of as dispreferred and delicate social actions (Levinson 1983, 343; Robinson and Bolden 2010; Sacks and Schegloff 1979, 49). Recent insights, however, suggest a more nuanced picture (Kendrick and Drew 2014). Politeness theory predicts that a request will come with a reason (or some other politeness strategy) when it is highly face threatening, i.e., when it makes a big imposition, or when the asymmetry in terms of power and social distance between participants is large. While this explains reason-giving in delicate and big requests, it raises the question whether reasons are produced for requests that score relatively low on these criteria — and if so, what would determine reason-giving in these cases? Other factors besides imposition

⁵ After: Baranova, J., and M. Dingemans. 2016. 'Reasons for Requests'. *Discourse Studies* 18 (6): 641–75. doi:10.1177/1461445616667154

and social asymmetry might play a role and may explain why requests come with a reason.

Prior work has put forward a number of relevant proposals. Reasons can be given for requests to promote compliance. In casual German telephone conversations, accounts were observed to pursue compliance when rejection of the request was projectable (Taleghani-Nikazm 2006). In a study of reasons in advice sequences, Waring (2007) found that reasons have multiple functions. They forestall problems with acceptance of advice, manage face threats, and serve educational purpose. In her data, which consisted of video recordings of peer tutoring sessions, reasons were withheld when the advice concerned local problems such as grammatical mistakes, but also when the recipient was the one who initiated the advice. Houtkoop-Steenstra (1990) studied reasons for proposals, which in her definition comprise requests, suggestions, offers, and the like. She notes that a reason is provided when it is not inferable from the conversational context or situation.

In clinical settings, reasons are applied to deal with a mismatch in understanding and perspective concerning treatment or patients' complaints. Also in this context, reasons are used to mitigate delicate requests. Parry (2009) studied how clinicians explain their requests in the context of physiotherapy and explicitly looked at what preceded the requesting sequence. She found that reasons are produced in several distinct conversational contexts with distinct functions. For instance, reasons were encountered after the patient's expression of concern, where they deal with patient's negative emotions. She also observed that reasons were given when patient and clinician differed in perspective about underlying treatment rationale. Clinicians' reasons supported their rationale while acknowledging the patient's way of thinking. Finally, physiotherapists provided reasons when requesting adjustment or removal of clothing. Parry states that such reasons indicate that physiotherapists do not treat these actions as a routine part of the therapy. At the same time they cancel other less appropriate reasons for requesting a patient to remove their clothes.

Before we can understand how reasons for initiating actions work in institutional settings and in the context of delicate actions, it is crucial to have a reference point of reason-giving in everyday interaction. In the present chapter, I examine reasons given for initiating actions in informal conversation. I focus not merely on the reason and its formats, but take into account the request itself and its sequential environment. The interactional data examined in this chapter come from Russian, a major world language for which research on spontaneous interaction is still relatively scarce (Bolden 2008, 2011; Bolden and Guimaraes 2012; Bolden 2012; Baranova 2015, in press). So, this study will provide new

insights on the giving of reasons in casual interaction in general, but also on the use of Russian as an interactional medium.

To enable the identification of reasons for requests in the video-based data, I work with the following definition: a reason is an appropriate answer to a why-question. In terms of its content a reason refers to the past, present, and/or future state of affairs. Reasons are analysed here in the context of request sequences. Requests are identified based on the definition given in chapter 1. Importantly, requests must involve a practical action that is or can potentially be performed immediately. The majority of the identified requests fall into one of the following categories: 1) object transfer ("Give me a spoon", Extract 1), 2) provision of a service ("Open the window", Extract 38) or 3) alteration of a recipient's on-going behaviour ("Don't taste this", Extract 30).

3.2 Data and method

This study is based on a collection of 6 hours and 20 minutes from 17 different recordings⁶, which all make part of the Baranova-corpus (see chapter 1 for an introduction of this corpus). All recordings were made in the region of Chelyabinsk. Sixty-two adults and 13 children participated in the recordings. The participants are family members (11 interactions), friends (4 interactions), and colleagues (2 interactions) engaged in everyday activities such as cooking and eating. The video recordings were made at participants' homes and on two occasions at their work place. All participants gave their informed consent. A total of 158 verbal and non-verbal request sequences were identified. Nonverbal requests involved bodily behaviour, mostly hand gestures, that was responded to with some practical action.

The request sequences were analysed using conversation analytic methods: sequential analysis of the actual recordings of talk-in-interaction, attending to structural aspects of possible relevance for the participants in interaction (Heritage 1984 b; Levinson 1983; Sacks and Schegloff 2007; Sidnell 2010; Sidnell and Stivers 2013). I inspected the cases in the collection to identify shared sequential structures and interactional features. As my primary interest is in reasons, I first make a broad division into requests with and without reasons; within the former category, the sequential placement of the reason in relation to the request motivated a further division, as shown in detail in Table 8. In the following sections I will present examples from my corpus (and their analysis) that correspond with the division made in Table 8.

⁶ This collection only partially overlaps with the collection of requests reported in chapter 2.

Table 8. Sequential structures of request sequences in our collection.

Request sequences	N
<i>Request (no reason)</i>	101
<i>Requests with a reason:</i>	57
Request → Problematic uptake → Reason	25
Request and reason together	25
Reason as pre → Request	1
Request → Compliance → Reason	6
Total	158

3.3 Analysis

A comprehensive analysis of the request-reason formats in the collection yielded five sequential structures, listed in Table 8: 1) requests without a reason; 2) reasons provided following a delay or problem in uptake; 3) immediate reasons that are built into the requesting turn; 4) reasons that function as a pre for the actual request; and 5) reasons provided after recipient's compliance with the request. The different sequential environments in which reasons are provided allow us to investigate the interactional work that is being done with reasons in each case. I will discuss each of the basic sequential structures separately in the following sections.

3.3.1 Request (no reason)

Often requests are produced and relatively effortlessly complied with in both casual (Houtkoop-Steenstra 1990; Taleghani-Nikazm 2006) and institutional (Parry 2013, 2009; Waring 2007) interactional settings. Producing such a “simple” request reveals requesters’ orientation that the request in question should be straightforwardly complied with and does not require the provision of additional information (Garfinkel 1967; Couper-Kuhlen 2012).

In my data, a great majority of requests without reasons (93 out of 101) are complied with right away, without any interactional problems or perturbations. Extract 1 from chapter 2 is an example of such a minimal request sequence, where a request is immediately followed by compliance. Pavel requests a refill of tea by holding out his cup for the hostess of the gathering. The hostess then complies by putting a tea bag in Pavel’s cup and filling the cup with hot water, which completes this request sequence.

How can a massively underspecified gesture serve as a successful request? Under different circumstances Pavel’s gesture could have stood for various things: “give me some coffee”, “take the cup away”, “wash the cup”, “give me another cup”, and so on. Despite the minimal semantic

input that Pavel's gesture entails, his request was successful. This is due to the several aspects of the conversational context wherein this request was made: the request was temporally proximal to the offer sequence that precedes it and this sequential embedding allows Pavel to minimise the information that his request conveys to the recipient. Also the timing of the request is crucial. Anna is still standing at the table with the water kettle and a tea bag in her hands, keeping herself available for pouring tea (Drew and Couper-Kuhlen 2014). In this manner, it is clear that her offer still stands. Pavel's own behaviour foreshadows his request already: with a large movement of his hand, which might have been perceived by Anna, he empties his cup. All these features of the situation, make Pavel's nonverbal request for tea projectable and not requiring a reason, or even verbalisation (Rossi, 2014).

Of the requests without reasons, quite a few are non-verbal, and all of them are immediately complied with, as in Extract 1 (from chapter 2). Non-verbal requests are typically well embedded in the activity that is taking place, which makes them projectable. A mere gesture is then enough for the recipient to infer a meaning. So, it appears that requesters orient to these qualities of the interactional context for minimisation in designing their requests.

A large chunk of requests without reason are verbal. The following two extracts will illustrate it. In Extract 26, several family members have gathered in the kitchen for dinner. One of the guests, Tanya, offers her little son something to drink. After he agrees to have some milk, Tanya makes a request for the host to give it (line 4).

Extract 26. 20120114_family_visit_2_164605

- | | | | |
|---|-------|---|---|
| 1 | Tanya | mozhet malaka?
Maybe milk-GEN
<i>Maybe some milk?</i> | |
| 2 | Child | ((nods with his head)) | |
| 3 | | (0.7) ((Tanya turns away from the child towards the host)) | |
| 4 | Tanya | ((nods)) malaka
Milk-GEN
<i>Some milk</i> | ← |
| 5 | Host | ((takes milk from the refrigerator, pours it into a cup and puts it on the table in front of the child)) | |
| 6 | Child | (spasiba)
Thanks
<i>Thanks</i> | |

In contrast with Pavel's request discussed previously (Extract 1 in chapter 2), the offer sequence preceding Tanya's request here is not between the requester and requestee. It is between the requester and the

beneficiary of the request - Tanya's son. The requestee is the host of the gathering and a witness to the interaction between mother and son. After the child accepts the offer of milk, Tanya formulates an, information-wise, rather minimal request. She only provides the name of the object, the milk, which she combines with an empathic head nod. How is so little information enough for the recipient to understand it is a request at all?

The interpretation of the request is aided by the witnessed offer sequence. From this sequence it can be inferred that Tanya's goal is to get her child a drink. The host places the cup of milk in front of the child revealing her knowledge of the information she could only have access to by having witnessed the offer sequence. Finally, similar to Extract 1 (chapter 2), the host is standing next to the table while the guests are seated. By this, she is making herself available for requests like the one Tanya has made. As opposed to this, Tanya has little freedom to navigate around the room as she is sitting on the kitchen bench surrounded by other guests. This fact entitles Tanya to make a request rather than perform the action herself.

Another request without a reason is illustrated in Extract 27. This extract was presented in chapter 1 as Extract 1 for introductory purposes. Here it is provided in a more detail. It starts with Lida taking a teaspoon for herself from the closet shelf behind her. By this she demonstrates where the teaspoons are and that she can reach them. One and a half minute later, Yana is about to drink her tea. She turns and looks towards the closet (line 3). Taking a spoon would require her to stand up from the table. Instead of doing it, Yana makes a request for Lida to give her a (tea)spoon (line 5). Without asking why it is needed, Lida complies.

Extract 27. 20120114_memorial_1_835270

- | | | |
|----|------|---|
| 1 | Lida | ((takes a spoon from the closet behind her)) |
| 2 | | (6.6 sec of unrelated talk |
| 3 | Yana | ((looks up in the direction of the closet)) |
| 4 | | (1.6) |
| 5 | Yana | ^daj mne lozhichku mama
Give-IMP-PFV I-DAT spoon-DIM-ACC mama
<i>Give me a (little) spoon, mama</i> ← |
| 6 | | (0.7) |
| 7 | Lida | ((turns her torso towards the closet))= |
| 8 | | ==((reaches towards the closet))= |
| 9 | | ==((takes a spoon and gives it to Yana)) |
| 10 | Yana | spasiba
Thanks
<i>Thanks</i> |

Yana's request is more elaborate than a mere gesture or an object reference. Since it has already been 1,6 minute that Lida helped herself to a teaspoon, Yana cannot built her request on it entirely. However, there are elements of this event that she can make use of: she does have grounds to assume that her request should be straightforward to comply without the provision of a reason. From the immediately preceding context, it is clear who is the most relevant recipient for the request (Lida), where the requested object can be found (in the closet), and that the object is likely to be available (as Lida has helped herself to a spoon just previously). Finally, Yana's request for a teaspoon corresponds well with the context of tea and coffee drinking.

Eight out of 77 verbal requests without a reason do not receive compliance and are also not pursued. Four of them are non-serious, where the requester does not seem to go for real compliance. In three other cases, the recipients or the beneficiaries of the request explain why the requested action cannot or should not be performed. In the remaining case the recipient ignores the request and leaves the room. As a consequence, the request becomes irrelevant and is not pursued. Requests that involve multiple attempts due to, for instance, problems with compliance are not included in this category.

The request sequences presented here show that effective request sequences can be informationally and sequentially minimally designed and result in immediate compliance. Such requests are maximally supported by the conversational and material environment. The immediately preceding talk, the activity that is taking place, and the physical configuration of participants and objects, all contribute to making such "minimal" requests projectable and readily interpretable. The information that the requesters leave open for inference usually makes clear why the requesters cannot perform the requested action themselves, but also why this particular recipient was chosen for the request in question, and, finally, what action or what object is being requested. In short, requests that are not accompanied by reasons tend to occur in environments that support them and enable compliance.

3.3.2 Requests with a reason

While many requests are minimally designed and are readily complied with, my collection contains a sizable number of request sequences (a good third of the total number of cases) in which a reason is provided at some point in the interaction. I will examine these sequences to shed light on the reasons for reasons.

To foreshadow the argument, I will show that reasons make requests more understandable and easy to comply with by spelling out the kinds of information that is left to presuppositions and implicatures in

“minimal” requests. Requesters can provide reasons in response to recipients’ trouble with compliance; or they can package request and reason together, displaying an orientation to various ways in which a request may be unexpected or otherwise underspecified for a recipient. We start with cases that are structurally closest to the minimal sequences analysed above.

3.3.2.1 Post-problematic-uptake reasons

Sometimes requests that rely on recipients’ inferences and interpretations, like the ones described in the previous section, fail to get immediate compliance – a fitted response may be delayed by an insert sequence or noticeably absent. In this context, requesters often upgrade their request by providing a reason. This is illustrated in Extract 28, taken from a conversation between Maria and her daughters Katya and Olia. Maria stands at the kitchen counter talking to Olia, who is in a different room. Maria puts a cup with boiled water on the table for Katya. Katya is about to put some instant coffee in it.

Extract 28. 20110827_Family_2_820127

- 1 Katya ((takes the bag of instant coffee (duration 0.3)))
- 2 Maria [((places a cup for Katya containing boiled water))
- 3 Katya [((opens up the bag of instant [coffee (duration 6.2)))
- 4 Maria [nu vot Ol'ka=
PCL PCL Olia-DIM
So, Olia
- 5 = ja kartoshku-ta [padzha:rila,
I potato PCL baked
I did bake the potatoes
- 6 Katya [((takes tea spoon from the table))
- 7 Maria shias nada, =
Now need-MOD
Now (I) need
- 8 =((brings the spoon to the bag))=
- 9 Maria ka[pu:staj zaniaca
Cabbage-INSTR get busy
To get busy with the cabbage
- 10 Katya [d ↑ aj lo:shku dru[guju pazhalu(sta)
Give-IMP spoon-ACC other-ACC please
Give me another spoon, please ←
- 11 [((looks at the spoon and frowns)) [((puts the spoon back on the table))=
- 12 Maria =[^lo:shku- (.) drug↑uju?
Spoon-ACC Other-ACC
A spoon? Another one?
- 13 [((turns her torso towards Katya))

14 = ((reaches to the drawer with cutlery))=
15 Katya = [uhu:m,
Uhum

16 Maria [((opens the drawer))
17 Katya [ana v malake: pa xodu dela eta
She in milk along route business DEM-F
It looks like this one has been (dipped) in the milk ←

18 [((frowns and bends forward to look at the spoon on the table
19 Maria [ta da:. v malake:
DEM-F yes in milk-LOC
That one, yes, {it's been dipped} in the milk

20 [((is selecting a spoon from the drawer, duration 5.5 sec))
21 ((gives a teaspoon to Katya))
22 Katya [((is putting coffee into her cup with the given spoon))
23 [spasiba
Thanks
Thanks

Katya takes up a teaspoon from the table (line 6), but after inspecting it, puts it down again while asking, ‘Give me another spoon please’ (line 10-11). Maria self-selects in the next turn, indicating that she takes the request to be addressed to her. However, instead of complying with the request (which would be the preferred response), she produces two next-turn repair initiators in quick succession: ‘A spoon? Another one?’ (line 12). Maria’s repair initiations highlight specific elements of Katya’s turn as troublesome: first the object requested, then the formulation of the request. By repeating *drug↑uju?*= ‘another one?’ she draws attention to the fact that Katya already has access to a spoon. It stands out that Maria is reaching for the cutlery drawer (line 14) even before Katya responds to Maria’s repair initiation. This indicates that Maria is willing and able to comply. By initiating repair, she treats Katya’s request for another item when she already has one as departing from common sense and requiring clarification.⁷

Katya responds to the repair initiations with a simple confirmation *uhum* (line 15), closing the repair sequence and resuming the base sequence. At the same time, Maria is opening the drawer (line 16). Compliance seems secured, but nevertheless Katya orients to the problematic character of her request, she supplements it with a reason

⁷ Alternatively, as pointed out by a reviewer, Tanya’s request might be ambiguous for Maria. Is Tanya requesting another *type* of spoon (e.g. a table spoon) or another teaspoon? The analysis is essentially similar even if Tanya is making a request for a tablespoon. Since she is about to drink coffee, asking for a table spoon is not projectable and needs to be explained.

why she needs another spoon (line 17): ‘It looks like this one has been (dipped) in the milk’.

Let me make two further observations about this case. The first observation is that the reason is formulated as a tentative observation (‘it looks like’), without attributing agency or blame. This ‘no-fault quality’ (Heritage 1984 b) is a known feature of many accounts in conversation, and helps participants to avoid threats to the social relationships. Still, by drawing attention to a less than spotless cutlery item, Katya potentially blames the host, Maria, for letting a dirty spoon linger on the table.

Contrary to the idea that a reason is a politeness device, sometimes withholding it seems more polite than actually providing it. From this point of view, it makes sense now why Katya produced her request without accompanying it with a reason right away, but only after a prompt by the recipient. This suggests that speakers prefer that the recipients fill the epistemic gap themselves so that the delicate information remains unspoken. So, the costs of being impolite outweigh the costs of being informationally unspecific.

The second observation based on Extract 28 is that Maria’s next turn repair initiation has the interactional effect of soliciting a reason without doing so explicitly. Explicit why-questions are rare in interaction, perhaps because they are not just questions, but also on-record suggestions that the behaviour in question does not accord with common sense (Bolden and Robinson 2011; Garfinkel 1967; Heritage 1984 b; Houtkoop-Steenstra 1990). The pattern seen here, where a repair initiation is treated as asking for a reason, is typical for the cases in my collection; indeed there are no cases of direct why-questions in my collection of requests (see chapters 2 and 5 for further discussion on how reasons are called for).

Both Maria and Katya orient to the request as in principle compliable, but counter-intuitive or not projectable. Maria changes her bodily position to move towards the drawer with cutlery and reaches to open it (line 14). She actually opens the drawer (line 16) before the reason is given (line 17). Additionally, Katya’s initial response to Maria’s repair is not a clarification of the kind of the spoon that she needs, but a simple confirmation with *uhum* (line 15). The repair initiation seems to serve a double function: it indicates a problem of hearing and points to the counter-intuitive character of the request. In her response, Katya addresses both problems. Her confirmation in line 15 addresses the potential problem of hearing and the reason in line 17 solves request’s counter-intuitive character. A request for a spoon when you already have one is not projectable. This can be compared to situations when speakers have to defend their beliefs because they are counter-intuitive belief (Claidière, Trouche, and Mercier 2017).

PCL what-Q say-3SG we long
Why, {she} says, {have} we {been here too} long?

9 =ja gavariu nichio ni dolga=
I say-1SG nothing NEG long
I said no, not {too} long

10 =prosta Taniusha sabralasia a eta nu la:dna
simply Tanya-DIM got ready PCL PCL PCL all right
{It's} just {that} Tanya has got ready {to go}, well it's all right

Lida issues a request to ‘sit down and te- and well, and drink tea’ (lines 1-2). Recall that requests without reasons are usually projectable because they fit the activity, in which they are produced. In contrast, Lida’s request here goes against the activity that is currently taking place and can be called counter-intuitive. Lida requests that Tanya and her husband sit down and have a cup of tea while they have just rejected a tea offer from the hostess and are already dressing their young child for cold weather. In this context, complying with the request would require the couple to undress their child and go home later than they had stated. Lida’s request encroaches upon the recipients’ deontic authority (Stevanovic and Peräkylä 2012) and proposes a course of action that is at variance with the visible commitment of Tanya and her family.

A pause at the transition relevance place (line 3) provides an opportunity for the recipients to respond, but no response follows; instead, Tanya continues dressing up the boy and the hosts turn their gaze towards Lida. Following the noticeable absence of a response, Lida now shares information that can be construed as a reason behind the request: ‘They’ll {only} take 15 more minutes,’ referring to the people in the sauna. Mentioning these people and the small amount of time it will take for them to re-join the social encounter has the effect of reformulating the requested action: it is not about having tea, but waiting briefly until the others can join. This is made even more clear by the exchange that follows: the host asks ‘what the tea has got to do with it’ (line 6), and Lida reports telling the people in the sauna that ‘Tanya has got ready {to go}’ (line 10), thus aligning herself with Tanya’s visible commitment to leaving while also indicating the desirability of making sure Tanya will not have left before the sauna-goers get back.

Lida’s contributions following the unsuccessful request amount to a reason that makes clear how this request fits into the ongoing activity, which also validates meddling into Tanya’s affairs. The reason makes the request more comprehensible and proves its credibility, which increases the likelihood of compliance (Davidson 1984; Pomerantz 1984; Wootton 1981).

Another request that is interfering with recipients' affairs leading to interactional trouble and ultimately the provision of a reason is shown in Extract 30. Vera and Valia are school cleaners having lunch in the staff room together with several other colleagues. Vera proposes to taste the home made ginger paste that one of their colleagues brought to work, and Valia agrees with the proposal. Ania, entering the room a moment later, overhears a part of this plan and tells Valia not to taste it.

Extract 30. 20120120_colleagues_casual_2_661290

- 1 Vera [dastat' imbir' chto li paprobavat' s su:pam?
Take out-INF ginger TAG-Q taste-INF with soup
Shall {} take the ginger to taste with the soup?
- 2 [((looks at Valia
3 (0.7)
- 4 Valia nu: papro:buj
PCL taste-IMP-IMPV
Do taste {it}
- 5 (0.3)
- 6 Vera khm khm=
7 Valia =ja [vot du:maju no
I PCL think-1SG but
I am considering to, but
- 8 Ania [((Enters the room and looks at Valia))
- 9 Valia to:zhe ne [s chem (0.8) probu-ta sniat'
Also NEG with what sample PCL take
there's also nothing (0.8) to taste it with
- 10 [((turns and looks at Ania))
- 11 (0.8)
- 12 Ania ((nods [to Valia))
- 13 Marina [kto prinios?
Who-Q brought
Who brought {it}?
- 14 (0.2)
- 15 Valia imbir'
ginger
ginger
- 16 Olia Yevse:ja
Name
Evseya
- 17 (1.1)
- 18 Ania Val' ni pro:buj.
Name-VOC NEG taste-IMP-IMPV
Valia, do not taste {it}. ←
- 19 (0.5)
- 20 Valia da?

	PCL
	<i>No?</i>
21	(0.8)
22 Ania	nu esli tol'ka S CHE:M-nibut' PCL if only with something <i>Well, only if it's WITH SOMething</i>
23	(0.6)
24 Vera	nu my ja gavariu von s su:pam PCL we I say-1SG DEM with soup <i>Well, we I am saying with the soup</i>
25 Ania	^a:: INTJ <i>Oh</i>
26	bhu: a tak, INTJ PCL so <i>Yuck, {just} like that</i>
27	(0.6)
28	eta nipiridava:emye ashiushenia It undescrivable-PL sensations <i>the sensations are unspeakable</i>
29	(0.9)

Vera makes her wish to taste the ginger paste with her soup public at line 1. Valia says that she is also considering tasting it (line 7). At the same moment, Ania enters the room and looks at Valia. Ania is still looking at Valia when Valia says: ‘there’s also nothing (0.8) to taste it with’ (lines 9-10). Then Ania’s head nod in Valia’s direction⁸ follows as a repair initiation or a response pursuit of some kind (line 12). Valia responds to it by clarifying the main topic of her previous conversation with Vera that Ania missed: *Imbir* ‘ginger’ (line 15). In a parallel conversation, Marina asks ‘who brought {it}’, i.e., the ginger paste, to work (line 13). Another colleague, Olia, answers this question: ‘Evseya’ (line 16). The colleagues are not talking in overlap, they are also in close proximity to each other, so, it is likely that Ania overhears this as well. It should be clear to Ania now that Valia is talking about the ginger paste that Evseya brought to work.

Ania produces her request ‘Valia, don’t taste {it}’ at line 18. Valia does not immediately accept it, but initiates a repair: *da?* ‘no?’ (line 20). In response, Ania modifies the initial request by stating that it should only be tasted in combination with something else and not on its own (line 22). In response to this, Vera explains that she proposed to taste it with the soup. Then at lines 25-28, Ania provides further justification for her

⁸ The nod constitutes Ania raising and then lowering her chin in Valia’s direction.

injunction by uttering an exclamation of disgust *bhu*: ‘yack’ and saying that this ginger paste might bring sensations that are ‘unspeakable’.

Like before, Ania’s request (line 18) does not contain a reason and lacks projectability. It is Ania’s first verbal contribution to the interaction. She is not included in the plan to eat ginger with Valia and Vera, but is instructing them to act against that plan, nevertheless. The request is not immediately accepted, instead it results in a repair sequence followed by the provision of a reason. So here again, we see that repair can be treated as a request for a reason, and a reason can help to make the initial request more intelligible. Instructing someone not to perform a planned activity goes against the expected or projectable course of actions and that is why is counter-intuitive. In addition it implies that the planned activity is somehow problematic.⁹ All in all, Ania’s request has to be justified. One way to justify this is by claiming epistemic authority over the subject matter. Ania’s reason ‘it [ginger paste] brings sensations that are unspeakable’ serves as a proof for her first-hand knowledge about the qualities of this ginger paste and how it is to be tasted.

This reason can be related to the theory posed by Mahr and Csibra’s (2017) about the role of episodic memory in communication. The authors propose that episodic memory – memory for specific events – can be used to justify obligations and entitlements in interaction with others. Ania’s reason in Extract 30 supports her claim of epistemic authority with a reason that draws on her first-hand experiences and makes clear why she is entitled to interfere with Vera and Valia’s affairs.

A similar situation, where the requester interferes with recipients affairs and offers a reason that draws on requester’s first-hand experiences, is illustrated in Extract 31. This extract introduces Maria and her adult daughter Katya. Katya has a young son who at this point had been called several times to come to the kitchen and eat. Maria requests that Katya feeds her son and supports her request with a reason.

Extract 31. 20110827_Family_2_755320

- | | | |
|---|-------|---|
| 1 | Maria | NET. NU ON KUSH- ON KUSHAT' -TA ^BUDIT SIODNE
No PCL he eat- he eat-INF PCL will-3G today
<i>NO, HE EA-, WILL HE EAT TODAY?</i> |
| 2 | Katya | on ni pridiot siuda ja tibe gavariu=
He NEG come-FUT-3SG here I you-SG-DAT say-1SG
<i>He won't come here, I'm telling you</i> |

⁹ No wonder that Vera the person who originally proposed to taste the ginger paste finds herself in need to defend her proposal here. Vera does it at line 24 by explicating that her proposal was not to taste the paste as it is, but with the soup: ‘Well, we I am saying with the soup’.

- 3 =eta nada s tarelkaj idti tuda:
It need-MOD with plate-INSTR go-INF there
{it's} necessary to go there with the plate
- 4 i kar[mit' evo
And feed-INF him
and feed him
- 5 Maria [znachit idi tuda i karmi.
So go-IMP-FV-IMP there and feed-IMP-IMP-FV
So go there and feed {him} ←
- 6 Katya ((looks away))
7 Maria chio.
What-Q
What
- 8 (0.6)
9 nalivaj chaj pej i idi tuda:
Pour-IMP-IMP-FV tea drink-IMP-IMP-FV and go-IMP-IMP-FV there
Make tea, drink {it} and go there ←
- 10 (1.2)
11 a to,
PCL PCL
Because ←
- 12 (0.3)
13 kto-ta vystual shto ribionak galodnyj,
Somebody performed that child hungry
Someone whined that {her} child is hungry ←
- 14 celymi dniami utram i vechiram
Entire-INSTR-PL days in morning and in evening
All days in the morning and night ←
- 15 (0.9)
16 Katya no vot tut ^utram von shias vot my fst^ali
But PCL here in morning PCL now PCL we woke up-PL
Well, when we woke up this morning here
- 17 on u minia xarasho: pakushal
He with I-GEN good-ADV ate-PFV
He ate well with me
- 18 (0.8)
19 to yest' on (.) ^utram=
That is he in morning
So he (.) in the morning
- 20 Maria =eta on uzhe znaet shto zave:dama=
It he already knows that in advance
So he already knows in advance
- 21 =shto evo tol'ka [v(h)e:chiram nak(h)ormiat
That hi-DAT only in evening feed-PFV-3SG
That he'll be fed only in the evening

[ha
 laughter
 ((laughter))

The extract starts with Maria's question for Katya. With exaggerated intonation Maria expresses her amazement that her grandson has not had dinner yet by openly wondering whether he will even eat today (line 1). Katya makes clear that the boy will not come to the kitchen on his own: 'He won't come here, I'm telling you' (line 2). She uses the impersonal *nada* 'someone needs' or 'it is needed/necessary' when stating that someone needs to go to the room, where the child is, and feed him (lines 3-4). In contrast with the impersonal construction used by Katya, Maria requests that Katya personally goes to the room and feeds him (line 5).

Feeding their children is parents' responsibility. Parents are also the ones who have deontic authority when it comes to their children – they have the right to determine their children's actions (Sterponi 2003; Stevanovic and Peräkylä 2012). By making such a request Maria is *claiming* deontic authority over the child's actions. However, Maria's deontic status as a grandparent is incongruent with such a claim (Stevanovic and Peräkylä 2012; Stevanovic and Svennevig 2015; Heritage 2013). Requesting a mother that she feeds her child claims that the young woman failed in her tasks as a mother and disregards her authority on the matter of feeding her own child. Such a request is therefore potentially offensive and can harm the relationship between the mother and daughter.

The delicate character of the request is supported by conversational evidence. Katya's response to Maria's request stays out. Katya even disengages from interaction by looking away (line 6). At line 7, Maria says *chio*. 'what'., which seems to be a repair initiation to Katya's disengaging behaviour in line 6. Then, Maria upgrades her request by making it more specific: 'make tea, drink {it} and go there' (line 9). Another long silence is indicative of interactional trouble (line 10). After this silence, Maria provides a reason (line 11-14) that refers to Katya's own previous complaints that her son does not eat properly. Just like in Extract 30, Maria is using a remembered event as a reason in support of her request.

This reason does not mitigate the delicate character of the request. On the contrary, it makes the request even more urgent and renders the mother's behaviour even more problematic. This is consistent with my interpretation of Maria's request as a rebuke. This interpretation is also supported by Maria's use of extreme expressions, such as "whined", "all days", and "every day and night", which are also encountered in

complaints (Pomerantz 1986). Katya's response to the rebuke is disaligning. She resists Maria's reasoning by stating that her child did eat well in the morning (lines 16-17). This contradicts Maria's statement that the child does not eat all days. As often happens, this argument is resolved with a joke and laughter (line 22) (Glenn 2003; Jefferson 1984).

Similar to Extract 28, this examples demonstrates that a reason is not always a straightforwardly mitigating device in interaction. The reason that Maria provides for her requests somewhat justifies the violation of Katya's parental authority, but also explicates the request's rebuking character.

Occasionally, requests evoke implicatures that may need to be cancelled or reinforced. Such implicatures may concern the request's ancillary actions such as complaining, joking, or rebuking (Grice 1975; Levinson 1983, 186). The following extract demonstrates how a reason makes the non-serious character of the request clearer. The interaction is between several school cleaners who are having lunch together. Anna is having soup with some bread and Alifa is taking a soup bowl from the closet behind Anna. Alifa makes a request for Anna to serve her some soup (line 6).

Extract 32. 201220120_colleagues_casual_2_498040

- 1 Alifa ((takes a bowl from the closet and puts it on the table next to Anna))=
 2 Anna =[loshku ()
 spoon-ACC
 a spoon ()
- 3 Alifa [Anna- Anna Batkiyevna,
 Name Name Patronymic ((non-serious))
 Anna- Anna the daughter of a father
- 4 Anna aye:
 INTJ
 hey
- 5 (0.3)
- 6 Alifa pazhalsta nakla:dyvajte mneh
 please put-IMP-IMPV-PL I-DAT
 You may do {some} serving for me please ←
- 7 (0.4)
- 8 Vera khahahm[hmhm
 ((laughter))
- 9 (Marina) [(Ret')kiyevna
 Patronymic ((non-serious))
 Daughter of the (radish)
- 10 Anna [((puts her loaf of bread on the table))
 11 ? [h.hehehe

((laughter))

12	(0.5)	
13	Anna	((takes Alifa's bowl from the table))=
14	Alifa	=[ty zhe po:var u na[s You-SG PCL chef with us <i>You <u>are</u>¹⁰ our chef here</i>
15	Anna	[[stands up and starts serving the soup))
16	Anna	[eta to:chna It exactly <i>Exactly</i>

Alifa's request at lines 3-6 is formulated in a non-serious manner. A jokey person reference *Anna Bat'kiyevna* starts the request sequence. The word *Bat'kiyevna* has the format of a Russian female patronymic.¹¹ However, it is clearly a non-serious one since it does not specify father's actual name, which all Russian patronymics do. Alifa's non-serious patronymic is based on the archaic Russian word for father - *bat'ka* - with a female patronymic ending *-evna*. I translated this as 'daughter of a father'. Furthermore, Alifa is addressing Anna with the polite *plural you* (line 6). This is consistent with the use of the patronymic, which is in general not used with a singular *you*. It is, however, in contrast with the singular *you* that Alifa uses later at line 14. This suggests that Alifa is acting *as if* there is a status difference between her and Anna but she is also making clear that it is only pretence.

The request contains one more feature that contributes to its jocular character. Alifa makes use of imperfective imperative *nakladyvajte* (*put/serve* at line 6) as opposed to its perfective version *nalazhite*. Such imperfective imperatives can be used for expressing permission (Benacchio 2002a; Timberlake 2004), giving rise to the translation "*you may...*". Along with the patronymic person reference, this formal, almost pompous-sounding formulation contributes to the non-serious nature of the request.

Vera and Marina immediately respond with laughter to this designedly overwrought request. In contrast, Anna, the main target of the request, provides only a minimal response – a smile. As the women do not face each other, it is unlikely that Alifa can see this smile. Alifa may also not have seen that Anna put down the loaf of bread she was eating and took up Alifa's bowl. To pursue compliance and appreciation of the

¹⁰ Emphasis is added in the English gloss as a way to convey the meaning of the Russian particle *zhe*, that is not translatable otherwise.

¹¹ Russians use their patronymic along with their first and last names. Whereas the last name is the family name of the person, the patronymic refers to person's father. The patronymic is commonly used when the addressee is older than the speaker. In this case it does not apply: the speaker, Alifa, is at least 10 years older than the recipient, Anna.

joke, Alifa provides a reason for it: *you are our chef here*. This reason explains recipient selection implying that it is Anna's duty as a chef to serve the soup. Attributing to Anna the role of a chef (evoking scenes of a restaurant or a canteen) helps underline the non-serious nature of the earlier request. Far from being an actual chef, Anna only happened to have made this particular soup for everyone to eat. By giving Anna the role of a chef, the reason emphasises the non-serious character of the request while at the same time acknowledging Anna's efforts in making the soup.

I have examined a number of sequences that start out as requests without reasons, yet are not followed by immediate compliance. We have seen that in such cases, requesters can upgrade or further specify the request by providing a reason. The reasons serve a range of functions. They may provide background information about the request that was underspecified (Extract 28). They may be addressed to the delicate nature of requests that require recipients to alter an on-going course of behaviour, explicating why this may be necessary and preserving the relationship between requester and requestee (Extract 29, Extract 30). Or they may explicate ancillary actions that may have been part of the request either by design or by implication (Extract 31, Extract 32). In all cases, the reasons make the requests more intelligible by adding information, reformulating the request, re-specifying the fit to ongoing activities, or appealing to authority. As interactionally generated upgrades, these reasons seem to be designed to pursue compliance through increasing requests' credibility and ensuring that the requestee is not being taken advantage of (Sperber et al. 2010; Mercier and Sperber 2011, 2017).

3.3.2.2 Request and reason together

So far, we have seen that designedly minimal requests are often followed by immediate compliance (3.3.1), and that when this is not the case and compliance stays out, requesters may pursue compliance by providing a reason (3.3.2.1). Requesters can also forestall potential problems by providing relevant information for their request straight away. This results in more complexly formatted requests, produced with a reason before problems in uptake become apparent. Extract 33 illustrates such a request.

The following extract elaborates on Extract 13 that was discussed in chapter 2. Several of my own family members, including me, gathered in a country house for a dinner and drinks. My uncle Pavel went inside the house to have a nap after his night shift. While he was asleep, I left the party to go outside and take pictures. In the meantime, Pavel wakes

up and goes to the bathroom, which is situated in the front yard. The extract starts when he comes back at the porch.

Extract 33. 20110821_Family_dinner_Country_A2_876874

- 1 Pavel ((joins the others at the table after being outside))
 2 Dozhdik zamarsil [u vas
 Rain-DIM drizzle-PST-PFV with you-PL
It has started drizzling in your {village}
- 3 Lida [pasmatri, vyjdi iz-za: ako:li=
 look go out-IMP from fen-
Take a look, go out behind the fen-, ←
- 4 = eh eta samae Julia pashla (pa-moemu) snimat',
 INTJ PCL PCL Name went (according to me) record-INF
uh Julija went to take pictures, I think
- 5 (0.3)
 6 Pavel shias (pajdu)
 now will go-1SG
In a bit (I'll go)
- 7 (0.8)
 8 Lida [pajdiosh?
 will go-2SG
You will go?
- 9 Pavel [((goes towards the door into the house))
 10 (19.8)
 11 Pavel ((returns to the porch with his jacket on))
 12 ((goes outside where he meets Julija))

Lida's request to *take a look and go out* (line 3) faces three potential problems. First, it does not exhibit a tight fit to the ongoing activity: a gathering around the table does not make relevant a request to go outside. Second, it is potentially problematic to ask Pavel to go outside just after he has joined the others with a remark that it has started drizzling there (line 1), which could be construed as a reason to *not* stay outside. Third, the request is underspecified in terms of what action Pavel has to perform: it merely states he has to go outside and take a look. The first problematic features of Lida's request – lack of fit to the ongoing activity and being at odds with requestee's projected course of actions – make the request counter-intuitive. This combined with the underspecification of desired action reduce request's chances to receive immediate compliance, as we have seen in §3.3.2.1.

Lida abandons the final part of her not yet completed request turn and immediately adds: "*uh Julija went to take pictures, I think*" (line 4). The link between the request and the reason is established via a rush-through (Couper-Kuhlen 2012; Schegloff 1982; Walker 2010). By self-

repairing the initial informationally minimal formulation and adding more information, Lida can be seen to orient to the need to provide a reason for her request in the given context. The reason now connects the request to Julija (the honoured guest) and her being alone outside. By implication, it also links the request to Pavel's own statement that it is drizzling: not only is Julija outside, she is outside in the rain. This enables Pavel to infer what should be done, and he verbally commits to compliance (line 6) after which he goes indoors, prompting a request for confirmation by Lida (line 8). After a while, he returns with his jacket on (a visible sign of the need to be sheltered against the rain) and goes outside where he meets me (line 11).¹²

Extract 34 features another request immediately followed by a reason. Several co-workers are about to eat the soup that one of them has made. The transcript starts with the participants laughing at Vera who took a small soup bowl (line 3). Vera replies that the size of the bowl is fine for her (line 4). However, at line 11, she makes a request for a bigger bowl.

Extract 34. 20120120_colleagues_casual_2_321790

- | | | | |
|----|------|---|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | Anna | mnoga ni pakazhica?
A lot-ADV NEG will seem-3SG
<i>Won't it be too much? hahaha</i> | (((laughs)) |
| 2 | Vera | | (((laughs)) |
| 3 | | (0.4) | |
| 4 | | narma:l'na
Normal-ADV
<i>{It's} all right</i> | |
| 5 | | ((8.2 sec of unrelated talk)) | |
| 6 | Vera | ((removes the cover from the soup pan and lays it on the table)) | |
| 7 | | (0.9) | |
| 8 | | oj xa[chu ja uzhe ye:st' fsio
INTJ want-1SG I already eat-INF all
<i>Oh that's it, I want to eat already</i> | |
| 9 | | | (((puts the ladle into the soup)) |
| 10 | | (1.2) | |
| 11 | | >ladna Anna davaj bal'shuju tarelku=
OK-ADV Name give-IMP-IMPV big-ACC plate-ACC
<i>OK, Anna, do give me a big bowl</i> | ← |
| 12 | | =tut kartoshka takaja krupnaja bliam.<
Here potato-F such-F large-F INTJ
<i>The potatoes are so large here, damn</i> | ← |

¹² Taleghani-Nikazm 2006, p 55. also reports a reason that has a similar function of specifying the requested action.

- 13 (0.3)
- 14 Anna a ja i gavar[iu,-
PCL I PCL speak-1SG-PRS
{that's what} I was saying-
- 15 Vera ((to others)) [dve shtuki fsivo vlezit=
Two pieces in total fit-FUT
only two pieces will fit {in here}
- 16 =blina ((laughs))
INTJ
damn hahahah
- 17 Anna ^na taku:ju dat?
PCL such-ACC give-INF
here, shall I give you this one?
- 18 Vera ^da:a:
yes
Yeah

The colleagues make jokes about Vera's choice of a soup bowl. With an assertion that a smaller bowl is fine for her (line 4), Vera refutes these jokes. Her request for a bigger bowl (lines 11-12), however, contradicts her previous statement disrupting the projectability of the talk and making her request counter-intuitive. The request is followed by an assessment that can be construed as a reason for needing a bigger bowl: "the potatoes are so large here, damn". After completing the unit containing the request, Vera rushes into the reason giving the recipient no time to intervene. In addition to this, both the request and the reason follow the same line of pitch declination, linking the two units to each other (Couper-Kuhlen 2012). By immediately providing a reason for her request, Vera acknowledges the lack of sequential fit for it and forestalls potential comments from her colleagues.

When Anna responds at line 14, Vera overlaps with her turn, upgrading her reason by noting that only two potato pieces would fit into the small bowl. Similar to Extract 28 reasons offered by Vera at lines 12 and 15 have a "no-fault quality" (Heritage 1984b). They point to the unusually large size of the potatoes, freeing Vera from any blame for choosing a bigger bowl instead. With her two reasons Vera might even be shifting the blame to Anna, the person who made the soup. Vera's reason, provided with a swear word and upgraded with the claim that at most two pieces would fit in the small bowl, amounts to an extreme case formulation, a format well-known for its interactional use in proposing causes and legitimising claims (Pomerantz 1986). The final laughter particles appended to it may invite an interpretation of the extreme formulation as ironic (Edwards 2000). Anna responds to the request and reason by offering another bowl (line 17).

coffee drinking will not “go anywhere”, implying it will still be possible later on (line 9). The link between the request and its reason is also in this case established via a rush-through. Maria’s request directly interferes with Olia’s on-going course of action and, by this, interferes with her personal affairs; additionally, the request departs from the projected activities of pouring water and drinking coffee, making the request counter-intuitive. The reason serves to provide justification for delaying these activities. Olia does not comply immediately: she takes a cup from the table at line 13 and puts the water kettle on. Only after this, she complies with Maria’s request by taking the informed consent form and reading it (line 16).

The following extract is repeated from chapter 2, where it was introduced as Extract 12. Anna is having dinner at the kitchen table. Marina is sitting next to Anna, holding her dog in her arms. Anna requests that Marina lets go off of her dog.

Extract 36. 20110807_Family_evening_1_459097

- 1 Marina ((talking to the dog)) sla:tkaja maja: de-
Sweet-F my-F
My sweet gi-
- 2 Marina [(devachka)
girl
(Girl)]
- 3 Anna [nu Marish, [pusti: ejo, ja pa- pae:m spako:jna
PCL Name-DIM let go-IMP-PFV her I finish eating-FUT-1SG quietly
Marisha, let her go, I'll finish eating in peace ←
- 4 [(waves with one hand from left to right)]
- 5 (0.2)
- 6 Marina ja sh tibe nichio, ni eta.
I PCL you-SG-DAT nothing NEG PCL
But I nothing, well
- 7 Marina ^my sh tibe nich^io ni delaem,
We PCL you-SG-DAT nothing NEG do-PL
We aren't doing anything to you

Marina is involved in a play with her dog at the table (lines 1-2). Anna’s request to let go off of the dog interrupts this activity. It also directly challenges Marina’s authority over her own and her dog’s activities. Furthermore, given the special relationship between dogs and their owners (which does not extend to non-owners), an intervention in this relationship is a delicate matter. Packaged with Anna’s request is the statement “*I’ll finish eating in peace*” (line 3). The request and the reason are delivered as one prosodic unit. The juxtaposition of request and reason implies that finishing the dinner in peace is incompatible with the

INTJ
UHUH

7 (0.2)

8 Nina a: [vot Julia
PCL DEM Name
Julia (here)

9 Fyodar [a: ja paetamu i v achkax-ta tolkam [()
PCL I therefore and in glasses-PCL properly
That's why I'm wearing glasses, {I} properly ()

10 Nina [ʌchitaj Julija
Read-IMP Name
Read, Julija,

11 = da i fsio
PCL and all
and that's it

Fyodor is reading the form out loud (line 3). His difficulties in doing so are expressed by his relatively slow reading rate and stretching of the vowels. Right after his reading becomes disfluent and ends in *e::h*, Vera makes her request: *do read* (at line 4). By this, Vera is appointing him to continue reading the form out loud for everyone. In the light of Fyodor's recently displayed difficulties reading the form along with the public knowledge of his visual impairment, Vera's request can be interpreted as disregard of his health problems. This makes the request delicate and potentially harmful for Vera and Fyodor's relationship. She immediately rushes into a reason explaining why she selected Fyodor for the task: *you are wearing glasses, {so} read*. This contrasts Fyodor with Vera herself because she is not wearing her glasses and that is why not able to read the form. Vera's request-reason combination is, however, problematic. Fyodor has trouble reading even with his glasses on as evident from line 3. Recordings also reveal that Fyodor never removes his glasses and even then he has difficulties navigating his surroundings. This leads to my conclusion that the request is not a serious one and does not prefer compliance in response. Considering the conversational context preceding the request sequence, it is thinkable that Vera is responding to Fyodor's jokey suggestion that Vera signs the form without even reading it.

Fyodor responds to Vera's request with an exclamation *UHUH* (line 6). He then attempts to rebut her request by saying that he is wearing glasses for a reason (line 9). Also Fyodor's wife, Nina, does not orient to Vera's request as seeking actual compliance from Fyodor. At lines 8 and 10, she proposes that I, the one who provided the consent form, read it out loud. In fact, I am the only person in the room who is not visually impaired and can easily read the form.

Besides explicating a joke, a reason can also exaggerate the complaint done through the request. This is represented in Extract 38, where several friends gathered for dinner. Sasha makes a request for the host Ksenia to open a window (line 10). The extract starts with a conversation between Ksenia and Liusia on an unrelated topic.

Extract 38. 20110813_School_Friends_2_164910

- 1 Liusia a chio ana u to:j babushki u Ivanovaj zhivot?
PCL what-Q she with that grandmother with Surname lives
Why is she staying with that grandmother, with Ivanova?
- 2 (0.5)
- 3 Ksenia nu u etaj adna komnata u toj-ta
PCL with DEM-F one room with DEM-PCL
This one has one room and the other
- 4 (0.2)
- 5 Ksenia dve ili tri
Two or three
Two or three
- 6 (0.3)
- 7 Liusia a: ana to:zhe adna zhivot [da?
INTJ she also alone-F lives PCL
Oh she also lives alone, doesn't she?
- 8 Sasha [ty b[y xot' =
You-SG would at least
You'd at least
- 9 Ksenia [da.
- 10 Sasha =akoshki atkryla (a t[o <takaja (.) duxa[ta>,
Windows-DIM opened-F PCL PCL such sultriness
open the windows, (because) it's so stuffy {in here} ←
- 11 Ksenia [(reaches to the curtains and opens them
- 12 Ksenia [^DA: TY chio.
PCL you-SG what-Q
REALLY?
- 13 Ksenia davaj atkroju akno
Give-IMP-IMPV open-FUT-1SG window
Let me open the window
- 14 Sasha a chio u tibia setki ()=
PCL what-Q with you-SG nets
Why are your screens are () =
- 15 Ksenia =((opens the window))
- 16 Galina ana ni atkryvaet shto shias eti arat' budut
She NEG open-3SG that now DEM-PL scream be-FUT
She doesn't open {it} because those {ones} will start screaming
- 17 (0.8)
- 98

cases, the reason followed the request. This type of requests mirrors the initially unsuccessful requests of the previous section. While those resulted in problems in uptake and the subsequent provision of a reason, here we see no such problems in uptake. Essentially, by providing a reason right away, a requester can help render the request intelligible, preserve relationships, and increase the chances of immediate compliance.

Sections 3.3.2.1 and 3.3.2.2 have discussed two ways in which a request can be supported by a reason: requests with a reason contingent on recipient's response and requests with an immediate reason. Requests in both these formats are problematic and require a reason. There are, however, subtle differences between them. Contrary to requests with an immediate reason, requests with a post-problematic-uptake reason start off as requests without a reason and also have some features similar to this requests category. They can usually count on at least some support from the context (Extract 28 and Extract 30). They contain sufficient information for compliance, are produced from the entitlement position, for instance, because they aim at the benefit of the recipient or a third party (Extract 28, Extract 29, Extract 30) or because it fits the non-serious character of the request (Extract 31).

3.3.2.3 Reason as a pre-request

So far we have seen that request sequences can consist of a bare request, a request with an interactionally generated reason, or a request and reason produced together. Thus most of the time, requesters let recipients infer the rationale behind requests, or subsequently supply this rationale, either in response to problems in uptake or in anticipation of such problems.

However, since reasons supply information that makes a request intelligible, it is also possible for them to stand in for a request (see section 2.2.1.2.3 in chapter 2) or, in other words, to serve as a pre-request (Sacks 1992, 685). Extract 39 starts with Maria taking a seat on the kitchen bench with her back blocking the camera view. Katya points Maria to this problem. Only when Maria does not respond to this problem statement, Katya makes an explicit request for Maria to change her position at the table.

Extract 39. 20110827_Family_2_437830

- | | | | |
|---|-------|--|------------------------|
| 1 | Maria | ((to the cat)) [Kir | padvin'sia |
| | | Name cat-VOC | move over-IMP |
| | | | <i>Kira, move over</i> |
| 2 | Maria | [((sits down on the kitchen bench next to the cat)) | |
| 3 | Katya | [() | |

4 (0.4)
5 ja patom k kantsu u nivo zabrala,
I later towards end from him took away
Later, towards the end, I took {it} away from him

6 (1.0)
7 e:ta
PCL
Well

8 (0.3)
9 ty naverna [sela v't kak ras
You-SG probably sat-F DEM just right
You've probably sat down exactly ←

10 [((finger pointing towards the camera
11 (0.9)
12 zakrylasia [na stul tuda sadis'
covered-REFL-F¹³ on chair there sit
{It} got obscured, sit on the chair there

13 [((points to the chair))
14 (0.6)
15 Maria ((shifts on the kitchen bench))

The turn in focus is lines 7-9, where Katya produces a statement along with a pointing gesture: “*Well (0.3) you’ve probably sat down exactly*”. This highly underspecified statement draws attention to a potentially problematic state of affairs: Maria has chosen to sit right in front of the camera, blocking the ongoing recording. Participants in interaction do not normally explicitly describe each other’s position, and so this explicit formulation appears designed to make a response from Maria relevant. A response remains noticeably absent (as seen from the silence at the transition relevance place, line 11). Katya then adds more information together with an explicit request: “{it} got obscured, sit on the chair over there” (with a pointing gesture). In response, Maria complies, though only partially: Instead of taking a seat on the chair, she shifts on the bench, partially uncovering the view of the camera.

The semantic relation between the initial description and the subsequent request is the same as in the cases we have seen before: the reason specifies information that may not be apparent from the request alone. The sequential relation between the two is reversed compared to the earlier cases: here the reason functions as a pre-request, and the request follows only when a response remains noticeably absent (it is thus the mirror image of the sequences discussed in 3.3.2.1) (see also Schegloff 2007, p. 68). In other words, the reason functions as a pre-

¹³ The female ending of the word *zakrylasia* ‘got obscured’ most likely refers to the female word *kamera* ‘camera’ that Katya does not explicitly mention but points to with her finger.

request. One advantage of such a pre is that it is defeasible: it is off record and so may mitigate potential face-threatening consequences of a direct request (that intervenes with Maria's choice where to sit) and its likely rejection (Schegloff 1995; Levinson 1983). The disadvantage is, however, that Maria cannot be held accountable for not complying since there was no on-record request to comply with. When Katya's reason fails to achieve desired response, she expands on her reason and makes her request explicit at line 12.

Only one request in my collection showed this sequential structure in which the reason functions as a pre-request. Its relative rarity suggests that other sequential solutions are preferred in the kind of data I study here: practical requests in informal face-to-face interaction, which can receive immediate compliance. It is possible that reasons used as pre-requests are more common in other kinds of contexts (see also Houtkoop-Steenstra, 1990; Parry, 2009; Taleghani-Nikazm, 2006; Waring, 2007).

3.3.3 Post-compliance reasons

Reasons or accounts are often thought of as devices that pursue compliance when it stays out (see 3.3.2.1 and 3.3.2.2 in this chapter; see also Davidson 1984; Taleghani-Nikazm 2006). Surprisingly, reasons were also encountered in the position where a request was already accepted or where there were already some sign that compliance is underway.

In some cases, a recipient indicates willingness to comply with a request only to find out that the request is missing some crucial information. Then a reason can help to explicate the requested action and resolve problems of understanding, as can be seen in Extract 40.

Several relatives have gathered in Lida's living room for a memorial dinner. Lida has just poured tea for some guests. She then requests that her daughter Yana, who has only just entered the room, brings more boiled water from the kitchen. Yana shows signs of compliance, but a problem arises when she arrives in the kitchen (line 8).

Extract 40. 20120114_memorial_1_198851

- | | | | |
|---|------|---|---|
| 1 | Lida | Yan,
Name-VOC
<i>Yana</i> | |
| 2 | | (0.4) | |
| 3 | Lida | prinisi mne: yeshio: kipitka,
bring-IMP-PFV me else boiled water-GEN
<i>bring me more boiled water</i> | ← |
| 4 | Yana | ((Yana goes off to the kitchen)) | |
| 5 | Lida | i chajnik adin elektricheskij= | |

- and water kettle one electric
- 6 =kakoj-nibut' pastaf'
some/any put on-IMP
and put one of the electric kettles on
- 7 (16.1 of unrelated talk)
- 8 Yana ma:m ((from the kitchen))
Mama-VOC
Mom ←
- 9 (7.8 of unrelated talk)
- 10 Yana ma:m ((from the kitchen))
Mama-VOC
Mom
- 11 (0.4)
- 12 Lida a?
INTJ
Ha?
- 13 Yana a gde ty tut kipitok nashla?
PCL where-Q you-SG here boiled water found-PFV-F
Where did you find boiled water here? ←
- 14 (0.4)
- 15 Lida kipitok f cha:jnike
Boiled water in water kettle
Boiled water is in the water kettle
- 16 (0.6)
- 17 Yana tam ano chut'-chu::t'
there it little-ADV
There's very little
- 18 Lida nu prinisi zdes' nam xvatit=
PCL bring-IMP-PFV here we-DAT be enough-FUT
Well bring (it), (it) will be enough here
- 19 =yevo razba:vit'=
he-ACC dilute-INF-PFV
to dilute it.
- 20 =a: eletricheskij adin fkliuchi:
PCL electric-M-SG one-M-ACC put on-IMP-PFV
and put one electric {kettle} on.
- 21 Yana ((returns from the kitchen and gives the water kettle to Lida))
Lida patamu shta- sli:shkam eta-
because too PCL
Because it's too well-
- 22 Yana krepkij?
Strong-M-SG
Strong?
- 23 (0.5)

24 Rima kre:pkij (.) krasnyj sil'na sil'na KRASNYJ
 stron-M-SG red-M very very red-M
Strong (.) very red, very RED.

There are two notable aspects to Lida's request. First of all, its formulation suggests that Lida needs a lot of boiled water by asking for the water that is already available in the water kettle and for more water to be boiled. Second, the request is twofold: 'bring boiled water and put one of the electric kettles on'. As later becomes clear, these requests have different reasons behind them, but Lida does not make this explicit right away.

Initially, the request does not seem to cause problems on Yana's side. The first sign of potential trouble is Yana's summons "*Mom*" at line 8, repeated at line 10 and responded to by Lida with "*a?*" (line 12). Having secured Lida's attention, Yana then asks her to specify the location of the boiled water in the kitchen. Lida treats it as an information question by simply telling where the water can be found – in the water kettle (line 15). Yana goes on and specifies the problem: there is only very little water in the kettle. Lida repeats her request at line 18, this time adding a reason: it is just to dilute the tea, which explains why a small amount of water will be enough (lines 18-19).

In the next turn, Lida also repeats her second request to put one of the electric kettles on. By doing this, she makes clear that not all water is meant to dilute tea. This implies that the two requests have different rationales behind them. When Yana returns from the kitchen with the water to dilute tea, Lida provides an additional reason justifying her request for a little water – the tea she made for one of the guests was too strong (line 21). Yana had no access to this information before, because she entered the room too late to witness the interaction between Lida and the guest. Yana displays her understanding and acceptance of the reason, which is evident from the help she offers Lida with her word search at line 22.

Note that Lida prefaces the repeated reason at line 21 with a causal connective *patamu shta* 'because'. This may be a way to establish a direct link between the reason and the initial request at line 3, repeated at line 18. Reason and request have become sequentially separated from each other by the intervening, second request (line 20) (see also Couper-Kuhlen, 2011). When reason and request are closer to each other, the link between them may be supported by their sequential proximity, the meaning, contextual aspects, and prosodic features (Couper-Kuhlen 2012; Gohl 2000). Grammatical features may also contribute to the link between requests and their reasons, as they usually match in tense and lexical items in an English sample (Parry 2013). In our collection, only

three reasons were prefaced with a causal connective: *shtoby* ‘so that’ (not illustrated with an extract), *patamu shta* ‘because’ (Extract 40), and *a to* ‘because’ (Extract 31). Previous research has also reported that the use of causal connectives is not all that common (Ford 2005; Heritage 1988; Houtkoop-Steenstra 1990; Taleghani-Nikazm 2006; Waring 2007); this is probably because requests and their reasons are normally close enough together to be indexically linked without requiring an explicit connective.

The above case shows that reasons are not merely a device to pursue a response in the absence of one, or to avoid anticipatable problems in uptake; they are also employed when compliance is well underway, or indeed completed. Even when requestees are willing and able to comply, they may run into an incongruity or ambiguity in the request. Reasons provided after response initiation, offer one way to address such incongruities or ambiguities, justifying or clarifying the request post-hoc.

Extract 41 provides another example of a post-compliance reason. Similar to what we saw in Extract 31 and Extract 32, the request in Extract 41 is performing an additional action. Inna is making a request for her adult grandson that he pours brandy for grandpa as well.

Extract 41. 20110821_Family_dinner_Country_A_2_572060

- 1 Grandson ((pours brandy for himself and brings the screw cap to the bottle neck))
 2 Inna [de:du.
 grandpa-DAT
 for grandpa.
- 3 Grandson [((puts the screw cap on the bottle))
 4 (0.8) ((Grandson screws the cap on the bottle))
 5 Inna [a ^dedu.
 PCL grandpa-DAT
 And for grandpa. ←
- 6 (0.5) ((Grandson seems to unscrew the cap))
 7 Inna [a ^dedu.
 PCL grandfather-DAT
 And for grandpa. ←
- 8 Grandson [((unscrews the cap from the bottle))
 9 (0.4)
 10 Grandpa a dedu ni abizatel'na=
 PCL grandpa-DAT NEG necessary-ADV
 And for grandpa it's not necessary ((places his glass closer to the bottle))
- 11 Inna =[HAHAHAHA
 12 Grandson [((pours the drink for grandpa))=
 13 Inna =.h sibe nalil i la:dna
 Self-DAT poured-M and all right
 you poured (it) for yourself and that's it ←

Inna's request at line 2 does not contain a predicate, but only a person reference *dedu*. The notion of directionality is conveyed by the dative case of this person reference resulting in the translation *for grandpa* and allowing for the predicate to be dropped. Inna produces her request right when it becomes clear that her grandson is closing the bottle and will not serve anyone else. It stands out that she provides him little time to comply and repeats her request at line 5. She uses sentence-initial particle *a* this time, which can be translated as *and* or *but*. Even though the grandson is showing signs of compliance - he still holds the bottle and appears to be opening it - she repeats her request again at line 7. This suggests that Inna's request does more than seeking compliance. The grandfather contributes to this interpretation with his remark at line 10: 'and for grandpa it's not necessary'. While he says so, he places his glass closer to the bottle, making clear that his remark should not be understood literally. Inna's laughter at line 11 supports this interpretation.

At line 12, the grandson pours the drink into grandpa's glass, but Inna still provides a reason for her request at line 13 – 'you poured {it} for yourself and that's it'. This serves as additional evidence that Inna's original request was doing something more than requesting alone. The content of the reason refers to the grandson serving only himself as problematic behaviour. It is, however, not immediately clear why that is the case. So, some local knowledge about the correct or expected behaviour is required here. An ethnographer might wonder why hold the grandson accountable for not serving grandpa? After all, grandpa can pour his own drinks. This issue will be addressed in chapter 4.

To conclude this section, reasons in the post-acceptance position demonstrate that a reason can deal with informationally underspecified requests (Extract 40) and with the ancillary actions implied by a request (Extract 41); in both cases, the reason serves as much to clarify as to retrospectively justify the request.

3.4 Discussion and Conclusion

Much prior work on reasons or accounts has focused on responsive actions, such as rejections of offers, invitations, or requests. Such actions are dispreferred and potentially delicate, and the accounts accompanying them are often excuses and justifications that disclaim a speaker's responsibility for the problematic action or diminish its problematic character by referring to the speaker's inability to accept the offer or invitation (Davidson 1984; Heritage 1988). However, such delicate situations are not the only contexts in which people provide reasons in interaction. Here we have studied reason-giving in a sequential

environment that is ubiquitous: simple, practical requests in everyday face-to-face interaction.

Initiating actions, such as requests, are less clearly dispreferred, and for the practical requests that are considered here, the requester's ability to perform the requested action is hardly ever at issue (Kendrick and Drew 2014). Perhaps relating to this, requests without a reason came out as a default way to make a request in my collection. Houtkoop-Steenstra (1990) and Waring (2007) report similar findings in their studies of accounts for proposals and advices in casual interaction. Houtkoop-Steenstra states that for proposals without accounts, the necessary information is inferable "from the conversational context or from the situation". Similarly, requests without reasons can be supported and contextualised by ongoing activities, as when a dinner setting implies a certain distribution of roles and responsibilities and makes relevant the transfer of food; and they can also be supported by preceding talk, as when prior talk has established the involved parties and specified a certain type of object or service, which is then requested.

Over a third of the requests in my collection (57 out of 158) did come with a reason at some point in the sequence. Reasons were encountered in four sequential positions, reflecting different points at which participants may orient to the need for a reason. The four positions are: (1) reason following a delay or problem in the uptake of a request. Here the reason is provided following the noticeable absence of a preferred response. By providing background information for the request, the reason asserts the continuing relevance of a response without overtly holding the requestee accountable for failing to provide a preferred response immediately. Requests in this category are problematic, but are initially produced as simple requests without reasons. Such requests have similar features with bare requests or they make use of the implications that this similarity entails. (2) Reasons provided together with the request. By specifying how a request is to be understood right away, the requester can be seen to orient to a potential lack of fit of the request to the ongoing activity or participant structure, thereby making immediate compliance both easier and more likely. (3) Reasons used as a pre-request. Stating a reason allows a requester to explore preconditions without being on record as issuing the request. (4) Reasons provided after acceptance or compliance. Here the reason's role is often to clarify the request post-hoc, justifying the initial formulation and specifying the ancillary action implied.

Despite the positional variation, some strong commonalities in the interactional functions of reasons across all these contexts were found. Reasons serve to make requests more readily understandable and increase the ultimate likelihood of compliance. They do so by addressing the

potential underspecification of requests in three broad domains: matters of information, social relation, and action. I will now discuss each issue separately.

Some requests are informationally underspecified. In interpreting such requests, participants cannot fully rely on the preceding talk and the ongoing activity. In some cases the context supports the request only partially, while in others the context even contradicts it, and the request itself may lack crucial information about the requested action. In this kind of case, reasons provide missing information specifying what the requested action is and how the request fits the ongoing talk or activity (Extract 28, Extract 33, Extract 34, Extract 40).

Some requests invade the domain of recipients' deontic and epistemic authority, with potential implications for the relation between the requester and requestee. Such requests, for instance, instruct the recipients *not* to perform an action that they are currently involved in or to alter their on-going behaviour. In such cases, requesters support their requests with a reason that justifies this invasion and pursues compliance. A reason can, for instance, explain that recipients' actions harm the requester, that the recipient will benefit from compliance, that the requested action is more important or urgent than what requestee is currently doing, and so on (Extract 29, Extract 30, Extract 32, Extract 35, Extract 36, Extract 39).

Finally, sometimes a request is performing an ancillary action, i.e. some action beyond mere requesting. Ancillary actions such as joking, complaining, and rebuking can be done through the vehicle of a request. Reasons can be used to emphasise these additional actions or make them explicit (Extract 31, Extract 32, Extract 37, Extract 38, Extract 41). One indication that the reason in such cases may not directly speak to the content of the request is the fact that such reasons can be produced after compliance has already occurred. I am not aware of earlier reports of this interactional use of reasons, but it does fit the general nature of reasons as making social actions more intelligible.

In terms of linguistic design, we find that reasons usually take the form of a description of a state of affairs that supplies the informational, relational, or action-implicative content supporting the request. Although in the literature, reasons are sometimes linked to causal connectives like "because", we found such a connective only in three cases, suggesting that prosody and the sequential positioning of the reason is in most cases sufficient to convey its relation to the request. As in other studies on explanations in interaction, reasons in my sample were never elicited using direct why-interrogatives (Houtkoop-Steenstra 1990, 119; Parry 2009, 250).

To conclude, interpreting a request is not always a straightforward task, and reasons provide help when needed. A range of available sequential positions for reasons show the various points at which participants may orient to the need for a reason.

When looking at the functions of reasons for requestes, we see that a reason makes the request understandable, increasing the likelihood of compliance (Davidson 1984; Wootton 1981; Pomerantz 1984). A reason deals with requests that may be problematic in various ways: they may be informationally underspecified, delicate or potentially harmful for participants' relationship, or they may involve ancillary actions. Provision of a reason can solve these problems and aid the interpretation of the request. Reasons are a rich source of information that place requests in a larger context. By creating a context for the request wherein the requested action fits the normal course of events, reasons normalise these requests. Reasons can make requests clearer, mitigate certain interpretations of the request and emphasise others. In short, reasons are a versatile communicative tool when asking assistance from others.

It turns out that requesters tend to withhold reasons and let the recipients do the most of the interpreting work, even when the request is only partially interpretable. By withholding a reason, the speakers mark an utterance as interpretable for the recipient. Conversely, when the speakers combine their requests with a reason immediately, not allowing the recipient to solicit one, this serves as a signal that the utterance is not interpretable otherwise.

These principles are related to the need for recognising events that are familiar from the ones that are new. This categorisation enables human beings to make accurate interpretations of the on-going events and predictions about events in the future. So, it serves an educational function through which social agents make sense of the new situations and events in their lives. Additionally, reasons promote compliance for counter-intuitive requests that recipients might otherwise reject out of fear to be taken advantage of. Finally, reasons serve as a security device that keeps the order of things in place. When behaviour deviates from the expected course, social agents provide a reason to set their behaviour straight (Garfinkel 1967; Houtkoop-Steenstra 1990).

In this chapter, I have mostly limited myself to the direct conversational context when examining reasons for requests. However, there must be more information available to interlocutors to determine which events can be expected, shared cultural knowledge, for instance. Cultural norms and customs can be seen as the ultimate source of expectancies in a given society. This brings us to chapter 4, which discusses the relevance of cultural knowledge for reason-giving.

4 Cultural norms behind reason-giving

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter described people's orientation to the accountability of social actions as a normative principle determining the need for reason-giving (or indeed the absence of that need). Reasons can be left implicit because speakers rely on other sources of information to explain their actions, including shared cultural knowledge. This chapter aims at understanding how cultural norms and expectations that they create affect the giving and withholding of reasons.

Conversational data in which the participants are relying heavily on implicit cultural norms can be difficult to interpret without access to broader background that a transcript alone cannot provide. To uncover the interactional norms of such events it may be necessary to ask questions, such as: what activity brought the participants together, in what cultural and social setting the recording took place, how the participants in interaction relate to each other, what do we know about their social status, etc.? We make use of this information when we try to make sense of the world around us. Although traditionally conversation analysis only takes into account the features of the conversation, some researchers point out to the necessity of some basic ethnographic contextualization for the analysis of conversational phenomena (Dingemanse and Floyd 2014; Moerman 1996; Keating and Egbert 2004).

Social agents heavily rely on the information they know they share in common, i.e. common ground, to interpret the on-going talk and activities (Enfield 2013, 2009). For the speakers, it allows them to leave out information when interacting, for the recipients it enables them to infer information that has not been explicitly mentioned. Two types of common ground can be distinguished: personal and communal (Clark 1996). The first type refers to the personal encounters between the interactants that only they have access to. Communal common ground comprises cultural knowledge that any given member of a society is assumed to have access to. It provides them with a standard, against which all actions and events can be assessed and interpreted as normal or deviant.

As we have seen in the prior chapter, providing reasons helps recipients to make sense of a request by linking it to the expected course

of action. This has an important function of protecting the ordinary order of things against transgressions. When behaviour deviates from the expected course, social agents provide a reason to set their behaviour straight (Garfinkel 1967; Houtkoop-Steenstra 1990). Therefore, cultural information is an important factor in the study of reasons and must be considered.

Conversation analysis has its origins in Ethnomethodology, a field of study introduced by Harold Garfinkel (Heritage 1984 b; Garfinkel 1964; 1967). Ethnomethodology is characterised by the idea that social norms guide social actions and form the basis for common sense knowledge. All this is enacted in our every-day interactions with others. Conversation Analysis focuses less on broader sociocultural norms and more on norms of interaction that are visible in the direct interactional context, i.e. the on-going conversation between the participants as provided by the video or audio recording. Using talk-extrinsic data, such as analysts' member knowledge, as evidence in the study of interactional phenomena is avoided by most conversation analysts. CA's goal it is to isolate the structure of talk without reference to participants' sociological background or psychological characteristics. (Sanders 1999; Schegloff 1992; McHoul, Rapley, and Antaki 2008; John Heritage 2008). In other words, researcher's access to the extra-conversational information should not be used to guide or stand in for the analysis of conversation. The main argument for this rather restrictive approach offered by conversation analysts is that when participants' sociological or psychological characteristics *are* relevant for the participants in a given interaction, they will make it clear through the observable features of talk (Schegloff 2017).

The current chapter agrees with the traditional conversation analysts on this point, but wonders whether this approach is manageable for the analysts who are not members of the community they study. The subtle references made by the participants might easily be overlooked. Furthermore, the 'invisible' features of interaction might be just as informative about interactional phenomena as the observable ones. This is, for example, the case where participants seem to understand each other so well that they do not require being explicit in their conduct.

By using ethnographic fieldwork to collect and explicate members' knowledge, this chapter aligns more with conversation analysis' ethnomethodological roots, where fieldwork is common as a way of becoming a competent member and studying the organisation of routine practices (ten Have 2002; Garfinkel and Wieder 1992).

A view that embraces a more holistic study of the cultural context of language usage is represented by Hymes' *ethnography of communication* (Hymes 1962, 1964; Bauman and Sherzer 1975; Duranti 2012; Blount 1995; Foley 2012). Within this framework, language is seen

as situated in a cultural and interpersonal context and takes into account such situational features as the physical surroundings of the interaction, participants involved in it, the goal of the conversation, social norms. The current chapter builds on the findings gathered using conversation analysis only in chapter 3, but takes these findings further by enriching them with ethnographic information. This results in an analysis involving similar features as Hymes' ethnography of communication.

In his work, Moerman argues for a contexted conversation analysis (e.g. 1990, 1988; also see chapter 1) that involves an interplay between ethnographic methods and analysis of conversation. Moerman uses conversation analysis to enrich his extensive ethnographic study of Thai culture. In this chapter I will demonstrate the opposite: how ethnography can enrich the study of conversation.

An analysis of conversation in isolation from the common ground that inevitably exists between the participants in interaction (and often between them and the analyst) is almost impossible to achieve and might even hamper the analysis of an interactional phenomenon. Consider the following extract reported by Kendrick and Drew (2014, 109). This extract demonstrates that information from outside of the recording can be necessary for an adequate analysis of conversation or as Garfinkel put it "The member of the society uses background expectancies as a scheme of interpretation" (1964).

#25 [BBQ 149_8950]

1 Don: Kimmy.
2 (0.3)
3 Kim: What.
4 (0.8)
5 Don: Do we have a pipe?
6 Kim: e- (.) I don't
7 (0.6)
8 Ell: You don't?
9 Car: We have an apple.
10 (lines omitted)
11 Kim: Okay, give me a knife.
12 (0.3)
13 Ell: I got a pen.

Without the additional information that the authors provide for this case, this particular interaction will make little sense to the naïve observer. What *is* clear though, is that Donna summons Kimmy by calling her name (line 1). Kimmy's attention is secured and she responds at line 2 requesting more information from Donna. Kimmy goes on and asks Donna a question at line 5, which receives a response (line 6). What happens next is harder to understand and to label. It appears that

Kimmy's answer creates a problem of some kind and her housemates start offering their solutions for it. It seems that the problem gets solved at the end at line 13. Without sufficient common ground with the participants in the interaction, it is only the general structure of the conversation that is clear to some extent. Its content and the way it plays out is, however, hard to fully comprehend.

It is only when the authors offer more background information to establish common ground, this extract becomes comprehensible. They explicate, for instance, that this extract comes from an interaction between housemates. One of the participants, Donna, has gone off camera to smoke marijuana. The authors include more information as a part of their analysis: "Carrie offers her an apple, which can be formed into an ad hoc pipe, as an alternative" (line 9). They continue by explaining that "a request for a knife to carve the apple receives an offer of a pen as a workable substitute" (see lines 11-13). This knowledge is necessary to understand the content of the verbal exchange between the housemates. More specifically, it enables the analysis of the request sequence at line 11.

In an example from my own collection of requests some cultural knowledge is also required for a proper analysis. In Extract 42 a family is reunited in a country house. The extract starts with Lida making a request that somebody serve her some champagne (see the bottle of champagne indicated with an arrow in Figure 13).

Extract 42. 20110821_Family_dinner_Country_A_2514091

- | | | |
|---|---------|---|
| 1 | Lida | tak nu shampanskava mne kto-nibut' naljot?
so PCL champagne-GEN I-DAT somebody pour-FUT-3SG
<i>So, will anybody pour me some champagne?</i> |
| 2 | | (0.5) |
| 3 | Inna | da
yes
yes |
| 4 | Mikhail | =kane:[shna,
of course
<i>of course</i> |
| 5 | Inna | [mushiny u nas yest' net?
men with we-GEN is/are no
<i>Do we have {any} men {here or} not?</i> |



Figure 13. Lida requests that someone pours her some champagne; the bottle is indicated by the arrow.

Lida makes her request at line 1 using an interrogative construction: *tak nu shampanskava mne kto-nibut' naljot?* 'So, will anybody pour me some champagne?' This is already unusual for Russian requests, where the imperative seems to be the default format (Bolden 2017). Inna is the host of the gathering and supports Lida in her request: first with the confirmative *da* 'yes' and then with a pursuit of her own, which also has an interrogative format 'do we have men {here or} not?' This extract presents a naïve observer with several problems. First, why could Lida not simply serve herself some champagne? In that case, she would only need someone to pass her the bottle. Second, why does Inna exclusively address the men at the table? While conversational data provides us with some clues on these issues, this example demonstrates that information outside of the video recording can be necessary for a *full* understanding of the material.

A naïve observer runs into further difficulties when the topic of study is the giving of reasons in interaction. The basic function of a reason is to help the recipient make sense of an utterance, for example, a request. The speaker can do it by relating the request to what is already known based on participants' previous interactions or shared knowledge of cultural customs and norms. To a naïve observer, much of this knowledge is not so readily accessible. Ethnographic methods combined with conversation analysis have the potential to enrich the study of interactional phenomena. Ethnographic information secures a deeper understanding of conversational events and can help ground analysts' judgements.

In this chapter I use a version of Moerman's culturally contexted conversation analysis (see chapter 1). I worked with family members and friends, but also took repeated trips to the field site (four of which as a part of a research project and on several occasions as a family member and a friend), making this a long-term ethnographic study with privileged access to the community (Narayan 1993). This extended fieldwork informs the analysis of interaction in this and previous chapter. To make the cultural background knowledge more explicit, I use not just

knowledge gained by immersion, but also a form of semi-structured ethnographic interviews to learn more about specific cultural issues that are relevant for interpreting interactional data.

I will focus on the cultural norms that govern the interactional event of reason-giving. It is sometimes easy to underestimate the role of such norms in work that focuses on English data written for English-speaking audiences, and the use of Russian conversational data can help us make aware of this. I combine Conversation Analytic methodology with semi-structured ethnographic interviews about material from request sequences from chapter 3. Ethnographic interviews provide native-speaker perspectives on the requests sequences, and their interpretation of them. This information can shed light on how and why certain requests fit or do not fit into the conversational and cultural context.

The questions that this chapter aims to answer are: 1) How does the context implicitly support the request that is made when no reason is given?; and 2) When a request does come with a reason, how does the content of that reason support the request? This chapter provides a different approach to the study of reasons for requests and offers new insights on this topic. Ethnographic interviews provide native-speaker perspectives on the requests sequences, and their interpretation of them. This information can shed light on how and why certain requests fit or do not fit into the conversational and cultural context.

4.2 Data and Methods

This chapter presents the results of semi-structured ethnographic interviews (see Appendix 1) based on 158 request sequences taken from chapter 3. This is a development of Moerman's culturally contexted Conversation Analysis. The interviews were conducted with four native speakers of Russian in Lithuania. One participant was male, the other three were female. Their age varied from 28 to 57 years. The participants in the interviews were not participants in the video recordings. They could only relate to them in terms of their shared Russian/Soviet cultural heritage and language. Two interviewees belonged to the generation born and raised in the Soviet Union, while the remaining two have spent most of their lives in post-Soviet Lithuania.

Several pilot interviews were conducted to find an optimal method. The pilots revealed that presenting participants with the video-recorded request sequences to interpret them or predict what will happen next is a difficult task, and does not lead to the desired results. One challenge for the participants was to decipher the sequence among the overlapping talk. Another was that when presented with the video recordings, consultants tended to ask for additional information, such as the relationship between

the participants, the goal of the gathering, the location of the gathering, and the like. This is evidence that a piece of interactional data does not make sense to participants without background information, even for the members of the community where the recordings took place. This demonstrates the importance of the rich cultural and contextual knowledge that forms the background of everyday interaction.

Because of the distractions that interviewees experienced in the pilot viewings of data recordings, it was decided to present interviewees with a set of topics based on the encountered request sequences rather than showing them the actual recordings. For the interview, recurrent request themes were selected (i.e. transfer of objects, toasting, eating and drinking in a group). The interview questions concerned situations encountered in the corpus and asked participants to describe their actions as if they were participants in these situations, similar to the role-play tasks used by second-language teachers and politeness researchers (e.g. Gumperz 1986; Fuente, de la 2006; Richards 1985). The crucial difference with the pilot studies was that the interviewees were asked to imagine that they were put in a certain situation and hypothesise about their own actions and properties of the situation. A list of discussed items is provided in Appendix I¹⁴.

The interviews were conducted in Russian and recorded with audio or video, depending on interviewees' preferences. The interviews took place after the analysis of conversation was finalised so that an impression of the relevant cultural norms was already available to the researcher. So, all participants were confronted with the same main questions. The follow-up questions, however, differed from person to person depending on the answers they gave to the main question. The semi-structured character of the interviews allowed for interviewees' own spontaneous contributions to the theme being discussed.

The interviews were held by appointment. They took place at the researcher's residence and lasted for about an hour. Two interviewees were the researcher's family members and two others were friends, which made for an informal atmosphere during the interviews.

4.3 Analysis

This section discusses three themes that emerged from the interviews. Within each theme, I will present several request sequences

¹⁴ In most cases, interviewees provided corresponding answers to the questions and no relevant discrepancies were encountered. Some seemingly simple questions, however, appeared problematic. For example, the act of clinking glasses appeared to be difficult to put into words, perhaps due to its plainness and the automatism with which it is carried out.

that I will examine using Conversation Analytic methods. I will then use acquired ethnographic information to enrich this analysis.

4.3.1 Alcohol drinking

Ethnographic interviews provide information that remains unspoken by the participants in interaction and enable a deeper understanding of the observed events. Participants in the interviews were asked to provide an answer to the following question: "Imagine that you are invited to a birthday celebration. You pour wine into your own glass. Should you offer the drink to others as well?" Interviewees' responses are summarised in Table 9.

Table 9. Part I: *"You are invited to a birthday celebration. Should you offer the drink to others as well?"*

Interviewee	Response
Female 1	"No, I would never pour myself a drink. I would ask my partner to pour me water or something. At home I can pour for myself if the water is next to me, but in a company a man should attend to the woman. He offers her food and drinks. If you want something you can ask as well. If it's about an alcoholic drink, then you wait until a toast is announced and for the distributor. One does not serve oneself at a celebration. If there are only women, then they serve themselves, but you also wait for the toast."
Female 2	"Usually men do it, actually. Usually, one man is appointed to serve drinks for everyone."
Female 3	"Actually, there's usually a man appointed to serve drinks. If the table is big, several distributors are appointed. They watch that everybody has a drink. Usually they coordinate that the entire table has a drink at the same time. Because, it's considered uncivilised to serve yourself drinks. I would ask a man to pour me wine, juice or water."
Male 1	"As a rule, women do not pour themselves drinks if there are men available. For a woman to pour herself drinks, it will look vulgar."

As a follow-up question to the one presented in Table 9, all respondents were asked a more specific question concerning offering drinks at the table. This time, the hypothetical situation was slightly changed, it required the respondents to imagine that only women are present at the gathering leaving the question the same: "You pour wine into your own glass. Should you offer the drink to others as well?" The responses are summarised in Table 10.

Table 10. Part II: "You are invited to a birthday celebration where there are only women present. Should you offer the drink to others as well?"¹⁵

Interviewee	Response
Female 2	"Yes, if I'm going to serve myself, I'll offer the drink to others. People will not come one by one to pour for themselves, right? If I've already taken [the bottle], then I'll offer it to others. If it's juice or water, I would offer too. What if somebody will want it too?"
Female 3	"Usually, yes. It is thought that one always should offer it to others, even if it's a salad. If there're only women at the table, I would offer it to others and then would pour it for myself. If they refuse, I would serve myself anyway. If it is juice or water, then one in principle should offer it to others."
Male 1	"If the wine is next to you, you can offer it to the neighbours and pour for yourself a little bit. Only if they refuse, you can serve yourself. Not to offer is tactless, disrespectful towards the neighbours. You also should offer juice to others. It is improper to pour vodka only to yourself. It's a purely alcoholic drink. Wine is an aristocratic drink and vodka is for alcohol abusers. You should offer it to others, but if they refused, I would not drink it alone. It's improper. People who often drink vodka, drink it alone without company."

All recordings used for the analysis in this chapter involve family members and friends visiting each other. Such visits often involved consumption of drinks. Drinking rituals and customs can be elaborate and complicated (Frake 1964). In what follows, I will focus on the distribution of alcoholic drinks at the table and will start by reintroducing Extract 43, of which we saw a first excerpt above. This example is taken from a family reunion (see also Figure 13). Two men and three women are sitting at the table when Lida makes her request that somebody should serve her some champagne.

Extract 43. 20110821_Family_dinner_Country_A_2514091

- 1 Lida ((gives a napkin to Mikhail to clean his nose))
2 tak nu shampanskava mne kto-nibut' naljot?
so PCL champagne-GEN I-DAT somebody pour-FUT-3SG
So, will anybody pour me some champagne? ←
- 3 (0.5)
4 Inna da
yes
yes
- 5 Mikhail =kane:[shna,
of course

¹⁵ Female participants were asked this question again, but this time it was made explicit that there are no men able to serve them a drink to force them provide an answer on the issue of the obligation to offer.

of course

- 6 Inna [mushiny u nas [yest' net?
men with we-GEN is/are no
Do we have {any} men {here or} not?
- 7 Pavel [((enters the porch))=
- 8 Lida ((gazes at Pavel))
- 9 £O::: to:chno kto-nibut' na[ljot shampans[kae£
INTJ definitely somebody pour-FUR-3SG champagne-ACC
£Oh Someone will definitely pour me champagne£
- 10 Inna [chio sidish- ta?
what-Q sit-2SG PCL
Why are you {just} sitting? ←
- 11 =nale:j Lide shampanskava-ta
pour-IMP-PFV Name-DAT champagne-PCL
Pour Lida champagne already ←
- 12 (0.6)
- 13 Pyotr Misha nu-ka nu-ka praslidi
Name PCI-PCL PCL-PCL see to-IMP-PFV
Kostia, come on, come on, see to {it}
- 14 Mikhail ((takes the champagne bottle from the table))



Figure 14. Lida makes a request for more champagne; the arrow indicate the location of the champagne bottle.



Figure 15. Pavel enters the porch.

Lida's request at line 2 comes right after she helps Mikhail to a napkin (line 1). She is prefacing the request with the particles *tak nu* (translated as 'so'), which is indicative of an action that is disjoint from the previous talk (Bolden 2018). This fits the conversational context well, where the conversation about Mikhail's running nose is radically switched to the topic of champagne drinking. *Tak nu* also indicates that the action that is about to come is sequentially late conveying a sense of impatience (Bolden 2018). This feature of this request cannot be easily explained at this point because it is the first time for Lida to mention she would even like a drink. Another peculiarity about this request is that Lida does not specify to whom it is directed, she only vaguely states *kto-nibut'* 'somebody/ anybody/anyone'. Finally, Lida's request is interrogatively formatted. Imperatives seem to form a default format for Russian requests, so, Lida's interrogative request is marked (Bolden 2017).

Mikhail, one of the two men at the table, self-selects for this task at line 5 with the response 'of course'. In comparison with other requests without reasons, this response can be considered as marked. Usually, compliance does not involve any verbal elements (see chapter 2 on Russian request). At most, requestees say 'uhuh' or 'yes' to confirm their compliance. So, by saying 'of course', Mikhail seems to do something more than simply confirming his compliance.

Partially in overlap with Mikhail's 'of course'. Inna pursues compliance on Lida's behalf at line 6: 'do we have {any} men {here or} not?' This utterance focuses on men for compliance with the request. So, Inna appears to exclude herself and another female guest from the possible people who could serve Lida champagne. Inna goes even further. While Mikhail is searching for a place to put his napkin, Inna confronts her husband Pyotr directly for still not having served Lida at line 10: 'why are you {just} sitting?' This question bears a negative evaluation of Pyotr's lack of action. In fact, why-interrogatives have often been observed in the context of conflict, disagreement, and complaining (Bolden and Robinson 2011; Egbert and Voge 2008; Günthner 1996; Robinson and Bolden 2010). Inna goes on and tells Pyotr to pour Lida the drink using imperative grammar: *nale:j Lide shampanskava-ta* 'Pour Lida the champagne already' (line 11). She uses the particle *ta* both at lines 10 and 11 - a particle that indicates that her request comes late in the sequence (Bolden 2003) giving rise to the English translation 'Pour Lida the champagne already'. The failure to pour the drink for her at this point is being construed as an accountable omission.

A new development in the sequence can be observed at line 7 when Lida's husband Pavel enters the porch. To him, Lida directs her remark at line 9 with the so-called 'smile voice': '£Someone will definitely pour me

champagne'. It might be surprising to imagine that a person who has just joined the gathering and who has not even taken a seat at the table yet, should pour Lida a drink. As it turns out, Pavel has to go to the bathroom and Mikhail, finally, serves Lida her champagne.

While the setting of this informal interaction is like many others discussed in prior chapters, this particular request sequence unfolds in a much more convoluted way than might be expected. Why is the request so indirect, deviating from the usual imperative format? Why are only Mikhail, Pyotr and Pavel treated as relevant participants to comply with the request? It seems that men are given a special role in this request sequence.

Although the question was primarily about the obligation to offer a drink to others, all female participants indicated that pouring drinks to others is not a female task at all. As one female respondent said: "I would never serve myself a drink". When explicitly asked about it, the only male interviewee agreed that it is men's responsibility to attend to women at the table. He added that it looks "vulgar" when a woman is serving herself an alcoholic drink. Additionally, three participants out of four mentioned that there is usually a designated person at the table, or more if the table is big, whose task is to refill guests' glasses. One female participant explained: "because it is taken to be uncivilised to serve yourself drinks". She formulates this as a general rule for both men and women.

Returning to Extract 43, ethnographic interviews provide information about the rights and obligations in a society. This type of information is usually shared by the participants in interaction and usually there is no need to make it explicit. All interviewees agreed that a woman should avoid serving herself in company. As holds for many cultural norms, interviewees were not able to explain why this particular taboo exists and what it entails. One of the female participants pointed out that men should take care or attend to the women at the table. By this she formulated the norm not as a taboo for women to serve themselves, but as a right for women to be served by their men.

This means that Lida from Extract 43 cannot simply pour herself champagne. Instead, she has to rely on the men to do so. The mere fact that Lida has to make a request points to the failure of the men to serve her. There are at least two men in close proximity to Lida who could have offered her a drink. This helps to explain the interrogative format of the request, the use of the turn-initial particles *tak nu* indicating sequential lateness, and the use of the general pronoun *kto-nibut'* 'anybody', all of which lend the request a complaining quality. Lida is doing more than just requesting: she is formulating her request as an implicit complaint.

The host of the dinner, Inna, supports Lida in her complaint with the confirmative *yes* at line 4, but also with her pursuits at line 6, 10, and 11. Line 6 contains an ethnographically rich utterance: 'Do we have {any} men {here or} not?' In asking for the blindingly obvious, Inna seems to question Pyotr and Mikhail's masculine roles as they have neglected their task of distributing drinks. Mikhail's confirmative response at line 5 'of course' seems too elaborate for a regular request sequence. Mikhail might be compensating for his failure to offer the drink to Lida in the first place.

When Lida's husband Pavel appears on the porch, Lida seems to be more hopeful that she will receive her champagne. With a smile voice she says: '£Someone will definitely pour me champagne£'. Pavel is not only a man, he is Lida's husband and someone who, as Lida herself states, will definitely pour her champagne. This is in line with the response of one female interviewee who stated that she would never pour herself a drink but would ask her partner to do so. This suggests that a husband or a boyfriend has a bigger responsibility when it comes to attending to his partner's wishes at the table.

So, in this society, there seems to be an orientation to a gender ideology in which men attend to women's wishes at the table to whom they should offer food and drinks. This orientation is expressed by all participants in the current study, but also by many participants in the video recordings on which the previous chapter is based. Female participants seem to avoid pouring themselves alcoholic drinks, which are usually distributed by appointed people at the table.

The following extracts illustrate cultural norms concerning alcohol distribution at the table in more detail. Extract 44 (also discussed in chapter 3 as Extract 41) presents a situation where Mikhail fails to offer a drink to his grandfather Pyotr at a dinner gathering. Consequently, his grandmother, Inna, holds him accountable for this failure. Ethnographic interviews shed light on the nature of Mikhail's error.

Extract 44. 20110821_Family_dinner_Country_A_2_572060

- | | | |
|---|---------|--|
| 1 | Mikhail | ((pours brandy for himself and brings the screw cap to the bottle neck)) |
| 2 | Inna | [de:du.
grandpa-DAT
for grandpa. |
| 3 | Mikhail | [((puts the screw cap on the bottle)) |
| 4 | | (0.8) ((Grandson screws the cap on the bottle)) |
| 5 | Inna | [a ^dedu.
PCL grandpa-DAT
And for grandpa. |
| 6 | | (0.5) ((Grandson seems to unscrew the cap)) |

- 7 Inna [a ^dedu.
PCL grandfather-DAT
And for grandpa.
- 8 Mikhail [((unscrews the cap from the bottle))
9 (0.4)
- 10 Pyotr a dedu ni abizatel'na=
PCL grandpa-DAT NEG necessary-ADV
And for grandpa it's not necessary ((places his glass closer to the bottle))
- 11 Inna =[HAHAHAHA
- 12 Mikhail [((pours the drink for grandpa))=
- 13 Inna =.h sibe nalil i la:dna
Self-DAT poured-M and all right
you poured {it} for yourself and that's it

Inna makes her request three times (lines 2, 5, and 7), allowing her grandson little time to comply. She gives a reason for her request at line 13 even though compliance was already underway at line 8 and completed at line 12. This reason points to the problematic aspect of grandson's behaviour – the fact that he poured brandy for himself without offering his grandfather some as well. This suggests that Inna's request was aimed at doing more than just getting her grandson to comply: the added reason retrospectively turns it into a rebuke. In this sequential position, the reason's role is to explicate the ancillary action implied by the request, and thereby justify its formulation and repetition. Grandfather also makes a contribution to Inna's request by upgrading it to “*And for grandpa it's not necessary*” (line 10). At the same time he places his glass closer to the bottle, which suggests the opposite and implies that his previous statement was ironic. This is also supported by Inna's laughter at line 11.

This serves as additional evidence that Inna's original request was doing something more than requesting alone. The content of the reason construes the grandson serving only himself as problematic behaviour. From the conversation alone, it is not clear why that is the case. So, some local knowledge about the correct or expected behaviour is required here. An ethnographer might wonder why hold the grandson accountable for not serving grandpa? After all, grandpa can pour his own drinks.

All participants in the ethnographic interviews agreed that when pouring a drink for oneself, one should also offer it to others (Table 10). Not doing so is “tactless and disrespectful towards the neighbours [at the table],” as one of the participants put it. The same holds for nonalcoholic drinks and food. It is said that one should offer a drink or a dish to others *before* pouring a drink for oneself. Two participants presented their actions in this order when providing answers to the interview question. In contrast, Mikhail from Extract 44 serves himself brandy without offering

it to others first. This is already an early sign for Inna and Pyotr that the offer will not be made, which helps explain why Inna's first "for grandpa" comes so early. When Mikhail takes the screw cap and starts closing the bottle with it, it becomes clear that Mikhail indeed will not serve anyone else.

As interviewees explained, in company there are usually one or two people appointed for the task of distributing drinks. These people make sure that everyone is served, especially if a toast is about to be pronounced (Table 9). In this particular company, the grandson appears to have gained the role of the distributor, as he was also the one who served Lida champagne prior to the start of Extract 44. After he served Lida, Inna and her sister stated that they still had some wine in their glasses, and one male relative rejected a drink. Grandpa Pyotr is the only person who has not been served yet and has not explicitly stated he did not need a drink. In this sense, Mikhail failed in his job of distributing the members of the group their drinks. It leaves grandpa unable to clink glasses with others, and this is exactly what the family does after Pyotr finally gets his drink.

Although Russians are famous for their consumption of strong alcoholic drinks, it is for the sake of the company and the occasion that alcoholic drinks are consumed. Drinking without company might serve as an indication of a person's unhealthy urge or need to drink. As one of the respondents explained: "It is improper to pour vodka only to yourself. It's a purely alcoholic drink. Wine is an aristocratic drink and vodka is for alcohol abusers. You should offer it to others, but if they refused, I would not drink it alone. It's improper. People who often drink vodka, drink it alone without company." Although this respondent is talking about vodka, it is possible that due to its high alcohol content brandy would fall in the same category. So, by pouring only himself, Mikhail might be branding himself as an alcohol abuser in addition to being simply rude.

With this ethnographic knowledge, grandmother's request in Extract 44 receives a much clearer interpretation as an admonishment. The reason that she provides with 'you poured {it} for yourself and that's it' relates her request to the established customs in the community. It not only points to the grandson's failure to offer his grandfather a drink, it formulates it as a public disregard for the cultural norms.

The implicit rule of providing others with a drink is also visible from the following extract that features five girlfriends having dinner and drinks. Ksenia is the host, but she does not participate in the presented request sequence. In contrast with the previous requests, Extract 45 illustrates a non-problematic case of alcohol distribution at the table.

Extract 45. 20110813_School_Friends_1219222

- 1 Liuba ((takes the bottle of wine from the table))
2 ((pours wine into Anna's glass))
3 (pours wine into Sasha's glass))
4 ((pours wine into her own glass))
5 Sash=
Name-VOC
Sasha
6 = ((holds out the bottle in Sasha's direction))
7 nal^ej tam [devachkam
pour-IMP-PFV there girls-DAT
Pour {it} for the girls there
8 Sasha [((takes the bottle and pours wine for two remaining
women at her side of the table))



Figure 16. Liuba is pouring wine into Anna's glass; the arrow indicates the wine bottle.



Figure 17. Liuba is pouring wine into Sasha's glass; the arrow indicates the wine bottle.

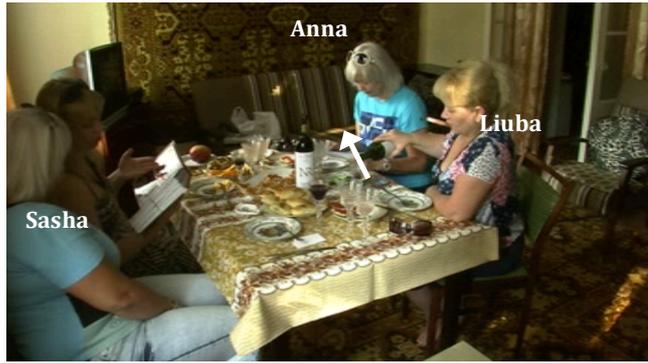


Figure 18. Liuba is pouring wine into her own glass; the arrow indicates the wine bottle.



Figure 19. Sasha takes the bottle from Liuba; the arrow indicates the wine bottle.



Figure 20. Sasha pours wine in the remaining glasses; the arrow indicates the wine bottle.

Before Liuba pours wine into her own glass (line 4, Figure 18), she serves two other women who sit close to her (lines 2-3, Figures 16 and 17). At line 7 Liuba requests that Sasha pours wine for the two remaining women who are visibly sitting too far for Liuba to serve them (Figures 19 and 20). It stands out that neither Liuba nor Sasha ask whether anyone actually wants more wine, they just pour it into their glasses. Furthermore, Liuba makes a request for Sasha that she pours wine for others at her side of the table without providing a reason for it. Also Sasha does not ask whether anyone actually wants a refill, which might be surprising for someone who is not familiar with the drinking customs in this society.

Liuba's behaviour in this extract is conforming to the cultural norm, which we saw above, of offering others a drink before serving oneself (see lines 2-4). The fact that Liuba and Sasha provide their friends with a refill without asking whether they need one. As one of the interviewees responded, the responsibility of the distributors is "to make sure that everybody has a drink in their glasses at the same time." So, when Liuba requests that Sasha pours wine in the glasses of the remaining guests, she is following the rules that her culture prescribes. The default imperative format of her request without a reason and Sasha's effortless compliance supports this interpretation.

The final extract in this section illustrates another scene involving alcohol distribution. It is taken from the same recording, but precedes it by 15 minutes. In contrast with Extract 42, Extract 44 and Extract 45, Extract 46 does not involve any requests, precisely because the distributor fulfills his responsibilities entirely as expected given the cultural background knowledge we now know to be at play.

Extract 46. 20110813_School_Friends_295398

- 1 Dmitry ((looks at the table))
- 2 ((pours wine into Sasha's glass))
- 3 (pours wine into Liuba's glass)
- 4 ((unrelated talk))



Figure 21. Dmitry is pouring wine for Sasha.



Figure 22. Dmitry is pouring wine for Liuba.

Dmitry picks up the bottle from the table and serves the wine for Sasha (Figure 21) and then for his wife Liuba (Figure 22). Two other women, Anna and Ksenia, still have some wine in their glasses and do not receive a refill. While Dmitry is serving Sasha and Liuba, the women are involved in a conversation that is unrelated to Dmitry's actions. Similar to Extract 45, Dmitry pours wine into the glasses without asking whether a refill is needed. About seven minutes later, Dmitry does the same for Ksenia and Anna as illustrated in Extract 47.

Extract 47. 20110813_School_Friends_2_737318

- 1 Dmitry ((looks at the table))
- 2 ((pours wine into Anna's glass))
- 3 (pours wine into Ksenia's glass)
- 4 ((unrelated talk))



Figure 23. Dmitry is serving wine for Anna.



Figure 24. Dmitry is serving wine for Ksenia.

As the only man at the table, Dmitry is by default responsible for the distribution of the drinks. Only when Dmitry departs, Liuba and Sasha take the distributing task upon themselves (Extract 45). At the start of this extract, Anna's glass is empty, but Ksenia's is not, and Sasha and Liuba's glasses are still full. Similar to Extract 45, Dmitry does not explicitly offer the drink to the women, but simply pours it in their glasses. In Extract 46 and Extract 47, Dmitry serves wine after having glanced at the women's glasses or in their direction and only refills empty glasses. As an interviewee stated "[the distributors] usually coordinate that the entire table has a drink at the same time". Ksenia's glass in Extract 47 (see also

Figure 24), however, forms an exception. It is possible that Dmitry fills it so that all four women have an equal amount of wine in their glasses.

Examples from the corpus and interview data demonstrate that providing everyone with a drink or at least offering one to others, is a deeply rooted table practice, which allows the participants to omit requesting altogether. This finding is in line Enfield's 'relationship thinking' that proposes that social agents strive to meet two different imperatives in interaction: informational and affiliational imperatives (Enfield 2013). While the informational imperative prescribes that every social agent should convey an amount of information to the recipient so that they are sufficiently understood for the current communicative purposes, the affiliational imperative requires them to appropriately manage the social consequences of their interactions with others. As a result, social agents will attempt to convey their message with as little information as possible to highlight the high degree of common ground they share with the recipient.

Russian drinking culture involves a complicated system of responsibilities and rights. It seems that in Russian culture a refill is required unless explicitly stated otherwise. Furthermore, there is a taboo for women to serve themselves alcoholic drinks; a man should serve them instead. Before pouring an alcoholic drink, one should offer it to others. All these rules referred to by interviewees in ethnographic interviews about social norms were also seen reflected in the sequences taken from the video recordings.

4.3.2 Guests and hospitality

The previous section has demonstrated that an analysis of request sequences supported by ethnographic data can reveal a system of obligations and rights in a community. Every culture has unwritten rules of social conduct that guests and hosts should be aware of (Wierzbicka 1997). The extracts presented in this current section center around the rights and obligations of guests and their hosts in a Russian community.

The following extract comes from chapter 3 (see Extract 33 in chapter 3), where it was analysed in conversation analytic terms. In Extract 48 several family members are having dinner together on the porch of a country house. One of them, the author, referred to as Julija in this transcript, was also at the table but went outside to take some pictures. She is an honoured guest visiting from abroad. Julija's uncle, Pavel, was sleeping when Julia left the table. So, at the beginning of this extract, he is unlikely to be aware of her whereabouts.

Extract 48. 20110821_Family_dinner_Country_A2_876874

- 1 Pavel ((joins the others at the table after being outside))
2 Dozhdik zamarasil [u vas
Rain-DIM drizzle-PST-PFV with you-PL
*It has started drizzling in your {village}*¹⁶
- 3 Lida [pasmatri, vyjdi iz-za: ako:li=
look go out-IMP from fen-
Take a look, go out behind the fen-,
- 4 = eh eta samae Julija pashla (pa-moemu) snimat',
INTJ PCL PCL Name went (according to me) record-INF
uh Julija went to take pictures, I think
- 5 (0.3)
6 Pavel shias (pajdu)
now will go-1SG
In a bit (I'll go)
- 7 (0.8)
8 Lida [pajdiosh?
will go-2SG
You will go?
- 9 Pavel [((goes towards the door into the house))
10 (19.8)
11 Pavel ((returns to the porch with his jacket on))
12 ((goes outside where he meets Julija))

After Pavel's utterance that it has started drizzling there, Lida instructs Pavel to go outside and take a look. Pavel accepts this reason by confirming he will go at line 6: *shias (pajdu)* 'in a bit (I'll go)'. Then Pavel goes inside, where he gets his jacket. This serves as additional evidence that the weather is not suitable for a walk. With his jacket on, Pavel leaves the porch. Outside he finds Julija and gives her a tour around the village in his car. This extract demonstrates that Pavel accepts Lida's reason—that Julija is outside taking photographs—as valid and complies with her request. To a naïve observer this might not seem reason enough to go outside into the rain. The local context must be consulted to fully understand this request sequence.

When asked what they would do if their guest from afar wants to go for a walk alone, all participants in the interviews responded they would not feel comfortable letting him/her do so (Table 11). They explained they would feel responsible for their guests if anything bad

¹⁶ Pavel's actual words are ambiguous. A rather literal translation of his words is as follows: "it has started drizzling at you". "you" is a fluid place reference. It can refer to the proximal place or the more distant one. As Pavel has just returned from outside, where he noticed that it was drizzling there. So, Pavel is not referring to the house he is in, but rather the village, where it stands.

happened to them: *"it is a big responsibility"* - said one participant. Three out of four reported the guest might get lost. The male interviewee said that once the guest is familiar with the area, he would feel more comfortable letting them go for a walk alone. One participant also pointed to the host's responsibility to offer the guest a pleasant experience of his/her stay. Preventing the guest from getting lost is one way to make sure the guest has a pleasant stay: *"They will get lost and will spend more time than needed. And the experience won't be as pleasant as it could have been"*. Although, the guest might find their way by asking people in the street, their walk would be much nicer when accompanied. The host would be able to show the sights of the area and they could simply enjoy each other's company.

Table 11. *"A friend from abroad is visiting you for the first time. They are not familiar with the area. He/she wants to go have a look at the town all by him/herself. What would your reaction be?"*

Interviewee	Response
Female 1	"I would not let them go. If I could not go myself, I would have asked my husband. If the person is staying with you, you are responsible for them."
Female 2	"I would have offered her to show her places, so that she does not get lost. I would have at least offered her to print a map. She will get lost and spend more time than needed. And her memories will not be as nice as they could have been."
Female 3	"I would ask her whether she needs escort. I can show her how and where. I would be happy to show my friend some places, for me it's also interesting to see everything one more time. Also, she can get lost. Nowadays, it is not scary to get lost, but just in case, one should offer to join her."
Male 1	"I will offer to go together, otherwise he will not return. I will show him everything, when he gets familiar with the area, he can go on his own. Also, it is nice to show something interesting. For him it will be inconvenient. He <i>will</i> find it eventually. He will ask passers by. It's not logical if he goes on his own. He's visiting you, to spend time with you."

So, Lida's request and reason rely on the cultural norm to supervise their guests, especially if they are from a different country and are not familiar with the area. People are responsible for such guests in a way that they are not responsible for the members of their own community. Arguably, Pavel's reaction would have been different if Lida had mentioned some local person walking outside in the rain. This norm is shared by the members of the community and does not have to be stated explicitly. So, when Lida mentions that the guest is outside alone, it is enough for Pavel to understand what he has to do.

While all interactions work against an unspoken background of cultural knowledge, sometimes this knowledge also surfaces in the interactions themselves. The same protective attitude towards a foreign guest is also expressed in the following extract featuring me as the guest that needs to be protected. My host Fyodor expresses his unease with me going out on my own. I am now in a different town, where I arrived just a day ago. After having set the camera up and I am about to take a walk in the unfamiliar town. In this extract and analysis I will refer to myself as Julija.

Extract 49. 20110816_Sisters_A_1_597640

- 1 Julija ((goes towards the front door, her host Fyodor is walking with her to let her out))
- 2 Fyodor ((moves towards the front door))
- 3 Jul' tol'ko vsio-taki chuzhoj gorat () guliat'-ta ni
Name-VOC only nevertheless foreign town stroll-INF NEG
Julia it is still a foreign town () going on a stroll
- 4 =zhilatil'na
desirable
is not desirable

Prior to the start of this extract, I stated that I am going outside so that my host Fyodor and his relatives can be recorded without my presence. The door is locked and Fyodor has the key to let me out. He walks behind me towards the front door. Before letting me out, Fyodor says: *Jul' tol'ko vsio-taki chuzhoj gorat () guliat'-ta ni zhilatil'na* 'Julia it is a foreign town all the same () going on a stroll is not desirable' (lines 3-4). Fyodor does not explicitly request me not to go outside, he does, however, mention a reason for me not to do so, namely that the city is foreign or unfamiliar. So, this reason serves as an indirect request for me to stay inside (Blum-Kulka 1987; Searle 1969, 1975).

Fyodor also uses an impersonal construction *ni zhilatil'no* 'it is not desirable' without specifying for whom exactly it is undesirable if I go outside alone. Such indirectness can be explained by the delicate action that Fyodor's request is performing, which is interfering with recipient's freedom of movement, and potentially challenging my authority over my own actions. More concretely, he prevents me from carrying out my plan to go for a walk. It is a delicate request to make, but as a host, Fyodor is responsible for my wellbeing during my stay. In this sense, my own behaviour prevents him from carrying out his duty.

This is also in line with Lida and Pavel's behaviour towards me in Extract 48 and with interviewees' responses. This shows that the cultural background knowledge collected in ethnographic interviews is fully in line with how participants act in interaction, further confirming the

complementarity and utility of combining interactional and ethnographic evidence.

The following extract touches upon behavioural norms for guests. The request sequence is between Sasha and the host Ksenia. When the extract starts, Ksenia is in the corridor whereas Sasha is at the dinner table. Sasha receives a call and leaves the table in the direction of the corridor.

Extract 50. 20110813_School_Friends_2_134632

- 1 Sasha ((receives a call and goes to the corridor to take it))
2 ((on the phone)) alio,
hello
- 3 (1.3)
4 ((on the phone)) alio:,
hello
- 5 (1.5)
6 ((on the phone)) alio:,
hello
- 7 (0.6)
8 Ksenia vot suda ni vyxadi=
PCL here NEG enter
Don't come here,
- 9 =tuda k akoshku [(von) idi
there to window-DIM PCL go-IMP
go there to the window-
- 10 Sasha ((on the phone)) [Natashka a ty chio gde?=
Natasha-DIM PCL you-SG what-Q where-Q
Natasha, so where are you?
- 11 Ksenia =pust' siuda idiot
let here goes
Let her come here
- 12 (0.8)
13 Sasha ((on the phone)) TY SLYSHISH MINIA?
you-SG hear-2SG me
Do you hear me? ((goes towards the window)) ←
- 14 Ksenia ana gde.
she where-Q
Where's she?
- 15 (2.3) ((Sasha looks at her mobile phone))
16 Sasha Senokosova zvani:t
Last name calls
Senokosova calls ((stands near the window))
- 17 Ksenia nu k akoshku padajdi
PCL to window-DIM go-IMP-PFV

talking in the background. So, Sasha leaving the table after receiving the call fits the expected course of actions.

Respondents stated that they would not just go to any part of the apartment to take the call. All interviewees said they would avoid private areas, such as bedrooms: "You never know, maybe there is underwear. The hostess will feel embarrassed afterwards", was one participant's response. Instead, they would choose to go to the public areas, such as to another room, kitchen, balcony, hall, or bathroom. Importantly, three respondents out of four said they would go to the corridor. That is why Ksenia's instruction for Sasha *not* to go there is surprising and should be explained.

Ksenia takes another opportunity to provide a reason at line 18. To address Sasha's resistance at line 19, Ksenia explains her request further: 'I have no reception here'. So, the request that seems to point to Sasha's wrongdoing is actually for Sasha's own benefit. Ksenia's reason provided Sasha with new information that normalised the request and lead to its acceptance.

Table 12. "A group has gathered at the table. You are at the table with the rest. Suddenly you receive a phone call. Where will you answer it?"

Interviewee	Response
Female 1	"I would excuse myself and leave the table. Usually everybody does so. One can go to the corridor, to the living room, to the balcony, to the kitchen, somewhere in the same apartment, but where there are fewer people. In my sister's house, I can go to the bedroom, but I cannot do it in the house of my friends, even good ones. Bedroom is not thought to be a public place, it's private."
Female 2	"I can get up and move away. Maybe it's going to be loud or there is a serious conversation at the table and I can interrupt it. I would leave not to cause any noise and to hear better. I could go to the corridor, to another room, to the window. The connection is better at the window. I cannot go to the bedroom. There can be a mess. it is private space."
Female 3	"It depends who is calling. If it's work, then I can leave the table and go to another room, to the bathroom or the corridor. I would not go to the bedroom. It's a private place. It's only for the ones who sleep there. Who knows, maybe, underwear is lying there. The hostess will be embarrassed afterwards."
Male 1	"I will leave and excuse myself to not interrupt the ongoing talk at the table. My telephone call will distract them from their conversation. I would go to the neighbouring room, to the kitchen, to the corridor, for instance, where I won't disturb anyone, to the hall or the balcony. I would not go to the bedroom. Maybe they have underwear lying there or other things."

The role of the host brings various responsibilities. If your guest comes from afar and is not familiar in the new area, you are responsible

for your guests' safety. Ensuring his or her pleasant stay is also one of your responsibilities. On the other side, guests also have to follow certain rules of conduct. For one thing, the fact that they are invited for dinner does not mean they are invited to the entire house. There are certain areas guests are allowed to enter, e.g. the bathroom, kitchen, balcony, corridor, but there are also areas that are only for the hosts, e.g. the hosts' bedroom.

4.3.3 Family and children

Many requests in the corpus on which this study draws involve transfer of objects. Most of the time, the object being transferred is of little monetary or emotional value, for instance, food, cutlery, napkins, drinks and the like. In this section I will present extracts that involve transfer of something much more valuable – a child.

Maria is holding her baby girl. Her husband Dima approaches them and makes a request that Maria gives him their child (Figure 25).

Extract 51. 20110817_Family_dinner_B_2_185952

- | | | |
|---|-------|---|
| 1 | Dima | ((approaches Maria)) |
| 2 | | davaj
give-IMP-IMPFV
give {her to me} |
| 3 | Maria | ((shifts her hands towards baby's flanks)) |
| 4 | Dima | ((reaches for the baby and lifts her)) |
| 5 | | ((sits down at the table)) |



Figure 25. Dima requests that Maria gives him their baby.

This request sequence is brief. Maria is sitting at the table holding her child. Her husband Dima approaches and says: *davaj* 'give {her to me}' at line 2. He uses the imperfective variant of the verb for 'give' *davaj*, that might be expected in an on-going joint activity, where it has the meaning of providing permission for an action to occur (Benacchio 2002a). This imperfective imperative conveys a stronger sense of entitlement than its perfective counterpart does. This can be expected when requester and requestee are involved in a joint activity and therefore

share the responsibility over the “object” to be transferred (Rossi 2012; Zinken and Ogiermann 2013). Extract 51, however, does not provide any evidence that a joint activity was established. The shared responsibility expressed in Dima’s request has its source in something else. Some of this is hinted at by specifying the relationship between Dima and Maria, but note that from the transcript alone, we would not know this. Ethnography can help us to explore these social relations and associated responsibilities and expectations. His relationship to the child as her father and is also related to the cultural expectations for the role of a father.

Participants in the interviews had to answer the following question: “you are holding your child when a passer-by approaches you and asks your permission to hold the baby. What are your actions?” All four participants replied that they would not give the baby to a complete stranger (see Table 13). “Nobody would ever do so,” replied one of the female interviewees. “A normal parent won’t give his/her child [to a stranger],” replied another. Two out of four participants explained that one does not know what to expect from a stranger: “maybe they will take the baby and run away.” “I wouldn’t trust {him/her}”, said another one. “He/she might drop the child or run away.”

About five minutes later, a similar situation occurs as in Extract 51, but this time, it is the grandmother of the child who takes the baby from the baby’s father (the father is not visible in Figure 26, he is sitting to Maria’s right).

Extract 52. 20110817_Family_dinner_B_2_536934

- 1 Inna ((enters the room and goes to Dima))
 2 [davay Dim (eyo)
 give-IMP-IMPV Name-VOC (her)
give (her) {to me} Dima
 3 [((stretches both arms in Dima's direction))
 4 ((takes the baby from her father's arms and leaves the room together with her))



Figure 26. Inna requests that Dima gives her the baby.

Inna's request at line 1 is almost identical to Dima's request from the previous extract. Inna only says *davay Dim (eyo)* "give (her), Dima." Then she reaches to take the child before Dima produces any response or shows any signs of compliance. This indicates that she does not expect any resistance from Dima, suggesting her entitlement to make such a request (Curl and Drew 2008; Zinken and Ogiermann 2013; Ogiermann 2015). Moreover, when Inna gets the baby in her arms, she leaves the room without explaining where she is going to or why. The parents do not display disagreement with her behaviour.

All interviewees agreed that only a baby's relatives, such as grandparents, uncles and aunts can take the child from their parents. Interviewees answered that close family members can be trusted to not do any harm to the child. When additionally examining video recordings involving children, I observe that parents, and grandparents are indeed the only ones who hold them and take care of them. On one occasion, a baby was briefly held by his great-aunt (this is illustrated in Extract 53) and his older sister. Parents and grandparents, however, not only hold them, but also entertain them, dress and feed them.

Table 13. "A parent holds his baby in his arms. A passer-by approaches him/her and asks to hold the baby. What would you do if you were the parent in this situation?"

Interviewee	Response
Female 1	"It depends on the passer-by. If it's just a passer-by, then I would not have given him the child. Nobody would ever have done so. If it's someone I know and have a good relationship with, then I would give the child to that person. To the grandmother, aunt, uncle, of course, I would give the child. To strangers not in any case."
Female 2	"A normal parent will never give the child to a stranger. If it is a good acquaintance, then it's possible. If it's the grandmother or an aunt, then of course."
Female 3	"Well, if it's someone I know well, then I would give the child to him or her. If it is someone I do not really know well, then one can say "another time." Even if it's a good friend or a relative, but the child is restless, then the child is usually with his/her parents. If it's a stranger, then I would not give the child to him or her. Who knows, I would not trust this person. Maybe he/she will drop the child or take it away somewhere."
Male 1	"I would not give the child to someone I do not know. Maybe he or she will take the child and run away. If it's someone I know and the child reaches to that person, then I would give the child to that person. If it's a relative, then it is a normal thing to let them hold the child. You know how they will react. They will not do any harm to the child."

In the previous two examples the requests to hold the baby were minimal in form, which can be explained by requesters' entitlement to

hold the child (Ogiermann 2015; Curl and Drew 2008). By contrast, in the following extract the requester seems to be less entitled. Tanya, the mother of the baby boy, is dressing him in a winter overall to go home. Tanya's aunt Lida stands up and makes a request to hold the baby.

Extract 53. 20120202_Cooking_2_2062543

- 1 Tanya ((finishes dressing her son))
 2 ((stands up and lifts him))
 3 Lida ^Zhurik
 Nick Name
 4 £^daj [ja tibia xot' padirzu nimnoska na ru:chkax£
 give-IMP-PFV I you at least hold-1SG bit-ADV-DIM on arms-DIM
£Let me hold you just for a very little while in {my} arms£
 5 Tanya (((fixes boy's hood))
 6 Lida £ [idi [idi idi: £
 come-IMP-IMPV come-IMP-IMPV come-IMP-IMPV
£Come {here} come {here} come {here}£
 7 (((head shakes to the left and to the right))
 8 Tanya (((approaches Lida))
 9 Lida £ [idi idi [idi: £
 come-IMP-IMPV come-IMP-IMPV come-IMP-IMPV
£Come {here} come {here} come {here}£
 10 (((Repetitive head shakes to the left and to the right))
 11 Tanya (((looks at her child))
 12 (0.6)
 13 Lida i:[di: moj zalatoj
 come-IMP-PFV my-M golden-M
Come {here} my golden one
 14 (((Lida takes the boy and Tanya releases him))

Tanya has just finished putting winter overalls on her little son, who is approximately one year old. This is the last chance for Lida to hold the baby before he and his parents leave. Lida does not direct her request towards Tanya as might be expected, but towards the boy himself. However, Tanya is holding her baby in her arms and is also responsible for baby's movements.

Lida's request is formulated as a request for permission (lines 3-4): *£Let me hold you just for a little while in {my} arms£*. Lida uses various properties of the so-called infant-directed speech, or in other words “baby talk” (Cooper and Aslin 1990; Stern, Spieker, and MacKain 1982). She accompanies her request by repetitive headshakes, which seem to exaggerate her visual prosody to attract and maintain boy's attention (Smith and Strader 2014). Additionally, she makes her request with a smile voice and an imitation of children's pronunciation: *padirzhu*

nimnoshka 'hold for a little while' is pronounced as *padirzu nimnoska*. The content of the request emphasises that Lida is going to hold the child only briefly. She emphasises it even more by using the diminutive form *nimnoshka* 'a very little while' as opposed to *nimnoga* 'a little while'. Then the repetitive *come {here}* follows (lines 9). The use of diminutives and repetitions forms a common in baby talk. There is indeed evidence that infants show more interest in infant-directed speech than in adult-directed speech (Pegg, Werker, and McLeod 1992).

It seems that both Lida and Tanya orient to the baby's own desire to go to Lida or not. As just described, Lida is making her request as attractive as possible. At line 11 Tanya looks at her child in what seems to be an attempt to see his response to Lida's request. Lida finally takes the boy in her arms at line 14. This is in contrast with two previous extracts, where requests were less elaborate and did not seem to be concerned with the child's wishes. Additionally, this is in contrast with request for object transfer, where the object obviously cannot have wishes and preferences. Two of the four interviewees mentioned the child's reaction as of some importance for their decision to give their baby to someone or not. It might be indicative of the boy in Extract 53 not being familiar with Lida to the same extent as the girl in Extract 51 and Extract 52 is familiar with her father and grandmother.

So, when it comes to the relationship between an adult and a child, there are certain rules of conduct that might be so obvious that they might even escape the analyst's eye. For example, that parents have shared responsibility over their child. This is also reflected in how a request is construed: its format and the amount of information that it contains. When a man approaches a woman and requests that the woman gives him the child with "give {her to me}", immediately the interpretation arises that this woman and this man are this child's parents who are entitled to making such a request. The question arises whether this interpretation is triggered by the observed interaction alone.

This issue was also discussed by Sacks in his classic lecture on a story told by a young child "the baby cried, the mommy picked it up". Sacks argues that when members of the community hear this story, they do not construe it as "some baby" was picked up by "some mommy", but that these story characters are related to each other, so, it is that baby's mother who picked it up (Sacks 1992, p. 223). This relation is not overtly present in the child's story, but it is how the hearers interpret this story using their member knowledge. This interpretation comes from the cultural expectation that parents care for their children and calm them down when they are in distress. To Sacks, cultural knowledge is used in two ways: 1) to generate actions that are recognisable to the recipients and 2) to interpret actions performed by others. As Sacks put it: "A

culture is an apparatus for generating recognizable actions; if the same procedures are used for generating as for detecting, that is perhaps as simple a solution to the problem of recognizability as is formulatable” (Sacks 1992, 226).

4.4 Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter has investigated the added value of ethnographic information in the analysis of requests in Russian interaction. Requests are intertwined with socio-cultural norms and expectations held in the given society. The examples presented in this chapter pose a problem of interpretation a request that a direct analysis of the observable features of an interaction alone cannot resolve.

In this chapter I presented a version of Moerman’s culturally contexted conversation analysis (CCCA). In Moerman’s version of CCCA, ethnography and conversation are heavily intertwined. Conversational phenomena are immediately enriched by the ethnographic analysis. So, ethnography forms the basis in Moerman’s analysis with which conversation analysis is subsequently performed. The analysis that I have presented in this chapter can be seen as involving a reversed processes: first the data is examined using conversation analytic techniques yielding conversational patterns and rules and only then the same patterns are subjected to an ethnographic inquiry. More specifically, various request sequences were selected and analysed using the conventional conversational analytic techniques. These request sequences served as the basis for the ethnographic interviews with the members of the community. Not all requests were directly incorporated in the interview questions, but the recurrent themes were: e.g. hosting and visiting, distribution of food, drinks, dishes and cutlery. The interview questions served as a starting point for a further discussion of the cultural expectations concerning these themes. So, instead of combining ethnographic and conversational data, I used them as two independent methods.

To some extent, every researcher of interaction uses cultural knowledge when analysing their data, but often they do not make this explicit. Only some of this background information is provided as an introduction to the data extracts. The biggest part of the background information remains implicit because the participants, researcher and the reader are assumed to already have access to it. The information about Russian speakers’ orientations to interactional norms uncovered through ethnographic interviews provides the missing element that complements what can be observed in request sequences, ensuring a deeper

understanding of the request sequences and explaining their appropriateness in the given setting.

Ethnographic interviews made visible what usually remains invisible in the recordings – members' own interpretations and judgments of the interactions involving socio-cultural rules and norms. This information was subsequently directly linked to the request sequences and added to the existing analysis. The examples presented here, demonstrate that interview data complemented and explained conversation analytic findings. Ethnographic data corresponded well with the conversational data proving that this method is robust and useful for the study not only of reason-giving, but also of other interactional phenomena.

Ethnographic interviews provide information necessary for a full understanding of a request sequence. They explain why requests were made, why the reason was or was not provided, what actions the requests performed, and partly even why they were delivered in a particular format. Additionally, when a request was produced with a reason, ethnographic background information helped to explain how the request and the reason relate to each other. Cultural norms and rules behind requests might also indicate what it entails to reject a request. Sometimes, it does not only mean disregard of the requester, but also of the common-sense logic and the entire order of things in the given society. Rejecting a culturally appropriate request (as the ones from Extract 44, Extract 45) might have social consequences for the recipients of the request, but also for their relatives as they are partially responsible for person's upbringing and socialisation.

A combination of ethnographic and corpus data demonstrate that participants' behaviour is not determined by the observable elements of conversation alone. Background cultural norms, values, and customs play an important role in request sequences, affecting their relevance, format, and compliance. Understanding a piece of conversational data is a challenging task even for the members of the same community (as the pilot studies in this chapter proved), requiring background knowledge about the participants, their mutual relationships, the goal of the gathering and the like. So, we as investigators of interaction should not underestimate the interpretational input that we bring into our analyses in the form of cultural and contextual knowledge. Accumulating common ground with our participants and using this knowledge for the study of interaction is a necessary part of our job. However, this is also a part that should be made more objective and reliable. For this purpose, analysis of conversation in combination with ethnographic interviews can be used.

5 Calling for reasons: a breaching experiment

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I used interviews to explicate the taken-for-granted role of shared cultural background in the business of requesting in casual interaction. In the current chapter I will use a different technique that allows us to bring to surface sociolinguistic rules that we all know about and make use of everyday, often without being aware of them. Chapter 5 takes the rules of reason-giving presented in chapter 3 and investigates what happens when these rules are not followed and a reason is not provided when it is normatively due. This is a way to test the rules of reason-giving in a more controlled environment. This is also an opportunity to observe the techniques that speakers use to restore equilibrium in interaction after these rules are violated. Based on previous research and data collections presented in chapter 2, my expectation is that participants will solicit reasons when they are withheld.

The argumentative theory of reasoning states that the main function of human reasoning is to convince and persuade others. However, it does not specify what happens when something goes wrong in the process, when, for instance, the speakers do not provide reasons for their behaviour when it is normatively expected. Asking *why* seems the most obvious solution. However, the use of direct why-interrogatives is said to be limited to conversational environments that are disaffiliative, such as in complaining, arguing, criticizing, and disagreeing. In these contexts, explicit why-questions convey speaker's negative stance towards recipient's conduct (Atkinson and Heritage 1984; Schegloff 2007, 2005; Robinson and Bolden 2010; Bolden and Robinson 2011).

Previous chapters mainly analyse reasons in the context of request sequences. Although giving reasons was sometimes contingent on requestees' responses, it stands out that requestees never called for reasons with an explicit *why?* (see chapters 2, 3). Instead, responses incompatible with compliance (i.e. rejections) or responses that delay compliance (repair initiations, clarification questions and absence of the relevant response) elicited reasons from the requester.

This chapter investigates how participants in casual interaction solicit reasons from others, with a focus on formats and sequential structure of reason solicitations. Speakers orient to explicit why-questions

as disaffiliative actions. They tend to avoid asking *why* in a direct manner and implement the more tacit practices first. For Russian and English, such practices included withholding a response and initiating a repair in an attempt to elicit a reason from the speaker (Robinson and Bolden 2010). Indirect strategies such as repair initiations, information questions, and problem statements are all able to elicit speakers' reasons (see chapters 2 and 3). They return the conversational floor to the other, providing a conversational slot for an explanation (Antaki 1996). When these indirect practices fail at eliciting a reason, explicit why-questions are employed.

This suggests a conversational preference for speakers to provide their own reasons. In fact, recipients of requests in chapter 3 never called for reasons with the direct why-interrogatives that exist in Russian, such as *pachemu* 'why', *zachem* 'what for' and *a chio.*'and/but what'. That chapter also proposed the normative principle that speakers should provide a reason for their behaviour when it is not self-explanatory. In the current chapter, I will examine what happens when this principle is deliberately violated. Considering the dispreferred character of reason solicitations, the questions that I target here are: Do recipients call for reasons when they are withheld? And if yes, how do they do it?

5.2 Breaching experiment

Corpus data provide an excellent possibility for an investigation of people's behaviour in interaction, where real relationships are at stake. This type of data, however, has some limitations. Participants in ordinary interaction have to follow the rules of social conduct. Even a large corpus might not be able to provide a sufficient number of examples for the study of the practices that are considered dispreferred in interaction. Social breaches happen, but interactants actively seek to repair them and restore the usual order of things. This means that deviations from the norm are usually solved with indirect strategies (e.g. withholding a response or initiating a repair) without resorting to the direct ones (e.g. explicit why-questions).

Garfinkel, the founder of the field of Ethnomethodology, studied the subject of implicit social rules that members of a given community know, but cannot verbalise. His attempts to reveal such rules resulted in what is now known as breaching experiments. Garfinkel's procedure was basically "to start with familiar scenes and ask what can be done to make trouble" (Garfinkel 1964). This method involves violation of a social norm while remaining in a relatively natural conversational environment with real and directly observable social consequences for the participants (Garfinkel 1964; 1967; Heritage 1984 b). The response to this 'breach'

can be studied for what it reveals about the implicit social norms people follow.

Chapters 3 and 4 demonstrate that participants in interaction are sensitive to the absence of a reason or explanatory context. Recipients of requests tend to use indirect strategies to elicit reasons from the requesters. Presumably, because these are effective, requestees do not usually resort to more direct strategies in the form of why-interrogatives, such as *why* and *what for*. We can generalise that a reason should be provided when behaviour is not self-explanatory. If the reason is *not* given, the recipients will request one. They will use indirect strategies first, followed by the more direct ones.

The aim of this chapter is two-fold: 1) to understand when reasons are solicited and at which point in the sequence; and 2) to investigate the formats people use to solicit reasons. Additionally, this chapter attempts to investigate the use of repair as a reason solicitation in more detail, namely whether its function as a reason solicitation is different from its function as an expression of surprise.

A breaching experiment combines the advantages of experimental and qualitative methods. It allows the study of a phenomenon in an environment that maximally resembles a natural conversation while providing a degree of experimental control. The researcher has control over the context in which the breach is introduced, but also over the nature of the breach and its timing in interaction. Breaching experiments enable comparison of recipients' responses across multiple experimental conditions in a relatively short time, where recipients' behaviour is observable rather than self-reported as with questionnaires. Participants' responses may reveal the existence of social rules that might be difficult to notice otherwise in conversational data. In this chapter, I compare recipients' responses to questions that do not require an explanation with those that do require one.

5.3 Method

The breaching experiment took place over the phone using a recording device that was connected to the caller's mobile phone via blue tooth. Recorded telephone conversations are a well-established source of data in the study of human interaction (Schegloff 1968; Clark 1979; Sacks 1989; Sacks 1992). So, the general structure of a telephone call is well understood (Luke and Pavlidou 2002). Although there are cultural differences in the particularities of how telephone conversation is played out, its general structure seems to be well defined and similar across many cultures (Luke and Pavlidou 2002; Hopper and Koleilat-Doany 1989).

Several features of a telephone conversation make it the method of choice for the current breaching experiment. The predictable structure of (at least the openings of) a telephone conversation provides the researcher with a great degree of control over the environment enabling the caller to engage in comparable conversations with multiple participants. Related to this, it allows introduction of the breach at the same point in the conversation. Finally, a breaching experiment over the phone is performed more efficiently than in a face-to-face setting, resulting in a relatively large amount of data in a relatively small amount of time.

For the purpose of the current breaching experiment, my special interest lies in the openings of the telephone conversations. The openings of the telephone calls are the best studied part with the clearest structure when compared to their middle sections and closing (Schegloff 1986). Canonically, a telephone call starts with a ring that serves as summons for the recipient to respond. Then the so-called identification-recognition sequence follows, where the caller self-identifies or gets recognised by the recipient. An exchange of greetings makes the next step in the structure of a telephone conversation. The opening is usually concluded with the *how-are-you* inquiries. After the opening is successfully accomplished, the reason for the call is introduced (Sacks 1992, 773–80). The reason has to be given because calling someone is an accountable action or, in other words, it happens for a reason (Schegloff 1968; Schegloff and Sacks 1973).

The author and her Russian-speaking assistants (further also referred to as callers) made telephone calls to their Russian-speaking friends and relatives. The assistants were recruited via advertisements and the author's personal network in the Netherlands and Lithuania. They were author's family members, teachers at the Russian schools in Nijmegen and Hengelo in the Netherlands, and students at the Radboud University in Nijmegen, the Netherlands. In total, eleven female and two male callers participated in this study. The only requirement for them was to be fluent in Russian and to have Russian-speaking contacts whom they could call. The number of successful calls per caller varied from 2 to 41. The total number of telephone calls made in this study is 112, involving 72 female and 29 male call takers. Eleven conversations were excluded from the analysis due to hearing problems or unforeseen deviations from the script. The caller was free to decide whom to call, as long as the call taker was a native or near-native speaker of Russian.

Callers followed the scripts as closely as possible. The general structure of the telephone conversations was identical across all experimental conditions (Table 14). The summons was followed by the caller's self-identification and greetings. Then, deviating from the canonical structure of a telephone conversation as reported earlier, the

caller performed a hearing check. The hearing check was necessary for several reasons. First, following the script is difficult when the connection is bad. If the recipient is experiencing such problems on the phone, it might be better to break off the call and make it another time. Second, if the connection is bad, repair would be expected anyway, which makes it hard to analyse its possible role in reason solicitations. Finally, the hearing check comes at the place where the *how-are-you* inquiry normatively takes place. The hearing check was used to postpone this normative part of the call (Schegloff 1968; Luke and Pavlidou 2002). Replacing the *how-are-you* inquiry, the hearing check concludes the conversation opening allowing the caller to move to the following step in the conversation: formulating the reason-for-call (Sacks 1992, 773–80).

Table 14. *General structure of the telephone calls.*

Summons-answer	Recipient picks up the phone and says: "hello"
Greetings and self-identification	A: "Hello it's X calling." B: Hello X. (How are you?)
Hearing check	A: "Do you hear me well? Because I've been having problems with my phone lately." B: "Yes, I hear you well"/ no I don't hear you well.
Reason for the call	A: "Well, anyway, I'm calling you to ask you a question". Asks one of the five questions from (Table 15, see below). B: Answers the question.
Debriefing	A: Explanation of the experiment, permission to use data.

The *reason-for-call* is the crucial part of the conversation because it contains the experimental manipulation. Recipients heard one of the five reasons for the call resulting in five experimental groups or conditions (see Table 15). After the recipient of the call provided an answer to the question, the caller's task was to create an interactional opportunity for the recipient to produce a *why*-interrogative (or a functional equivalent) in *all* conditions. For this purpose the caller could deploy several strategies: refrain from talking in response to recipient's utterance, produce a news receipt (e.g. *I see*; *that's great*) (Heritage 1984 a) or a continuer (e.g. *uhum?*; *okay*) (Schegloff 1982). Finally, the conversation entered the debriefing phase. This is the place where the caller provided an explanation about the experiment and asked the recipient's permission to save and use the recording for research. The recipients were referred to a website, where they could read more about the study, ask questions, or change their decision to participate. If the recipient declined to participate, the researcher immediately deleted the recording. This happened once in this study. In what follows, I will

describe the experimental conditions with the scripts that the callers used during the experiment.

Table 15. *Overview of the breaching experiment structure.*

Condition	Question	N
I	I've called you to ask how are you?	19
II	I've called you to ask do you have friends in Minsk.	21
III	I've called you to ask a rather unexpected question, do you have friends in Minsk?	21
IV	I've called you because a friend of mine is going to Minsk and needs advice about where to stay there. Do you have friends in Minsk?	20
V	I've called you to ask a rather unexpected question. A friend of mine is going to Minsk and needs advice about where to stay there. Do you have friends in Minsk?	20
	<i>Total</i>	<i>101</i>

First, the baseline condition involves a routine *how-are-you* question formulated as the reason for calling. It means that in this experiment this question did not function as a closing-off of the call opening. However, still, as a part of the canonical structure of a telephone conversation, this question is expected by the recipient and requires no explanation (Schegloff 1986; Taleghani-Nikazm 2002; Luke and Pavlidou 2002). The hypothesised response to this question is a plain answer. Recipients' responses to this question form the baseline against which responses to other conditions can be compared. Extract 54 illustrates the script for a telephone call with the baseline question, as used by the researcher and her assistants. Certain utterances are in brackets. They indicate that the caller should be ready to use these utterances, but they might not always be needed.

Extract 54. Condition I - Baseline question

- 1 Recipient Hello
- 2 Caller Hi, it's X calling.
- 3 Recipient Hi. (How are you?)
- 4 Caller (I'm fine). Do you hear me well because I've been having problems with the sound lately?
- 5 Recipient I hear you well. (I don't hear you well).
- 6 Caller Great. (I see, well, nothing to do about it). Well, I've called you to ask how are you?
- 7 Recipient I'm fine.
- 8 Caller I see, Ok.
- 9 Recipient And you?¹⁷

¹⁷ Elaborations on previous answer are also possible.

- 10 Caller I've actually called you for a friend of mine who's conducting an experiment. She studies how people react to various questions. Our conversation has been recorded. Do you give your permission to use the recording in her study?
- 11 Recipient yes I do. (No I don't)
- 12 Caller thank you. You can find more information about this study on www.vk.com/doktorant. Goodbye.
(Fine, we'll immediately delete this recording. Thank you anyway, goodbye)

The opening is roughly the same for each telephone conversation. Each call starts with the recipient picking up the phone followed by greetings and caller's self-identification. Then the caller enquires about the quality of the connection: *do you hear me well, because I'm having problems with the sound lately?* As mentioned earlier, it comes at the place where the *how-are-you* inquiry normatively takes place. Replacing it with the hearing check enables the caller to subsequently formulate their *how-are-you* question as the main purpose of the call: *Well I called you to ask how are you.* The caller was instructed to wait for recipient's answer to the question and then respond with a news receipt similar to: *Oh I see* or *Oh that's great.* Such a response provides the call taker with an opportunity to solicit a reason in the next turn. In the baseline condition, recipients usually provided elaborations on their previous answer or inquired about caller's affairs. In response to this, the caller provides an explanation of the experiment and secures recipient's informed consent.

For other experimental conditions, the hearing check closes the opening section of the call off moving the conversation towards the reason for calling. The second condition involves what I will further call the target question formulated as the reason for calling: *Do you have friends in Minsk?* This question was chosen based on several criteria: 1) it is comprehensible and answerable on its own, even without a reason provided; 2) it is reasonable to assume that Minsk is a familiar city name to all recipients; 3) the recipients can potentially respond to the question with both a positive and a negative answer; 4) this question is not too strange to ask as opposed to some questions from the conducted pilot experiments (for an explanation for this see the section below, which describes various pilot experiments conducted prior to the current study).

The questions *Do you have friends in Minsk* is not a ritualised part of a telephone call and does not get introduced or explained in any way by the caller. In other words, this question breaches the norm that prescribes the speaker to provide a reason for conduct when it is not self-evident. Potential responses to the target question are thus repair initiations and reason solicitations.

Extract 55. Condition II: Target question.

- 1 B Hello
- 2 A Hi, it's X calling.
- 3 B Hi. (How are you?)
- 4 A (I'm fine). Do you hear me well because I've been having problems with the sound lately?
- 5 B I hear you well. (I don't hear you well).
- 6 A Great. (I see, well, nothing to do about it). Well, I've called you to ask do you have {any} friends in Minsk?
- 7 B In Minsk?
- 8 A Yes, in Minsk.
- 9 B No, I don't. (Yes I do.)
- 10 A Oh, I see. (That's great.)
- 11 B Why are you asking?¹⁸
- 12 A I've actually called you for a friend of mine who's conducting an experiment. She studies how people react to various questions. Our conversation has been recorded. Do you give your permission to use the recording in her study?
- 13 B yes I do. (No I don't)
- 14 A thank you. You can find more information about this study on www.vk.com/doktorant. Goodbye.
(Fine, we'll immediately delete this recording. Thank you anyway. goodbye)

After the recipient's response to the target question, the caller is instructed to reply with a news receipt, such as *Oh, I see*, which returns the conversational floor to the recipient. The recipient is then expected to initiate a repair and/or ask for caller's reasons with, for instance, a direct why-interrogative: *why are you asking?*

In the third condition, the caller combines the target question with the "unexpectedness warning" - *I've called you to ask a rather unexpected question*. This condition addresses the possibility that repair initiations target utterances that are out-of-place or surprising, rather than the ones that require a reason. If this is the case, the "unexpectedness warning" should eliminate repair initiations as responses but not necessarily reason solicitations.

Extract 56. Condition III: Unexpectedness warning-Target question

- 1 B Hello
- 2 A Hi, it's X calling.
- 3 B Hi. (How are you?)
- 4 A (I'm fine). Do you hear me well because I've been having problems with the sound lately?
- 5 B I hear you well. (I don't hear you well).
- 6 A Great. (I see, well, nothing to do about it). Well, I've called you because I have a rather unexpected question to ask. Do you have {any} friends in Minsk?

¹⁸ A why-interrogative is strongly expected here. That is why it is not placed in brackets.

- 7 B (In Minsk?)
 8 A (Yes, in Minsk.)
 9 B No, I don't. (Yes I do.)
 10 A Oh, I see. (That's great.)
 11 B Why are you asking?
 12 A I've actually called you for a friend of mine who's conducting an experiment. She studies how people react to various questions. Our conversation has been recorded. Do you give your permission to use the recording in her study?
 13 B yes I do. (No I don't)
 14 A thank you. You can find more information about this study on www.vk.com/doktorant. Goodbye.
 (Fine, we'll immediately delete this recording. Thank you anyway. Goodbye)

The caller should be ready for different kinds of responses, including repair initiations. When the recipient provides a fitted answer to the target question, the caller is instructed to produce a news receipt or a continuer to return the conversational floor to the recipient of the call. This might occasion the recipient's reason solicitations.

In the fourth condition, the caller introduces the target question by a reason - *I've called you because a friend of mine is going to Minsk and needs advice about where to stay there*. As the caller provides a reason for asking the question, the recipient is not likely to solicit one. The recipient, however, might still produce a repair initiation.

Extract 57. Condition IV: Reason-Target question

- 1 B Hello
 2 A Hi, it's X calling.
 3 B Hi. (How are you?)
 4 A (I'm fine). Do you hear me well because I've been having problems with the sound lately?
 5 B I hear you well. (I don't hear you well).
 6 A Great. (I see, well, nothing to do about it). Well, I've called you because a friend of mine is going to Minsk and needs advice about where to stay there. Do you have {any} friends in Minsk?
 7 B (In Minsk?)
 8 A (Yes, in Minsk.)
 9 B No, I don't. (Yes I do.)
 10 A Oh, I see. (That's great.)
 11 B Why are you asking?
 12 A I've actually called you for a friend of mine who's conducting an experiment. She studies how people react to various questions. Our conversation has been recorded. Do you give your permission to use the recording in her study?
 13 B yes I do. (No I don't)
 14 A thank you. You can find more information about this study on www.vk.com/doktorant. Goodbye.

(Fine, we'll immediately delete this recording. Thank you anyway.
Goodbye)

The callers already provided a reason for their question themselves, so, no reason solicitations are expected in this condition. The caller, however, does provide the recipient with a slot to ask *why*.

In the final fifth condition, the caller prefaces the target question with both the unexpectedness warning and the reason. Responses to this question should be proper answers to the question and by this comparable to the expected responses in the baseline condition.

Extract 58. Condition V: Unexpectedness warning-Reason-Target question

- 1 B Hello
2 A Hi, it's X calling.
3 B Hi. (How are you?)
4 A (I'm fine). Do you hear me well because I've been having problems with the sound lately?
5 B I hear you well. (I don't hear you well).
6 A Great. (I see, well, nothing to do about it). Well, I've called you to ask a rather unexpected question. A friends of mine is going to Minsk and needs advice about where to stay there. Do you have {any} friends in Minsk?
7 B (In Minsk?)
8 A (Yes, in Minsk.)
9 B No, I don't. (Yes I do.)
10 A Oh, I see. (That's great.)
11 B Why are you asking?
12 A I've actually called you for a friend of mine who's conducting an experiment. She studies how people react to various questions. Our conversation has been recorded. Do you give your permission to use the recording in her study?
13 B yes I do. (No I don't)
14 A thank you. You can find more information about this study on www.vk.com/doktorant. Goodbye.
(Fine, we'll immediately delete this recording. Thank you anyway.
Goodbye)

This condition deals with all possible problems that the target question might elicit. So, the expected response is a straightforward answer, comparable to the responses in the baseline condition. Nevertheless, the caller again provides the recipient with a slot to solicit a reason.

The above-described scripts are based on several pilot studies, where various problems were identified and addressed in the final version of the experiment. The first pilot study involved a face-to-face service encounter between the researcher and waiters of various cafes and restaurants in the city of Chelyabinsk, Russia. The researcher ordered coffee with salt assuming that the recipient would inquire about the

reasons behind such an unusual order. Perhaps constrained by their role as service providers, the waiters rarely expressed their surprise in response. The responses that the researcher's order received were repair initiations (e.g. *'coffee with salt?'*), inquiries about how the salt should be served (*'would you like it on the side or in the salt shaker?'*), and plain compliance. Making an audio or video recording in this setting turned out to be problematic as the recording had initially to be concealed from the participants. A hidden audio recording device, however, delivered recordings of poor quality and was problematic ethically.

To test a telephone set-up, several pilot calls were made. The researcher called shops and restaurants in Russia asking various questions: *'what kind of flooring do you have in your shop/restaurant?'* or *'are you sitting or standing right now?'* Again, the recipients simply answered the questions without asking *why*. This again seems to fit the service encounter context where the service providers are restricted by their role in what they can say or do.

The decision was made to conduct another pilot study in the region of Chelyabinsk in a non-service encounter setting. The researcher and several assistants called their friends and family via Skype asking them the question: *'do you know someone who has pigs?'* Since some people in this region do keep pigs, it was expected that reason solicitations and proper answers would be possible responses in this context. This set-up did result in reason solicitations, but also in many repair initiations. The callers found it even difficult to get through the repair initiation phase because the recipients did not seem to take the question seriously. Furthermore, the Skype-recorder that was used resulted in recordings of poor quality. Sometimes only the caller's voice was captured on the recording. Finally, the callers noticed delays in the connection, which delivered overlaps and repair initiations. A final pilot study was conducted to test a different recording device and at the same time a different, less surprising, question than the one inquiring about pigs. This pilot was successful and the recordings were used for the analysis in the actual study.

The just-described pilot studies also revealed some recurrent problems that the callers encountered in following the scripts. In the first version of the scripts, the callers did not introduce themselves, assuming recipients' recognition of the voice. When the recipients failed to recognise the callers, they tended to inquire about their identity and they did it at the most crucial place of the script - in response to the target question. This obviously affected their subsequent response to the target question when the identity issue was solved. Finally, assistants found it difficult not to provide reasons when they are normatively expected.

Instead of offering the recipient a conversational slot to solicit a reason, the assistants rushed into the debriefing phase.

Based on the pilots, several conclusions were drawn. First, the experiment is best performed over the telephone to enable quicker data collection and to achieve a better control over the environment. Second, the target question should not be too strange because such questions tend to elicit repair initiations regardless of the experimental condition. This breaching experiment seems to only work when the caller and the recipient know each other. Attempts to conduct a similar experiment in a service-encounter setting failed to elicit reason solicitations, most likely due to the status differences between the researcher and the recipient. Furthermore, Skype appeared unsuitable for the purpose of this experiment because it allows no control over the connection and delays, which make the recordings unreliable. Importantly, not offering a reason when it is required turned out to be challenging for the assistants. They need to be encouraged to refrain from talking so that the recipient gets a chance to solicit a reason. Finally, the scripts should make sure that the identity of the caller is clear before the reason for the call is introduced to prevent that the recipient interrupts the flow of the call to ask who is calling.

Assistants received training from the researcher until they mastered the scripts and could respond to the potential deviations from it without compromising the design of the experiment. As a way of training, the procedure was played out with the author in the role of the call taker. Assistants were presented with various responses to test their familiarity with the scripts and their ability to deviate from it without compromising the main structure. The author was always present when assistants made the calls and intervened when required. For instance, the researcher sometimes encouraged them to hold a longer pause or helped the assistants to find their track in the script.

Linking call recipients to the scripts was done at random. The breaching experiment has a between-subjects design with the type of the question as the independent variable (qualitative: Question I, II, III, IV, V) and the immediate response as the dependent variable (qualitative: response type (proper answer, repair initiation, direct reason solicitation)).

This section has provided an overview of how the breaching experiment was designed and carried out. The following section offers results and analysis of the actual telephone conversations. First, I will discuss the sequential structure of the recipients' responses in various experimental conditions. Next, I will discuss the formats that the recipients used to solicit a reason from the caller. Finally, quantitative results will be presented.

5.4 Results

5.4.1 Sequential structure

This section will focus on the recurring sequences observed in the telephone conversations. The basic structure of a telephone conversation that emerged in this breaching experiment includes three types of responses to the baseline and the various variants of the target question: repair initiations, fitted answers, and reason solicitations. While a fitted answer was a response present in all telephone calls, repair initiations and reason solicitations were not always encountered.

5.4.1.1 Condition I: *How are you?*

The preferred response to a question is a response that provides an answer to it (Schegloff 1968; Stivers and Robinson 2006; Enfield, Stivers, and Levinson 2010). When comparing recipients' responses, only the baseline question *How are you?* overwhelmingly received fitted answers as an immediate response: fifteen out of nineteen (Figure 27, Table 16 below).¹⁹ Extract 59 provides an illustration for this experimental condition.

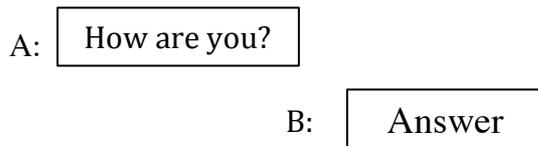


Figure 27. Schematic representation of recipients' responses in the baseline condition.

Extract 59. 20140804140546-I. Base line question.

- 1 B Valichka=
Name-DIM
Dear Valia
- 2 A prive:t eta Va:lia tibe zvanit,
hi this Name you-SG-DAT call-1SG
hi this is Valia calling
- 3 (0.2)
- 4 B [uhum, priv[et.
hi
uhuh hi
- 5 A [a: [uhuh ty minia xara^sho slyshish
INT] you-SG I-ACC good-ADV hear-2SG
Oh uhuh do you hear me well?

¹⁹ On three occasions, recipients responded with surprise to the baseline question (e.g. "Really?"). Two of them were followed up by a reason solicitation. This demonstrates that inquiring *How-are-you* formulated as the main purpose of the call is not always accepted as legitimate and expected thing to do.

- 6 a to u minia shto-ta paslednee vremia
PCL PCL with I-GEN somehow last time
- 7 [prablemy sa zvukam
problems with sound-INSTR
Because I'm having problems with the sound lately?
- 8 B [xarasho.
good-ADV
{I hear you} well
- 9 A atli:ch[na
great-ADV
Great
- 10 B [ne. narm[al'na
NEG fine-ADV
No, {it's} fine
- 11 A [uhuh, xarasho atlichna=
good-ADV great-ADV
uhuh good, great
- 12 = .hh eta: ja tibe pazvanila shtoby uznat' ^kak u tibia dila:
PCL I you-SG called-SG so that inquire how with you-SG-GEN affairs
.hh Well I called you to ask how are you
- 13 (0.5)
- 14 B a: nu fsio slava bogu hehe
INTJ PCL all thank god ((laughter))
everything is fine hehe
- 15 (0.2)
- 16 .hh k^a:k u tibia:
how with you-SG-GEN
.hh And how are you?

The recipient immediately recognises the caller and utters her name at line 1. The caller, however, self-identifies anyway as prescribed by the script (line 2). Then the caller performs the hearing check: *do you hear me well, because I'm having problems with the sound lately?* (lines 5-7). The caller then formulates the baseline question as the main purpose for the call: *.hh Well I called you to ask how are you* (line 12). At line 14, the recipient answers this question with a fitted response: *everything is fine hehe*. The caller was instructed to respond with a news receipt to return conversational floor to the recipient of the call. In this case, however, the recipient takes up interaction floor herself at line 16 with a question of her own: *.hh and how are you?* Instead of answering the question, caller provides an explanation of the experiment and secures recipient's informed consent.

The baseline question was never responded to with a repair initiation and only on three occasions did it receive a form of a reason-

solicitation in response. This serves as evidence that the *how-are-you* inquiry poses little problems of hearing, understanding, or responding to, for the recipients in these interactions. A possible explanation for this is the ritualistic character that the baseline question has in a telephone conversation. In an ordinary telephone conversation people regularly inquire about each other's wellbeing and affairs without having to provide a reason for it.

5.4.1.2 Condition II: Do you have friends in Minsk?

In condition II, recipients heard a question that is not a standard part of a telephone conversation - "Do you have friends in Minsk?" Recipients' immediate responses to this question were either repair initiations or fitted answers. Occasionally, they were augmented by reason solicitations. Repair initiations and calls for reasons appeared to be optional (this is indicated by the dashed lines in Figure 28). Fitted answers were, however, present in all recipients' responses resulting in the routes 2, 1-2, 2-3, and 1-2-3 as indicated by numbers in Figure 28 below (see also Table 16 for a quantitative summary of the results).

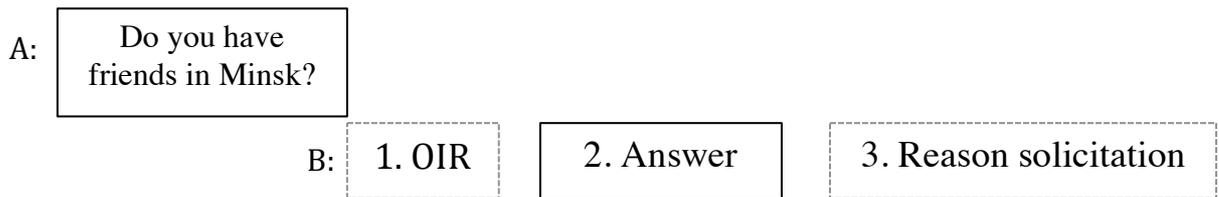


Figure 28. Schematic representation of recipients' responses in condition II.

Extract 60 illustrates recipient's response to the same question. This and the following extracts start at the point in conversation where the callers introduce their reason for the call.

Extract 60. 20140804140823-II. Target question.

- | | | | |
|---|-----------|---|---|
| 1 | Caller | e: Elichka eta ja tibe pazvanila
Name-DIM PCL I you-SG-DAT called-F
<i>Ehm, Elia, I've called you</i> | |
| 2 | | =shtoby uznat',
so that learn-INF
<i>to ask</i> | |
| 3 | | (0.5) | |
| 4 | | u tibia ^est' znakomye v Minske
with you-SG-GEN is/are acquaintances in Minsk-LOC
<i>do you have {any} friends in Minsk?</i> | |
| 5 | Recipient | ne:tu
there's/there're none | ← |

		<i>I have none</i>	
6		(0.9)	
7	Caller	e: a: nu ja:sna PCL PCL clear-ADV <i>Ehm, Oh, I see</i>	
8		(0.8)	
9	Recipient	a zachem tebe? PCL what you-SG-DAT <i>What is it to you?</i>	←
10	Caller	((provides an explanation about the experiment))	

The recipient immediately provides a proper answer: *ne:tu* ‘I don't’ (line 5). This is similar to the question-answer pairs that we saw in the baseline condition, where the *how-are-you* inquiry immediately received fitted answers. The difference is, however, that the question-answer sequence in Extract 60 is expanded by a direct why-interrogative. At line 9, the recipient, solicits a reason with *zachem tebe* ‘what is it to you?’ Recall from chapter 2 that *zachem* can be used to inquire about reasons for someone’s needs and wishes. Such expanded question-answer sequences were encountered on ten occasions in this group (for a quantitative summary of the results see Table 16).

In many cases, the recipients initiated a repair before offering an answer to the target question. In Extract 61, after the repair sequence is resolved, the recipient provides an answer to the target question and solicits a reason.

Extract 61. 20140501185418-II.

1	Caller	slushaj ja tibe pazvanila shtoby uznat' listen I you-DAT called so that inquire	
2		u tibia ^est' znakmye v Minske with you-GEN is acquaintances in Minsk <i>Listen I've called you to ask you do you have {any} friends in Minsk</i>	
3		(1.2)	
4	Recipient	atk^uda from where-Q <i>Where from?</i>	← OIR
5		(0.5)	
6	Caller	a:: v Mi:nske PCL in Minsk <i>Oh in Minsk</i>	
7		(1.0)	
8	Recipient	v M^i:nske:: in Minsk <i>In Minsk</i>	

9	(1.0)		
10	e:h		
	<i>Ehm</i>		
11	(0.5)		
12	ne u minia vrode est' druh katoryj IZ Minska		
	NEG with I-GEN seems-ADV is friend which from Minsk		
	<i>no I think I have a friend from Minsk</i>		
13	(0.9)		
14	Caller	da:([h]	
		yes	
		yes	
15	Recipient	[no on shias zhiviot v Haland[ii	
		but he now lives in Holland	
		<i>But he lives in Holland now</i>	
16	Caller	[atlichna=	
		great-ADV	
		<i>Great</i>	
17	=a: okej xarasho		
	PCL ok good-ADV		
	<i>Oh okey good</i>		
18	(0.5)		
19	e: ja [tibe		
	I you-DAT		
	<i>I you-</i>		
20	Recipient	[a shto=	←
		and/but what-Q	
		<i>How so?</i>	
21	Caller	=vapshe-ta pazvanila f celiakh eksperimenta znakomaj	
		actually-PCL called in purposes experiment acqoantance	
		<i>actually called you for the purpose of friend's experiment.</i>	

The immediate response to the question is a repair initiation at line 4. The caller provides a repair solution at line 6: *a:: v Mi:nske* ‘Oh in Minsk’. In what follows, the recipient appears to think out loud: *v M^i:nske::* ‘in Minsk’ (line 8) and then *e:h* ‘ehm’ (line 10). Finally, the recipient answers that he knows someone who is from Minsk. The assistant responds with a news receipt *oh okay good* (line 17) providing the recipient with an opportunity to ask *why*. The recipient, though, does not yet do so. The caller then proceeds to the explanation of the experiment (line 19), but in overlap with this, the caller produces a direct why-interrogative *a shto?* This is a variant of *a chio*, a reason solicitation

described in chapter 2 and presumably used in the same way. *A chio* can be seen as an abbreviated version of *a shto*²⁰.

The following extract has the same basic structure, where the recipient's first response is a repair initiation, followed by an answer to the question and a reason solicitation.

Extract 62. 20140808113731-II.

- 1 Caller eta ja tibe pazvanil shtoby uznat' =
PCL I you called-M so that inquire
well I've called you to ask
- 2 = u tibia ^est' znakomye v Minske
with you-GEN is acquaintances in Minsk-LOC
do you have friends in Minsk?
- 3 (2.5)
- 4 Recipient chio-chio ← OIR
what-Q-what-Q
What-what?
- 5 (1.5)
- 6 Caller uznat' xachu u tibia: zvaniu shtoby e- est' znakomye
inquire-INF want-1SG with you-GEN call-1SG so that is acquaintances
- 7 v Minske u tibia
in Minsk with you-GEN
I want to aks I've called so that ehm do you have {any} friends in Minsk?
- 8 (0.9)
- 9 v Mi:nske
in Minsk-LOC
In Minsk
- 10 (2.1)
- 11 Recipient znakomy^e ← OIR
acquaintances
friends?
- 12 Caller da da da da da
yes yes yes yes yes
- 13 (1.6)
- 14 Recipient paslednee slova ni magu pania- paniat'= ←
OIR
last word NEG can-1SG understand-INF
the last word I cannot understand
- 15 Caller =v Mi:snke:
in Minsk-LOC
in Minsk

²⁰ In colloquial Russian, the interrogative *shto* 'what' is often abbreviated to *chio*. This is also done in other conversational contexts than reason solicitations.

- 16 v Mi:snke
in Minsk-LOC
in Minsk
- 17 gorat Minsk
in Minsk-LOC
the city Minsk
- 18 Belarusija
Belarus
Belarus
- 19 (2.4)
- 20 Recipient a: v Bilar^u:sii=
INTJ in Belarus-LOC ← OIR
oh in Belarus
- 21 Caller =da: Minsk gorat stalitsa Minska=
yes Minsk city capital Minsk-GEN
yes Minsk the city capital of Minsk
- 22 =tam est' znakomye u tibia
there are acquaintances with you-SG-GEN
do you have {any} friends there?
- 23 (1.1)
- 24 Recipient a: v Minske net netu
INTJ in Minsk-LOC no there's none
Oh, in Minsk. No, I don't have
- 25 (0.4)
- 26 Caller a: ja:sna
INTJ clear-ADV
Oh, I see
- 27 Recipient a chio kto-ta
PCL what-Q someone
Is someone
- 28 (0.4)
- 29 kto-ta tuda payedit shto li
someone there will go-3SG what PCL
someone going there?

The recipient of the call initiates several subsequent repairs: *what-what?* (line 4), *friends?* (line 11), and *I cannot understand the last word* (line 14). At line 24, the recipient produces a change-of-state token *A::*, which is similar to the English *Oh*, (Heritage 1984 a), followed by a candidate understanding *in Belarus?*. Interrogative intonation of this element suggests that a confirmation is due, and is considered a repair initiation here. After the confirmation, the recipient answers the target question. In response, the caller produces a news receipt as the design of the experiment prescribes. This is when the recipient of the call produces

a reason solicitation by offering a candidate reason. It starts with "Is someone" at line 27, which she abandons. The 0.4-second silence that follows, could have been enough for the recipient to jump in and elaborate on the candidate reason but the caller does not do so. The abandonment of her turn suggests that providing a candidate reason is a delicate matter, where the preference is to allow the speakers to provide their own reasons. The recipient completes her previous turn: "is someone going there?" (line 29), inviting the caller to accept or reject this candidate reason.

It stands out that the target question never received reason solicitations as an immediate response. Recipients only asked "why" after they provided an answer to the target question. This underlines the preference for the speakers to explain their own behaviour. Recipients withhold explicit reason solicitations until after they have complied with the competing preference of providing a fitted response.

5.4.1.3 Condition III: Unexpectedness warning + Do you have friends in Minsk?

Immediate responses to the target question prefaced with 'I've called you to ask a rather unexpected question' were either proper answers or repair initiations. On several occasions, these responses were expanded by reason solicitations. So, sequences encountered in condition II also emerge in condition III resulting in the same response routes: 2, 1-2, 2-3, and 1-2-3 in Figure 29 below (see also Table 16).

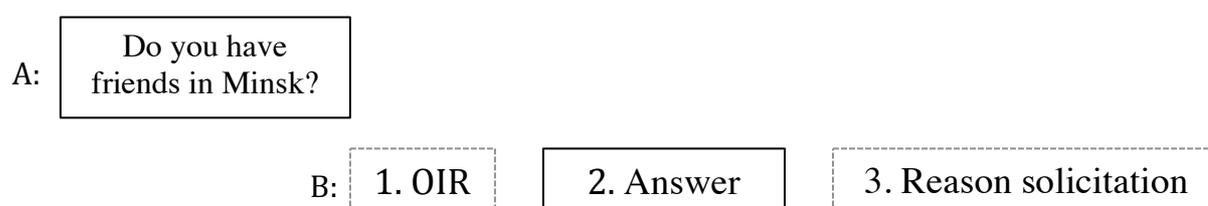


Figure 29. Schematic representation of recipients' responses in condition III.

Extract 63. 20140403115532-III. Warning-Target question.

- | | | |
|---|-----------|---|
| 1 | Caller | eta ja tibe pazvanila shtoby zada' tibe=
PCL I you-DAT called so that ask you-DAT |
| 2 | | =nimnogo niazhidanyj vapros,
little-ADV unexpected question
<i>Well I've called to ask you a rather unexpected question</i> |
| 3 | | (0.9) |
| 4 | Recipient | zad[avaj
ask-IMP-IMPFV-SG
<i>do ask</i> |

- 5 Caller [u tibia est' znak^omye v Minske
with you-SG are acquaintances in Minsk
do you have {any} friends in Minsk?
- 6 (1.2)
- 7 Recipient znakomye shto?=
Acquaintances what-Q
friends what? ← OIR
- 8 Caller =znakomye v Minske.
acquaintances in Minsk-LOC
friends in Minsk.
- 9 (1.1)
- 10 Recipient v ^Mi:nske
OIR
In Minsk-LOC
In Minsk? ←
- 11 Caller da:.
yes
yes
- 12 (0.7)
- 13 Recipient da nu vot Vi:ka zhe nasha ana iz Mi:nska
Yes PCL PCL Name PCL our-F she from Minsk
Yes, our Victoria is from Minsk, you know
- 14 Caller a: atlichna
INTJ great
Oh great
- 15 a:
INTJ
Oh
- 16 (0.8)
- 17 Recipient [vo:t u nej tam semja
PCL with she-GEN there family
She has family there
- 18 Caller [(nu)
PCL
(Well)
- 19 (0.8)
- 20 a:
INTJ
Oh
- 21 spasi:ba
thanks
Thanks
- 22 (1.0)
- 23 a:[:
INTJ

Oh

- 24 Recipient [a chio. ←
and/but what
Why/ how so?
- 25 Caller ((provides an explanation about the experiment))

After delivering the warning that the question is going to be unexpected (lines 1-2), the assistant asks the target question (line 5). In response, the recipient initiates two subsequent repairs (lines 7 and 10). Then the task of the caller is to return the conversational floor to the recipient. The caller produces a news receipt (lines 14 and 15), then a continuer (line 18), another news receipt (line 20), and an expression of gratitude *thanks* (line 21). Then the recipient finally asks for speaker's reasons with *a chio* (line 25).

The following extract is similar in terms of its structure. Also here, the recipient's immediate response to the target question is a repair initiation. When the repair sequence is closed off, the recipient produces an answer and a direct why-interrogative.

Extract 64. 20140804111252-III. Notice + Target question.

- 1 Caller e: eta ja tibe pazvanila shtoby zadat' tibe
PCL I you-DAT called so that ask you-DAT
well, I've called you to ask you
- 2 nimnoga niazhidanyj vapros,
little bit-ADV unexpected-ADJ quesiton
a rather unexpected question
- 3 (0.3)
- 4 u tibia ^est' [znakomye v Minske
with you-GEN are acquaintances in Minsk
do you have {any} friends in Minsk?
- 5 Recipient [nu,
PCL
ok
- 6 (0.9)
- 7 k^a:k ← OIR
how-Q
How/what?
- 8 (0.2)
- 9 Caller u tibia ^est' znakomye v Minske
with you-GEN are acquaintances in Minsk
do you have {any} friends in Minsk?
- 10 (0.7)
- 11 Recipient v M^inske ne:t=
in Minsk-LOC no

		<i>in Minsk I don't</i>	
12	Caller	=da:= yes yes	
13	Recipient	bliska dazhe ne:tu close even no <i>not even close</i>	
14		(1.4)	
15	Caller	v Minske in Minsk <i>in Minsk</i>	
16		(0.4)	
17	Recipient	umum <i>No</i>	
18	Caller	a: nu ja:sna PCL PCL clear <i>Oh I see</i>	
19		(2.7)	
20	Recipient	a chio ty v Minsk sabr^alas' ili chio PCL what-Q you to Minsk-ACC gathered or what-Q <i>Are you going to Minsk or what?</i>	←

In this case, the target question is produced in partial overlap with recipient's continuer *nu*, at line 5. Perhaps this overlap led to the trouble of hearing, evident from the repair initiation of an open type *kak?* (line 7) indicating that the entire turn was not heard or understood. In contrast, restricted repair initiations problematise only one specific element from the relevant turn (Drew 1997; Dingemanse et al. 2015; Dingemanse and Enfield 2015). After the repair sequence is closed off, the recipient of the call provides a negative answer to the question: *in Minsk I don't*. He then upgrades it with: *not even close* (lines 11-13). A long pause follows together with caller's attempt to return conversational floor to the recipient (line 15) and another pause (line 16). This results in another negative response from the recipient: *umum*²¹. The caller replies with a news receipt (line 18). After the subsequent 2.7 second silence, the recipient produces a reason solicitation. The recipient does so using a strategy that this thesis has not focused on so far - by offering a candidate reason: *Are you going to Minsk or what?* (line 20). The recipient proposes *going to Minsk* as a legitimate reason to inquire whether somebody has friends there. The recipient of the call treats the act of offering a candidate reason as a delicate matter, which is evident from the uncertain ending *or what*. Such ending allows other possible explanations and

²¹ *Umum* is the negative counterpart of *uhuh*, articulated with the mouth in a closed position.

invites the caller to provide one or to confirm the one candidate just suggested.

Not all first responses to the target question in this group were repair initiations. In Extract 65, the recipient of the call provides his answer to the target question without initiating a repair first. After this, he still enquires about caller's reasons for asking the target question.

Extract 65. 20140501185928-III.

- 1 Caller u tibia ^est' znakomye v Minske.
with you-SG-GEN is/are acquaintances in Minsk-LOC
Do you have {any} friends in Minsk?
- 2 (1.1)
- 3 Recipient v Minske. net.
in Minsk-LOC no
In Minsk {} don't
- 4 apsaliutna [nikavo=
absolutely no one
absolutely no one
- 5 Caller [(net)
there's none
no
- 6 =a: nu ja:sna
INTJ PCL clear-ADV
Oh, I see
- 7 (0.3)
- 8 Caller uhu:m
Uhuh
- 9 (0.5)
- 10 Recipient xatia padazhdi
although wait-IMP
Although wait (a bit)
- 11 padazhdi u minia yest' tam adna rotstvinita,
wait-IMP with I-GEN is/are there one-f relative-f
Wait I have one relative there
- 12 (1.0)
- 13 Caller aha,
uhuh?
- 14 (0.6)
- 15 Recipient a u-
PCL with
- 16 u- u mayej zheny nachal'nica iz Minska
with with my-GEN wife-GEN boss from Minsk
And my wife's boss is from Minsk

17	(0.8)	
18	a shto nu:zhna	←
	PCL what need-MOD	
	<i>And/but what {do you} need?</i>	
19	Caller	((provides an explanation about the experiment))

Recipient's immediate response is: *In Minsk {I} don't* (line 3), which is upgraded to: *absolutely no one* (line 4). The caller produces a news receipt with *Oh, I see* (line 6). After this, follows a pause and a continuer *uhu:m*. Another pause falls at line 9, which occasions recipient's update on his previous answer - he recalls that he does know someone in Minsk (lines 10-11). The caller replies with a continuer *uhuh?*, which leads to recipient's expansion of his answer - he recalls that his wife's boss is from Minsk. After this, the caller refrains from talking and a 0.8 second silence follows creating a conversational slot for the recipient to ask *why*. This is what he does at line 18: *and/but what {do you} need?* This reason solicitation is different from the ones encountered before because it explicitly refers to the speaker's needs as a possible motivation for actions.

This sequence demonstrates the recipient's cooperative attitude, where the recipient attempts to answer the target question in the best way he can. Every time the caller returns the conversational floor to the recipient, the latter comes up with yet another person who lives in Minsk or used to live there (a relative and his wife's boss). Only after the call taker provides all information possible and by this demonstrates his cooperative attitude, he asks for speaker's motives to ask the target question. In doing so, the recipient proposes caller's needs as a possible motivator for asking the target question.

The analysis of responses to the target question in groups II and III shows that calling for reasons is an ordered phenomenon. The data do not contain a single case where the target question is immediately met with a direct reason solicitation as *why* or *what for*. The calling for reasons always came after the proper answer was provided or after a repair initiation. Providing an answer first demonstrates recipients' preference for providing a cooperative response before calling for reasons. This indicates that calling for reasons might be seen as a relatively non-cooperative response.

Twelve repair initiations (out of 19 in conditions II and III taken together (see Table 16) were precursors of the more direct reason solicitations²². Initiating a repair can be seen as an indirect call for reasons. This issue will be discussed in more detail in section 5.4.2 of this

²² In all these cases the repair initiation was followed by an answer and only then by a direct why-interrogative.

chapter, which is on formats of reason solicitations (for more information about repair in Russian see chapter 2).

5.4.1.4 Condition IV: Reason + Do you have friends in Minsk?

In condition IV, recipients were presented with the target question prefaced by a reason for asking it: *"I've called you because a friend of mine is going to Minsk and needs advice about where to stay there. Do you have friends in Minsk?"* Responses to the target question in this group involved repair initiations and fitted answers (routes 2 and 1-2 in Figure 30 below). None of the recipients in this condition solicited reasons, which is in contrast with recipients' responses in conditions II and III.

Extract 66 illustrates a telephone conversation where the recipient initiates a repair before offering an answer to the target question.

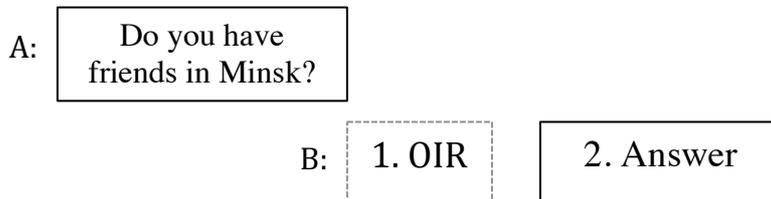


Figure 30. Schematic representation of recipients' responses in condition IV.

Extract 66. 20140804104802-IV. Reason - Target Question.

- | | | |
|---|--|-------|
| 1 | Caller e:h eta: ja tibe pazvanila
PCL I you-DAT called-F
<i>ehm well I've called you</i> | |
| 2 | (1.0) | |
| 3 | e:h patamu shta maja znak^omaja skora paedit v Minsk
because my friend soon will go to Minsk-ACC
<i>ehm because a friend of mine will soon go to Minsk</i> | |
| 4 | i ej nuzhin savet
and she-DAT need-MOD advice
<i>and she needs advice</i> | |
| 5 | ^gde tam luchshe astanavitsa=
where-Q there better stay-INF
<i>about where {she could} better stay there</i> | |
| 6 | = u tibia ^est' znakomye v Minske
with you-GEN are acquaintances in Minsk-LOC
<i>do you have {any} friends in Minsk?</i> | |
| 7 | (1.0) | |
| 8 | Recipient v M^i:nske
in Minsk-LOC
<i>in Minsk?</i> | ← OIR |

9	(0.1)	
10	v Mi:nske ne:t in Minsk-LOC no <i>In Minks {I} don't</i>	
11	Caller	[da: v Minske= yes in Minsk-LOC <i>yes in Minsk</i>
12	Recipient	=tam znakomyx ne:t there acquaintances-GEN no <i>there {I have} no friends</i>
13	(0.9)	
14	Caller	a:: nu [ja:sna INTJ PCL clear <i>Oh {I} see</i>
15	Recipient	[() u minia ni rotstvinikaf [nikavo tam net, with I-GEN NEG relatives no one there no () <i>I have no relatives there no one there</i>
16	Caller	[a: INTJ <i>Oh</i>
17	(0.6)	
18	Caller	a: nu ja:sna INTJ PCL clear <i>Oh I see</i>
19	(0.6)	
20	ta:k so <i>So</i>	
21	ja tibe pazvanila, I you-DAT called-F <i>I've called you</i>	

In this extract, the recipient initiates a repair at line 8. The recipient, however, does not wait for the caller to produce a repair solution that comes at line 11 (*da: v Minske*) and answers the target question negatively already at line 10: *in Minsk {I} don't*. So, it seems that the recipient's repair initiation functions here as a way to buy them some thinking time rather than a genuine repair initiation. The caller tries several times to return the conversational floor to the recipient. A news receipt at line 14 results in the recipient's elaboration on her answer: *I don't have friends there*. Another news receipt (line 18) and a pause (line 19) do not succeed at eliciting a reason solicitation from the recipient. Instead of a reason solicitation, the recipient elaborates on her answer: *I have no family there* before giving up the conversational floor.

More conventional repair initiations are also encountered in condition IV. As expected, they were never augmented with direct why-interrogatives. For example:

Extract 67. 20140812132158-IV. Reason - Target Question

- 1 Caller eta ja tibe pazvanila patamu shta maja znakomaja=
PCL I you-DAT called-F because my-F friend
- 2 =skora paedit v Minsk i ej nuzhen savet
soon will go to Minsk-ACC and she-DAT need-MOD advice
I've called you because a friends of mine is going to Minsk soon and she needs advice
- 3 (0.4)
- 4 gde ej tam luchshe astanavitsa u tibia [^est' znakomye
where-Q she-DAT there better stay-INF with you-GEN are
acquaintances
about where she can better stay there do you have {any} friends
- 5 Recipient [kud^a
(paedit) ← where-Q (will
go where is she
going?
- 6 Caller v Minsk
to Minsk-ACC
to Minsk
- 7 (1.9)
- 8 v Minsk ej [pa- e:
to Minsk-ACC she-DAT
to Minsk she will- ehm
- 9 Recipient [^ v Minsk= ←
OIR
to Minsk-ACC
to Minsk?
- 10 Caller =da: m m est' znakomye
yes are acquaintances
yes hm hm {do you} have friends {there}
- 11 (0.4)
- 12 u tibia ^est' znakomye v Minske=
with you-GEN are acquaintances in Minsk=LOC
do you have {any} friends in Minsk?
- 13 Recipient =tak padazhdi
PCL wait-IMP
wait
- 14 (0.9)

- 15 Caller v Min[ske da:
in Minsk-LOC yes
in Minsk yes
- 16 Recipient [ne:tu nikavo:
are not/is not no one
{I} don't have any
- 17 (1.8)
- 18 Caller a: nu ja:sna[:
INTJ PCL clear-ADV
Oh I see
- 19 Recipient [nikavo netu Minsk eta zhe Bilarusija ja tam,
no one is not Minsk is PCL Belarus I there
{I} don't have any Minsk is Belarus I am there
- 20 (2.3)
- 21 nikakim bokam
any side-INSTR
{not familiar at all}
- 22 (3.9)
- 23 Caller ja, he[
I
I ehm
- 24 Recipient [alo:.=
hello
hello?
- 25 Caller =m- tak, Natashichka ja tibe pa- pazvanila
PCL Name-DIM I you-SG-DAT called-F
hm listen Natasha, I've called you
- 26 ((provides an explanation about the experiment))

Before the caller can finish the target question, the recipient initiates a repair: *where is {she} going?* The caller provides a repair solution at line 6. The caller completes the target question in overlap with the recipient's second repair initiation: *to Minsk?* A repair solution follows: *da:* (line 10). The caller finally completes the target question (lines 10-12). In response, the recipient asks for some thinking time: *wait* (line 14) and provides a fitted answer at line 16: *{I} don't have any*. The caller's reply is a news receipt: *Oh, I see* (line 18), after which the recipient elaborates on her answer explaining that she has no contacts in Belarus in general. The caller and call taker hold a long 3.9 second silence at line 22. Then the caller takes up the interactional floor, partially in overlap with the recipient checking the telephone connection: *alo:* 'hello'. Finally, the caller provides an explanation about the experiment and secures informed consent. So, also in this extract, the caller's attempts

to return the floor to the recipient result in the recipient's elaborations on his previous answer, and not in reason solicitations.

Not all cases in this group featured repair sequences. Sometimes a fitted answer to the target question was given immediately, as in the following extract.

Extract 68. 20140812165640-IV. Reason - Target Question

- 1 Caller u tibia ^est' znakomye v Minske
with you-GEN are acquaintances in Minsk=LOC
do you have {any} friends in Minsk?
- 2 (1.3)
- 3 Recipient ne:t ty znaesh u minia znakomye
no you-SG know with I-GEN acquaintances
no you know my friends
- 4 to est' u minia tam brat zhivot ()
that is with I-GEN there brother lives
{I mean} my brother lives there ()
- 5 no ani slushaj vshistrom zhivot tam v komnate
but they listen-IMP with six live-3PL there in room-LOC
but listen they live with six {people} in {one} room
- 6 u nix tam tesna u nix negde tam
with them there crowded-ADV with them nowhere there
it's crowded there and there's no space
- 7 (0.6)
- 8 Caller a: nu ja: sna
INTJ clear-ADV
Oh I see

The recipient immediately answers the target question stating that she does know anyone in Minsk. From her answer it is clear that she interprets the question not only as an inquiry whether she knows someone in Minsk, but also as a request for help in the search for accommodation. Just like in the previous examples from condition IV, the caller's attempts to return the conversational floor to the recipient result in more elaborations on the recipient's previous answer.

The fact that recipients did not solicit reasons in group IV serves as indirect evidence that the reason incorporated in the target question was indeed perceived as such by the recipient. Recipients' responses did contain many repair initiations, perhaps due to the overload of information represented in the reason and the target question combined. Interestingly, responses to the target question in condition II contain fewer repair initiations than responses in condition IV (7 vs. 11) (section 5.4.1.6 can be consulted for an overview of the quantitative findings). This suggests that prefacing the target question with a reason does not

necessarily benefit the understanding of the target question and the efficiency of the conversation. It is possible that interlocutors prefer dealing with one issue at a time in a conversation. This is supported by the observation that some repair initiations came already around the production of the reason and during the production of the target question. These are places where no fitted response can yet be expected.

5.4.1.5 Condition V: Unexpectedness warning + Reason + Do you have friends in Minsk?

In the last group, recipients received the same reason-question combination, but this time, also with the unexpectedness warning, which resulted in the lengthy turn: *"I've called you to ask a rather unexpected question. A friend of mine is going to Minsk and needs advice about where to stay there. Do you have friends in Minsk?"* Recipients responded to this question with a repair initiation or a fitted answer. The response never involved reason solicitations (i.e. routes 2, and 1-2 in Figure 31 below).

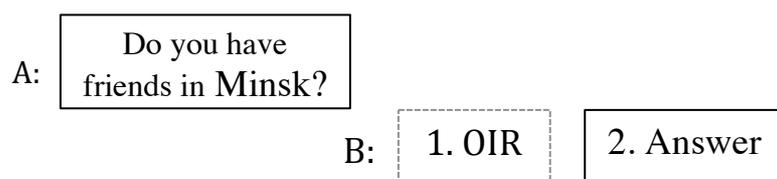


Figure 31. Schematic representation of recipients' responses in condition V.

So, recipients' responses are similar to the ones encountered in condition IV. This is also illustrated in Extract 69.

Extract 69. 20140802145716-V. Warning-Reason-Target question

- | | | |
|---|-----------|--|
| 1 | Caller | atli:chna ja tibe tut pazvani:la=
great I you-DAT here called-F
<i>Great I've called you</i> |
| 2 | | = shtoby zadat' nimnoga niazhidanyj vapro
so that ask-INF little bit unexpected-ADJ question
<i>to ask a rather unexpected question</i> |
| 3 | | (0.8) |
| 4 | Recipient | nu: o:chin' intiresna
PCL very interesting
<i>okay very interesting</i> |
| 5 | Caller | maja znakomaja skora v Minsk paedet=
my friend soon to Minsk-ACC will go-3SG
<i>my friend will soon go to Minsk</i> |
| 6 | | = i ej nuzhen savet gde luchshe (tam astanavitsa)= |

- and she-DAT need-MOD advice where-Q better there stay-INF
and she needs advice about where to stay there
- 7 =u tibia ^est' kakije znakomye v Minske
 with you-GEN are any acquaintances in Minsk-LOC
do you have {any} friends in Minsk?
- 8 (1.6)
- 9 Recipient v M:inske=
 in Minsk-LOC ← OIR
in Minsk?
- 10 (0.3)
- 11 Caller = v Mi:nske v Minske
 in Minsk-LOC in Minsk-LOC
in Minsk in Minsk
- 12 (2.8)
- 13 Recipient da net vrode
 PCL no seems-ADV
I don't think so
- 14 (1.6)
- 15 Caller nu pania:tna ja:sn[a
 PCL clear-ADV clear -ADV
I see, I see
- 16 Recipient [blin a kavo.
 pancake but who-ACC
damn but whom
- 17 (0.8)
- 18 ne: nu atets u mina ezdit zhe v tex no
 no PCL father with I-GEN go-3SG PCL to that but
No my father goes to that but
- 19 f- f tu stranu skazhem tak nu on ni tam
 to to that direcion say-FUT-3PL so PCL he NEG there
to that area let's say but he is not there
- 20 on zhe edit u granitsy
 he PCL go-3SG at border-GEN
he travels near the border, you know
- 21 (0.6)
- 22 Caller [nu la:dna la:dna
 PCL good-ADV good-ADV
all right all right
- 23 Recipient [(vot tak) dazhe kak-ta
 DEM so even somehow
(like that) anyhow
- 24 (1.0)
- 25 Caller la:dna=
 good-ADV
all right

- 26 Recipient =nu:
PCL
Yeah
- 27 Caller ((provides an explanation about the experiment))

The recipient seems to initiate repair at line 9: *v Mi:nske*. However, it lacks interrogative intonation and is also interpretable as an expression of some mental search for an answer. The caller treats it as a repair initiation and provides a repair solution (line 11). After a 2.8 second silence an answer follows: *I don't think so* (line 13). In an attempt to return the conversational floor to the recipient, the caller produces a news receipt (line 15): *I see, I see*. In what follows, the recipient elaborates on her answer. The elaboration involves her talking about her father who works as a truck driver and occasionally drives in the direction of Minsk1.

The following extract presents another example where the target question receives a repair initiation as an immediate response, followed by a fitted answer.

Extract 70. 20140809170302-V.

- 1 Caller ja zvaniu: xachiu sprasit' nimnoga niazhidannyj takoj vapros,
I call-1SG want-1SG ask-INF little bit unexpected-ADJ such-ADJ question
I've called you I want to ask a rather unexpected question
- 2 u minia ^znakoma[ja skora paedit v Minsk
with I-GEN acquaintance soon go-FUT-3SG to Minsk-ACC
A friend of mine is going to Minsk soon
- 3 Recipient [nu,
PCL
okey
- 4 (0.4)
- 5 Caller ej nuzhen savet gde-
she-DAT need-MOD advice where-Q
she needs advice about where
- 6 v Minsk
to Minsk-ACC
in Minsk
- 7 i ej nuzhen sav^et gd^e tam luchshe astanavitsia
and she-DAT need-MOD advice where-Q there better stay-INF
and she needs advice about where she {can} better stay there
- 8 u vas mozh et' znak^omye kakie v Minske
with you-PL-GEN maybe are acquaintances which-PL in Minsk-LOC
may be you have {any} friends in Minsk?
- 9 Recipient ja ni- e: ← OIR
I NEG

- I didn't ehm*
- 10 v V^i:l'niuse ← OIR
in Vilnius
In Vilnius?
- 11 Caller v Minske
In Minsk
In Minsk
- 12 (0.9)
- 13 Recipient a: v M^i:snke= ← OIR
PCL in Minsk
Oh in Minsk
- 14 Caller =da
Yes
- 15 (1.0)
- 16 Recipient .hhh hu: v Minske nu u nas tam e:st' radnia
in Minsk-LOC PCL with we-GEN there is relatives
.hhh hm in Minsk we have relatives
- 17 (0.5)
- 18 v Minske kaneshna
in Minsk-LOC of course
in Minsk of course
- 19 Caller o: atli:chna
INTJ great
Oh great
- 20 (1.0)
- 21 Recipient no e:
but
but ehm
- 22 ja dazhe- delo f tom shto
I even business in that-M that
I {don't} even- the problem is that
- 23 u minia,
with I-GEN
I
- 24 (0.5)
- 25 nichivo ja naizust' ni znaju.
nothing I by heart NEG know
I don't know anything off the top of my head.
- 26 (0.5)
- 27 Caller uhum.
uhum
- 28 (0.3)
- 29 Recipient hh [panimaesh, i tak-
understand-2SG and so

hh you understand and so

- 30 Caller [nu- e- na sa:mam dele
PCL on real business
well as a matter of fact ((provides an explanation about the experiment))

The target question is introduced as an unexpected one. The recipient responds to this introduction with the continuer *nu*, possibly granting permission to ask such a question. After the target question is completed, the recipient initiates a repair at line 9. First, the recipient appears to go for an utterance similar to *I didn't hear/understand*. Then, she self-repairs this and offers a candidate understanding instead: *in Vilnius?* (line 10). Since the speakers live in Lithuania, queries about its capital city Vilnius seem indeed more expected. The repair solution, *v Minske* (line 11), secures the recipient's understanding of the question, which is evident from the change of state token *a:* (line 13) (Heritage 1984a). The answer to the target question follows at line 16, where the recipient says that she has family in Minsk. In response, the caller only produces a news receipt. While in groups II and III, it often elicited direct why-interrogatives, here the recipient explains why she cannot provide any contact information immediately: *I don't know anything off the top of my head*.

In Extract 71, there is no insert sequence such as other-initiated repair. The recipient immediately proceeds to her answer to the target question. Also in this extract, the recipient does not call for reason.

Extract 71. 20140804121042-V.

- 1 Caller u tibia ^est' znakomye v Minske
with you-GEN are acquaintances in Minsk-LOC
do you have {any} friends in Minsk?
- 2 (2.2)
- 3 Recipient ne: nu takix shtop astanavitsa ne:tu.
no PCL such-PL-GEN so that stay-INF are not
no not the ones to stay at
- 4 (1.0)
- 5 Caller a:
Oh
- 6 (0.3)
- 7 ja:s[na
clear-ADV
I see
- 8 Recipient [(ta-)
- 9 (1.2)
- 10 tam esli tol'ko e:ta::
there if only PCL

only if well

11	v e:tam mozhet e: in DEM maybe <i>in this one maybe ehm</i>
12	(0.6)
13 Caller	uh[um <i>uhum</i>
14 Recipient	[v atele kakom-nibut' ili v ehm xo:stase in hotel-LOC some-LOC or in hostess-LOC <i>in some hotel or in a ehm hostess</i> ²³
15	(3.1)
16	uhum.= <i>uhuhm</i>
17	=Nada u (Ju...) sprasit' (Jul'ka) sh tam uchitsa tak need-MOD with (Ju...) ask-INF (Julia-DIM) PCL there study-3SG so <i>{l} should ask Ju- (Julia) studies there, you know</i>
18	(1.3)
19	slʌyshish Valintin hear-2SG Name-VOC <i>do you hear {me} Valia?</i>
20 Caller	((provides explanation about the experiment))

After the answer is provided, the caller gives the recipient several opportunities to ask *why*. At line 15, a long 3.1-second silence occurs followed by a continuer *uhum*. However, this only occasions recipient's further elaborations on her answer: the recipient suggests hotels and hostels as possible places to stay in Minsk and gives a name of the person who might actually know more on the matter. Another silence at line 18 returns conversational floor to the recipient. This time, no elaborations follow. The call taker only enquires whether the caller can hear anything. This is similar to what we saw in Extract 64.

The target question in condition V was designed to deal with all possible problems, so the responses should have been comparable to the ritualised and self-explanatory *How-are-you* question from condition I. This is, however, not the case. The responses in condition V involved many repair initiations that were not encountered in the baseline condition. A self-explanatory and predictable event, such as asking *How are you* in a telephone conversation, involves minimal production time because it does not require any additional information and results in immediate fitted answers most of the time. In comparison, the target question in condition V contains a lot of information making for a lengthy turn that often received repair initiations in response. A

²³ The recipient probably means *hostel*.

combination of the target question with the unexpectedness warning and the reason might have led to information overload and problems of hearing and understanding.

Similar to group IV, recipients from group V did not solicit reasons. In groups II and III, callers' attempts to return the conversational floor to the recipient resulted in recipients' elaborations on their answers, but also in various why-interrogatives. Such attempts only triggered elaborations on the previous answers by the recipients in groups IV and V.

5.4.1.6 Sequential structure: quantitative results

I will start this section by a quantitative overview of the sequential structure of recipients' responses across five experimental conditions. Where necessary, statistical results will be reported.

Table 16. Recipients' responses per experimental condition.

	I Expected Q	II Unexpected Q	III Warning- unexpected Q	IV Reason- unexpected Q	V Warning- reason- unexpected Q
Answer	14	4	1	8	11
Answer- Why	1	10	7	0	0
OIR- Answer	2	3	4	11	9
OIR- Answer- Why	2	4	8	0	0
<i>Total</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>20</i>

When comparing recipients' responses across the five conditions (Table 16), only the baseline question *How are you* overwhelmingly received fitted answers as the first or immediate response. A possible explanation for this is the ritualised and predictable character that the *How-are-you* question has in a telephone conversation. In conditions IV and V, the target question often received repair initiations as immediate responses. This was most likely occasioned by the overload of information that the reason conveyed: it introduced a city not mentioned earlier, an unknown person to the recipient and this person's problems finding accommodation. This suggests that providing extra information in the form of a reason is a costly procedure, both for the speaker on the production side and for the recipient on the processing side.

An analysis of recipients' responses in condition II reveals that leaving the reason out results in a relatively efficient question-answer sequence when compared to conditions III, IV, and V. It is efficient because in condition II the caller only produced the target question, while in the other mentioned conditions the target question was accompanied with an unexpectedness warning and/or a reason. So, there was less effort involved for the callers concerning the production of their question. This question, although unexpected, was still quite successful to elicit a fitted answer from the recipients without an insert sequence that would delay it. As Table 16 demonstrates, on four occasions they immediately provided a fitted answer to the questions, on ten additional cases they provided a fitted answer, but combined it with a why-interrogative at the end. So, on fourteen occasions, the callers received a fitted response to their question right away. This number is higher than for condition III, where only eight participants provided a proper answer. In condition IV there were 8 proper answers and in condition V eleven.

With minimal production effort, the callers managed to receive many proper answers to their questions without having to deal with repair initiations and why-questions that would delay that answer. It should, however, be noted that leaving the reason out is only possible when the question is comprehensible and answerable without it, like the target question in this study.

Also when tested statistically, the first hypothesis posed in this chapter is confirmed: questions that are not self-evident (conditions II and III) indeed occasioned more reason solicitations than the more self-evident or predictable question in condition I. A X^2 -test revealed a very strong association between the question type (conditions I, II, and III²⁴) and the type of the response the recipients produced (a response involving reason solicitations vs. the rest) (Yates' X^2 (2)=22,54, $p<0.0001$, Cramer's $V=0,6129$). When only comparing groups I and II, the association remained very strong (Yates' X^2 (1)=13,53, $p=0,0002$; Cramer's $V=0,6334$). Combining these findings with an examination of the frequency data (Table 16), we see that asking '*Do you have any friends in Minsk*' results in more reason solicitations than the highly routinised *How-are-you* question. A comparison of groups I and III also shows a very strong association between the groups (Yates' X^2 (1)=16,81, $p<0.0001$, Cramer's $V=0,7087$). Actual frequencies reveal that asking: '*I have an unexpected question to ask. Do you have any friends in Minsk*' also results in more reason solicitations than the *How-are-you* inquiry. As expected, questions II and III result in the same amount of reason

²⁴ Groups IV and V were excluded from this analysis because the caller provided a reason for the target question, which made it self-explanatory.

solicitations (Yates' $X^2(1)=0,06$, $p=0,8065$), as there is no association between these groups. These questions are characterized by the lack of context, in other words, it is not clear why the caller had to ask them. Introduction of the unexpectedness warning in condition III did not make the reason any more evident and thus did not eliminate why-interrogatives in this condition.

Calling for speaker's reasons is a delicate matter, which is expressed in the ordered and organised production of reason solicitations and the utterances preceding it. Reason solicitations were never encountered immediately after the target question, but were always preceded by a fitted answer to the question. It suggests recipients' preference for the production of an aligning response – for a question the aligning response is an answer (Schegloff 2007). Such responses promote social affiliation between the interactants (Enfield 2006). In this view, soliciting a reason would constitute a disaligning response promoting disaffiliation and social conflict.

Furthermore, reason solicitations were on multiple occasions preceded by repair sequences (12 out of 19 OIRs in conditions II and III taken together), which suggests their possible role in the calling for reasons. Formally, repair initiations (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974) signal problems of hearing and understanding and return the conversational floor to the speaker of a problematic turn. Besides this, they are known for being able to perform various additional actions in interaction. So, they seem to be involved in expressing surprise and soliciting reasons (Robinson and Bolden 2010; see also chapter 2). The current breaching experiment attempted to separate these functions by introducing the unexpectedness warning in groups II and V. Framing the target question as an unexpected one in some conditions and not in others was expected to eliminate repair initiations if their function was indeed to express surprise in response to the potentially unexpected question about Minsk. The unexpectedness warning in this study did not eliminate repair initiations suggesting that the encountered repair initiations were not expressions of surprise. A X^2 -test of association demonstrates that there is no association between the type of question that the recipients received (conditions II, III, and V) and the type of response they produced (a response including a repair initiation vs. without one): Yates' $X^2(3)=3,76$, $p<0.2886$. It is possible that repair initiations in groups II and III served as indirect reason solicitations while in groups IV and V they indicated problems of hearing and/or understanding due to information overload.

Given the disaligning character of calling for reasons combined with the fact that the target question is in principle answerable without knowing the reason it was asked, it is somewhat surprising that recipients

in conditions II and III solicited reasons anyway. Why did they do so? The results of the breaching experiment do not provide a clear answer to this question. It is possible that recipients seek information that would allow them to be of the best assistance possible. This is supported by recipients' responses where they answered they did not know anyone in Minsk, but knew someone outside the city or even in a neighbouring country. Some suggested that they are willing to ask their own friends whether they know more about the matter. So, the question was interpreted not as a simple information question, but as a question whether the recipient can assist the speaker in solving a problem. It is also possible that recipients respond to the fact that the reason was not provided when it should have been. Since this is a normative principle, the implication arises that the caller is holding information back, the reason for which is not self-evident.

5.4.2 Formats of reason solicitations

When we talk about calling for reasons, asking *why* seems the most obvious format. Options available to Russians are, however, broader than that. The breaching experiment demonstrates that it provides at least three types of explicit why-interrogatives that are translational equivalents of the English *why*: *pachemu*, *zachem*, and *a chio* (for further description of these interrogatives see chapter 2). These are, however, not the most frequent formats used. Most of the time, recipients use rather indirect ways to call for reasons (Table 17). When repair is initiated it is not immediately clear whether it has an additional function of soliciting reason. I only consider repair initiations as having this additional function only if after a repair solution a more explicit reason solicitation follows. This is known as the “next turn proof procedure” in Conversation Analysis (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974a) meaning that the subsequent turns inform the analysis of the previous ones. It is especially relevant in groups II and III, where the caller provides no reason voluntarily and the call taker is forced to inquire after it. In what follows, I give a brief overview of the ways to elicit reasons that were observed in the current breaching experiment.

Table 17. *Formats of reason solicitations observed in the breaching experiment.*

Reason solicitations	N
OIR	12
Candidate reason	12
“What do you want?”	7
“ <i>A chio?</i> ”	4
“What’s up?”	3
“ <i>Zachem?</i> ”	1

“Pachemu?”	1
“What do you need?”	1
<i>Total</i>	41

5.4.2.1 Other-initiations of repair

A repair initiation is not a reason solicitation in a strict sense, but it can occasion reason-giving when the trouble turn lacks a reason. The total count of repair initiations that subsequently led to the more direct reason solicitations in this study is twelve (Table 17, see also chapter 2 on the role of repair in the calling for reasons). Along with candidate reasons, it forms the most frequent format used to call for reasons²⁵. When examining the type of repair initiations that the recipients produced, only three of the twelve were open-class repair initiations and the remaining nine belonged to the restricted class (e.g. *in Minsk? Do I have what? Where?*). When looking closer at the open-class repair initiations encountered in this study, we see that they deviate from the more conventional open-class repair initiations, such as *huh?* or *what?*:

1. *How?*
2. *What-what?*
3. *One more time I haven't understood the question*

None of these repair initiations were encountered in the repair collection reported in chapter 2, which might be indicative of their special function in interaction. Especially the third example is interesting since the recipient provides a reason for not having understood the utterance. By this, the recipient recognises his own responsibility in understanding the utterance and takes away the blame (at least partially) from the caller.

Formally, repair initiations deal with problems of hearing and understanding. Such problems are very common in discourse (see chapter 2). A repair initiation establishes a side sequence that suspends progressivity of the conversation. It returns the conversational floor to the speakers of the trouble turn providing them with the chance to redo it. Besides dealing with problems of hearing and understanding, repair can be used to perform such disaffiliative actions as soliciting reasons, expressing doubt, disagreement, rejection, etc. (Schegloff 1997; Drew 1997).

²⁵ Initiating a repair is an off-record reason solicitation, so, it is difficult to give a precise count of it. In this experiment, I provide a conservative estimate by excluding 7 repair initiations in groups II and III that did not lead to an explicit why-interrogative later in the conversation.

Initiating a repair has several advantages over soliciting reasons in a direct manner. First, soliciting a reason is more clearly a dispreferred action than initiating a repair. Asking *why* bears an implication that the event or behaviour in question cannot be explained by common sense or current common ground. This might have negative consequences for the relationship between the speakers. With a repair initiation, the initiator of repair cannot be held accountable for performing the disaffiliative action because it is ‘disguised’ as an expression of a hearing or understanding problem. A repair initiation indirectly, but effectively faults the speaker for not providing a reason when the recipient deems it necessary. At the same time, *within* the strategy of repair, there seems to be room for recipients to acknowledge their own role in the process of sense-making of utterances that were designed for them. They can express it through the use of restricted repair initiations and rather deviantly formatted open-class repair initiations as discussed above.

Second, initiating a repair is a strategy that is always available to the recipient. In other words, regardless of the context a repair initiation is always a fitted response to the previous utterance. This cannot be said about the more direct reason solicitations, for which the recipients might need access to the information that is not necessarily available to them. This is, for instance, the case when the recipient produces another frequent reason solicitation - a candidate reason.

The method of the breaching experiment allows studying the off-record reason solicitations, such as repair initiations, but also other formats used when indirect reason solicitations fail. In what follows, I will describe three direct reason solicitations involving conventional why-interrogatives, as well as some less conventional ones.

5.4.2.2 Candidate reasons

Along with repair, offering a candidate reason is the most frequent format used to call for reasons in this study. The recipients offer plausible reasons themselves and by this provide the speaker with an opportunity to reject them or elaborate on them (n=12, Table 17). In comparison to initiating a repair, offering a candidate reason is a more on-record strategy, but still a rather affiliative one. Extract 72 illustrates this format as encountered in the breaching experiment.

Extract 72. 20140519191323. Candidate reason.

- | | | |
|---|--------|---|
| 1 | Caller | eta: ja-, ja tibe pazvanila shtoby uznat'=
PCL I I you-SG-DAT called-F so that learn-INF |
| 2 | | =u tibia ^est' znakomye v Minske
with you-SG-GEN is/are acquaintances in Minsk-LOC |

I've called you to ask do you have {any} friends in Minsk?

3		(1.3)	
4	Recipient	v Minske in Minsk-LOC <i>In Minsk</i>	← OIR
5		(0.4)	
6		[e: <i>eh</i>	
7	Caller	[da. yes <i>yes.</i>	
8		(0.5)	
9	Recipient	ne:t. no <i>no.</i>	
10		tol'ka v Ukrai:ne(h) only in Ukraine <i>Only in Ukraine</i>	
11		(0.7)	
12	Caller	uhuhm nu: ja:sna PCL clear-ADV <i>Uhuh, I see</i>	
13		(1.7)	
14		m	
15		(0.4)	
16	Recipient	a shto nuzhna shto-ta piridat' ili, PCL what-Q need-MOD something give-INF or <i>{You} need to transfer something {to someone} or?</i>	←
17		(0.6)	
18	Caller	e:= <i>Ehm</i>	
19	Recipient	=ili chio-ta drugoe or something different <i>or something else?</i>	
20	Caller	((provides an explanation of the experiment))	

The recipient creates various opportunities for the caller to explain him/herself. For instance, the recipient withholds response, which results in a 0.7-second silence (line 11). After this, the caller produces a turn that does not contain the potentially missing reason. The silence that follows is even longer than the previous one, but again, the caller fails to explain him/herself. After the final silence at line 15, the recipient offers a candidate reason at line 16: *{You} need to transfer something {to someone} or?* The candidate reason is vague about the persons involved

in the transfer and the objects to be transferred. The turn is prosodically and syntactically incomplete ending in *or?* By this, the candidate reason invites the caller to complete the turn and provide his/her own reasons. This behaviour suggests that offering an explanation for someone else is a delicate matter and the preference is for the speakers to explain themselves. This format allows the first speaker to confirm, and it potentially minimizes their effort in doing so.

The same is evident from the way a candidate reason is delivered in the previously discussed Extract 62. The recipient answers the target question, which gives the floor to the caller. This results in a 0.4-second silence (line 25), after which the caller produces a news receipt as the design of the experiment prescribes. This is when the recipient offers a candidate reason. She starts it by saying ‘is someone’ and abandons the turn (line 26). The 0.4-second silence that follows could have been enough for the caller to jump in and elaborate on the candidate reason. However, the caller fails to do so. The call taker then completes her candidate reason at line 29: ‘someone going there?’.

To summarise these two cases, offering a candidate reason is a delicate interactional event. This can be observed in the way the candidate reason is produced. The candidate reasons lack specificity and make use of such references as someone and something. Furthermore, the speakers offers the interlocutor an opportunity to jump in and offer their own reason.

5.4.2.3 "*Pachemu*", "*zachem*", and "*a chio*"

The canonical why-interrogatives *pachemu* (*why*) and *zachem* (*what for*) proved to be rather rare in the current sample - each of them was encountered only once. Extract 73 illustrates the use of *pachemu*.

Extract 73. *Pachemu*.

- | | | | |
|---|-----------|---|---|
| 1 | Caller | e:h slu:shaj ja tibia bispakoju shtoby uznat',=
listen-IMP I you-SG-ACC bother-1SG so that learn-INF
<i>Ehm, liste, I'm botering to ask</i> | |
| 2 | | =u tibia ^est' znakomye v Minske
with you-SG is/are acquaintances in Minsk-LOC
<i>do you have {any} friends in Minsk?</i> | |
| 3 | | (1.5) | |
| 4 | Recipient | e:hm ne:tu
none
<i>Ehm, I don't</i> | |
| 5 | | (2.1) | |
| 6 | | netu a pachemu ty sprashivaesh
there's no PCL why you-SG ask-2SG | ← |

{I} don't, why are you asking?

7 Caller ((provides an explanation about the experiment))

At line 6 the recipient answers the target question with ‘{I} don't’ and only then solicits a reason from the caller: ‘*why are you asking?*’ The why-interrogative *pachemu* (line 6) is formally oriented at eliciting caller's *because*-motives for asking the question, in others words, events and circumstances that have led to the production of the target question (Schutz 1967).

The reader might recall from chapter 3 that *pachemu* can be used to inquire about a negated event or action, but also to ask about reasons behind an event in the past or present. Extract 73 is an example of *pachemu* inquiring about the present state of affairs: the caller asking a question.

Extract 74 illustrates the so-called forward-looking *zachem*-interrogative, which also occurred only once in this experiment.

Extract 74. 201408041408230-II. Zachem.

- 1 Caller e: Elichka eta ja tibe pazvanila
Name-DIM PCL I you-SG-DAT called-F
Ehm, Elia, I've called you
- 2 =shtoby uznat',
so that learn-INF
to ask
- 3 (0.5)
- 4 u tibia ^est' znakomye v Minske
with you-SG-GEN is/are acquaintances in Minsk-LOC
do you have {any} friends in Minsk?
- 5 Recipient ne:tu
there's/there're none
{I} don't
- 6 (0.9)
- 7 Caller e: a: nu ja:sna
PCL PCL clear-ADV
Ehm, Oh, I see
- 8 (0.8)
- 9 Recipient a zachem tebe? ←
PCL what you-SG-DAT
What is it for to you?
- 10 Caller ((provides an explanation about the experiment))

Similar to the previous extract, the recipient in Extract 74 answers the question with a negative *ne:tu* ‘{I} don't’. Only after two instances of

silence and caller's news receipt at line 7, the recipient asks *a zachem tibe?* 'What is it for to you?' In contrast to *pachemu*, *zachem* is formally oriented to the in-order-to motive from the speaker (Schutz 1967). This motive orients to the caller's goals that he or she intends to achieve by asking the target question.

As described in chapter 3, *zachem* can be used to inquire about recipients' actions, needs, and wishes. It is also frequently used to express speakers' criticism about these matters. In Extract 74, it seems that the words *need* or *want* are dropped and are present in the question only implicitly. *Zachem* seems to implicitly ask about caller's needs or wishes.

Colloquial Russian provides another direct why-interrogative that was observed in two variants: *a shto* (n=2) and its abbreviated version *a chio* (n=2).

Extract 75. 20140403103741. A shto.

- | | | | |
|----|-----------|---|---|
| 1 | Caller | hm, .hh u tibia ^yest' znakomye v Minske
with you-SG-GEN is/are acquaintances in Minsk-LOC
<i>Hm, do you have {any} friends in Minsk?</i> | |
| 2 | | (1.6) | |
| 3 | Recipient | e::a:m da.
yes
<i>Eehm yes.</i> | |
| 4 | | (1.0) | |
| 5 | | [yest'.
there's/there're
<i>{I} have</i> | |
| 6 | Caller | [m,
INTJ
<i>Oh</i> | |
| 7 | | (0.5) | |
| 8 | | m, atlichna
INTJ great-ADV
<i>Oh, great</i> | |
| 9 | | (0.5) | |
| 10 | Recipient | a shto.
PCL what-Q
<i>Why/how so?</i> | ← |
| 11 | Caller | ((provides an explanation about the experiment)) | |

In this case, the recipient does know someone in Minsk and answers the target question confirmatively 'ehm yes'. Then, after a silence (line 4), she adds, '{I} have'. The caller, however, produces no reason, but only a news receipt (line 8). Only then, the recipient asks *a shto* 'why?'

Instead of using *a shto* as a direct why-interrogative, the recipient in the following extract uses its short variant *a chio*.

Extract 76. 20140403115532. A chio.

- 12 Recipient znakomye shto?=
Acquaintances what-Q
friends what?
- 13 Caller =znakomye v Minske.
acquaintances In Minsk-LOC
friends in Minsk.
- 14 (1.1)
- 15 Recipient v ^Mi:nske
In Minsk-LOC
In Minsk?
- 16 Caller da:.
yes
yes
- 17 (0.7)
- 18 Recipient da nu vot Vi:ka zhe nasha ana iz Mi:nska
Yes PCL PCL Name PCL our-F she from Minsk
Yes, our Victoria is from Minsk you know
- 19 Caller a: atlichna
INTJ great
Oh great
- 20 a:
INTJ
Oh
- 21 (0.8)
- 22 Recipient [vo:t u nej tam semja
PCL with she-GEN there family
She has family there
- 23 Caller [(nu)
PCL
(Well)
- 24 (0.8)
- 25 a:
INTJ
Oh
- 26 spasi:ba
thanks
Thanks
- 27 (1.0)
- 28 a:[:
INTJ

Oh

29 Recipient [a chio. ←
PCL what
Why/how so?

30 Caller ((provides an explanation about the experiment))

The stand-alone *a chio* comes at line 29 when it becomes clear that the caller will not provide a reason on his/her own.

The design of the experiment, where the caller was the researcher or her assistants trying to follow a script, does not allow analysis of caller's responses to recipient's reason solicitations. For the analysis of Russian direct why-interrogatives *pachemu*, *zachem*, and *a chio* see chapter 2.

5.4.2.4 Other formats to solicit reasons

Returning to the breaching experiment, several less conventional ways to call for reasons were observed in addition to the above-mentioned ones. They include asking about speaker's needs and desires.

In the following case, the recipient solicits a reason by inquiring what the caller wants.

Extract 77. 20140804133716. Want

- 1 Caller u tibia ^yest' znakomye v Minske
with you-SG-GEN is/are acquaintances in Minsk-LOC
I've called you to ask you do you have {any} friends in Minsk?
- 2 (1.5)
- 3 Recipient .hhh nu kak u Pitkuna pa bo:l'shej chasti ni u minia,
PCL PCL with Surname PREP bigger part NEG with I-GEN
Well Petkun mostly has (i.e. recipient's husband's), I don't have,
- 4 (2.8)
- 5 nu rotstviniki fse Pitkuna,
PCL relatives all Surname
Well all Petkun's relatives
- 6 (0.4)
- 7 Caller a: ja:sna
INTJ clear-ADV
Oh, I see
- 8 (0.9)
- 9 Recipient a- ty ch^io xatela ←
PCL you-SG what-Q wanted-f
And/but what did you want?
- 10 Caller ((provides an explanation about the experiment))

The recipient answers the target question indicating that the connections she has in Minsk are not hers but her husband's (line 3). After she completes her turn, interactional floor goes back to the caller. The caller, however, does not respond and a long silence emerges (line 4). The recipient elaborates on her answer specifying what kind of connections her husband has in Minsk. In response to this, the caller only produces a news receipt 'oh, I see'. After another long pause at line 19, the recipient asks: 'And/but what did you want?' This question reveals the recipient's recognition of people's wishes as potential motivators for their conduct. At the same time, the recipient expresses his/her expectation that the caller does not ask the question out of pure curiosity, but with some practical purpose.

Similar to inquiring about what the caller wants, asking about what he or she needs can also be implemented as a reason soliciting strategy.

Extract 78. 20140501185928. Need

- | | | |
|----|-----------|--|
| 1 | Caller | u tibia ^est' znakomye v Minske.
with you-SG-GEN is/are acquaintances in Minsk-LOC
<i>Listen, I've called you to ask you a little bit unexpected question. Do you have {any} friends in Minsk?</i> |
| 2 | | (1.1) |
| 3 | Recipient | v Minske. net.
in Minsk-LOC no
<i>In Minsk no</i> |
| 4 | | apsaliutna [nikavo=
absolutely no one
<i>absolutely no one</i> |
| 5 | Caller | [(net)
there's none
<i>no</i> |
| 6 | | =a: nu ja:sna
INTJ PCL clear-ADV
<i>Oh, I see</i> |
| 7 | | (0.3) |
| 8 | | uhu:m
<i>Uhuh</i> |
| 9 | | (0.5) |
| 10 | Recipient | xatia padazhdi
although wait-IMP
<i>Although wait (a bit)</i> |
| 11 | | padazhdi u minia yest' tam adna rotstvinitsa,
wait-IMP with I-GEN is/are there one-f relative-f
<i>Wait I have one relative there</i> |

12	(1.0)	
13	Caller	aha, uhuh?
14	(0.6)	
15	Recipient	a u- PCL with
16		u- u mayej zheny nachal'nica iz Minska with with my-GEN wife-GEN boss from Minsk <i>My wife's boss is from Minsk</i>
17	(0.8)	
18		a shto nu:zhna ← PCL what need-MOD <i>And/but what {do you} need?</i>
19	Caller	((provides an explanation about the experiment))

At lines 5-16, the recipient provides an elaborate answer to the question. After a pause at line 17, he inquires: ‘and/but what {do you} need?’ So, he proposes the caller's needs as a possible motivator for asking the target question.

In social psychology, people's needs and wants are considered important elements involved in motivational processes. However, they do not explain human conduct entirely. In a conversation, social explanations are preferred, i.e. an explanation of why and with what purpose these needs and wants came to be (Mills 1940).

5.4.2.5 A comparison of formats to solicit reasons

Offering a candidate reason requires more effort from the speaker compared to all other formats presented earlier (see Table 17). Offering a candidate reason involves coming up with a legitimate reason for the given situation with the risk that the reason will end up inadequate. Perhaps that is why candidate reasons are formulated in rather unspecific terms, with the use of such references as *someone* and *something*. Offering a candidate reason demonstrates a speaker's cooperative attitude by giving the interlocutor the opportunity to simply confirm or reject the reason already provided for them. The strategies described earlier (e.g. initiating a repair, *what do you want/need*, *zachem*, *pachemu*, *a chio*) are relatively effortless on the production side, but require more effort from the interlocutor in providing an answer. Furthermore, offering a candidate reason might be less direct than the above-mentioned strategies. Interrelations among the formats can be studied with corpus data, which might reveal their degree of directness.

In this section, I analysed various ways to call for reasons that the recipients used in this breaching experiment. The breaching experiment

as a method enables the collection of various formats, including the rare and less conventional ones. As they all come at a comparable point in the conversation, they can reliably be identified as reason solicitations while they could easily be overlooked in a corpus.

5.5 Discussion and Conclusion

Participants in interaction work together to produce and interpret reasons for social actions. This chapter used the method of the breaching experiment for a more controlled comparison of a number of interactional contexts in which people may orient to the need for a reason.

One of this study's findings is that withholding a reason was a difficult task for the experimenters. It was so difficult for them that the researcher had to attend every calling session to make sure the callers did not give away the real reason for asking the unexpected question too soon. This reveals a strong normative character of the interactional rule for reason-giving. Garfinkel's students who participated in the very first breaching experiments also reported a similar experience demonstrating that breaching a social rule is difficult to sustain. It was hard on both the experimenters and their participants. Even after the method and the goal of the experiment were revealed experimenters and their participants reported "a residue of uneasy feelings" (Garfinkel 1964, 235).

Further analysis of data in this experiment focused on the following aspects: 1) the structure, which reveals how people orient to competing motivations for providing an answer to a question and soliciting a reason; 2) the formats that can be used for soliciting reasons.

Calling for speaker's reasons proved to be a delicate matter, which was expressed in the way the call takers organised their talk in the current experiment. Reason solicitations were never encountered immediately after the target question, but were always preceded by a fitted answer to the question. It suggests recipients' preference for the production of a preferred response (e.g. an answer to a question) before the dispreferred one (e.g. a reason solicitation). Furthermore, there might be a conversational preference for the speakers to provide their own reasons as tacit strategies to solicit a reason were preferred over the explicit ones. On several occasions, direct reason solicitations were preceded by repair sequences (12 out of 19 OIRs in groups II and III). Repair initiations do not have the dispreferred character that direct reason solicitations do have (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974). Their main function is to signal problems of hearing and understanding and return the conversational floor to the speaker of the problematic utterance. An important finding is that participants in this breaching experiment predominantly made use of restricted repair initiations (n=9) as opposed to open repair initiations

(n=3). This is indicative of recipients effort in indicating the source of the trouble when initiating repair. Although repair initiations are not reason solicitations in a strict sense, they do receive reasons in response as also encountered in conversational corpora (Robinson and Bolden 2010; chapter 2).

Besides revealing the preference structure of soliciting reasons, the current chapter also identified multiple formats that participants can use to solicit reasons. I imagine that asking *why* is perhaps the most conventional way to solicit a reason. Russian has at least three equivalents: *pachemu*, *zachem*, and *a chio*. Participants in the current study rarely used them. The most frequent way to call for reasons as encountered in this experiment is to offer a candidate reason. Why-interrogatives and candidate reasons differ from each other in several ways. *Zachem*, *pachemu*, and *a chio* are relatively effortless formats on the production side. Formally, they are open questions inviting recipients to do the explanatory work. In contrast, candidate reasons are polar questions, allowing recipients to simply confirm or reject the proposed candidate reason. At the same time, the speaker makes an effort to come up with a legitimate reason having little information at hand. Furthermore, producing a reason for someone else also involves the risk of proposing an inappropriate candidate. Such candidate reasons are therefore often vaguely formulated. Functional differences between various formats, constraints for their use, and their interrelations are directions for further research.

Participants in interaction orient to the absence of a reason in contexts where one should have been produced. As predicted, reasons were called for only in some experimental conditions of the breaching experiment and not in others. For instance, recipients did not ask *why* in response to the highly predictable *how-are-you* at the beginning of the telephone conversation. They did not do so when the callers produced a reason for the target question either. It serves as evidence for the normative principle of providing a reason when it is not evident otherwise. The working of this principle was also discussed in chapter 3.

Interestingly, the breaching experiment demonstrates that not offering a reason might sometimes result in a more efficient sequence than when the reason *is* provided. This finding allows us to look again at the request sequences from chapter 3 and ask why requesters in some cases make a request that is immediately followed by a reason and in other cases, only when interactional trouble arises? Recall that both categories involve problematic requests, but many requests with post-problematic-uptake reasons still seem to have a remote link to the explanatory context. So, there is still a possibility that the requestee will be able to understand the request without additional information. Offering

a reason is a costly procedure on both the production and recipient side, as the breaching data show. The information overload that a reason in combination with a question (or a request) entails can occasion repair initiations, which are difficult to deal with after such a lengthy sequence. This indicates that interlocutors prefer to deal with “one thing at a time” in conversation. Although social agents are expected to offer reasons when their behaviour is not-self-explanatory, they seem to get around this rule when there is an even remote link between their behaviour and the explanatory context. This is most probably done for the sake of efficiency. This is related to the costs of producing a reason combined with the fact that a turn (a question or a request) might get the desired response even though the reason is not given.

To conclude, this study demonstrates that a breaching experiment is a valuable method in the study of interactional phenomena that can easily work hand-in-hand with conventional corpus methods. The breaching experiment described in this chapter provides additional evidence for the principle that prescribes social agents to explain their behaviour when it is not self-explanatory. When this principle is violated, the speakers can be held accountable for their failure and some form of reason solicitation can be expected. There are multiple formats that can be used to call for reasons. The preference seems to exist for the speakers to provide their own reasons. When a reason is solicited, direct reason solicitations are preceded by more indirect ones. Providing a reason is a costly procedure in terms of production for the speaker but also for the recipient in terms of comprehension. So, for the sake of efficiency in interaction, speakers might choose to omit reasons or provide them only when solicited. This is, however, only possible when the message is in principle comprehensible without the reason.

6 General discussion and conclusion

Reasons play a key role in social interaction: people are inclined to attribute a reason to every social action, and they can bring them up explicitly when they may not be self-evident. This thesis sheds new light on how, when and why people use reasons and why reasons are often withheld.

This thesis has studied the phenomenon of reason-giving from different angles. The approach stands out in the following ways: (i) it studies reasons in the context of request sequences, providing a controlled sequential environment that allows the study of *reason-giving* as well as *reason-withholding*; (ii) in addition to this it studies asking for reasons, providing a comprehensive picture that complements prior work; (iii) it studies reasons in casual interaction, a crucial baseline to which more specialised uses can be related; and (iv) it studies reasons using multiple methods, providing a view of the domain that combines insights from interactional linguistics, conversation analysis, and ethnography. Each of the chapters supplies one of the building blocks for a comprehensive understanding of when, how and why people give or ask for reasons in everyday interaction.

The first chapter provides theoretical background on the phenomenon of reason-giving and introduces the data and methods used in this thesis (chapter 1). The next chapter lays crucial empirical groundwork by providing a first comprehensive description for Russian of a number of interactional structures that are fundamental for understanding reasons: requests, repair, and why-interrogatives (chapter 2). Subsequently, reason-giving is studied in a large and systematic collection of request sequences (chapter 3). This analysis is then ethnographically enriched by means of targeted interviews that bring to light implicit cultural norms (chapter 4). The theory of reason-giving that emerged from chapters 3 and 4 is further investigated using a highly effective breaching experiment paradigm, which also sheds light on sequential structure and formats of reason solicitation (chapter 5). The following paragraphs provide a more detailed summary of the major empirical chapters.

6.1 Summary of findings

6.1.1 Chapter 2

Chapter 2 describes interactional structures that are crucial for understanding the direct conversational context: Russian requests, repair, and direct why-interrogatives. This chapter establishes that certain features of requests are more common than others. For instance, imperative requests form the most common way of formulating a request in Russian. This is in line with the findings presented by Bolden (J. D. Robinson and Bolden 2010c) on Russian spoken by Russian immigrants in the USA. Interrogatively formatted requests, such as English “Can you X” or “Will you X” are rarely encountered in casual Russian. Russian imperatives come in two aspectual variants that affect the semantics of requests and possible inferences about politeness. To complicate this picture even more, imperative requests can be combined with interrogative intonation and particles. So, it seems that Russian request system is qualitatively different from the English or Italian request systems. While there is division of labour between interrogative and imperative requests in English and Italian, a similar division for Russian is observed *within* the imperatives category involving imperfective and perfective imperatives (Zinken 2016).

In addition to requests, chapter 2 focuses on the Russian repair providing for the common practices to do repair in Russian. This chapter demonstrates that repair does not only deal with troubles of hearing and understanding, it can also be used to solicit reasons from others. Chapter 2 points to restricted type repair initiations (as opposed to the open type repair initiators) as the more likely precursors of the direct why-interrogatives (Drew 1997). This type of repair initiators is the most informative and cooperative one. An open repair initiator such as *huh?* or *what?* points to the entire previous utterance as problematic implying that the recipient had not heard it at all. Restricted repair initiators do not convey this implication. They do specify what part of the preceding utterance is problematic implying that the utterance was heard, but that more information is needed, for instance a reason. So, making sense out of an utterance is not solely speakers’ task, it is shared with the recipients. The question arises how the responsibilities are divided between speakers and recipients when it comes to sense-making in interaction.

The fact that repair is used to elicit reasons suggests that direct why-interrogatives as obvious reason solicitations are avoided. When looking at my collection of the direct why-interrogatives in Russian in the same chapter 2, we see that they rarely aim at eliciting reasons. Responses to direct why-interrogatives are not necessarily reasons, they are rather similar to responses to complaints and disagreements. Direct

why-interrogatives perform disaligning actions. They point to the behavior in question as deviating from the norm and that is why they pose threat to the face of the speaker and the recipient (Bolden and Robinson 2011). So, direct why-interrogatives are challenging and potentially disaffiliating. It is thus not surprising that speakers would avoid them when disaffiliation is not the main goal of their utterance. This is exactly when repair can come into play.

Predominance of restricted repair initiations and, more specifically candidate understandings, combined with avoidance to ask *why* directly implies that inferring reasons for an utterance is mainly recipients' job. The remaining chapters explore this thought further and specify the preference for the recipients to make sense of an utterance that they are confronted with.

6.1.2 Chapter 3

With some base knowledge secured, chapter 3 looked more specifically into reasons for requests. The starting point for this chapter was the question 'why do some requests come with a reason while other requests do not?' The main finding of this chapter is that requesters orient to what information is already available to the requestees and design their request accordingly, only including reasons when context or conversation sequence make clear that more information is needed.

By default, low-cost requests are produced *without* reasons. The interpretation of such requests is made possible by their tight fit to the larger sequential and situational context – utterances preceding the request (e.g. an offer of tea makes a later request for tea easily interpretable) or the setting wherein the request is made (e.g. a birthday celebration is a setting that presupposes consumption of food and drinks and where requests for cutlery, dishes, food and drinks are expected). So, certain contexts make certain requests more projectable or predictable.

By providing no reasons, the speakers mark an utterance as interpretable for the recipients. If it is not the case, the recipient will call for reasons. Conversely, when the speakers combine their requests with a reason immediately, not allowing the recipient to solicit one, this serves as a signal that the utterance is not interpretable otherwise.

6.1.3 Chapter 4

Recorded face-to-face interactions proved important in the study of reason-giving. This interactional phenomenon involves social obligations and rights of the interactants involved. This makes requesting more culture-specific than repair or turn-taking in interaction. Conversation analysis has a limited capacity to tackle participants' socio-cultural background.

In this chapter I used semi-structured interviews that were based on request sequences from the previous chapter. Three recurrent themes were selected to guide the interviews: alcohol drinking, guests and hospitality, and family and children. A combination of ethnographic and corpus data demonstrated that participants' behaviour is not determined by the observable elements of conversation alone.

This chapter demonstrates that in order to recognise the importance of the linguistic features of an utterance, sociocultural background knowledge might be needed. Ethnographic information guided the analysis of request sequences and contributed to a deeper understanding of participants' behaviour in the recordings. This information explains why requests were made, why the reason was or was not provided, what actions the requests performed, and partly even why they were delivered in a particular format. Importantly, ethnographic interviews expose participants' rights and duties that helped to explain how the request and the reason relate to each other.

Although the fact that sociocultural background knowledge is at play may be inferred from the structure of the talk – ethnographic probes can only provide the precise nature of it. This suggests that controversial though it may be to CA, adding ethnographic knowledge to interaction analysis can substantially enrich it.

6.1.4 Chapter 5

While chapters 3 and 4 provided for a theory of when reason-giving is normatively expected, chapter 5 puts this theory to the test by asking what happens when the reason is not provided when it should have been. This chapter describes a breaching experiment, wherein Russian-speaking confederates present their participants with a question that is contextually unexpected. The focus of this chapter was on: 1) the structure, which reveals how people orient to competing motivations for providing a fitted response versus soliciting a reason; 2) and the formats that can be used for soliciting reasons.

The preference organisation for reason solicitations supports the theory proposed in chapters 2 and 3: it is the task of the recipients to interpret and make sense of the utterance that is directed to them, unless marked otherwise. Recipients' orientation to this rule is expressed through their responses to the unexpected question. Although recipients did indicate they needed more information about why the question was asked, they only inquired about it after providing proper answers to the question or after some indirect attempts to do so in the form of repair initiations.

Importantly, the repair initiations encountered were predominantly of the restricted type. This type of repair specifies the trouble source and

often requires the interlocutor to only confirm or disconfirm a suggested repair solution. So, the one who produces a restricted repair initiator does the most of work in restoring mutual understanding by pointing where the problem in understanding lies. While in casual interaction, such repair initiations occasionally receive reasons in response, confederates in the current experiment were instructed to withhold the reason until it was more explicitly solicited. This provides a unique view of the preferential ordering of interactional resources for soliciting reasons. It turns out that recipients go in great trouble before they make explicit that they are not able to make sense of the utterance and need more information to do so.

A more detailed look into the formats of direct reason solicitations provides further support for the preference for sense-*making* by the recipient as opposed to sense-*giving* by the speaker. Despite the availability of at least three *why*-interrogatives in casual Russian, participants in the breaching experiment rarely used them. When a reason *was* solicited, recipients of the call often chose to offer a candidate reason that the callers could then accept, reject or elaborate on. Production of such reason solicitations requires more effort than production of a simple *why*-question. Avoidance of direct *why*-interrogatives combined with the use of restricted repair initiations and candidate reasons demonstrate that recipients put considerable effort in making sense of an utterance at hand. This is indicative of the preference for the recipients to make sense of an utterance if it is not accompanied with a reason.

6.2 Putting the findings in perspective

6.2.1 On contextual fit

The thesis has argued that the fit to the context is important for an utterance as the context provides for expectancies for how the current and future encounters will unfold. To make the point clear, consider what is meant by ‘context’ in the current thesis. It comes in at least four types that proved relevant for reason-giving. The first two can be directly extracted from the video recording. The other two are inferable from the observable elements in interaction, but can be more difficult to detect.

The first contextual type is the direct conversational context. It involves the utterances, events and behaviours preceding the request. For example, imagine that a person states that they will have some coffee. This sets an expectation that they will start making some coffee soon. At this moment, making a request that would force this person to cease this expected course of actions would require some sort of an explanation²⁶.

²⁶ This example comes from Extract 35. See page 109.

The second contextual form is the setting or the event wherein the request occurred. Many of the presented requests in this thesis occurred within the broader activity of having dinner, tea drinking, celebrating. Expectancies in such situations involve cooking, eating, drinking, cleaning, toasting, and the like. So, requests that fit to this line of activities usually receive no reason.

Another meaning of the word context as used here is the knowledge that the participants in interaction share about each other, but also about other people they mutually know. This is the level of personal common ground. Participants in my recordings were never strangers to each other, they were family members or colleagues who see each other often, and who have acquired a lot of knowledge in common that they refer to in conversation. Take, for instance, another example from chapter 3, where several family members are struggling to read the informed consent form. They can be said to be involved in a joint project of finding ways to read the form while all the people involved have visual impairment. While looking for her own reading glasses, the requester instructs another participant to read the form out loud²⁷. This request fits well into the joint project of reading the form, however, it goes against their personal common ground – the fact that all participants in the recording know that the requestee has a serious visual impairment. It is this mismatch between the requested action and the common knowledge that the requestee in question is not an appropriate person to fulfil it, gives rise to the need for reason-giving.

Finally, the fourth and ultimate source of expectancies in our daily lives is the socio-cultural context – the cultural common ground that all members of the same community are expected to share. Background cultural norms, values, and customs play an important role in request sequences, affecting reason-giving, as well as requests' relevance, format, and compliance. Recall Extract 44²⁸, where the grandmother is requesting that her grandson pours a drink for the grandfather too. The reason that she provides for this request relates the request to the cultural norm that enjoins offering an alcoholic drink to others before serving yourself. This reason also makes the admonishing character of this request clear. Ethnographic information enriched the analysis of reason-giving and withholding and contributed to a deeper understanding of participants' behaviour in the recordings in general.

In general it can be stated that requests that follow the line of the expected course of action do not need a reason. Conversely, requests that do not follow this line or even hinder the expected course of action,

²⁷ This example comes from Extract 37. See page 111.

²⁸ See page 146.

require a reason. A reason establishes the missing link between the request and the context, making the request intelligible, increasing its chances of compliance. In more practical terms, a reason for requests can explicate what kind of compliance is expected from the recipient, who the beneficiary of the request is; it can also explicate why a delicate request had to be made and by this mitigating it; a reason can also make requests' ancillary actions clear. Having said this, it is important to note that a reason does not always mitigate the request. When a request is not only delicate, but is also performing an additional action, such as complaining or joking, a reason might be used to make that action even more explicit.

6.2.2 The argumentative theory of reasoning

The main question that this thesis aimed to answer was: what is the role of reasons in social interaction? Simply put, speakers employ reasons to link an utterance to the explanatory context when this link is not immediately available to the recipient. Through reasons speakers establish common ground when it is needed. This can be related to the argumentative theory of reasoning that states that the human reasoning capacity has evolved for the singular purpose of offering arguments (or indeed reasons) in interaction with the main goal to convince others (Mercier and Sperber 2011, 2017).

Not many of us have to participate in debates every day defending our standpoints. However, we do use our reasoning ability every day. For instance, when we make requests and offer our reasons for them. A request that makes sense will be more likely to coerce the recipient into compliance than a request that makes no sense to the recipient. A reason helps the recipient to make sense out of a request or any utterance for that matter.

Providing reasons in interaction is only one part of the story. Before actually giving a reason, speakers have to assess when a reason is required and when it is required *not* to give a reason. The argumentative theory of reasoning does not say much about these matters. It might even lead to the suggestion that human reasoning is useless when we are *not* trying to convince anybody. By introducing the preference for reason supposition, this thesis offers a different view on confirmation bias – the human tendency to look for evidence that corresponds to their beliefs and not information that contradicts them. Mercier and Sperber explain the existence of the confirmation bias by speakers' need to seek information in *favour* of their arguments to convince others – hence they only look for confirmatory evidence. This explanation does not suffice because it only refers to the actual reason-giving and does not explain why reasons are often *not* provided. Looking at instances when reasons are withheld might offer a different explanation for confirmation bias.

In interaction, it is assumed that people's behaviour makes sense, meaning that it occurs for some valid reason. When a request is made and no reason is provided for it, the recipient assumes that the reason does exist and that it is available to the recipient through the contextual features of the interaction. The recipient then goes on searching for clues that prove that the request does make sense – information that will link the request to the context and not the opposite. This way of processing utterances biases us towards confirmative thinking. The process is essentially the same when the speakers have to give reasons, the lacking confirmative information is provided in the form of a reason and not left to inference.

Searching for evidence in the opposite direction would imply that we do not trust that interlocutor's behaviour should make sense at all times. In every-day interactions this would be counterproductive, as one would first need to consider whether the utterance even makes sense. However, in special types of interactions this might actually be the case. It is likely that the confirmation bias is observed to a much lesser degree in interactions with special groups that have not been properly socialised yet or groups that can be seen as untrustworthy, struggle with psychological limitations that do not allow them to act in a socially acceptable manner. Such groups are, for example, children, people with cognitive disabilities or a mental illness, but also defendants in court. To test the argumentative theory of reasoning further, a study of reasoning and confirmation bias in these groups might offer new insights.

The main claim that Mercier and Sperber make is that human reasoning has evolved to be used in interaction with others. If it has any flaws, then it is only if it is used outside of the environments, for which it was not 'designed', such as hypothetical logical tasks that researchers present their participants with. The findings of this thesis provide support for this account and help ground the argumentative theory of reasoning in empirical facts of everyday face-to-face interaction. Indeed, we see that reasons given in interaction involve features that are relevant for the situation at hand and for the participants involved. Their content is closely related to the immediate physical features of the situation and adjusted to the knowledge already available to the recipient. A reason that is acceptable for one person might not be satisfactory for someone else because of the differences in common ground.

This brings us to the point, on which this thesis disagrees with the argumentative theory of reasoning. In their response to critics who state that arguments provided by ordinary people are often poor and not logical, Mercier and Sperber indicate that speakers do not immediately provide their best arguments or reasons right away, but only when their initial reasons are not accepted. No evidence for this has been found in

this thesis. It seems that the argumentative theory of reasoning as well as its critiques judge the quality of reasons against some abstract rules of logic. Reasons in conversation do not necessarily follow this type of logic, as noted in the previous paragraph. In terms of their content they are always designed for the recipient and the action that they are explaining. Based on the findings of this thesis, a reason can only be found insufficient or inadequate when it underestimates recipient's knowledge and not when it fails to follow the rules of logic.

To sum up, this thesis supports and complements the argumentative theory of reasoning by providing one of the first comprehensive studies of how, when and why people give and ask for reasons in everyday interaction. More empirically grounded work like this is needed to shore up the empirical foundations of theoretical approaches like the argumentative theory of reasoning. It is impossible to say whether this is the main function of reasoning only based on my findings, but we do see that participants in interaction are all skilled providers of reasons: they give reasons multiple times each day; they know when and how to provide reasons, but also when *not* to provide them; when it comes to their content, speakers carefully design their reasons for the particular recipient and the given conversational context.

6.2.3 Relationship thinking

While the argumentative theory of reasoning does not say much about the withholding of reasons, a different theory offers insight on this issue. According to the current thesis, a reason can and should be omitted when it is derivable from the context. This is in line with Grice's maxim of information: be as informative as required, but at the same time, do not be more informative than required. This is similar to the informational imperative proposed by Enfield in his 'relationship thinking' (2009, 2013). This imperative explicates the requirement for social agents to make sure that they are being understood by others to a degree sufficient for current communicative purposes. The more elliptical I can be while still successfully achieving reference, the better I can indicate the high degree of common ground we share.

When applied to skilled interlocutors, which is usually the case in interactions among adults (as opposed to interactions involving children) this rule ensures efficient interaction. It also helps us to avoid epistemic injustice by underestimating the recipient's knowledge – by providing a reason when it can already be derived from the context; or by overestimating their knowledge – failing to provide a reason when it cannot be derived from the context either. This brings us to the affiliational imperative proposed by Enfield (2013). This imperative states that social agents must manage the social consequences of their

interactions appropriately. For affiliative purposes, social agents should rely on shared common ground as much as possible when contributing to discourse. Information that is assumed to be in the common ground should then be withheld not only for efficiency but also for signalling co-membership in a group. This ability to understand each other with the minimum of information provided thus serves as proof of an enduring social relationship between the interactants. Providing information that is supposed to be known in common by the interactants is an accountable matter and can potentially harm their relationship.

When a question is being asked, a request is being made, or any other initiating action is being performed without provision of a reason, the omission of the reason itself will serve as a signal for the recipients that they should be able to interpret this utterance using the information that is already available to them. This is the most common way of communicating as we saw in chapter 3 when focusing on request sequences. Requests without reasons form the standard way of requesting and quite rarely do requestees require additional information in the form of a reason. This can be formulated as a rule: do not provide reasons when it can be inferred from the context or in other words, rely on the inferable information.

Another rule that seems to be at work when it comes to reason-giving is that it is better to overestimate recipient's epistemic status and omit a reason when it actually was needed, than underestimate it and provide a reason that was inferable for the recipient. An example of a request that underestimated recipients' epistemic status was discussed in chapter 4. In this case, one of the women at the table makes a request for some champagne. The hostess supports this request by questioning an obvious fact: 'do we have {any} men {here or} not?'²⁹ Since there are three men present at the table, this request clearly underestimates recipients' epistemic status evoking the reading of this request as a rebuke.

In addition, although there were quite some requests that were accompanied by a reason, requesters never indicated that the provided reason was *not* needed, that it was already available to them. There was, however, a numerous amount of requests, where the reason was omitted, but was subsequently solicited by the recipient. This suggests that speakers put a greater value on the affiliative imperative than the informational imperative. When looking specifically at request sequences, this rule works well most of the time.

²⁹ Extract 42, p. 134

6.3 Concluding remarks

This thesis has used a novel combination of methods: corpus data, conversation analysis, semi-structured ethnographic interviews, and a breaching experiment. I have shown how analysis of conversation can benefit from such a combination of methods. Both the ethnographic interviews and the breaching experiment enriched and complemented the findings based on conversation analysis and provided for additional support: the ethnographic interviews by making visible the social web of rights and duties that impinges on the design of requests and the need for reasons, and the breaching experiment by providing a new way to experimentally test conversational rules. Importantly, this method enables researchers to study interactional phenomena that are invisible in interaction because they are unspoken or withheld.

The current thesis contributes to the relatively scarce literature on casual Russian as it is used in actual interactions by offering insight into four interactional phenomena: repair, requests, reasons, and why-interrogatives. It should have enriched our knowledge on reason-giving in interaction in general, offering a view where reasons are not only a mitigating device, but rather a more general sense-making device.

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Appendix 1. Ethnographic interview

1. Imagine it's your birthday. You invited guests. Somebody toasts to you and everyone starts bringing their glasses closer to yours. What are your actions then?
2. A parent holds his baby in his arms. A passer-by approaches him/her and asks to hold the baby. What would you do if you were the parent in this situation?
3. You were invited to a birthday party. You're pouring wine/vodka/water/juice for yourself. Do you have to offer the drink to others as well?
4. Imagine that a bunch of friends gathered for a dinner. The hostess asks one of the guests to eat more. Can she ask something like this? Would you have said something like this? Does this situation say something about the food on the table? Does this situation say something about the hostess? Does this situation say something about the guest?
5. You were invited for a dinner. You have just entered the room and the hostess asks you to read a form. What is your reaction? What kind of a form is this, do you think?
6. You are having your sibling over. She brought her little dog. You are sitting at the table. You are eating and your sister has picked up her dog from the floor and is playing with it. Would you ask your sibling to remove the dog from the table? Are dogs allowed at the table in general? Are there any situations when dogs are allowed/not allowed at the table? What if you are not the host and your sister is. Would it affect your answer to the above-mentioned questions?
7. Imagine you are celebrating New Year with friends and family. Everyone has already tea poured in their cups. Someone at the table asks you to give him a piece of a cake. The cake is actually on the other side of the table, far away from you. How would you react?
8. Imagine you are celebrating New Year with friends and family. Everyone has already tea poured in their cups. Someone at the table asks you to give him a piece of a cake. The cake is just in front of you on the table.

- How would you react?
9. You are having several friends over. You're just back from holidays and you're showing your friends your photographs. One of the friends asks you to give her the pictures to look at. You notice that friend's hands are dirty.
How would you react?
Why is it bad/not bad if your pictures get dirty?
10. You and your parents are about to eat soup. You are serving the soup in bowls. Your father passes you a very small bowl that he chose for himself.
What is your reaction?
11. Your family has invited some guests. You're having dinner in the living room. Your partner asks you to bring the water kettle from the kitchen.
Why does your partner need the water kettle?
How much water will you bring?
12. You are having several friends over. You're showing them a present you received from your colleagues. It is your favourite book that is signed by your colleagues. One of the friends asks you to give him the book to look at. The friend accidentally spills his tea on the book.
What would your reaction be?
Why is it bad/ not bad if the book gets dirty?
13. Your sister is in your kitchen. You have just given her a cup of tea. Your sister grabs the spoon that is lying on the table. And she asks you to give her a new spoon.
How would you react to this?
14. You invited friends over. You have returned from the kitchen with the water kettle in your hands. The guests place their cups on the table in front of you.
What is your reaction?
Why do they place their cups like that?
15. You are at work, where you are having lunch with your colleagues. One of your colleagues brought ginger sauce to work. You state that you want to taste it, but another colleague advises you not to.
How will you react to this?
Why does she advise you not to taste the sauce?
16. You're at home having some visitors over. One of the guests tells you to drink tea.
What is your reaction?
17. You are eating a cheburek (a pastry dish). One of the present people at the table tells you to be careful.
What is your reaction?

18. Several people gathered at the table. You are also at the table. Suddenly, you receive a call on your cell phone.
What will you do?
Where can you take the call?
19. You notice that a 2-year-old child is holding a ceramic vase.
Will you do anything?
20. Imagine that you prepared food for yourself and left it in a bowl in the kitchen. You leave the kitchen for a minute and when you return you find your husband eating from your bowl.
How would you react?
Can you stop him from eating further?
21. You have a serious visual impairment. Someone asks you to read something out loud.
What is your reaction?
What if the person who asks you to read actually knows about your impairment?
22. A friend came to your town. He is not familiar with the area. He lets you know that he wants to go for a walk alone.
What is your reaction?
23. What attributes will people need when they are about to drink tea?
24. What attributes will people need when they are about to drink instant coffee?
25. What attributes will people need when they are about to eat soup?
26. What attributes will people need when they are about to make a drawing?

Samenvatting

Onderzoek naar redenen of verklaringen in interactie heeft zich over het algemeen gefocust op de relatief delicate responsieve spreekhandelingen zoals afwijzingen van een aanbod of verzoek en dat voornamelijk in de westerse culturele context (Antaki, 1994, pp. 68-91; Davidson, 1984; Heritage, 1984, pp. 265-273, 1988; Schegloff, 1988, 2007, pp. 58-96; Sterponi, 2003; Wootton, 1981). De huidige these bestudeerde echter redenen voor een initiërende spraakhandeling - verzoeken in de Russische culturele setting. Het doel van dit proefschrift was om nieuwe inzichten te verschaffen over de rol van redenen in dagelijkse interacties door informele verzoeken te bestuderen die weinig opleggen aan de ontvanger en betreffen kleine tot geen statusverschillen tussen de verzoeker en de ontvanger van het verzoek. De centrale vraag van dit proefschrift was daarom: wat is de rol van redenen in Russische informele interactie? Om deze vraag te beantwoorden, maakte het huidige proefschrift gebruik van verschillende methoden: conversatieanalyse (hoofdstukken 2 en 3), semi-gestructureerde etnografische interviews (hoofdstuk 4) en een breaching experiment (hoofdstuk 5).

Om een totaal beeld van redenen te verkrijgen is het niet voldoende om alleen naar redenen te kijken. Andere spraakhandelingen, namelijk verzoeken, herstel en waarom-vragen, bleken belangrijk voor de bestudering van redenen. Hoofdstuk 2 presenteerde data-sets voor deze spraakhandelingen uit mijn Russische corpus en een beschrijvende analyse ervan. In dit hoofdstuk werden de imperatieven geïdentificeerd als een standaard manier om een verzoek te maken in het informeel Russisch (zie ook Bolden, 2017). Verder liet dit hoofdstuk zien dat het Russische verzoekensysteem kwalitatief anders is dan, bijvoorbeeld, het verzoekensysteem van het Engles of Italiaans (zie ook Zinken, 2016). Dit hoofdstuk stelde ook voor een mogelijk voorkeur (preference structure) voor mensen om de strategie van herstel (restricted repair) te gebruiken om redenen uit te lokken (Robinson & Bolden, 2010). Alhoewel directe waarom-vragen, zoals *waarom*, *waarvoor* en *hoezo*, op het eerste gezicht gericht zijn op het uitlokken van redenen, kregen zij voornamelijk responsen die te vergelijken zijn met de responsen op klachten en challenges in interactie (Bolden & Robinson, 2011).

Hoofdstuk 3 onderzocht waarom sprekers redenen voor hun verzoeken wel of niet geven. De belangrijkste bevinding was dat informele verzoeken standaard zonder redenen uitgevoerd worden. De interpretatie van dergelijke verzoeken wordt mogelijk gemaakt door hun

nauwe aansluiting bij de verklarende context. Als de link naar de context niet gemakkelijk kan worden vastgesteld, complimenteren sprekers hun verzoeken met een reden als één prosodische eenheid. Soms biedt de context slechts gedeeltelijke uitleg voor het verzoek. In dergelijke gevallen geven de verzoekers alleen redenen als de ontvanger de noodzaak daarvoor laat blijkt. Het is dus aan de ontvanger om een uiting te ontcijferen. Daarbij hebben ze de informatie uit de directe interactionele context tot hun beschikking. De taak van de sprekers daarentegen is om de ontvangers duidelijk te maken wanneer zij niet over voldoende informatie beschikken voor de interpretatie van de uiting. De sprekers maken dit duidelijk door zelf redenen te geven voor hun uitingen. Dit doen ze nog vóórdat de ontvangers duidelijk kunnen maken dat een reden nodig is.

Terwijl hoofdstuk 3 uitwees dat contextuele informative noodzakelijk is voor de ontvangers om een verzoek te kunnen interpreteren bestudeerde Hoofdstuk 4 in hoeverre informatie van buiten de directe interactie noodzakelijk is in de interpretatie van verzoeken. Dit hoofdstuk maakte gebruik van semi-gestructureerde ethnografische interviews die gebaseerd waren op de verzoekenverzameling uit hoofdstuk 3. Ethnografische informatie verrijkte de analyse met de informatie over het waarom een verzoek gedaan werd, waarom de reden al dan niet werd verstrekt en over de mogelijke spraakhandelingen die verzoeken uitvoerden naast de handeling van het verzoek zelf. Wanneer een verzoek met een reden werd opgesteld, hielp ethnografische achtergrondinformatie bovendien om uit te leggen hoe de reden op inhoudelijk niveau aan het verzoek gelinkt kon worden.

Hoofdstuk 5 presenteerde een breaching experiment (Garfinkel, 1964; Heritage, 1984, pp. 75-103) de theorie die uit hoofdstuk 3 testte. Terwijl sprekers in spontane interactie letten op de noodzaak van het geven van een reden, werd in dit breaching experiment gekeken hoe de interactie verloopt als de reden niet gegeven wordt op de plek, waar het noodzakelijk is. Als een reden achtergehouden werd werd het behandeld door de ontvangers als interpreteerbaar. Hoewel de ontvangers van de uiting inderdaad de noodzaak van een reden lieten blijken deden ze het alleen na het geven van een gepast respons en vaak meerder indirecte pogingen om een reden uit te lokken in de vorm van herstel. zee en Although recipients did indicate they needed more information about why the question was asked, they only inquired about it after providing proper answers to the question or after some indirect attempts to do so in the form of repair initiations. Dit houdt in dat ze eerst een gepast respons formuleerden voordat ze op een directe wijze naar redenen van de spreker vroegen.

Hoofdstuk 6 samenvatte de bevindingen als interactionele voorkeur voor de ontvangers van een uiting om erachter te komen wat de betekenis ervan is. Tegelijkertijd is de voorkeur voor de spreker om aan te geven wanneer de ontvanger er meer informatie nodig zou hebben. Verder plaatst hoofdstuk 6 deze bevindingen in de theoretische context die wordt geboden door de argumentative theory of reasoning (Mercier & Sperber, 2017) en relationship thinking (Enfield, 2009, 2013).

Biographical note

Julija was born in 1986 in Visaginas, Lithuania. She gained both her BSc in Psychology and her MSc degree in Health Psychology at the Radboud University in Nijmegen. Throughout her studies she worked as a student assistant and a research assistant at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics assisting Prof. Dr. Penelope Brown and Prof. Dr. N.J. Enfield. After gaining her MSc degree Julija was granted a PhD fellowship in the project led by Prof. Dr. N.J. Enfield called *Human sociality and language use*, which was funded by the European Research Council. While carrying out the research reported in this thesis, Julija also contributed to a number of collaborative projects comparing language use and conversational structure across cultures, including projects on repair and requests. Currently, Julija is teaching at the Faculty of Social Sciences and at the Faculty of Arts at the Radboud University.

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