A MULTIMODAL ANALYSIS OF ASSESSMENT SEQUENCES IN CHILEAN SPANISH INTERACTION

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ABSTRACT

This thesis presents a study of food assessments in Chilean Spanish interaction. The data consists of video recordings of six pairs of Chilean participants sampling British foods unknown to them. They tried each food at the same time and discussed their opinions. They were asked to do a joint ranking of these products to elicit sequences of agreement and disagreement. The data is analysed combining the methods of conversation analysis with those of interactional linguistics and the study of embodied interaction.

There are three analytic chapters. The first one explores what constitutes a canonical assessment, i.e. aspects of the turn design of assessments in the particular context of the data and how they compare to the literature in English. The second analytic chapter is about the lead-up to an assessment. I explore how speakers initiate assessments (with particular attention to the role of eye gaze). The third analytic chapter deals with how non-lexical (and other) tokens and the co-occurring embodied aspects of their production (prosodic features, gestures, etc.) are designed and understood as projecting a stance towards the food.

All things considered, this thesis contributes to filling a knowledge gap in relation to the study of assessments in the Spanish language. It also contributes the novelty of studying food assessments among non-experts. Finally, this thesis sheds light on how assessments arise in interaction and about the emergence of linguistic organisation through other non-verbal activities.

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Angeliki for being my partner in all those conferences over the years. It has been so much fun.

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

Some of the examples in Chapter 5 appear in a presentation given at the panel Prosodic Constructions in Dialog at IPrA 2015, by González Temer and Ogden (2015). This collaboration contributed to some of the work process towards Chapter 5 as properly acknowledged in the chapter. However all of the analyses and writing for this chapter was performed by myself.

I declare that the rest of this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a study of assessments in Chilean Spanish interaction. For the project, a multimodal approach has been chosen considering most of the phenomena studied are related to the role of embodied behaviour in the production of assessments.

People routinely make assessments in a number of different social settings. They make assessments while participating in social life, to achieve and display a congruent understanding (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987) of an activity or an event that they are engaged in, to demonstrate their rights to express an opinion, and also to have particular knowledge about an object or event (Heritage, 2002), or just as a means to deal with the experiences they have (Rasmussen, 2010). As a social action that occurs regularly in everyday talk, assessments have provided conversation analysts a way of exploring features of talk-in-interaction.

Sorjonen & Hakulinen (2009:281) use the term assessment "to refer to an evaluative act, typically performed by an utterance that contains a negative or positive predication of a referent or a state of affairs expressed by the subject or the object of the sentence".

Although there is a vast literature for the study of assessments in interaction, in the last thirty years and with Charles Goodwin and Marjorie Harness Goodwin (Goodwin, 1984, 1986; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987, 1992a, 1992b) as pioneers in the study of video recordings, there has been a growing interest in doing multimodal analysis of other non-verbal behaviour involved in the production of assessments, such as eye gaze, body orientation, head movements and facial expressions. Recent studies (Stivers and Rossano 2010; Rossano 2012; Rossano 2013) have argued against more traditional views (Kendon 1967; Argyle and Cook 1976) about the role of gaze in interaction in general, but also about the role of gaze in relation to assessments in conversation.

Different aspects of the verbal and non-verbal delivery of assessments are explored in the three analysis chapters. In general terms, I will explore aspects of the turn design of

assessments in the particular context of the data, how speakers initiate assessments (with particular attention to the role of eye gaze), and how facial expressions and non-lexical tokens project a stance in assessing.

The core methodology used for the analysis of the data is CONVERSATION ANALYSIS (CA). The use of this methodology entails that the analysis and findings are based on the orientations that participants display as the interaction unfolds, and not on an intuitive interpretation of what a particular utterance is thought to mean. This approach is what allows for CA to have the rigour of scientific analysis and to be the means to understand social communication.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In the context of a food-tasting session, which is the quasi-experimental method used for the collection of the data used here, there are many productions of assessments and there is also the competing activity of eating. It is my main interest to see what the roles of the vocal and embodied behaviour are in such a context.

The research questions which lie behind this investigation are:

- What is a 'canonical assessment' and a 'canonical assessment pair' respectively?
- How do previous findings map to the data for this study?
- How do interactants get to a first assessment?
- What are the multimodal resources used in the production of non-lexical tokens prefacing assessments and standalone tokens?
- How do participants in conversation make sense of these tokens?

These questions will be treated in the three analytic chapters of this thesis. The following are summaries of the analytic chapters.

Chapter 3 explains what constitutes a canonical assessment. We see cases of adjacency pairs where the second assessment matches the prior in terms of the referent, and a matching of lexical, and syntactic choice. This chapter also shows that adjacency is not always given when one of the participants does not have the same access to the taste as the first assessor. Finally, we look at examples in which the second assessment is marked as epistemically independent from the first.

Chapter 4 presents the analysis and discussion of how food assessments sequences are initiated and what aspects of the tasting have an impact on how this is done. This chapter also shows that in almost half of the cases of the collection, one of the participants holds off either the production of an assessment, or both the tasting and the production of a first assessment. For these two patterns, gaze alone, not accompanied with speech, worked as a way of mobilising an assessment or a response.

Chapter 5 looks at non-lexical tokens in turn-initial position and as standalone tokens in relation to assessments. We see that phonetic aspects of their production together with co-occurring non-vocal behaviours, such as facial expressions, are used as resources that speakers turn to when designing their turns and are made sense of by their coparticipants in interaction. These tokens serve to project either the valence of the assessment to come, or a stance towards that which is being assessed.

Chapter 1 comprises a literature review framed in the CA tradition, with a general view of the study of assessments in conversation and the study of multimodal features placing special emphasis on their role in social interaction. This prompts the research questions found at the end of that chapter.

Then, an account for the use of CA as the methodological approach for this study is devised in Chapter 2 along with a description of the data. I also provide an explanation of how transcriptions of verbal interaction were made using the GAT2 system (Selting et al. 2011) and Mondada's (2014) conventions for multimodal transcription.

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 are the analytic chapters of the thesis. They have a specific background section, analysis of data, and summary.

Chapter 6 is a discussion of the main analytical points that cut across Chapters 3, 4, and 5, to consider them jointly rather than divided across the specific foci of the preceding chapters. The themes discussed are epistemics, multimodality, and stance and affiliation. In the same chapter, I also look at the contributions and limitations of the study, and what further research and methods are needed to work towards the study of multimodal phenomena in social interaction in other contexts.

CHAPTER 1. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The literature reviewed in this chapter reflects aspects of interest that are common for Chapters 3-5. There is a background section devoted to the most relevant topics within each analytic chapter. This theoretical background chapter is divided as follows:

In section 1.2, I address the issue of why assessments in conversation are an interesting object of study, not only for me but for many others who have devoted a considerable amount of research to them. In section 1.2.1, I review what authors refer to when they use the term assessment in conversation analytic studies, and what other terms are important to bear in mind when researching assessments. Section 1.2.2 deals with assessments in relation to talk organisation. We see whether conditional relevance holds for the production of assessments, and whether this relevance is bound by the type of interaction in which the assessment occurs. Section 1.2.3 pays attention to where in the larger interaction assessments occur and draw attention to some of the interactional uses of assessments. Therefore, I look at different studies that talk about assessments in relation to sequential positioning in different types of social and institutional interaction. In section 1.2.4, I review the main literature on PREFERENCE in relation to assessments in conversation. This section sheds light on the types of resources used by interactants to mark a second assessment as preferred or dispreferred with regard to the first.

Subsection 1.2.5 comprises the literature on dinner interactions. The last subsection 1.2.6 pays particular attention to studies that have identified different expressions of taste and their relationship with the senses or specific cultures.

Finally, section 1.3 summarises the main findings of all these areas of study compiled in this chapter.

1.2 ASSESSMENTS IN CONVERSATION

Two questions are essential when considering the literature on assessments. First and foremost: what are assessments used for in natural interaction? And second, why is it important to study them? I intend to shed light on these questions by looking at what others have found concerning assessments in a comprehensive way. I have divided this theoretical background into sections that correspond to some of the major conversation analytic areas of interest in relation to assessments. Studies on assessments regarding talk organisation, sequential positioning, preference, epistemics, and embodied behaviour, provide insights on the place of assessments in interaction, their role in achieving intersubjectivity, demonstrating knowledge, and sharing experiences. All of this, ultimately, has an impact on the way we learn new things as well.

This thesis focuses particularly on food assessments. Therefore, it is important to devote part of this literature review to studies that have considered assessments in relation to food and other related topics such as, food tasting, and expressions of taste.

The following section, 1.2.1., focuses on the main definitions of assessments provided in the CA literature so we can begin to delimit, and understand, the object of study of this thesis.

1.2.1 ASSESSMENTS

This section focuses on the most widespread definitions for assessments as understood by conversation analysts.

In CA, the term assessment is a generic one that can have different meanings depending on varying levels of organisation. To clarify this, Goodwin & Goodwin (1987:6) use specific labels for ASSESSMENT SEGMENT that refers to the grammatical unit adjective. Goodwin &

Goodwin (1992b:154) say that this label simplifies the task for analysts as it makes them more easily recognisable than other features of the activity of assessment.

Goodwin & Goodwin (1987:6) also distinguish ASSESSMENT SIGNAL which encompasses suprasegmental aspects such as prosodic features or the display of stance. Goodwin & Goodwin (1992b:155) say it is hard to tell what are the boundaries of an assessment as the activity of assessment extends beyond the level of words or syntactic structures, so it can be comparable to prosody that runs over syntactic units. As a consequence, assessment segments are a subset of assessment signals.

Another distinction Goodwin and Goodwin (1987:8) make is ASSESSMENT ACTION that refers to assessments as speech acts with someone who performs the action. This definition considers "an action being performed by an actor" as opposed to the signal or location of the assessment in the stream of talk (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1992b:155). This view of an assessment as a speech act is characterised by its possibility of occurring in the midst of an utterance. It also implies that the actor takes up a position in relation to what is being assessed. This process of assessing has repercussions on the interactive organisation of culture as will be explained in more detail in subsequent paragraphs.

Goodwin & Goodwin (1987:8) call ASSESSMENT ACTIVITY the production of assessments in interaction. This label refers to what occurs when one participant produces an assessment, but also monitors any assessment relevant actions produced by others, and consequently, change their own behaviour according to what is being done by others "the recognizable structure of the emerging assessment activity itself" (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1992b:156)

Finally, an ASSESSABLE refers to "the entity being evaluated by an assessment", what is being assessed (Goodwin & Goodwin (1992b:156).

An important related topic that Goodwin (2003) investigates are the methods that people in conversation use to display that something named in the interaction is treated as a valued or assessable. Goodwin (2003:129) says assessment adjectives are many times preceded by

an intensifier such as "so" with prosodic features that project the valence of what is to come marking the assessable as such. Assessments can also routinely be done by a noun phrase in which the adjective assessment precedes the object it refers to. e.g. "what a beautiful day". Goodwin refers to this order in terms of the signposting it poses, the projectability of the assessment. This last point, I believe is highly dependent on the word order of a language and such projectability can no longer be relevant when the assessment term comes after the assessable. Goodwin (2003:129) also claims that there are other assessments that seem to arise "out of the blue" and that participants need to negotiate. Here, assessing becomes a collaborative activity. Goodwin (2003:130) suggests that a head shake, for example, can be described as ASSESSMENT RELEVANT NONVOCAL BEHAVIOUR and that if it is placed in a relevant sequential position, it can be doing assessing work.

So, Goodwin (2003:133-134) reveals the process of building a response to an unmarked assessable. The first thing that a recipient must recognise is the object that the speaker is talking about as this helps establish the competence and cultural membership of a participant. Secondly, participants must know how to value the assessable after it has been identified, and do so also regarding its cultural domain. In third place, the previous steps can be subjected to public scrutiny, and others can decide whether to agree or disagree with a speaker's assessment. Fourth, the fact that others can scrutinise the assessments that one can produce entails that these could provide a motivation for members of a certain group to learn whatever is needed to participate in a particular discourse domain. Finally, Goodwin (2003:134) claims that the process of recognising assessables in producing assessments sheds light on the broader domain of "how participants will learn relevant information about a domain of discourse in the first place". This claim is a robust one if we aim at accounting for why it is important to study assessments in conversation.

Potter & Edwards (2013:715) refer to the complex nature of assessments and they claim that sometimes assessments involve the use of moral or evaluative terms such as good or great but other times the use of the descriptions may be relevant. They also add that assessments can be built in two different ways in English and their use will have different interactional outcomes. The first way is as OBJECT SIDE, that indexes the assessable, e.g.

"That coffee is nice". The second alternative is as SUBJECT SIDE, that indexes a characterisation of the person making the assessment, e.g. "I love that coffee". Edwards & Potter (2012) offer a third assessment type which implies a fusion they call S-O flips (subject-object flips) where an expression that is semantically subject side is used as an object attribute syntactically, e.g. "it is a depressing situation". I refer to these different interactional consequences of these assessment types in subsection 1.2.6 of this chapter that considers the studies related to food assessments. These different types of assessments vary if we compare English and Spanish, as their constructions are not always equivalent syntactically to their semantically equivalent ones. Besides, there is the possibility that different linguistic systems offer different linguistic affordances, i.e. other languages may have more ways of constructing assessment turns that involve other grammatical constructions that are either non-existent (or may not have been studied) in English.

According to Edwards & Potter (2012), the status of something as an assessment needs one or more of the following features. First, the use of semantic evaluators such as "good", "awful", "like", etc. where the evaluator and assessed object are separated. Secondly, lexical descriptions that inherently assess objects or persons without the need of a separate evaluator, e.g. actions such as whinging or person descriptions such as "bastard" or "creep". The third possible feature is the use of object-dependent assessments, that will only be heard as assessments in a given context and in relation to normative features of what is assessed. A fourth possible feature is uptake by a next turn where the assessment can be proposed, confirmed, or upgraded. The fifth possibility refers to embodied assessments where facial expressions, body movements, or intonation can come before, after, or co-occur with a verbal assessment, or these embodied features can do assessing in their own right. Finally, there can be modalised assessments which imply an object side assessment being subjectivised using an expression such as "I think", "it seems", etc.

From this set of distinctions, we can begin to understand what assessments are used for in natural interaction. They are certainly used to refer to qualities of the referents involved. However, there is much more to them in terms of why they occur where they occur -the "Why that now?" question (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973)- and why they are designed in this

or that way. Equally important, is to be able to discover whether the definitions provided here are just as relevant for data in different languages. In the first analytic chapter of this thesis (Chapter 3), I try to answer this question by looking at the ways assessments are formatted in the Chilean Spanish data used for this study.

In the following section, 1.2.2., I review the main literature that deals with talk organisation to find out what other studies have said about the conditional relevance of assessment pairs.

1.2.2 TALK ORGANISATION

The turn-taking system devised by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) proposes a proof procedure method for the analysis of turns. With a FIRST-PAIR PART (FPP), that presents a particular type of sequence-initiating action (e.g. a request), a speaker selects another speaker to perform a SECOND-PAIR PART (SPP). This SPP is responsive to the FPP (e.g. a granting/rejection), and by virtue of it being produced as an SPP, it displays the understanding of the prior turn as an FPP (Sacks et al, 1974:728). This pair of turns forms what we know as adjacency pair, in which an FPP makes relevant the production of an SPP. This linking relationship is known as conditional relevance (Schegloff, 1968:1083).

The traditional literature on assessments (Pomerantz, 1974, 19749, 1984) showed us how assessments worked in terms of preference (see subsection 1.2.4 in this chapter). Pomerantz (ibid.) focused mainly on assessments produced by speakers in relation to past events or activities. Lindström and Mondada (2009:300) suggest that this might be the reason why Pomerantz (ibid.) favoured the study of second assessments and how alignment is constructed, as only a few of her examples showed how speaker's participation in present events and activities occasion assessments. Therefore, the issue of whether assessments were low or high in conditional relevance was not an object of study then.

There is another variable that comes into play if we start thinking of different types of interaction. Goffman (1963) was the pioneer in thinking of focused and unfocused encounters. Focused interaction is the type of encounter given when persons get together and "openly cooperate to sustain a single focus of attention, typically by taking turns are talking" (Goffman, 1963:24). Differently, unfocused gatherings refer mostly to acknowledging the presence of somebody by glancing at them as they enter one's view, i.e. where no focused interaction takes place. Most importantly, Goffman (1963:102) identifies a third type of interaction between "mere copresence and full scale co-participation" that he calls lapsed verbal encounters. Examples of lapsed encounters would be two people walking silently together, where they may be considered by others as being together, and can potentially break into "spoken or gestured communication, although they can hardly be said to sustain continuously a mutual activity" (Goffman, 1963:103).

These Goffmanian concepts, are brought up again by Sacks & Schegloff in 1973 when they proposed a distinction between continuously sustained talk, essentially a sustained conversation with a clear opening and ending; and continuing states of incipient talk, in which speaker's utterances can be followed by silence in a way that does not suspend or violate the basic features of conversation, namely, one party speaks at a time in a single conversation, and that speaker change recurs (Sacks & Schegloff, 1973:325). Sacks & Schegloff (ibid.) suggest that this distinction entails that the way a conversation is carried on bears relations with the occasion, but also how participants in conversation deal with a lapse in the operation of the turn-taking machinery is related to the place of the interaction in the occasion.

Berger and colleagues (2016) say that for forty years, the term 'continuing state of incipient talk' has been adopted by several authors who have accommodated the term to the particulars of their own data, and have paid little attention to a uniform use of what incipient talk means. Berger and colleagues (ibid.) propose that a start to clarify this concept would be to do large-scale research on interactions with lapses. Some of the essential questions to answer would be:

How do different activities affect the sequential environment? How do people involved in different activities or settings initiate and close sequences, sequences of sequences, topics, spates of talk, etc.? What happens during lapses? why that now? is something else going on? is this really a lapse or an activity that is necessary to progress the interaction? The most interesting sites of analysis might be when there is no obvious reason for a lapse. (Berger et al, 2016:41).

Ergul (2014) did focus on a continuing state of incipient talk where people are watching TV together. More relevant for this thesis is the fact that Ergul paid particular attention to the assessments produced by groups of Turkish women as they were watching a daytime reality TV show together. Her findings show (Ergul, 2016:117) that assessments do not always get responded to during this continuing state of incipient talk. In those cases when no response occurs, the speaker who produces the assessment might not pursue a response, and the lack of response is not treated as something other speakers need to account for, or as something that might be sanctionable. Furthermore, there are cases in which there is no response after a first assessment, that speaker does pursue a response and still gets no response. Ergul (2016:130) found that in those cases the lack of response is also not treated as problematic by other viewers "the next relevant action in such cases is found to be watching TV silently" Ergul argues.

Stivers and Rossano (2010) carried out a study on how responses are mobilised in interaction. They suggest that response relevance works in a scalar way with speakers relying on turn-deign resources that would increase the relevance for responding to a turn beyond the relevance that the action performed carries (Stivers & Rossano, 2010:4). The four turn-features identified by the authors as increasing response relevance are: interrogative lexicomorpho-syntax, interrogative prosody, speaker gaze, and recipient-focused epistemicity. Stivers and Rossano (ibid.) invite to reconsider the way adjacency pairs and conditional relevance have traditionally been understood.

Schegloff (2010) and Couper Kuhlen (2010) wrote commentaries raising some issues in relation to what had been proposed by Stivers and Rossano (ibid.). Schegloff (2010:47)

argues that most continuing states of incipient talk consist of copresent participants in the same place or travelling together, and they share "sensory access to the same environment". The noticings they put on offer in relation to that environment may be taken up or not, and if they are not taken up, they might be pursued or not. So, there is the possibility of a noticing being put on offer and then a long, but unproblematic silence. This example sheds light on the "the practices, actions, and particularly the sequences of actions of continuing states of incipient talk" (Schegloff, 2010:47), and this is what Schegloff (ibid.) claims should be the foci of further studies, as opposed to the deconstruction of the findings of the last four decades.

In her commentary, Couper Kuhlen (2010) resorts to the Goffmanian concept of focused and unfocused encounters and reminds us that conditional relevance has never been said to hold for unfocused encounters. As it does also not necessarily hold for continuing states of incipient talk. Coupler Kuhlen (2010:35) "when a couple watching television together engages sporadically in talk. Such situations are characterized precisely by the absence of a tightly organized exchange of doings, of orientation to something being due next, of a common "clock". Coupler Kuhlen (ibid.) adds that most of the examples of nonresponses shown by Stivers and Rossano (2010) correspond to this type of situations where participants are not only engaged in talking but are focusing on other activities such as preparing food, clearing the table, tasting food, etc.

Couper Kuhlen (ibid.) also points out that these activities do not need for participants to be focused on a single task, and talk can be acknowledged as secondary to them and even be considered self-talk. An interesting point raised by Couper Kuhlen (2010:36) is that response relevance could work as a "tool for negotiating the status of an encounter as focused or nonfocused". This means, copresent parties can construct an interaction as nonfocused, and they can also render it into a focused encounter by pursuing a response.

The review of some of the literature on talk organisation demonstrates that there are several terms that overlap, and perhaps no consensual term for types of talk that do not fit into those exact categories. Schegloff's (2010) suggestion that we should pay attention to

the particulars of continuing states of incipient talk, and Couper Kuhlen's (2010) proposal that response relevance could be used as a tool to shape the type of encounter participants are engaged in, do not completely invalidate what Stivers and Rossano (2010) claim in relation to response relevance. For this thesis, Stivers and Rossano's (2010) findings certainly hold in the use of eye gaze as a mobilising resource in the type of data studied. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge that this data involves the copresent parties engaging with the main task of tasting food, and that although they have been prompted to produce talk, this parallel activity does have bearings on the way the talk is organised.

While the food tasting data used in this study could be considered a focused gathering, and it does not constitute a continuous state of incipient talk per se, it is essential to acknowledge that there are silent periods that can be treated as accountable or unaccountable by the interactants. Whether participants treat the silence as sanctionable might be related to the "failure" in complying with the task at hand, which is to discuss their opinions about the foods they are tasting. Differently, if a long silence is produced in a moment of the interaction where one or both participants are fully engaged with the eating activity, this is not treated by the participants as a "noticeable absence" (Atkinson & Drew, 1979:52).

1.2.3 SEQUENTIAL POSITIONING

Since assessments began to be studied in the 70s, some studies have tried to establish how assessments are proffered and occasioned in certain specific positions within interactions. Pomerantz (1984), as a pioneer in the study of assessments, identified three loci for their sequential position. The first one is as part of participating, which essentially refers to proffering assessments while participating in present social activities. The second locus is in reports of partaking in activities, so assessing past events. The last locus is the next turn to initial assessments (co-participating), in Pomerantz's (1984:59) words, second assessments which are "assessments produced by recipients of prior assessments in which the referents in the seconds are the same as those in the priors".

A few years later, Goodwin and Goodwin (1987:49) claimed that assessments could be found in a variety of different sequential positions "as subordinate parts of sentences dealing primarily with other matters, in the background segments of stories, and as extended sequences when stories and topics are brought to completion". The authors (ibid.) add that, in storytelling, assessments in these different positions are tied together regarding how participants see characters and events in the story from beginning to end. Assessments also help to collaboratively build an interpretation of the talk and establish alignment through this process.

Antaki (2002) also focused on how assessments are used in closing talk, paying particular attention to high-grade assessments such as "lovely" and "brilliant" in mundane interaction. The author (ibid.) suggests that closing sequences in telephone conversation, that include actions like making arrangements, provide for a place when a turn-initial high-grade assessment can be produced. Antaki (2002:5) suggests that a high-grade assessment functions as a tool for resuming a suspended closing. Antaki (ibid.) looked at how these findings related to the way these high-grade assessments are used in interview talk and found that they seem to mark conversational structures such as question-answer sequences, and sections of the schedule of an interview. Antaki (2002:21) adds "if there is any merit in making a bridge between what implications the format ["smashing"] + [next question] might have for an interviewer on the one hand, and ["lovely"] + [resumption of closing] on the other, then we might say that both mark a display of control of the interactional sequence, at least at that moment".

Later, Antaki and colleagues (2010) study high-grade assessments during interviews with people with a learning disability. They suggest these assessments are given by the institutionality of the talk and possibly occasioned by the troublesome conduct of an interview rather than being relevant to prior talk. The authors (2010.:235) say these assessments "occur in a (permissive) sequence of [answer receipt] + [right/ok token] + [high-grade assessment] + [move to next item] which, we argue, are task-oriented, rather than content-oriented, devices."

Goodwin and Goodwin (1992) focused on the dynamic nature of assessments at turns at talk. The authors (ibid.) claim that assessments can "emerge, develop, and die within the boundaries of a single turn, while also having the potential to extend over multiple turns, and to bound units considerably larger than the turn" (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1992:181). An important point raised by Goodwin and Goodwin (ibid.) is that performing an assessment is intrinsically social in that multiple actors can participate, which consequently proves the interactive quality of assessments, but most importantly that assessments have structures that are recognisable to speakers. This recognisable structure according to Goodwin and Goodwin (1992:182) includes: "(1) a peak of involvement that is preceded by (2) visible precursors of that peak that participants can utilize to coordinate their arrival at the peak, and (3) procedures for withdrawing from this state of heightened mutual involvement". Speakers in conversation must then track this unfolding structure and pay attention to the details of the talk (syntax, prosodic features, etc) in order to make sense of what is being said and also to organise their subsequent action.

In their study of how assessments sequences unfold in the context of the production of a clothing item in a fashion atelier, Fasulo and Monzoni (2009) focus on the embodied features of assessments and how they get responded. The authors (ibid.) claim that some ongoing embedded appraisal phases, where the materials are observed and manipulated, are key for the understanding of how assessment sequences emerge and unfold in time. The type of assessable studied by these authors is of a mutable kind, and when negative assessments of these objects are produced, these assessments function as proposals for a change which can be accepted or refused (Fasulo & Monzoni, 2009:362). The authors (ibid.) refer to Pomerantz's (1984:57) claim that access to knowledge of the referent is essential in being able to assess in second position, and that despite this claim, most of Pomerantz's examples dealt with referents that were known beforehand. This critical distinction has somehow being neglected in the literature on assessments because most studies have not focused on assessments produced there and then. The data used by Fasulo and Monzoni (ibid.) includes assessments produced around referents that are present and that are undergoing transformations. The multimodal nature of the sequences entails that EMBODIED ACTIONS have a role in establishing the referent and that both assessor and

recipient orient to the access and experience of the recipient as the basis for the production of an SPP. The adjacency relation between assessment and response is a complex one, where a first assessment creates the relevance for a response that aligns or misaligns, but these responses are not restrained to second assessments (Fasulo & Monzoni, 2009:374).

Fasulo and Monzoni's (ibid.) study shows the importance of considering the type of interaction in the study of assessments, and in this case, what the implications of assessing as part of a larger evaluative practice are. It also brings attention to how assessments are produced in relation to objects that are present, and in particular, to mutable objects whose shape in the world will change based on these assessments.

Mondada (2009) studied food assessments produced by family members or friends during dinner conversations (See subsection 1.31 for more studies on dinner interactions). The findings offer interesting insights on how assessments are carefully positioned within the dinner interaction. One of these insights is that assessments in first position and the projection of a second are a way of initiating new talk and a chance of topic based on the assessables. Food assessments are produced in delicate moments where some conflict is occurring. This finding shows their sequential position is sensitive to the context in which they occur (Mondada, 2009:570).

Koole (2012) studied assessments in the context of classroom interaction. He focused on the third position of IRF sequences (teacher's initiative action, student's response, teacher's feedback). The findings suggest that positive assessments are produced in relation to the object of the student's knowing. Their design has the format of a follow-up question, an answer repeat, or [an overt positive assessment] + [follow-up question or conclusion]. Negative assessments are more frequently produced in relation to the student's doing or understanding. The negatively assessed answer is treated as resulting from a problem in understanding as opposed to a cognitive one (Koole, 2012:62). This study proves that assessments are designed differently when implementing differently oriented evaluations in a particular sequential position. These differences are sensitive to the institutional context in which they occur.

Pillet-Shore (2003) examined the use of "okay" as an assessment of student performance in the context of parent-teacher conference interactions. The author found two metrics of assessments for the use of "okay", one binary (as opposed to "not okay") and one gradated as a value among a larger group of assessments. Default binary "okay" is used to produce summary assessments as a way to propose sequence closure or the closure of the whole interaction. Parents also use it as a summary assessment of the student's performance as a display of their understanding of their children's performance, which invites confirmation and agreement from the teachers. And it can also be used by teachers in this sense to imply there is no need for remedial attention (Pillet-Shore, 2003:311). When this binary metric is resisted, then a gradated metric of student assessment becomes relevant. Pillet-Shore (2003:312) adds that participants in this type of interaction "seem to know which metric is relevant at any given moment by monitoring for other assessments that may be hearable as upgraded or downgraded relative to "okay"", and if other gradated assessments are present, "okay" is understood as part of a set of assessments. This study also proves that assessments are sensitive to the place in the interaction in which they are produced.

The studies discussed in this subsection bring attention to the sequential positions in which assessments systematically occur. In summary, we can say that assessments can be located after an initial assessment, in closing sequences or closing interactions, at delicate moments in dinner interactions, and when assessments are done as participation in a social activity. While much of the research on assessments focuses on their placement following a first assessment, more insight is needed on their sequential position in various social contexts. This thesis explores a particular type of interaction that is food tasting, in which participants were given the task of tasting and giving their opinions. In this sense, this study is similar to the one carried out by Fasulo and Monzoni (2009) where assessing is the work, so assessments are produced as part of a larger evaluating activity. My interest is to see whether different types of assessments are produced in different sequential positions in a context where most of the turns at talk are assessments (See Chapter 3).

1.2.4 Preference

The term preference is used in CA not in relation to the psychological motives or likings of participants, but to an interaction-structural relationship between sequence parts (Schegloff, 2007:61). This notion of preference was first devised by the observation that a first pair part makes relevant a second pair part and this SPP can be done in alternative ways that are not "symmetrical alternatives", i.e. they are not equivalent or hold the same value (Sacks & Schegloff, 1973:314), and these are not oriented to by the participants in the same way.

The key issues around preference organisation have to do with the alignment[1] of the second action in relation to the first, but also the alignment of recipients in implementing their response (Pomerantz, 1984:63–64, cited in Schegloff, 2007:59). This alignment can be of two types: "plus" (+) and "minus" (-).

Pomerantz (1978, 1984) identified an overall preference for agreements in relation to first assessments, so + responses are preferred. Pomerantz (1984:63) also claims that the preferred next action depends on the action performed by the first assessment. Therefore, there are cases in which disagreement is preferred such as in response to compliments, or self-deprecations.

Pomerantz (1984:64-69) identifies three forms of agreement in such cases where agreement is preferred: 1) upgraded assessments of the referent assessed in the prior that are a sign of strong agreement; 2) same evaluation as the prior's evaluation that can express agreement but also preface disagreement; 3) downgraded assessment, a scaled-down or weakened evaluation that engenders disagreement.

Preferred response turns are designed in different ways as dispreferred ones. Couper-Kuhlen (2012:465) says "preferred responses are typically simple, immediate, and to the

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[1] Stivers (2008:32) uses the term 'alignment' to account for ways of acknowledging and supporting the progress of the talk.

point, while dispreferred ones are complex, with prefaces (e.g., uh, er, well, etc.), hedges, mitigated language, and accompanying excuses and accounts. The dispreferred action will tend to be pushed toward the end of the turn, whose onset itself may be temporally delayed".

In relation to assessments, Pomerantz (1984) states that when an initial assessment is proffered, agreement/disagreement is relevant upon the completion, or more accurately, upon a possible completion point, of the proffering. "when agreements are invited, strong or upgraded agreements are performed with a minimization of gap (in fact, frequently in slight overlap)" (Pomerantz, 1984:69). On the contrary, dispreferred second pair parts are produced with some delay. Some delay devices include silence, requests for clarification, partial repeats and other repair initiators, turn prefaces, etc (Pomerantz, 1984:70).

Regarding the turn design features of second assessments, Ogden (2006) studied the role of prosodic cues in the projection of disagreement, even when the lexical and syntactic format conveys agreement. Phonetic resources are used by interactants to "upgrade" an SPP relative to the FPP to mark it as a preferred action, or "downgrade" an SPP relative to an FPP to project a dispreferred action. Ogden (2006:1772) explains that "the phonetic devices which speakers use do not relate to the propositional content of a turn, but to the action that the turn promotes in its particular sequential environment. In some cases, there can be a mismatch where the propositional content of a second assessment suggests agreement, but the production of the turn promotes disagreement".

The choice of phonetic resources used for upgrading or downgrading a second assessment is better understood in relation to the phonetic resources used by the speaker of the previous turn. This relationship is what Szczepek Reed (2007) calls "prosodic orientation". The different types of orientation include prosodic matching (matching of intonation contour, pitch step-up, pitch register, loudness, speech rate, voice quality, and phonetic sound production), prosodic non-matching, prosodic complementation, and prosodic continuation (Szczepek Reed, 2007:209). According to the author (ibid.), these orientations occur in second among other responsive actions.

A recent study by Szczepek Reed (2014) shows how speakers assemble lexical, prosodic, and sequential cues to produce positive, highly affiliative first assessments of child-like agents in German. This same assemblage, [süß + prosodic stylisation + freestanding turn design], is used by to "mitigate complaints about adult referents, and to assign non-membership to referents from different membership categories" (Szczepek Reed, 2014:162). Prosodic stylisation refers to prosody that stands out from what came before and what comes after. The author (ibid.) also notes that social actions are not accomplished by individual cues. These assemblages emerge as the talk is produced, and all of its features are equally significant.

Tanaka (2016) explores the relationship between grammar and preference organisation in both Japanese and Anglo-American English conversation with a focus on agreements with first assessments. In Japanese, agreements to assessments place the gist of the agreement in turn-initial position, resorting to the variability of word order and the possibility of having unexpressed arguments. The comparison with English demonstrated that, regardless of the language differences, speakers orient to "operating on word order and to use ellipsis for achieving similar objectives" (Tanaka, 2016:21).

Structures of agreements and disagreements with assessments.		
Features	Agreements	Disagreements
Timing	• Minimal gap between first assessment and agreement turn • "Agreement is indexed soon" (Ogden, 2006; Sacks, 1987)	• Delay between first assessment and the onset of the TCU containing the disagreement component • Gist of disagreement occurs late in the TCU containing the disagreement component (Tanaka, 2008)
Turn-design	• Relatively simple turn structure • Entire turn occupied with agreement • Agreement performed straightforwardly and explicitly • Ellipsis (Pomerantz, 1984; Heritage, 1984)	• Complex turn structure • Disagreement component regularly preceded by prefaces, markers (e.g. *well*), qualifications and token agreements (Atkinson and Drew, 1979)
Lexical	e.g. • Same assessment term • Same assessment term with intensifier • Upgraded assessment term • Repetitional agreement without assessment term (Pomerantz, 1984)	e.g. • Antonym or opposite polarity assessment (Ogden, 2006) • Epistemic expressions (Tanaka, 2008) • Adverbials (Tanaka, 2008)
Syntactic structure	e.g. • Syntactic parallelism (Pomerantz, 1984) • Single words to multiple words (Kendrick and Torreira, 2015) • Grammatical formats including lexical/phrasal, 'minimal clausal', 'expanded clausal', and 'graded clausal' (Thompson et al., 2015, Ch. 4)	e.g. • Grammatical formats including 'expanded clausal' and 'graded clausal' (Thompson et al., 2015, Ch. 4) • Copular clauses and cleft constructions (Tanaka, 2008)

Figure 1.1. Structures of agreements and disagreements with assessments   (Tanaka, 2016:11)

Tanaka's (ibid.) study is one of many that pay attention to the lexico-grammatical features of agreements and disagreements with assessments. Figure 1.1 shows a table devised by Tanaka (2016) which presents a summary of the main lexico-grammatical features that have been identified for doing agreement and disagreement with assessments.

The studies discussed in this subsection show that assessments are a fruitful place for the study of preference organisation. They have also demonstrated that preferred and dispreferred assessments can be done through a number of different turn formats with speakers resorting to sequential, lexical and prosodic features, in other words, turns are built multimodally.

1.2.5 DINNER INTERACTIONS

From its very beginnings, CA has used naturally occurring data, much of which consisted of everyday social encounters including dinner conversations. Hence, a number of studies have paid attention to interactional practices that arise in the context of dinner talk in relation to turn-taking (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974); or in regard to participation frameworks (Goodwin, 1981; Goodwin, 1984; Goodwin, 1986). In this sense, dinner talk can be considered as one of many settings where social interaction can be studied. Other studies have paid attention to the rituals associated with dinner conversations (Blum-Kulka, 1997); and to mealtimes in relation to family interactions (Ochs & Shohet, 2006) or crosscultural comparisons of family mealtimes and the socialisation of taste in children (Ochs, Pontecorvo & Fasulo, 1996).

Mondada (2009) studied particular moments in dinner interaction where attention is brought to food and assessments of it are produced. Mondada's (2009) study considers the fact that in dinner conversations, participants are not always eating and eating is not always the main activity. There are also an array of activities that take place during dinner interactions besides assessments, such as announcements, food offers and requests, invitations to tasting, compliments, and stories related to past and future meals (Mondada,

2009:560). The author identifies three sequential positions within dinner conversations, where food assessments are produced. The first one is after a new dish is announced and brought to the table or discovered. The second one is within the closing of a sequence which matches Antaki's (2002) findings for assessments in telephone conversations. The third position in which food assessments are found in dinner interactions is in 'delicate interactional moments where some sort of conflict is occurring, refocusing the attention of the interactants (Mondada, 2009: 570). The most relevant generalisation to these findings is that food assessments are sequentially placed and fitted within other ongoing actions and they help shape them as social activities. Furthermore, Mondada (2009:560) adds that food assessments in dinner conversations are "are elements that are locally achieved in interaction – and which do not pre-exist as such in the 'minds' of individual subjects."

1.2.6 FOOD ASSESSMENTS, TASTING, AND EXPRESSIONS OF TASTE

Wiggins & Potter (2003:518,519) have analysed assessments from a different perspective and they have considered two distinctions that are relevant to food evaluation. The first one is subjective vs objective evaluations where a subject side assessment is one that takes the grammatical form 'I (x) food' in English. An objective evaluation, on the other hand, takes the form 'the food is (x)'. In relation to the actions they ascribe to, Wiggins & Potter (2003:526) have found that subject side assessments can be part of different actions such as managing assessment relevance implications; accounting for speaker-specific activities and as part of food refusals. Objective evaluations might be used in compliments (without the caution of subject side assessments) and in persuasive talk (countering subject side assessments).

The second distinction refers to category vs. item evaluations. When comparing assessments proffered for a category of food and for a specific item, Wiggins & Potter (2003:526) have found that category assessments are used to turn down food offers without resourcing to the specifics of the food. Category assessments are also used to set a food preference that extends beyond the present situation. In relation to item evaluations, these

might be used to constrain the general implications produced by an assessment, to formulate a particular preference used to manage rhetorical conflict, to justify actions in relation to specific category members, and to make directed compliments.

In her study of gustatory mms, Wiggins (2002:312) argues that eating is social in nature because of evident social actions that accompany eating such as offering and accepting food, but also because pleasure in eating can also be considered a social phenomenon. Wiggins's claims contradict the traditional view in psychology that regards eating as a primarily physiological and cognitive activity. Wiggins (2002:331) asserts that gustatory mms are embedded within activities that include making compliments, displaying alignment or agreement, which goes to prove they are part of the design of turns at talk as actions in conversation.

Wiggins (2004:36) shows how speakers might be held accountable for the negative food assessments they produce and this is done through challenges that relate to physical aspects of eating, such as questioning whether the speaker has actually eaten the food or by asking them to specify the exact quality of the food they dislike. Wiggins sheds light on the way participants construct their taste preferences which is probably something very private but at the same time publicly evidenced in interactions around food.

1.3 SUMMARY

In this chapter, the main research on assessments has been discussed. Section 1.2 provided an overview of the literature on assessments in relation to what constitutes an assessment and how the term is understood in CA. Other subsections focused on research on assessments in relation to talk organisation, sequential positioning, preference, dinner interactions, and food tasting and expressions of taste.

The literature review presented in this chapter reveals the potential relevant contributions this study makes regarding 1) our knowledge on assessments in the Spanish language, and

more specifically in Chilean Spanish, 2) the study of food assessments in the context of a tasting by non-experts, where assessing is the work, and important implications for 3) the lead up to assessments, i.e. how assessments are initiated in interaction. These contributions are explained in more detail in subsection 6.4 of Chapter 6.

The next chapter will discuss in detail the data and methodology used in this thesis.

This chapter explains in detail different aspects of the data collection. Section 2.1 refers to what the data is in general terms. Subsection 2.1.1 focuses on the participants, procedure and ethical considerations relevant to the data gathering. Subsection 2.1.2 explains the technical specifications of the collection process. Subsection 2.1.3 presents an evaluation of the data in terms of its naturalness and validity for this project.

In section 2.2, I introduce CA as the main method of analysis used in this thesis. In subsection 2.2.1, I refer to the fundamental structures that underlie CA and that drive the analysis of the data.

In section 2.3, I present an overview of what is meant by interactional linguistics to display how CA together with linguistic analysis allow us to make robust claims within the field of linguistics. I also present some views of why interactional linguistics is the appropriate methodology to use for the data and object of study of this thesis.

Section 2.4 presents a detailed explanation of how transcriptions were made, what kinds of transcription conventions are used and why, and how the data has been analysed throughout this thesis. Finally, section 2.5 summarises the main points of this chapter.

2.1 DATA

The corpus which forms the basis for the analysis was recorded at the researcher's house in Chile. The recordings consisted of 20-minute dyadic interactions in the living room of the researcher's house equipped with high-quality audio and high-definition digital video recorders. The data was recorded having in mind a pilot study of assessment sequences that would be generated through a food tasting session.

2.1.1 PARTICIPANTS, PROCEDURE AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The participants of the study were friends of the researcher and were invited to do the task as they were already guests for social gatherings. There were 12 people who participated in the study and they were recorded in pairs on separate occasions. They were all native Chilean Spanish speakers living in the city of Santiago in Chile. From the pairs recorded, 4 were romantic couples, one was a pair of friends, and one pair were brother and sister. Their ages ranged between 20 and 40 years old. There were 7 male and 5 female participants.

Ethics approval for data collection was granted by the Ethics Committee of the Department of Language and Linguistic Science from the University of York. The participants read an information sheet in Spanish that briefed them about the purposes of the recording. They also had to provide information regarding vegetarian/vegan options they might prefer or any food allergies they might have so as to take all the necessary precautions. As part of the ethics application, an insurance officer from the Health, Safety and Security Department at the University of York reviewed the application for food safety and public liability coverage to make sure it was all in order. All of the participants signed informed consents in English[2] and agreed for their voices and faces to be shown without anonymising in academic settings.

Each pair was audio and video recorded for 20 minutes. They were asked to sit on a couch facing the camera in front of them with their hands and the food in front of them visible. This configuration is illustrated in Figure 2.1 below. The participants were given a task which consisted in them tasting 5 different food products that were displayed in front of them on a coffee table. This task was set as relatively free in that they could choose the order in which to taste the food. However, they were asked to taste each product at the same time (roughly spending 3 minutes per food) and discuss what they thought of the products. Each pair was also asked to come to a joint ranking of these products once they had finished tasting (for around 5 minutes) so they could produce sequences of agreement and

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[2] A translation of the consent form to Spanish was available for the participants to read.

disagreement. The participants were notified when they had reached the 20 minutes as they had been informed in advance that this would be done.
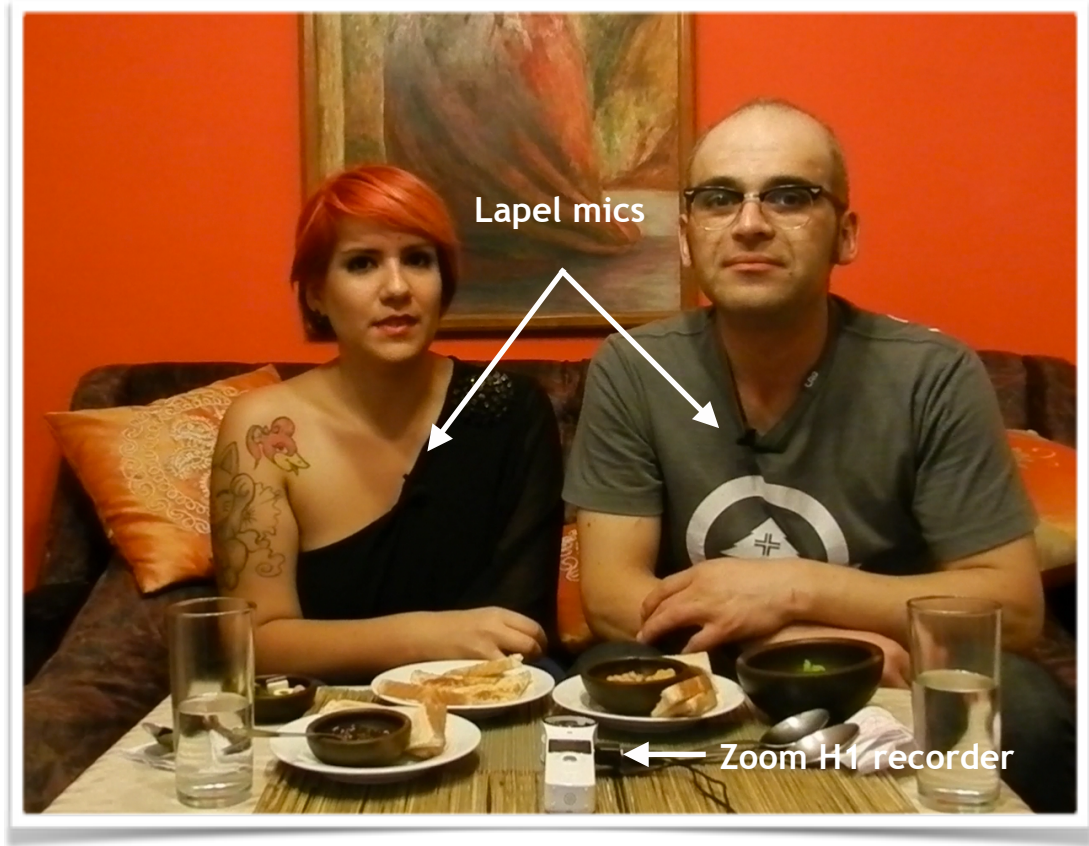
Figure 2.1 Configuration of the recording session

L and R sitting on the couch facing the camera, both of them wearing lapel microphones. The coffee table is in front of them with the foods to taste and glasses of water. The Zoom H1 recorder is also visible in the middle of the table.

The choice of foods to taste was made considering what British products were not easily available or at least well-known in Chile. These British foods had to be somehow popular and easily recognisable by British people as well as foreigners as representative of the UK market. The foods had to be non-perishable to be transported from the UK to Chile. There were six different foods, but only five were offered to them depending on availability. So most of the participants tried the same five foods and only one couple tried some different items. These products were Marmite® (sticky, dark brown spread made from yeast extract), baked beans (beans stewed in tomato sauce), mushy peas (rehydrated and then cooked dried peas), mince pies (sweet pie filled with a mixture of dried fruits and spices), Terry's Chocolate Orange® (orange-shaped ball of chocolate mixed with orange oil, divided into segments), and liquorice allsorts (assorted liquorice sugar candies made of liquorice, sugar,

coconut, aniseed jelly, fruit flavourings, and gelatine). The participants were also offered glasses of water to cleanse their palates between the tastings. See the figure below (2.2) for visual reference.

Figure 2.2 Foods used in the tasting task

In clockwise order: Marmite®, baked beans, mushy peas, mince pies, Terry's Chocolate Orange® and liquorice allsorts.

2.1.2 TECHNICAL SPECIFICATIONS

The video recordings were made with a compact digital Nikon COOLPIX P500 camera installed opposite the participants at a distance of approximately two meters, recording at a resolution of 1,920x1,080p at 30 FPS, capturing their faces, upper bodies and hands, as well as the food in front of them. The audio input was recorded using Audio Technica ATR-3350 ATR Series Omnidirectional Condenser Lavalier Microphones, and audio recordings were made at 44.1KHZ 16bit with a Zoom H1 audio recorder on the table. The audio was recorded on 2 channels to make the data more manageable for overlapping talk. The researcher was present during the set up of the camera and microphones but left the room at the beginning of the recordings.

2.1.3 EVALUATION OF THE DATA

This section intends to provide an evaluation of this data. I refer to three main points. The first one has to do with the type of recording done. The second one deals with the choice of participants. And the third one relates to the particular food tasting set up for the study.

The first point we can evaluate is the type of recording done. While interactional data provides us with a tension between naturalness and quality, natural data is often poor quality acoustically, but high-quality acoustic data is often not very natural. One can question whether the participants might behave unnaturally in a devised setting or they will be doing what they are doing because it is part of a task. And indeed there are a few orientations to the camera (a couple of people mention being on a TV show), or a few orientations to the task ("I don't want to taste this, but it needs to be done"). Nevertheless, there is also evidence to say that participants manage the task as it unfolds in a way that is interactionally natural for them. For example, they do not do the assessments for the camera and when the participants turn away, they do it from each other and not from the camera and they might actually end up facing it.

A major advantage of the type of recording done for this study is the high-quality sound and high-definition video resulting from it, as it is very important to have this type of quality for phonetic and gestural analysis. Another advantage is the fact that there are six recorded interactions that are similar in the way they unfold in time. In practical terms, this means that comparison across pieces of data were more easily given than looking for a phenomenon across varied data.

I asked participants to talk about the foods they tasted, simply put, to say what they thought as they were tasting them. The task given was to come to a joint ranking after tasting all the food products. In the real world we are faced with task oriented interaction all the time and we orient to those is an orderly manner such as in a doctor patient interaction. What I found is that in order to produce this ranking, all the participants produce assessments of the foods to show that accountability. They show me as the third

party that they have arrived at a certain rate after a thought process, but they also establish this among themselves as the mechanism through which they will solve the task. There are other steps in which they approach the task that are interactionally orderly and that all of the pairs do in very similar ways such as choosing the order in which they will taste the foods, or finding consensus before moving on to a different food. This shows that there are regularities to this data that did not have to be there in principle.

Another advantage of this quasi-experimental design is that is truly provides us with the possibility of witnessing real first assessments because the participants are assessing unknown items. Participants are essentially doing what they do everyday with things when they encounter something new, when they are forming their world-views, but with this quasi-experimental view, we have the chance to see this unfolding over and over again as they taste a new food. Moreover, we find that the kinds of assessments participants produce, where the assessables are available for the interactants there and then, are not like many of the assessments reported in the literature as those asssessments generally refer to past events. The implications of the novelty of this design in terms of how assessments are formatted are explored in chapters 3, 4 and 5.

The second point of evaluation relates to the participants of this study. The dyads chosen formed correspond to romantic couples, brothers and sisters or good friends, so there is an existing relationship between the participants prior to the recordings. Based on the analysis of the data, with particular couples, certain patterns of behaviour emerge where it is always the same person that eats first or it is always the same person who assesses first. Therefore, it may be important to acknowledge there is a dynamic between each of the couples. The interactional dynamics in a couple and the certain ways certain people operate in their interactions with others may be or become routinised. A relationship is the choices that individuals make at points in interaction where one decides consistently to yield to the epistemic authority of the other or does not. And probably that is how we form our opinions of whether people are nice or boring or stupid or entertaining because they make certain choices in the way they interact with us.

While the profession of the participants is irrelevant in most of the cases, there is the case of one couple in which one of the participants is a chef. The co-participant in this case consistently defers to the chef's knowledge, waiting for him to express an opinion, and he seems to have a very good vocabulary for it. This fact seems to be oriented to by the co-participant who once addresses the chef as *jefe* 'boss' and in other occasions seeks confirmation from the chef "I don't know, you know better" "is that the right term?" marking the chef's epistemic primacy over their own. Another couple is constituted by a big sister and her little brother. She jokes at some point of their interaction offering to feed him as a baby. Given their age difference, she probably fed him as a baby. We can not prove this, but we know there is no possibility of that with the chef and his girlfriend. We can see the different dynamics between people with these examples. Although many times as analysts we do not have access to the knowledge of these relationships, participants in conversation certainly do, and orient to this information they share. Ultimately, my analysis is grounded on how the participants make sense of each other's utterances there and then, but having some knowledge of the relationships between participants can help inform the analysis in some cases.

Finally, the third point we can evaluate is the novelty of the items they taste. The choice of food was motivated by the presupposition that participants would have a more equal level of knowledge in relation to these foods. None of the participants had travelled abroad and none of them had tasted these foods before. This would allow them to concentrate more on producing assessments and less on other types of action, that could potentially be prompted if other food products had been used. For example, if they had tasted traditional foods of Chile, we could assume there would be more subject side assessments, and possibly storytellings in relations to those foods, simply because there is a past history with them.

This subsection has evaluated three main aspects of the data: the type of recording, the choice of participants, and the novelty of the tasting. This evaluation is aimed at supporting these choices and prove they were done with an underlying rationale.

The following section presents an introduction to CA.

2.2 INTRODUCTION TO CONVERSATION ANALYSIS

CA emerged from Sociology and it was first developed by Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson in the late 1960s in UCLA. Sacks and his colleagues aimed at discovering human interactional practices that dealt with the contingencies inherent in social interaction. This task required that actions, mutual knowledge and social context be analysed in an integrated way (Goodwin & Heritage, 1990:287).

Conversation analysts study conversations of all sorts, in all sorts of settings: institutional such as doctor-patient interactions, courts or classrooms, and ordinary interactions such as family dinners. In all of these, talk makes things happen and conversation analysts are interested is unveiling how this occurs. In relation to this type of analysis, Sacks (1984:413) says:

> The idea is to take singular sequences of conversation and tear them apart in such a way as to find rules, techniques, procedures, methods, maxims (a collection of terms that more or less relate to each other and that I use somewhat interchangeably) that can be used to generate the orderly features we find in the conversations we examine. The point is, then, to come back to the singular things we observe in a singular sequence, with some rules that handle those singular features, and also, necessarily, handle lots of other events.

Sacks began an empirical way of studying interaction which studies utterances in a real communicative context. The analysis involves considering how an utterance relates to previous and upcoming utterances. Conversation analysts ground their analysis in the observable behaviour of the people involved in the interaction, what we can see and hear and what those in the interaction can see and hear. A CA view avoids resorting to the analyst's intuitions or speculations, what we think a person's inner feelings or motivation are, because we do not have access to them.

This section has presented an overview of what is understood as CA and what conversation analysts do. The following section focuses on the fundamental structures of conversation that drive the analysis using this methodology.

2.3 Fundamental structures of conversation

As I mentioned in the previous section, a basic premise of CA is that to talk is to do something, so talk is action. Examples of actions are: inviting, accepting/declining, compelling, apologising, requesting, etc. Sacks and his colleagues were interested in the empirical investigation of social action. This led to the study of recorded conversation that provided a means of studying social action in fine-grained detail.

An important related question is how do we know what action a turn is performing? This is a relevant question to understand how interactants make sense of each other's talk in real time. There are a number of concepts that can help us answer this question. First, the ACTION FORMATION problem is defined by Schegloff (2007:xiv) as:

> How are the resources of the language, the body, the environment of the interaction, and position in the interaction fashioned into conformations designed to be, and to be recognized by recipients as, particular actions — actions like requesting, inviting, granting, complaining, agreeing, telling, noticing, rejecting, and so on — in a class of unknown size?

Levinson (2013:104) argues that for the corresponding action for the recipient, it is preferable to refer to ACTION ASCRIPTION (rather than action recognition). Action ascription then is defined as: "the assignment of an action to a turn as revealed by the response of a next speaker, which, if uncorrected in the following turn(s), becomes in some sense a joint 'good enough' understanding" (Levinson, 2013:104)

For our analysis, Levinson (2013:104) suggests "So action ascription by B of A's turn is a prerequisite for the design of B's turn — the very 'proof procedure that makes CA possible".

There are some methodological challenges to the analysis of action. For example, actions are not usually announced explicitly, and in that sense, announcing an action does special work. There could also be a mismatch between what we know from the linguistic construction of a turn and the action being implemented. For example, a turn that has interrogative syntax, therefore has the format of a question, can be doing a different action, a challenge for instance. We also have to bear in mind that the relationship between a practice and its action is not always one-to-one (Sidnell, 2009:75).

In order to identify actions, we need to analyse the details of the turn design. Drew (2013: 132) claims turn design refers to "how a speaker constructs a turn-at-talk — what is selected or what goes into 'building' a turn to do the action it is designed to do, in such a way as to be understood as doing that action". The linguistic resources for doing this include lexis, phonetic features, syntactic and morphological features, and embodied aspects such as body position and eye gaze.

Turns are designed considering, where in a sequence they occur, whether they initiate an action or respond to another turn. They are also designed with respect to whom the turn is addressed, i.e. recipient design. And finally, the design of a turn considers the action being done in the turn (Drew, 2013:131).

The aim of this type of analysis is to be able to identify phenomena across collections. This enables us to look for patterns and make comparisons across the collection. We can look for particular formats associated with particular actions. We can also investigate whether the same action is recurrently done with different formats as these matter to participants themselves. Finally, we need to account for the patterns identified in terms of their interactional significance (Sidnell, 2013:78). Sidnell (ibid.) also acknowledges the importance of paying attention to DEVIANT CASES as these usually provide evidence for the

normativity of interactional structures as participants display an orientation to this norm (and also to its absence).

Another important conversational structure is SEQUENCE ORGANISATION. So, our focus is not just single turns, but we are interested in what happens next, how the recipient treats the turn, and we are also interested in what happened before, to see whether this turn is responsive to what came before (Schegloff, 2007:3). Given these relations, we can see that action is central to sequence organisation.

A fundamental structure of conversation that is closely related to sequence organisation is preference. Pomerantz and Heritage (2013:210) claim that preference principles are relevant in selecting and interpreting referring expression, initiating and responding actions, repair, turn-taking, and the progression of talk.

Another set of organised practices in conversation is REPAIR. Through these practices, participants in interaction are able to manage a problem they've encountered in either articulating, hearing, understanding the ongoing talk (Sidnell, 2009:110). Kitzinger (2013:255) also claims repair goes beyond these problems and can be used to manage "interpersonal conflicts and difficulties". This means, participants in conversation also use repair to manage problems accepting what has been said.

All of these structures of conversation are the major concepts that make CA a robust discipline. It is also within these domains that we aim to contribute and fill knowledge gaps with CA-driven research.

The next section will explain what is understood by interactional linguistics and how it related to CA.

2.4 INTERACTIONAL LINGUISTICS

Interactional Linguistics refers to the study of language (and languages) in social interaction. As Couper-Kuhlen (2016) calls it a "CA-inspired, data-driven approach based on real encounters". When referring to the intersection between interactional linguistics and sociology, Lindström (2009:96) says:

> The unifying perspective is to describe linguistic structures and meanings as they serve social goals in naturally occurring spoken, in a broad sense, conversational language, viz. 'talk-in-interaction'. In this perspective, linguistic structures are seen as resulting from the practical needs of (repeated) interaction(s) as well as giving form to (particular) interaction(s), thus providing a trajectory of an on-going interaction for the speakers.

An interactional linguistic approach sees interactions as unfolding in time, and considers the temporality and contingency of the here and now as a crucial part of the analysis. Interactional linguistics considers the multiple resources of language (morphosyntactic, lexico-semantic, phonetic-prosodic) as essential for the design of turns at talk and the interactional functions they might serve. This contrasts with the traditional Saussurean and Chomskyan view of language as a set of signs that can be described without accounting for the context where it is deployed. Interactional linguistics sees language as context-sensitive, this means, that it orients to practice, action, sequence and the recipient of the talk (Kern and Selting, 2013:1)

Interactional linguists aim is to describe the linguistic resources used in social interaction and explain how they work at the micro-level, but also more holistically. In order to do this, there are both qualitative and quantitative methods one can use to do interactional linguistics: beginning with an observation, creation of a collection after close inspection of the data, careful analysis of key examples and of deviant cases in the search for evidence of participant orientation, development of a coding scheme including positional and

compositional features of the phenomenon studied, and generalisations about recurrent features (Couper-Kuhlen, 2016).

The goal of interactional linguistics is to better understand the relationship between languages and interactional practices. The view that language is used on a systematic basis to manage conversational tasks is key to interactional linguistics. Linguistic phenomena are accessible and oriented to by participants. And there is a common infrastructure of interaction that allows us to compare across languages and cultures. Sacks (1984: 22) described this characteristic of interaction as "order at all points". Bearing this in mind, Selting and Couper-Kuhlen (2001:3) suggest an interactional linguist asks two language-related questions: "(i) what linguistic resources are used to articulate particular conversational structures and fulfil interactional functions? and (ii) what interactional function or conversational structure is furthered by particular linguistic forms and ways of using them?". These different approaches provide dissimilar but relevant outcomes. The first orientation gives us the opportunity to account for the potential uses of a linguistic form (e.g. a discourse marker) but limits us to one form in particular and leaves out others that could perform the same interactional function. The second orientation provides a thorough description of what linguistic resources can be used to perform an action (e.g. declining an action) but it cannot inform us about the extended use of the linguistic form studied in a different context. However, these two approaches are complementary (Lindström (2009:99).

Among the reasons for choosing interactional linguistics as the approach chosen for this thesis are the need to isolate comparable pieces of data (such as non-lexical tokens, which are multifunctional), it is the best method for understanding the practices of interaction as a joint accomplishment. It allows the analyst to approach data in a multimodal way, which includes e.g. syntax, lexis, phonetics, gesture, and interactions with the physical world.

This section has presented a brief overview of what is meant by interactional linguistics. and some reasons why this is the chosen methodology.

The next section will explain the transcription systems used in the examples across this thesis and how the data was analysed.

2.5 TRANSCRIPTION AND DATA ANALYSIS

I used a multimodal approach that helped me gather the collections used in the different analytic chapters of this thesis. I used the techniques of CA to identify assessments, their sequential location and positioning within the larger evaluative practice; impressionistic and acoustic analysis for prosodic features (corroborated with PRAAT (Boersma & Weenink, 2013) when possible), and an analysis of visible behaviour using ELAN (Brugman & Russel 2004). For transcriptions, I used the GAT2 conventions (Selting et al. 2011) and Mondada's transcription conventions (2014) to represent details of talk-in-interaction and multimodality.

2.5.1 TRANSCRIPTIONS

A basic verbatim transcription was done by a transcription services company. I transcribed relevant parts of the interaction afterwards using the GAT2 (Gesprächsanalytisches Transkriptionssystem 2) (Selting et al. 2011) transcription system to capture the details of talk-in-interaction and the temporal and sequential order (See Appendix A for a list of these conventions).

The transcriptions keep a normal orthography of Spanish overall. Pauses and talk in overlap were transcribed using the symbols that are conventional to CA. Acute accents where present are a reflection of Spanish orthography, not related to transcription conventions which in other systems of transcription could stand for pitch accents. At the same time, capital letters (upper case) were not used in proper names as they were used to represent the focus accent. Final pitch movement of intonation phrases was also included.

I have included different levels of detail for different examples across the thesis. The level of detail varies according to the relevance of some aspects of prosody, multimodality or grammatical structure.

When relevant for the analysis, the transcript included mainly information related to loudness and tempo changes and changes in voice quality and articulation. The latter included not only creaky and whispery but breathy voice as well. Continuers and hesitation markers, and non-lexical tokens in general, correspond to the ones used in Chilean Spanish. The interlinear glossing shows the English translation where the words are aligned to their equivalent terms where possible. For specific examples, when relevant, interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses were used according to the LEIPZIG glossing system (Comrie et al, 2015).

To transcribe the embodied aspects of the interactions, I used Mondada's (2014) conventions for visible behaviour. The embodied actions vary in terms of what is relevant for the analysis but they include some of the following: gaze, facial expressions, hand gestures, eating behaviour, and interaction with objects. The transcriptions of these embodied actions are precisely temporally located in relation to the course of the talk or absence of talk (See Appendix B for a list of these conventions).

2.5.2 PHONETIC ANALYSIS

Impressionistic and acoustic analysis are employed to account for the parameters (pitch range, pitch movement, loudness, duration and articulatory properties) that function alongside the sequences studied. Parametric listening techniques proposed such as the ones described by Kelly & Local (1989) were used in this study. Where possible the observations made have been corroborated through the use of PRAAT (Boersma & Weenink, 2013), speech-analysis software that enables graphic representation of some acoustic parameters.

2.5.3 Multimodal analysis

Multimodal analysis is preferred in this thesis because of the existing interaction between the assessables and the participants. Body positions, movements, gestures and manipulation of objects are essential for the focus of attention on the assessable and for displaying agreement or disagreement and producing assessments when these are not readily available for the interactants. The assessment sequence includes embodied features that are crucial for the understanding of the action conveyed by the assessment and all of the properties related to the orientations of participants.

Through a multimodal analysis, we are able to identify related actions that occur much earlier than the verbal assessment. These embodied actions are closely related to the turn-taking machinery in that they project turns and at the same time give clues about the nature of such turn.

In order to analyse the co-occurring verbal and embodied behaviour, I used ELAN (Brugman & Russel 2004). This software allows the analyst to work with several different tiers where information can be annotated and aligned temporally as the talk unfolds. In figure 2.3, we can see the screenshot of a brief extract of a clip with tiers representing the speakers' verbal turns and silences, represented by the letters L and R (left and right), and other tiers show each speaker's eating behaviour, eye gaze direction, and facial expressions.

Peräkylä (2006) argues that "micro-analysis of video (or audio) recordings gives the researcher access to layers of organization that are critical for successful professional conduct but which may remain unrecognized in the practitioner's own theories". This argument could also be applied to everyday social interaction. Most findings in CA relate to practices and phenomena that the participants themselves are not aware of and manage to perfection.
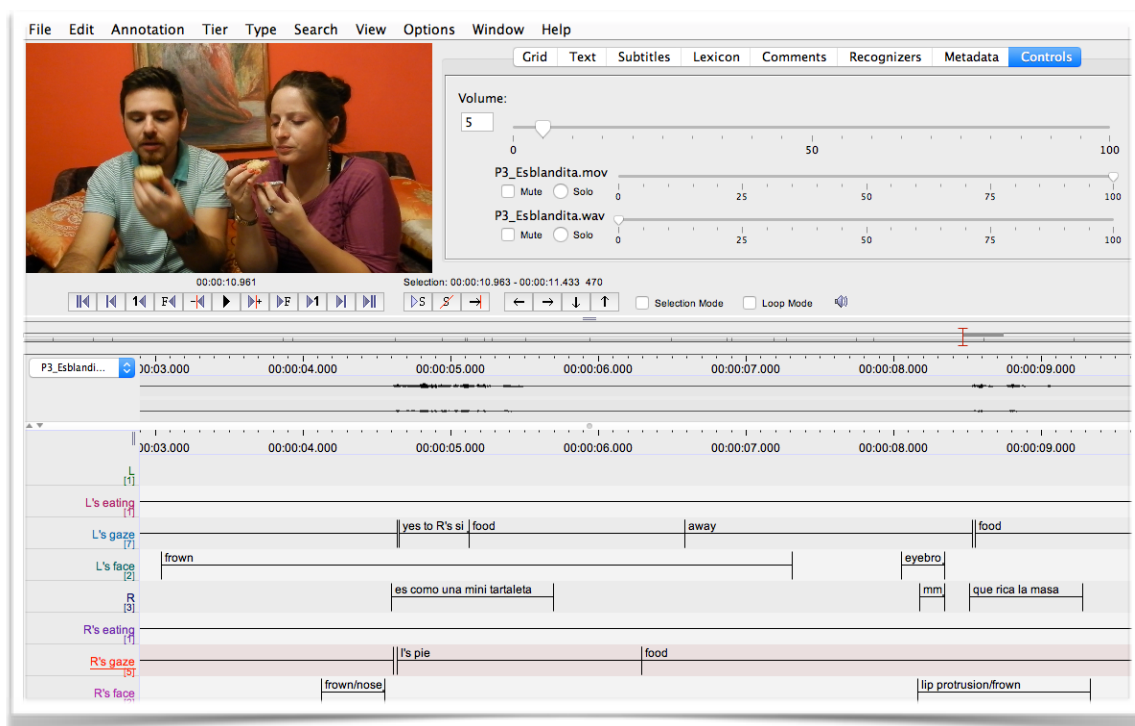
Figure 2.3 ELAN annotation screenshot

Notice the several tiers of co-occurring verbal and embodied behaviour.

2.6 SUMMARY

This chapter has provided information about the data collection process for this thesis, including information about the participants, procedure, technical specifications of the recordings, and an evaluation of the data.

This chapter has also introduced CA as the method that drives the sequential analysis of the collections and has given some insights about the fundamental structures of conversation. I presented a brief overview of what is understood by interactional linguistics, and also explained why I chose this approach for this thesis.

Finally, I provided an explanation of the types of transcription used and how the analysis was carried out in the examples given across the analytic chapters.

The next chapter reviews our understanding of a canonical assessment from what the literature on assessments has stated so far. I show some cases of how those findings match

the data used for this thesis, but also cases in which access to the referent or the taste have

an impact on how participants respond to a first assessment.

3.1. INTRODUCTION

The study of assessments in conversation has produced a vast amount of literature in the last forty years. This might suggest that assessments are a more or less clearly defined phenomenon, at least in English, and that we have a clear idea of what the turn design features of assessments are. However, these assumptions are challenged by a number of variables if one begins to consider a particular setting for the production of assessments such as the food-tasting session devised for this study, or the constraints that emerge from a different language such as Chilean Spanish.

In this chapter I review what we understand as an assessment turn and an assessment pair from the existing literature. The research questions of this chapter are:

What is a 'canonical assessment' and a 'canonical assessment pair' respectively?

How do these previous findings map to the data for this study?

These questions are relevant because we see that assessments as action type turn out to be much more complex than anticipated. We see throughout this thesis that assessments are built compositionally by interactants, drawing from aspects of syntax, prosody, sequential position and embodied behaviour. The way in which I operationalised this action type included information about the turn drawn from all these aspects just mentioned, but also whether the turn could potentially be agreed with (whether it actually does is a different issue). Another important aspect is whether the turn displays a stance. This is what turns a descriptor into an assessment, and this can be done through features of the turn design such as prosody or embodied behaviour. The following example (3.1) can illustrate this point.

At line 01 of Example 3.1, R has tasted the food and produces the token oh which projects an assessment. At line 05, this assessment is verbalised as a positive assessment, 'rico', 'yummy', which makes available a second position for L to produce an agreeing or disagreeing assessment. At this point L has just put the food in her mouth, so the food is not yet available for her to assess, and she is not at a point where she can produce a second assessment. At line 07 R extends his turn with *tomate* 'tomato', the referent of his assessment at line 05 which is produced with breathy voice and accompanied with head shakes and smile (See figure 3.1) while R is gazing at L. This word *tomate* 'tomato' is the noun that names one of the ingredients, at first sight not an assessment, but when placed in this sequence and with a particular combination of non-modal voice quality and embodied features, it becomes valenced by the stance projected by those features.

Example 3.1. P1.03_Porotos_con_tomate

```
01 R:  <<creaky>`Oh:.>
                     oh
      >>gazes at bowl--->
      >>holds spoon with left hand--->
  L: >>gazes at bowl--->
      >>right hand holding spoon reaching for food--->
02    (3.6)
03 L:<<p>Ay no `PUEdo sacar;>*@
           oh  I   can't    get any
      --------------------->*gazes at spoon--->
      --------------------->@takes spoon to mouth--->
04    (1.0)
05 R:  +<<creaky>`R*I:co weón.>+@
                    yummy mate
      ->+gazes away------------>+gazes at L--->

  L:  ---------->*gazes away--->
  L:  -------------------->@takes spoon off mouth--->>
06    (1.1)•(0.2)
  R:   --->•shakes head--->
07 R:  <<breathy>to`MAte.>•
                 tomato
  R:                 --->•--->
08    (0.7)
09 L:→ˆMm:.
          mm
10 R: porotos con (0.2) to`MAte.
        beans      with         tomato
11    (1.1)&*
  R:  -----&
  L:  ----->*gazes at R--->
12 L:  que[dó ´BUEno,]*
        it turned out good
  L:  -------------->*gazes at R's spoon--->>
13 R:   +&[como  una ]`SALsa de tomate;=
            like a        sauce  of  tomato
    ->+gazes at bowl---->
      -->&takes spoon to bowl---->>
14    =porque está +`SUAve.
        because  this is   soft
      ------------->gazes at L--->>
```

```
15     (0.8)
16 L:  `SÍ:;
          yes
```


Figure 3.1 R's gaze and smile as he utters line 07 in ex. 3.1

In this chapter I focus on more canonical types of assessments and we see that the production of an assessment, in second position, is compromised and delayed when the two interactants do not have the same level of physical access to objects that are immediately present when the prerequisite for assessing (at least in terms of taste) is to actually eat the food.

I also show and analyse cases of what seems to be a common practice in my data: assessments in second position but formatted as firsts. I draw some analytic claims from the work of Heritage & Raymond (2005) on epistemic authority and subordination, especially on the practice of asserting priority by conveying a settled position when assessing in second position. In the data analysed here, interactants in second position claim independent access in experiential terms by managing the turn design relative to the first assessment, in a way that is sensitive to being in second position, but is formatted as a first.

This chapter serves to show that what is 'canonical' is given by the context in which it occurs. This has the purpose of helping the reader to have a clearer picture of what I

consider as assessments (and what not) throughout the rest of this thesis. The issues addressed in this chapter aim at smoothing the transition to the next chapters where I analyse the role of embodied practices in the production of assessments.

3.1.1 STRUCTURE OF CHAPTER

The chapter is organised as follows: in section 3.2, I review the existing literature to identify a canonical assessment and canonical assessment pair. I consider the terms adjacency pair and relevance response for assessments as well as sequential positioning, preference organisation and epistemics.

In section 3.3, I show some of the turn design features that are used in Chilean Spanish to do upgraded assessments, same assessments, and downgraded assessments and we see how the findings for English match what we find in this data. I show some examples that argue that access is key in the production of these canonical pairs. This implies that if a first assessment is produced about the food in question, a second will follow only when and only if that party in charge of producing the second assessment has gained the same level of access.

In section 3.4, I analyse instances of assessments that are in second position but are formatted as firsts. I demonstrate that the turn design of these seconds has properties that claim independent access and epistemic rights to assess. Rather than accounting for these cases as exceptions or deviant, I treat them as canonical for the context in which they occur.

In section 3.5, I summarise and discuss the findings of this chapter.

3.2. Canonical assessments and canonical assessment pairs

The term "assessment" in CA may refer to different events at different levels of organisation as explained in 1.2.1 (Chapter 1).

Assessments form an adjacency pair, which is the most basic type of organisation for turns in conversation (Schegloff & Sacks, 1973). An adjacency pair consists of a first and a second pair part uttered by different speakers. For turns to form an adjacency pair, given a first pair part, the second pair part needs to be conditionally relevant.

Pomerantz (1984:63) claims that when an initial assessment is proffered, a speaker seeks to accomplish an action, therefore it is relevant for the recipient to produce an action that agrees or disagrees with the prior. She adds that "such agreements and disagreements are performed, by and large, with second assessments".

The following (3.2) is an example of an assessment pair from Pomerantz (1984:60) as part of an assessment activity in which the second assessment is identifiable as such by virtue of having the same referent as the first.

Example 3.2. (From Pomerantz, 1984:60)

(NB: 1.6.-2)
A1 A: …Well, anyway, ihs-ihs not too cold,
A2 C: Oh it's warm...

This is a type of assessment pair where there is matching of the syntactic structure in which the assessment segment is embedded. In example 3.2, this means both assessments have the structure "subject + copula + predicative adjective".

Pomerantz (1975, 1978, 1984) shows the sequential organisation of assessments as social activities. Her work considers three important dimensions to the description of assessments: sequential positioning, preference organisation, and epistemic stance.

As shown in Chapter 1, the sequential position of assessments can be varied. Pomerantz (1984:58,59) demonstrates that assessments are produced, in terms of other action sequences on the occasion of participation, within speakers' reports of previous partaking activities and following an initial assessment. Goodwin and Goodwin (1987) suggest assessments are commonly found at closings of stories and topics. Antaki (2002) later shows how assessments can be used to close topics or segments of an interview or the whole interview. Finally, Mondada (2009) shows the sequential position of food assessments in dinner talk and claims that they seem to have very specific functions that are associated with pleasure and the avoidance of confrontation. Assessments can also be part of a larger assessing activity where the participants are engaged in an evaluative practice. Fasulo and Monzoni (2009) studied evaluative practices in the context of production of a clothing item in a fashion atelier where the use of video recordings permitted to take into account the setting and the activity in the analysis of assessments.

The data used for this study, where participants evaluate the food (as a main activity), is similar to the one studied by Fasulo and Monzoni (2009) where assessing is the work. In this sense, this data might not provide us with findings as to where in the talk assessments occur, as Mondada's (2009) study of dinner talk does. However, we have access to a rich variety of assessments so we can look at which ones are produced in what position of the talk.

The preference organisation of assessments was another of the contributions made by Pomerantz's work. She shows that the preferred next action depends on the action performed by the first assessment. For example, self-deprecations prefer disagreements and the usual preference for agreements does not operate in those cases (Pomerantz, 1984:64). There are several actions that participants can try to accomplish through the proffering of an initial assessment such as praises, compliments, complaints, insults, brags, self-deprecations, etc. Consequently, what is expected from the recipient of that initial assessment is to agree or disagree with the prior, this is performed generally with second assessments according to Pomerantz (1984: 8). When agreement is preferred, Pomerantz

(1984) identifies three types of agreement that can be produced: upgraded assessments which convey strong agreement as in example 3.3.

Example 3.3. (From Pomerantz, 1984:65)

(JS:II:28)
J: T's- tsuh beautiful day out isn't it?
L: Yeh it's just gorgeous...

Same-level assessments that can convey agreement as well as a preface to disagreement as in example 3.4.

Example 3.4 (From Pomerantz, 1984:67)

(J & J)
A: Yeah I like it [(   )
B: [1] I like it too [2] but uhh
        hahheh it blows my mind.

And downgraded assessments that indicate disagreement such as example 3.5.

Example 3.5 (From Pomerantz, 1984:68)

(GJ:1)
A: She's a fox.
L: Yeh, she's a pretty girl.

Later on, Goodwin (1984, 1986) and Goodwin and Goodwin (1987, 1992a, 1992b) show that recipients can respond in overlap which supported Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson's (1974) turn-taking system description and provided an understanding of the temporal organisation of agreement.

More recent studies claim that the type of activity also influences talk organisation, without disregarding that the organisation of talk helps to construct the type of activity. For example, in relation to "continuing states of incipient talk", Sacks & Schegloff (1973) claim conditional relevance does not necessarily hold for such interactions.

As previously mentioned, Ergul's (2014) study of people watching TV in Turkey examines the sequential positioning and response relevance in assessment sequences in relation to the type of activity people are engaged in. The author suggests that in continuing states of incipient talk, the lack of response of an assessment is not treated as accountable or sanctionable by other speakers and although there might be pursuits for a response, these do not secure a response. One might argue that if there is a pursuit, that implies some level of sanction for the lack of response, but what can be understood as sanction from Stivers and Rossano (2010), who write more extensively on the matter, is the topicalisation of the lack of response which in Ergul's (2014) study does not occur.

Stivers and Rossano's (2010) work puts conditional relevance to the test by showing it works in a scalar way. They show that for turns that have traditionally been considered first pair parts that make a response relevant (Schegloff, 2007), failure in responding is not always sanctionable and in these cases, a number of turn-design features can be displayed if a response is indeed sought. Stivers and Rossano (2010) suggest that speakers mobilise response through multimodal resources that include social action, sequential position, syntactic and prosodic features of the turn-design, epistemics, and speaker gaze. In relation to assessments, they show that when the speaker is gazing at their interlocutor during an assessment, the interlocutor usually responds to the assessment, and in cases where there is no speaker gaze or other response mobilising features, there are no responsive assessments. The absence of a response is not sanctionable in these cases or at least not treated as accountable. Therefore, not only conditional relevance is put to the test but also the idea of adjacency pairs as we have known them.

Apart from sequential positioning and preference organisation that led us into a brief discussion of temporal organisation, Pomerantz (1984) considers epistemic stance as a third dimension of interest in the study of assessments. In relation to epistemic rights, Pomerantz (1984: 2) claims that an assessment is "presumed to be 'based' on a speaker's access to, and knowledge of that which he is assessing." This means there has to be some kind of shared knowledge between the speakers. Second assessments are produced in a second saying in which the referents are the same as those referred to in a prior assessment

by the previous speaker in a first saying. She added that access to knowledge of the referent is essential in being able to assess, a declination to assess is done otherwise. Later, Heritage (2002) studied oh-prefaced responses to assessments. This study is the first to describe how epistemic authority plays a part in the positioning of first and second assessments, particularly when agreeing through a second assessment but producing it as an independent view. Subsequent studies from Heritage & Raymond (2005) and Raymond & Heritage (2006) have proposed other resources used to mark epistemic authority and subordination.

Heritage & Raymond (2005) look at how are epistemic stances appropriate to different epistemic status positions expressed in assessment sequences. In general terms, they show that first speakers tend to downgrade claims when their epistemic status means they do not have primary rights; while second speakers often upgrade them when their epistemic status means they do have primary rights. They demonstrate this with a variety of resources used by speakers: in first position to do unmarked first assessments, simple declaratives are used most commonly. To downgrade, evidentials such as 'it looks', 'it feels', etc, and tag questions are used. And to upgrade, negative interrogatives are used. For second position assessments, the unmarked form is a declarative that matches the prior. Upgrading in second position involves different practices. It can assert priority by conveying a settled position by deferring conformity to a yes/no question by means of [confirmation] + [agreement] or by producing an "oh"-prefaced second assessment. Another way of upgrading in second position is by asserting priority by undermining prior 'firstness' in which case a [statement] + [tag] or a negative interrogative can be used. What is really evident from Heritage & Raymond's (2005) study is that the unmarkedness, the downgrading, or the upgrading of an assessment in second position is done relative to the epistemic claims produced in the first. For example, if a first assessment is downgraded with a tag question, a way to upgrade the second is to produce a [confirmation] + [agreement token] as in example 3.6.

Example 3.6. (Taken from Heritage & Raymond, 2005:25)

[Rah 14:6]

```
1 Ver:          =Jillian, she c'n be a little nasty little bi[tch.
2 Jen:                                                      [Well you w'r
3               say:↑ing thez something in that_=It's a sha:me i[sn't i:t.]
4 Ver:                                                          [Yeh a::n]d-
5 Ver:          even Jean said she couldn't do eh uh she said she's alw'z
6               glad when they go:.
7 Jen:          Yeh .h well of course you see Bill is so good wih th'm ez
8               well is[n't h[e:.
9 Ver: ->              [.kl   [That's ri:ght yes. 8
```

Territories of knowledge (Heritage and Raymond, 2005; Heritage, 2011) are therefore one of the many contextual cues that should be taken into account in the study of assessments. Others include the type of activity involved, the setting and the assessable. The relevance of the latter can be appreciated in the study of assessments in institutional interactions. Drew and Heritage's (1992) work on evaluation closing question-answer adjacent pairs in the classroom, Clayman and Reisner's (1998) study of editorial conferences where the assessment activity is the work to be done by the staff, and Maynard's (1992) work on the delivery of bad news in medical settings which requires a cautious production of evaluations, are all examples of how assessments are sensitive to the activity in which they are produced. The present study is based on a joint activity where participants are engaged in a specific ongoing evaluative activity that involves the presence of the assessables. As Lindström and Mondada (2009:304) suggest "assessments contribute to the local achievement of the institutionality of the context" in this type of situations. The use of assessments in this thesis reflects the type of talk expected from the participants but also the epistemic authority of the assessors. Lindström and Mondada (2009:304) add "Identities and categories do not merely preexist to the assessing practices, but are actively established, claimed, and challenged through the production and negotiation of assessments."

The contingency of assessing practices allows us to explore variations in the sequential organisation in terms of preference which become evident as participants' orientations vary and when the main activity is assessing. There are agreements but also disagreements or the lack of a second assessment altogether, which is some cases results in the production of a second assessment formatted as a first instead. This is given by the fact that participants in

this study have been asked to assess different foods that are unknown to them. This could also lead us to assume that epistemic authority should not be an issue, at least "a priori", in regard to the assessable because both participants face the foods in similar conditions. However, we will see, there are other issues concerning access to the food or individual background and likings that affect the way participants position themselves (epistemically) to produce assessments in this case.

The next section introduces some examples from the food-tasting data used in this study to see how they adjust to what we have reviewed in this section. I also show that there are constraints such as the eating activity or the lack of access to the assessable that delays the production of a second assessment.

3.3 Assessments in a food-tasting session: Food and access

In this section I look at examples from my data that do agreement trying to find canonical pairs of assessments. There are frequently reasons to believe that they are not like Pomerantz's (1984) data in general. As we will shortly see, having one's mouth engaged with food or not being able to taste 'properly', compromises and delays the proffering of a second assessment.

As stated in the previous section, an adjacency pair based on two assessment turns has the following sequential organisation: a first pair part that does an assessment and a subsequent second pair part that either agrees or disagrees with the prior. I focus mainly on examples that do agreement of some kind mostly because there are only a handful of examples that do disagreement in the data set.

In terms of sequential position, we cannot really say much about when assessments occur in relation to other types of actions in this data. Nevertheless, I have identified assessment practices (verbal and non-verbal) and their sequential properties (first pair-part, second pair-part), as well as their sequential positioning within the larger evaluative practice

(beginnings, middle and closing sequences of the tasting of one food and transitions to the tasting of another).

We already established that there are three main types of agreement with a prior assessment in English devised by Pomerantz (1984). The first one is to produce an upgraded assessment by means of a stronger evaluative term such as in the following example (3.7) from my data:

Example 3.7. P3.01_RicoRico

```
01 R:  Mm::
       mm
02     (1.6)
03 L:→BUEno.
       good
04     (0.3)
05 R:→rico RIco.
       yummy yummy
06     (5.7)
```

In example 3.7, participants have been tasting baked beans. This extract takes place towards the end of the interaction of that tasting in particular right before the transition to another food.

In line 1, R produces a gustatory token *mm* as she is still tasting, which projects a positive assessment. In line 3 L proffers the positive assessment *bueno* 'good' which is followed by R's second assessment in agreement *rico rico* 'yummy yummy' that is a stronger assessment term and it is reduplicated, hence it displays a more positive stance than the assessment term used in the prior.

Another way to upgrade is by using an intensifier that modifies the previously used descriptor as in example 3.8. Previous to the extract shown, R has been talking about how she can't conceive the idea of eating baked beans on bread, whereas L can't see anything wrong in that and he actually likes the mixture. In line 1, R produces an alternative assessment of the baked beans that is not related to the taste but to legumes as being 'heavy' (*pesado*) for your stomach to have in the morning. She puts this in assessment form in line

3 to which L replies with an upgraded second assessment that inserts the intensifier *muy* 'very' before the same descriptor used by R in the prior, *pesado* 'heavy'.

Example 3.8. P6.04_MuyPesado

```
01 R:  o sea leGUMbres al desayuno es como, (1.1) MUcho.
       I mean legumes   for breakfast  is like     too much
02     (0.9)
03 R:→ es peSAdo.
       it's heavy
04     (.)
05 L:→ muy peSAdo.
       very  heavy
06     (16.5)
```

Another practice for upgrading in this data is to change the polarity of the previous assessment. In example 3.9, the participants are tasting mince pies. Prior to the extract shown, R has made the noticing that the pie is filled with raisins and assesses that negatively, whereas L states she likes them. This is why line 1 begins with *pero* 'but' which marks the contrast and the assessment *no es mala* 'it's not bad' that is stated as a negative declarative syntactic construction but with a positive stance. R proceeds to provide an account for the assessment in line 2 which includes another assessment. L agrees with the minimal token *mm* in line 3 as she is eating and R confirms in line 4. Once she swallows, L provides her understanding of the previous account (line 5) by confirming and saying that it lowers the sugar because the pastry is not as sweet as the filling and that is how the balance is achieved. L then produces an assessment in line 6 that seems to be responsive to the assessment in line 1, which is prefaced by the *mm* token marking incipient speakership as her mouth is full. The assessment in line 6 is a recycle of the one in line 1 but stated with an affirmative declarative construction thus upgrading the assessment in agreement. In this example we can see that as L has her mouth fully engaged with food when the first assessment is produced, that gives R a chance to produce an account with another assessment. At this point L has the possibility of addressing both assessments and she gives priority to the one that is temporally closer. However, the assessment at line 1 could be affiliative and seek consensus as R has not particularly liked the mince pie as opposed to L, this could make a second assessment relevant.

Example 3.9. P5.04_NoEsMala

```
01 R:→ pero no es MAla:, (0.3) el (0.3) el (0.9)
         but  it's not  bad
02      la MAsa le da:, (0.6) le da el balance perFECto.=
         the pastry gives it      gives it the perfect  balance
03 L:  =Mm:.
         mm
04 R:  =SÍ.=
         yes
05 L:  =BAja la (0.5) BAja el azúcar.
         it lowers the     it lowers the sugar
06     (1.2)
07 L:→ Mm:. (0.7) pero es RIco.
         mm         but    it's yummy
08     (0.9)
09 L:  me gusTÓ.
         I  like it
10     (14.4)
```

Example 3.10 is another case in point. Prior to the extract shown, the participants have been tasting mushy peas. R has compared them to school meals and so far L has only produced a creaky nasal sound accompanied by a facial expression that displays her dislike of the food. Then in line 1, L provides further evidence of her dislike with a hypothetical situation, reaffirming this in line 3. R agrees with this in line 5 and produces the negative declarative assessment *sí no es rico* 'yes it's not yummy' in line 6 after which he recycles his school meals argument. L agrees to the negative stance of R's assessment with *no* 'no' and *es malo* 'it's bad' in line 9. This assessment, just as we saw in example 8, uses the same syntactic construction as the one in line 6 but is produced as an affirmative declarative one, therefore upgrading the assessment. Similar to the previous example, L is taking a spoonful of the mushy peas into her mouth just as R is producing the first assessment in line 6. She savours the food and produces her turn after visibly swallowing.

Example 3.10. P4.02_NoEsRico

```
01 L:  pero no come- no comería no me comeRÍA un plato de esto.
         but  I woul-  I wouldn't eat I wouldn't eat   a plateful of this
02     (0.4)
03 L:  NO.
         no
04     (1.5)
05 R:  NO.=
         no
06 →   =SÍ no es RIco.=
          yes it's not yummy
07     =me trae malos reCUERdos del: (1.9) del colegio.
          it brings back bad memories  from    from school
08     (1.2)
09 L:  NO.=
         no
10 →   =es MAlo.
          it's bad
11     (1.7)
```

```
12 R:  Eso es malo.
        that is bad
13     (1.1)
```

From examples 3.9 and 3.10, it is possible to see that in the negative construction the positively or negatively valenced assessment term is hedged by the negation token. Hence, this change from a negative declarative construction to an affirmative one positions the second speaker as having epistemic rights over the first.

The second way of agreeing proposed by Pomerantz (1984:66) is same evaluation. To produce the same evaluation in English, the recipient repeats the prior assessment terms and adds markers such as 'too' or includes pro terms (elliptical repeats) that indicate the agreement.

Before the extract shown in example 3.11, L has started to taste buttery toasts with Marmite while R is still tasting a piece of mince pie. In line 1 L produces an assessment about the taste to which R responds with the token *mm* in line 3 that has a double function in this case as gustatory, because it has a distinctive prosodic shape and marks the access to the taste, and as acknowledgment as it is also accompanied by head nods. L produces another assessment in line 4. After an 8.0 second gap in which both interactants have been visibly engaged with food, L produces another assessment in line 6 that orients to the negative valence that his own previous assessment 'weird' could have entailed, so now it is specified that the taste is 'good' despite it being 'weird'. R begins to produce a second assessment in overlap with line 6. This is a same-level assessment as the word *sabor* 'flavour' used in L's assessment has the same meaning as the word *gusto* 'taste' in this context. The sameness of the second assessment is marked by the term *verdad* 'true' which also reflects the fact that R has accessed the food and therefore the taste after L has.

Example 3.11. P6.03_GustoRaro

```
01 L: es como piCANte cuando dejai de comerlo.
        it is like  spicy       when you stop   eating it
02     (0.9)
03 R: [Mm:.   ]
        mm
04 L:→[tiene um:] (.) un sabor RAro.
        it has a           a weird flavour
05     (8.0)
```

```
06 L: pero es [bueno  ]
         but    it's good
07 R:→        [tiene un] gusto RAro, ver[DA:D.]
               it has    a    weird  taste true
08 L:                                    [Mm. ]
                                          mm
09     (0.6)
10 L: cuando dejai de coMERlo, (1.1)
       when   you stop  eating it
11     TIEne un sabor raro.
       it has  a  weird flavour
12     (1.8)
```

Another instance of same evaluation is example 3.12. Here, participants have been tasting baked beans and at the beginning of the extract R is still tasting them on toast. R begins the turn in line 1 with the token *mm* that is marking incipient speakership and securing a turn as her mouth is engaged with food. R swallows and states her dislike for the beans on toast but continues to assess them on their own without bread with a positive subject side assessment in line 3. R then proffers an assessment about the sweetness of the food product in line 5 and an account for it in line 7. The assessment in line 5 can be understood as being positively valenced as it supports the subject side assessment of line 3. After a long gap (1.8 seconds) in which both participants keep tasting, L produces a same-level assessment by repeating the same construction R has used in line 5, but inserting the hedge word *como* 'like' which marks it as weak agreement.

Example 3.12. P6.04_GustoDulce

```
01 R:  Mm. (2.2) el poROto con pan, NO.
        mm        the bean   with bread no
02     (0.8)
03 R: ↑↑SOlo me gustó.
        on its own I liked it
04     (1.0)
05 R:→tiene un GUSto, (.) DULce.
       it has  a  sweet      taste
06     (1.6)
07 R:  donde tiene SALsa.
       as    it has  sauce
08     (1.8)
09 L:→tiene como un GUSto<<whisper>dulce.>=
       it has  like a  sweet        taste
10     =el poroto SOlo con [sals-,    ]
        the bean   on its own with sauc-
11 R:              [pero al desayu]no,
                    but  for breakfast
12     (1.1)
13 L: muy peSAdo.
       too  heavy
```

The third type of agreement described by Pomerantz (1984) is downgraded assessments in which the evaluation term of the first assessment is scaled down or weakened in the second

assessment. This is not a common practice in the data for this study. However, here is an example (3.13) of how a downgrade is done through a change in polarity from the first, which we could see was also done for upgrading.

Previous to example 3.13, R has been complaining about the mince pie, the food they are tasting, as being too sickly. This gives way to the offer in line 1 and the account for it in line 2. L accepts the offer in 5 but deferring the action to a later time. In line 6, R produces an affirmative declarative assessment that is prefaced by *pero* 'but' which is marking the assessment as contrastive to what has been formulated before. The assessment term *rica* 'yummy' is also followed by the term *igual* 'anyways' which further marks the action as contrastive. L agrees in line 8 with a negative declarative assessment with a change in polarity that mirrors the prior by using the opposite assessment term *mala* 'bad' which is also consistent in gender and number with the prior, marking the reference to the same object, and the intensifier *para nada* 'at all'. Despite the use of the intensifier, the negative form still makes the second assessment weaker than that of the first. So an assessment like the one in line 8 implies the ambiguity that Pomerantz (1984:68) has identified for downgraded assessments, as being on the border between agreement/disagreement.

Example 3.13. P3.05_NadaMala

```
01 R:  te dono mi TARta;
       I  donate you my pie
02     (0.7)
03 R:  fue MUcho para mi.
       it was too much for   me
04     (0.2)
05 L:  me la comeRÉ (1.1) después (.) [((xx xx))    ]
       I will  eat it       afterwards
06 R:→                                [pero estaba RIca] igual.
                                        but  it was  yummy  anyways
07     (0.3)
08 L:→ ↑↑SÍ, (0.6) no esTAba:- (0.4) para NAda mala.
        yes          it wasn't              at   all   bad
09     (2.2)
```

There are about 30 cases of assessment sequences that match those described by Pomerantz (1984) in terms of an assessment pair where the second has the same referent and matches the syntax of the first. However, as we have seen in many of the previous examples, the second assessment is not immediately produced as there are constraints occasioned by

eating and not being able to taste a certain aspect of the food. These assessment pairs come generally at the end of the tasting sequence. This can be explained in terms of access. There is a connection with having reached the point where participants can find something they can agree on because in many interactions, participants disagree about certain aspects and then find mutual agreement later on. This does not entail that what happens before in the interactions are disagreements. As we will see in the next section, what is quite common in this data is to have assessments in second position but formatted as firsts that claim independent access.

The fact that there is one canonical assessment pair on average per interaction suggests that that might be a recognisable sequential target, which might bear some relation to the task given for the recording. The participants are eating a certain food and once they produced this more canonical adjacency assessment pair, is when they might know when they are done with that particular food and begin to transition to another. Example 3.14 illustrates this phenomenon:

Example 3.14. P2_NoEstaDulce

```
01 R:  mira PRUÉbalo solo.
         look  taste it   by itself
02     (9.4)
03 R:  si te fiJAI, (2.2) ES dulce, (0.7)
         if you notice      it is sweet
04  →  pero el poroto no está DULce.
         but  the bean  is not    sweet
05     (0.8)
06 L:→ no está DULce,=
         this is not  sweet
07     =y la SALsa de tomate tampoco se siente tan dulce.
         and the sauce  of  tomato does not seem  so sweet  either
08     (.)
09 R:  SÍ. (0.2) es ver[DAD].
         yes      it's true
10 L:              [eso] eso es un facTOR que me: me agrada.
                    that  that is  a  factor  that pleases me
11     (0.3)
12 R:  es muy RIco.
         it is very yummy
13     (1.6)
14 R:  OK=
         OK
15 L:  =probemos el Otro?
         let's try the other one?
```

Example 3.14 shows an assessment pair in lines 4 and 6 where L agrees with R's first pair part with a partial repeat. This extract focuses on the last part of the tasting of baked beans

from this particular couple. In line 1 R encourages L to taste the baked beans by themselves, not on toast. The 9.4 seconds pause in the transcript reflects the time spent by L and R tasting the food following R's suggestion. While L is still tasting, R produces an assessment of the sweetness of the food product only to continue with a contrastive assessment of the lack of sweetness of the beans in isolation (line 4). After a 0.8 pause, where L is still savouring, L produces a same-level assessment which is a partial repeat of L's last assessment in agreement and continues to produce an assessment of the tomato sauce. R agrees in line 9 with an affirmative token and *es verdad* 'it's true' which probably agrees not only with L's previous turn but encompasses confirmation of his own assessment as well. They continue to produce a couple of positive assessments in lines 10 and 12. The valence of the previous assessments (lines 3 through 7) is evidenced in the subject side assessment in line 10, which is agreed with by a positive assessment in line 12. The participants begin the transition, to another food item, in lines 14 with *OK* and 15 with an invitation to taste some other food.

Pomerantz (1984:68) also asserts same evaluations occur in agreements but they also preface disagreements. In example 3.14 the use of same evaluation in line 06 (*no está dulce* 'it is not sweet') does agreement and prefaces not disagreement but a further assessment that refers to a different assessable as the prior (line 07). In terms of epistemics, this relates closely to how the tasting experience unfolds in the here and now as it addresses the ongoing discovery of qualities in the food as the interactants are tasting and assessing. In this case, the beans are described as not being sweet (lines 04 and 06) and then the tomato sauce as not being so sweet either (line 07).

This example (3.14) also shows the more intricate ways of producing assessments in this context. Even if we think of the term 'sweet' in lines 3 through 7 as the assessment term that makes this an assessment pair, the use of such term builds towards the assessment. Therefore, not only the term 'sweet' but the combined evaluation of something being 'sweet' but not 'too sweet' or having the right balance turns out to be a pleasant factor for the participants; hence the valence of the term 'sweet' is constructed through the evaluative practice and is not necessarily attached to a fixed meaning of one single assessment term.

In some of the previous examples (3.9, 3.10, 3.11 and 3.12) the first assessment turn and the second assessment turn are not immediately adjacent. We can see that the temporal coordination that was documented by Pomerantz (1984:69) in which upgraded agreements are produced with a minimisation of gap or in slight overlap does not hold in the same way for this kind of data. In examples 3.9, 3.10 and 3.11, where agreement is preferred and produced, there is a delay in the production of the second assessment as the participant who is expected to produce it is engaged with food. Thus, the fact that participants are assessing foods products to which they do not always have the same level of access simultaneously puts them in different epistemic positions. Example 3.15 is even more extreme in this respect.

Example 3.15. P3.05_MejorFinal

```
01 R:→oh pero está RIco el chocolate.
        (non-lexical token) but it's yummy the chocolate
02      (3.8)
03 R:  no había comido NUNca chocolate,
        I had never eaten chocolate
04      (0.8)
05 L: con FORma de- (.)
        with the shape of
06 R: NO:. (1.6) a:hm (1.5) chocoLAte:- (.) ↑↑PUro chocolate. (.)
        no      a:hm    chocolate:      pure chocolate
07      con saBOR a naranja.=
        with flavour of orange
08      =yo había comido así como con reLLEno de naranja solamente.
         I had eaten like this like with filling of orange only
09      (4.5)
10 L:  Mm.
         mm
11      (.)
12 R: está RIco el postre. nf hu hu=
        it is yummy the dessert nf hu hu
13 L: =↑↑sabís que no le siento MUcho el sabor al, (1.0)
        you know that I still don't feel much of the flavour of the
14 L: <<f>es que todavía TENgo el gusto> a las pasas <<p>entonces>
        it's that I still have the taste of the raisins so
        (19 lines omitted)
33 R: [Mm::.          ]
         mm
34 L:→[no pero estaba RIco el] chocolate.
        no but it was yummy the chocolate
35      (2.5)
```

Before the beginning of example 3.15, L has been complaining that the taste of the mince pie, the food they have tasted before, still lingers in his mouth and he can't really access the taste of the orange chocolate they are tasting now. What he does then is to eat some mushy

peas to counteract the lingering taste. Both R and L proceed to assess the looks of the chocolate that is shaped like orange segments. Line 1 in the extract shows the first assessment of taste of this particular chocolate produced by R, as she has previously asserted her love of chocolate in general. This first assessment is prefaced by *oh* displaying a positive stance and *pero* 'but' marking a contrast with the difficulty experienced so far. There is no second assessment produced by L in the 3.8 seconds silence after the first and R continues to account for her positive assessment. L attempts to collaboratively complete R's turn in line 5 but his attempt is rejected by R who continues to elaborate her account until line 8. L acknowledges the account with the *mm* token in line 10. R produces another first assessment in line 12 and L reiterates his account of not being able to taste the chocolate properly because of the lingering taste of the raisins in the mince pie. In the 19 lines omitted from the transcript, R continues to assess the orange extract and the resemblance of this chocolate to chocolate covered candied oranges. L agrees to this last assessment. Line 33 shows the production of the *mm* token as gustatory in overlap with L's assessment of the taste of the chocolate.

Even if the assessment in line 34 comes after an interactional sequence of more than 30 lines, it mirrors the assessment in line 1, this one begins with the negative token *no* that marks it as disjunctive of the previous talk and continues with *pero* 'but' that has the same function. The verb form is used in its imperfect past tense, which indicates they have finished or are coming to the end of the tasting, as it is evidenced a few turns later.

The *peros* 'buts' generally address some issue of the conversation that can be considered to be problematic. In some cases, such as example 3.15, it has to do with the lack of access to a certain aspect of the taste that one of the interactants has identified. In some other cases, such as example 3.4, it refers to a quality of the food that is not pleasant to either one or both the interactants. In any case, the referents that are objected to are not always found in the sequential adjacency of the production of *pero* 'but', however that does not seem to halt the progressivity of the interaction.

The following section shows one of the types of assessment sequences found right after the first tasting of food. This is a first assessment by one speaker followed by a second assessment that has the format of a first.

3.4 ASSESSMENTS IN SECOND POSITION BUT FORMATTED AS FIRSTS

What we find in this data are several instances of assessments produced as an initiating action and a subsequent assessment in second position that has the format of a first. I aim at explaining this in terms of the autonomous access to the food assessed that each individual experiences. As Giolo Fele (2014) stated when observing coffee tasters, "the second pair part is dependent on an autonomous access to the object being assessed (not a matter of opinion); the focus is on the object, not on the relation".

This would explain the delay in the production of a second assessment in the coffee tasters data. In their case, this autonomous access is reflected in the type of assessments produced as they are said to be categorial and objective as opposed to subjective assessments based on noticings. Nevertheless, this distinction between "professional" and "amateur" tasting does not reflect on the way assessments are produced in the data for this study. This is, what prevails is assessment pairs in which the interactants display their independent access and stance towards the food. Therefore, the use of object side or subject side assessments also contributes to the turn design that marks the assessment as autonomous. The following are examples of this phenomenon.

Example 3.15_P3.04_Israel

```
01 R:  estas estrellas de:m: °h de co-=
       these stars of of lik-
02 L:  =de Israel=
       of Israel
03 R:  =de Israel (.) prometen (.) ha[::  ]
       of Israel        are promising
04 L:                   [claro]
                         sure
05 L:  me dejaste la más (0.9) doblada=
       you left me the most      crooked
06 R:  oh: llórala
       oh cry over it
07     (1.0)
08 L:  vamos a ver que tal
       let's see what it is like
```

```
09      (2.8)
10 R:   tiene azúcar arriba
        it has sugar on top
11      (0.4)
12 R:   me imagino bien dulce bien dulce
        I imagine very sweet very sweet
13      (0.6)
14 L:   °h tiene manjar
         it has caramel
15      (4.6)
16 R:   es como una mini tartaleta
        it's like a mini pie
17      (2.4)
18 R:→Mm que rica la masa
        mm how yummy the pastry
19      (1.7)
20 L:→es blandita
        it is very soft
21      (4.4)
```

In example 3.16, the interactants are about to taste mince pies, so they begin by collaboratively referring to the pies as *estrellas de Israel* (stars of Israel) in lines 1-3. In line 5, L complains that R has left him the most crooked pie to which R responds with a directive that mocks the complaint. In line 8, R produces an invitation to taste. After a 2.8 second gap in which the interactants are unwrapping the pie, R produces a description of the sugar on top of the pastry and then an assessment of how she imagines the pie to be in line 12. L goes on to produce a candidate description in line 14 of what might be the filling of the pie. This turn *tiene manjar* "it has caramel" has rising terminal intonation consistent with questions in Spanish, so the turn can be heard as a candidate that is offered without any certainty especially considering they have not tasted the food at that point in time. In the 4.6 second gap that follows both participants are engaged with the food they have started eating almost simultaneously. R is the first to produce a description of the type of food they are eating in line 16 while still chewing. After a 2.4 second gap, R produces an *mm* token that projects an assessment as it is produced while frowning and protruding the lips. This is immediately followed by an assessment of the pastry *que rica la masa* "how yummy the pastry". In the 1.7 seconds that follow both of the interactants finish swallowing and L produces the SPP *es blandita* "it is very soft" in line 20. There are some aspects that mark this turn as dispreferred. First of all, there is delay in the production of the second. There is swallowing, after which L talks but he is not expressing either pleasure or disgust with his facial expressions. There is however, some frowning which

might be signal of puzzling over what he is eating. For this assessment to agree with the

prior, it would have to recycle some elements of the previous turn, however the only

element present, in both turns, is the referent that is pastry, which is tacit in the turn in line

20. The assessments in lines 18 and 20 are produced in relation to different lexical fields,

rica "yummy" is about the taste and *blandita* "softy" is about the texture. What relates the

two turns however is that the second could be an account to why the pastry is yummy, and

if not an account, it could be narrowing down the liking to more specific terms. In any

case, it is not an expression of agreement directly which could have been done with the *sí*

"yes" token prefacing the turn. Thus doing both actions, agreeing with the assessment and

accounting or narrowing down the assessment, although this is not the case. All things

considered, line 20 makes the case for an assessment in second position formatted as a

first.

Example 3.17. P1.04_Pan_con_mantequilla

```
01 L:  quiero [probar] esto
       I want to try this
02 R:          [voy a-]
               I am going to-
03     (1.5)
04 L:  tiene olor a (1.7)
       it smells like
05 R:  ya a ver [aspecto  a:  pan  con        man]tequilla
       ok let's see appearance of bread with butter
06 L:            [a mantequilla y a un olor fuerte]
                  butter and something strong
07     (1.0)
08 L:  esto es pan con mantequilla poh o no?
       this is bread with butter isn't it?
09     (9.8)
10 R:→ <<creaky>oh la weá> <<breathy>ric[a:    ]>
       (non-lexical token) the shit yummy
11 L:→                          <<creaky>[oh la weá] rica>
                                 (non-lexical token) the shit yummy
12 L:  [hahuhuhu]
       hahuhuhu
13 R:  [huhuhuhu]
       huhuhuhu
```

In example 3.17, L and R have been assessing the smell and looks of buttery toast with

Marmite before tasting it. Then there is an inquiry seeking confirmation about whether or

not this is buttery toast in line 8. The tasting time is represented by the 9.8 seconds pause in

the transcript. R produces a first assessment in line 10 which has the grammatical form of a

noun phrase initiated with the *oh* token. This noun phrase has an attributive adjective that

is the basis to treat it as an assessment, then it makes relevant a second assessment which would agree or disagree. Line 11, which is a repeat of line 10, does some agreement but it also presents that as if it were something that has been arrived at independently so it is not responsive in the traditional sense of adjacency pairs. It is sensitive to being positioned in second position, but its design is not that of a second assessment built off a first. The evidence to support this claim is that the turn has the exact same design as the prior. The *oh* in lines 10 and 11, is not the change-of-state token *oh* as known in English that marks a state change towards a new information territory (Heritage, 2002, 2005; Heritage & Raymond, 2005) which in Chilean Spanish would be better conveyed with the token *ah*. The function of *oh* here is more in line with Golato's (2012:253) claim for German in which the author states "oh serves as a vehicle for embodying and expressing the emotion felt by the speaker". Any particle that declares a stance towards something in that position marks an independent claim, particularly if it recycles what came before or repeats it. In any case the production of *oh* in second position in line 11 is not responsive to the first assessment but to the food in this case. The turn is built as an assessment that has been reached independently and therefore it does the action of a first assessment. Epistemic authority in this case is gained purely by the fact that one has had the experience of tasting first in a situation where one or the other could have waited for the other to taste first, as we will see in the following chapter of this thesis. In this example, it is important to consider it was L who made a bid to taste this food. She has generated the transition from one food to the next and R could potentially have used that as licence to let her go first, see how she responded, but he does not do this and he goes first.

The following extract (example 3.18) is longer and shows how a first assessment is followed by second assessment formatted as a first, but how later in the interaction there is parallelism between the turns produced even if they are in disagreement.

Example 3.18. P2.04_Naranja

```
01 R:  `YA.
           ok
02     (0.7)
```

```
03 R:  eh: ↑↑si´GAmos con los chocolates?
           eh    let's continue with  the  chocolates?
04        (1.0)
05 R:  °pth <<p><<whispery>`OK.>>
                        ok
06        (3.8)
07 R:  <<p><<h>a ´VER?>>
            let's see
08        (3.3)
09 L:  tiene⸃ a`ROma a naranja.
           it has  aroma   of orange
10        (0.8)
11 R:  mm ´HM,
           mm  hm
12        (0.6)
13 R:  °pth SAbe, (0.2) bastante a na`RANja;
            it tastes          quite like    orange
14        (3.8)
15 L:→`Mm. (0.7) está exqui`SIto.
           mm      it's   exquisite
16        (0.3)
17 R:→me car`GÓ.
           I  loathed it
18        (2.7)
19 L:  °pth por ´QUÉ,
            why?
20        (0.3)
21 R:  no me `GUSta.
           I don't  like it
22        (0.3)
23 R:  [no me `GUSta.     ]
           I don't   like it
24 L:  [no te ´GUSta el sabor] a naranja?=
           don't you like   the taste     of orange?
25 R:  mm `M[m. ha ha ha      ]
           mm mm   ha ha ha
26 L:      [°pth es como sabor a na]´RANja,
                 it's like   the taste of orange
27      °hh °pth con: con otra e`SENcia más.
                 with  with another essence    more
28        (0.5)
29 L:  no es naranja: <<p>`NEtamente sola.>
           it's not orange        neatly     on its own
30        (0.4)
31 R:  mm `Mm.
           mm  mm
32        (0.7)
33 R:  encuentro que es`TÁ !MUY! muy pasado a naranja.=
           I find       that it's    too orangey
34      =↑y encuentro que se `PIERde un poco el chocolate.
            and I find    that it loses    the chocolate a little
35        (0.5)
36 L:  ´Mm:,
           mm
37        (1.3)
38 R:  es como comer na`RANja en vez de chocolate.
           it's like eating orange   instead of   chocolate
39        (.)
40 L:  como naranja confi`TAda.
           like candied  orange
41        (0.2)
42 R:  -CLAro.
           right
43        (6.0)
44 R:  <<creaky>mm `Mm.>
                 mm mm
45        (3.3)
46 L:→´Mm, (0.3) me agra`DÓ.
           mm       it pleased me
47        (1.6)
48 R:  mm `Mm.
```

```
        mm  mm
49      (2.1)
50 R:→`CREo que no me gustó.
        I think  that  I didn't  like it
51      (6.2)
```

At the beginning of extract 3.18, R suggests they continue with the chocolate, takes a piece before L does and starts eating it as L begins to smell it and produces a description of the smell of it in line 9. Responsive to this, R takes the remaining piece of chocolate he has just started eating closer to his nose, smells it and agrees with the minimal acknowledgement token *mm hm*. Then R produces a description of the taste, recycling L's description from line 9, and gazes at L in the production of *naranja* 'orange' which has an unusual pitch contour in line 13. When uttering this line, there is also a facial display that orange is not something appealing to him (Figure 3.1). Both the prosody and embodied behaviour help to construct this production of *naranja* 'orange' as marking a negative stance.

Figure 3.2 Facial expression showing dislike in ex. 3.18

As L is tasting the chocolate, he produces the *mm* token marking incipient speakership as his mouth is engaged with food, he swallows and produces a first assessment in line 15. After a 0.3 silence, R produces *me cargó* 'I loathed it', a second assessment that is formatted as a first in line 17. The grammatical construction of these assessments is very different although there are some commonalities. The use of the verb *estar* 'to be' in line 15 describes the state of the subject after a change has taken place, it refers to a particular

instance not to a quality inherent in the subject. The syntactic structure of line 17 does not mirror that of line 15, although it does foreground the object and the use of the past in *me cargó* 'I loathed it' also refers to a particular instance, to the specificity of not liking this chocolate here and now. However, it is still a subject side assessment different from an assessment with the structure "subject + copula + predicative adjective". So the first assessment is presented as an objective description whereas line 17 is a personal opinion.

```
15 L: `Mm. (0.7) está exqui`SIto.
      MM      BE3SG EXQUISITE
      mm     (it) is   exquisite
16    (0.3)
17 R:  me  car`GÓ.
TACIT PR 1SG-DIR LOATHE3SG-PRET
      I loathed it
```

In the assessment sequence at line 15-17, the speakers were at a point of maximum distance where the food for one was exquisite, for the other it was the opposite. The assessing terms used are quite extreme, so diametrically opposite which creates a relation between the two assessments even if the second is formatted as a first. As previously said, the difference between one's own personal sensory appreciation and the nature of the object itself is marked through the use of different grammatical structures. Nevertheless, Clements (2006:188) claims that *estar* (as opposed to *ser*) appears when reference is made to an instance where the objects are finite in a particular discourse situation. Clements adds (2006:189) "with estar sabroso, a personal experience, implied or real, of an edible item is expressed". According to Clements then, a turn like the one in line 15 is still marking some degree of subjectivity. The use of the subject side assessment in line 17 might work to soften the disagreement as not liking something is a personal matter. By personalising the assessment, the disagreement is softened, i.e., it does not treat opinions as a matter of fact, but as a subjective experience, still considering that the context varies depending on what the other person has done. The high contrast between the assessing terms of the sequence in lines 15 and 17 in a different context could be a deeply unpleasant move. However, it is not treated as unpleasant by the coparticipant, therefore it is pertinent to ask: in what circumstances is it permissible or safe to do that kind of contrastive assessment?

This is an assessment situation where the participants have been instructed to tell us what they think, so the context absorbs what would otherwise be highly dispreferred as it is more permissible to outrightly contradict the other person if you are complying with a task. This might be a practice that could be extended to tasting for the first time in general, but probably the constraint remains in that neither of the interactants had prepared the food. As this assessment sequence occurs in the context of food tasting, one could taste something and know that it is not of one's liking but on the other hand it is known that it would not be unappealing to everyone, so we are not merely dealing with a choice between doing subjective or objective assessments.

These assessments are done as unilateral independent assessments, but at the same time the coparticipant is doing the same activity and the object about which they have to give an evaluation is not known to them. There is no prejudgement to whether one has greater familiarity or greater entitlement, although they do draw on comparable foodstuffs, the interactants still stand on more or less similar epistemic grounds. Similar to watching TV, they have parallel access to the same object at the same time. This relinquishes the obligation to do one's assessment as a second because one can claim epistemic independence. This is, of course, considering that the assessments are "unavoidably produced as first and second positioned actions" (Heritage and Raymond, 2005:16). They also add:

> "This conversational patrol and defense of information preserves is mandated by the fundamental association between the positioning of an assessment and the epistemic claims implied by that positioning. Because social interaction is organized sequentially and because someone must necessarily be first to assess a referent, the management of information preserves is inexorably relevant in social interaction" (Heritage and Raymond, 2005:34)

In example 3.18, after the assessment sequence, there is a 2.7 second pause and an account solicitation from L at line 19 as R has not agreed with L's first assessment. R produces an account in line 21 which L treats as insufficient and produces a candidate more narrow account in line 24. L confirms this in line 27 with *mm mm* that is longer and has a greater fall in pitch than other productions of the same token in the sequence, this is accompanied by head shakes and laughter from L.

Lines 26 to 29 establish the product as something that is worth analysing, beyond just saying whether it is good or bad. R also accounts for that in 33, 34 and 38 and L collaborates with the production of that reason in 40. It is interesting to note that in line 33 the food object represents the assessment, *está muy pasado a naranja* 'it's too orangey', where orange becomes a token for assessment.

In lines 46 through 50 there is another assessment sequence where the positions become more balanced or nuanced. In terms of assessments, the production of subject side assessments in both turns (46 and 50) is much weaker than stating the quality of the product.

```
46 L: ´Mm, (0.3) me  agra`DÓ.
      MM      1SG-DIR PLEASE3SG-PRET
         mm           I liked it
47    (1.6)
48 R: mm `Mm.
      NON-LEXICAL TOKEN
      mm  mm
49    (2.1)
50 R: `CREo que no  me  gustó.
      THINK1SG REL  NOT  1SG-DIR LIKE3SG-PRET
      I think   that   I didn't  like it
```

The fact that there is a change in the way assessments are made throughout the longer evaluative practice is related to the task because saying "I don't like it" is not sufficient for the task. The conversation moves towards the reasons why not to like this food perhaps because it is easier to look for reasons why someone does not like something than to talk someone into liking something. Generally, if one of the participants likes the food and the

other does not, the one who likes it compromises more and tends to give in, it works more on that side than on the other.

The conditional relevance set up by a first assessment, as we know it, is challenged in this type of interaction. So, it is through sequential analysis that the idea of ongoing parallel projects begins to make sense. We are aware of the interaction with our co-participant(s), which is why we might find ourselves accountable for whatever visual or verbal actions we produce responsive to and regarding the object in question.

The fact that there are few base adjacency pairs produced right after the tasting of food might be an indicator of people treating each other as mutually engaging in a task, in parallel tracks. When participants do opt to taste at the same time, they monitor by gaze to see if they are coming to the same conclusions. Then, they produce their assessments in ways that claim not to be responsive which allows them to reach their own conclusion at more or less the same time. The right to assess claimed by the second speaker is not called into question. This might be the unmarked way of handling this task and an affiliative practice.

3.5 SUMMARY

Throughout this chapter we have seen different types of assessment pairs. First, those where a first assessment is responded to with a second assessment that matches the prior in terms of having the same referent, matching lexical and syntactic choice. We can also see that for canonical assessments, adjacency was not always present as there was the possibility of having quite extended insert sequences between the first assessment and the second assessment that in the case illustrated here had to do with the lack of access to the assessable. Finally, we examined some examples where the second assessment declares some sort of independence from the first.

In general, what we find at the beginning of the interactions of this data more regularly is instances like examples 3.11, 3.12 and 3.13, that is, a first assessment and then a second assessment that is formatted as a first assessment. Then, one implication of these findings is that this type of formatting would be canonical for a context in which two people have equal rights to assess. So, these cases should not be seen as deviant when they are not deviant for the context in which they occur. Heritage and Raymond (2005) argue that if the assessable is a thing both people have equal rights and have equal access to, fairly straightforward declaratives about the nature of the thing can be produced, and that invites a response. However, as assessments here are also responsive to eating and tasting, the response, although being in second position, is formatted to display its own independent access. This finding sheds lights on what is at stake for people if they are assessing things that are immediately present.

This first analytical chapter has dealt mainly with verbal activities that occur as part of the evaluative practice. This provides the basis for the following chapter where I explore the different ways of getting to a first assessment, and I focus particularly on the non-verbal resources used to mobilise a first assessment.

CHAPTER 4. THE LEAD UP TO AN ASSESSMENT

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, I explored the ways in which a canonical assessment turn and assessment pair are defined in the literature on assessments. Drawing from my data, I showed how the lack of access to the taste of the assessable delayed the production of a second assessment. I also analysed the various ways in which an assessment in second position can be marked as independent from the first after the first sensorial encounter with the food (by means of looks, smell, or taste). These findings went to show that in producing assessments in this food-tasting context, canonical assessment pairs are not the default choice.

One of the main aims of this thesis is also to unpack the multimodal resources used in the production of assessments. Analysing data sequentially draws attention to the steps participants take before making an assessment. This prompts the research question for this chapter:

How do interactants get to a first assessment?

To answer this question, we need to look at an interaction as a multimodal phenomenon. This implies that there are a range of semiotic resources deployed in face-to-face conversational interaction. These range from linguistic choices (syntactic structures, lexical choice and prosodic features) to embodied behaviour such as gaze, gesture, and bodily movement. All of this framed within a spatial and material context, therefore the interaction with objects (in this case, the food) is also relevant for this analysis.

I argue that there are recognisable patterns of organisation in the lead up to assessments. This organisation relates closely to the interaction with the food itself, but it is also used as a means to check what the other interactant is demonstrably experiencing and establish a shared perspective on the food.

The data for this chapter comes from the beginning of the tasting for each food the participants of this study ate. I have considered who tastes the food, before and after, or whether this is done at the same time or with some delay. I have also analysed the participants' gaze behaviour prior to the first assessment.

There are 30 cases as each of the five couples taste six different foods (see figure 4.1). Of these 30 cases, 15 show a variety of phenomena that occupy the interaction before a first assessment is produced. These 15 cases break into two subgroups: 8 that are single access cases, this is, one of the participants has access to the food first and it is generally that person, who has tasted first the one, who produces the first assessment of taste. Seven other are dual access cases where both participants have tasted the food before any assessments are produced and if eye gaze is used to mobilise an assessment, that assessment is in second position, so the mobilising eye gaze occurs together with or after a first assessment.

Of the total 30 cases, 2 examples present mutual gaze where both interactants have eaten the food and these cases represent a point of maximum affiliation[3] where the stance of the participants towards the food is shown through facial expressions and also perceived by them by means of gaze, in both directions.

The remaining 13 cases show an interesting phenomenon where somebody withholds their own assessment and deploys gaze only to get the other person to assess first. Out of these 13 cases, where eye gaze is used as a resource to mobilise the production of a first assessment, 8 cases are single access, this is, one of the interactants withholds the tasting and gazes to see the facial reactions of the other interactant and mobilise a first assessment. The other 5 cases are those in which there is dual access, i.e. both interactants taste either at the same time or with some delay, however the first assessment is produced after both have tasted and one has mobilised that assessment through gaze.

---

[3] Stivers (2008:35) uses the term affiliation to imply that the hearer demonstrably supports and endorses the speaker's conveyed stance. So the affiliative uptake from a hearer would be to take a stance that matches that of the speaker.

ALL CASES (30)

OTHER WAYS OF GETTING TO
A FIRST ASSESSMENT (15)

MUTUAL GAZE (2)

MOBILISING WITH GAZE (13)

SINGLE ACCESS (8)   DUAL ACCESS (7)

SINGLE ACCESS (8)   DUAL ACCESS (5)
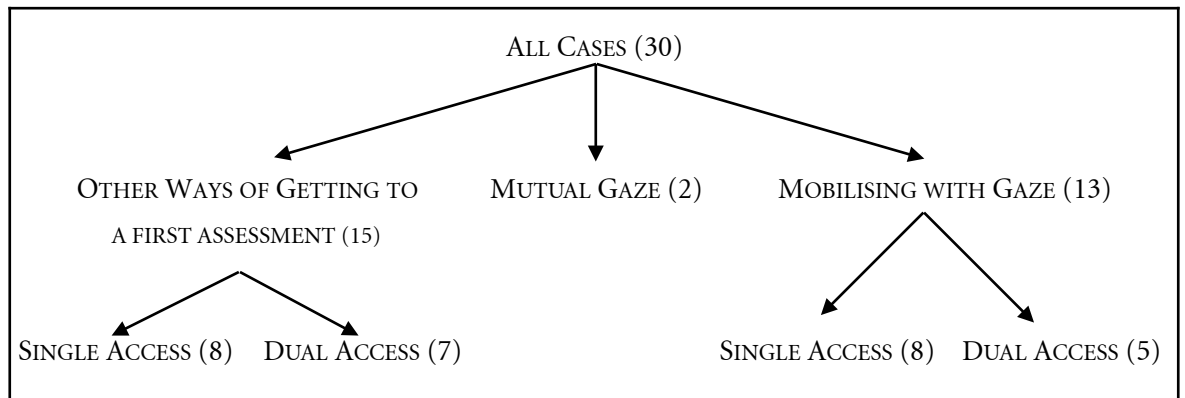
Figure 4.1. Classification of cases in the collection

4.1.1 STRUCTURE OF CHAPTER

The chapter is organised as follows: Section 4.2 focuses on the existing literature on the role of eye gaze in interaction placing particular emphasis on gaze in relation to assessment sequences. This section summarises Rossano's (2012) research on different studies of speaker gaze and its role in social interaction in relation to sequence types and adjacency pairs. With regard to gaze in assessment sequences, the most relevant findings are those of Stivers and Rossano (2010) that identify gaze as one of the resources that speakers use to mobilise an assessment.

Section 4.3 shows the classification and analysis of the examples of a variety of ways of getting to a first assessment where gaze is not used as a mobilising resource.

Section 4.4 explores mutual eye gaze as a resource for coordinating with the other in the service of affiliation.

In section 4.5, I introduce the two patterns for gaze organisation as a mobilising resource. In 4.5.1 I analyse examples of the first tasting of the food products. These show that for single access, i.e. when one of the interactants tastes the food first, there is a deliberate choice to wait for the other interactant to taste first. Eye gaze is used as a resource to see the reaction to food portrayed by means of facial gestures, and to mobilise a first assessment from the person who has tasted the food first. In section 4.5.2 I analyse instances of the first

tasting of a particular food in which there is dual access, this means both interactants have tasted the food at the same time, or with a slight delay. In these cases, eye gaze is used as a way of putting pressure on the other to produce a first assessment.

Finally, section 4.6 provides some concluding remarks.

4.2 GAZE BEHAVIOUR IN TALK-IN-INTERACTION

The most up to date and complete research on gaze in interaction can be found in Federico Rossano's (2012) PhD thesis. He suggests that gaze behaviour in conversation can be explained not only by paying attention to who is speaking or listening, but also through the sequential organisation of talk. He documents in detail the way in which gaze is deployed in different sequences (considering both speaker and recipient gaze). Rossano (2012:9) claims that "each individual deploys specific gaze behaviors according to her/his role as speaker or recipient but also in relation to what s/he is trying to achieve during a conversation". This implies that there might be different motivations for gazing as a speaker and as a recipient, but also that gaze might serve a double function in specific contexts.

One of Rossano's (2012) findings, and one that is relevant for this study, is that gaze in extended-telling sequences (ETS) behaves in the way that has been traditionally described by Kendon (1967) for the organisation of turn-taking in interaction, that is, the recipient gazes at the speaker for most of the telling and when they do not, this can be explained because of the competing activities taking place. Goodwin (1981, 1984) claimed that gaze directed at objects in the nearby environment, that are part of a competing activity such as drinking, smoking or eating, is less problematic than looking away in general while it is a brief disengagement only.

The other claim Rossano (2012:85) makes is that for adjacency-pair based sequences (APBS) "recipients' gaze behaviour during sequences of talk can differ between a first turn and a second turn and that recipients who were not already looking at the speaker often do not look up during the TCU that initiates an adjacency pair sequence". This counters the

Goodwinian claim that "mutual gaze is the default during face-to-face interactions and that not engaging in mutual gaze during a turn would be accountable or problematic" (Rossano, 2012:97). These different positions need to consider the interacting objects and competing activities, but most importantly whether the same claims about eye gaze can be made about different cultures and languages.

When observing different types of adjacency-pair sequences in terms of gaze behaviour, Stivers and Rossano (2010) and Rossano (2012) put conditional relevance to the test by showing it works in a scalar way, especially in adjacency pairs where failure in responding is not sanctionable and in these cases, a number of turn-design features can be displayed if a response is indeed sought.

Stivers and Rossano (2010) suggest that speakers mobilise response through multimodal resources that include social action, sequential position, syntactic and prosodic features of the turn-design, epistemics, and speaker gaze. In relation to assessments, they show that when the speaker is gazing at their interlocutor during an assessment, the interlocutor usually responds to the assessment; and in cases where there is no speaker gaze or other response mobilising features, there are no responsive assessments.

The model they propose positions assessments as low in response relevance (as opposed to other adjacency pairs such as requests or invitations). This is supported with evidence showing that, on the one hand, not responding to an assessment is not sanctionable. On the other hand, failure to respond to a request is indeed sanctioned. It can also be the case that not responding to an assessment is routinely not sanctioned in practice, rather than not sanctionable per se. In any case, Stivers and Rossano (2010) claim that despite the low response relevance of assessments, if these are designed with multiple turn-design features that mobilise response, the response relevance of the action is increased.

The same applies for pursuits of response, so after a first assessment has been made and a response is not forthcoming, the same turn-design features previously described are used to pursue a response. If this is the case, then the question that Stivers and Rossano (2010:23)

ask is "Why wouldn't speakers always design their turns to maximally mobilize response?" Their answer goes back to Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory: "With actions that are potentially face threatening or where who we are to one another may be at issue, there are clear advantages to a less coercive action design." (Stivers and Rossano, 2010:24)

The other work that focuses on gaze and assessments is Haddington's (2006) where he shows how gaze can be used as a resource to display stances towards the assessable in the production of assessments. The types of behaviour studied are looking together at an assessable (establishing a shared stance object), looking at each other (convergent stance and mutual gaze) and looking away (cut-off gaze and divergent stance taking). Haddington's (2006) work is successful in showing how CA is useful in demonstrating that stance is built off multiple linguistic and interactional resources.

As previously mentioned, assessment sequences can refer to past events or experiences and absent objects or to present events or experiences and copresent visible objects. The assessables in this study are contemporaneous and readily available to the participants of the conversation. What is interesting about the assessment of food is that the evaluative practice is done primarily in terms of taste rather than sight. Tasting food means each participant has separate access to the assessable, unlike the assessment by means of sight (for example looking at a painting or book), which means both participants share access to the assessable. When food in this case is in a plate or bowl, it can act as a joint gaze point (Haddington, 2006:287). On the contrary, when there is the same food product in individual quantities, each assessable is a gaze point in itself. This multiplies the options for gaze distribution.

The number of interactants is also important for the distribution of gaze. In this case it is dyadic interaction. Although it is assumed that gazing at a person's face is more relevant in interactional terms than gazing at anything else. In dyadic interactions in laboratory settings (Argyle & Cook, 1976) people look at each other, blankly into space or at irrelevant objects, but also at objects of mutual interest (or relevant for the subject's task) that were gazed at for longer and reduced the amount of gaze at the interlocutor. Other experimental

studies suggest that gaze in dyads is shaped by the spatial relations between the interactants. At the beginning of these interactions, there is a tendency for people to orient towards one another as a means for participants to look at the source of the sound. According to the experiments described, proximity and amount of gaze are alternatively related to intimacy: the closer two people are, the less they look at each other (Argyle, 1976:101).

This section has put together the main findings of research that focus on the relationship between gaze and social action, especially in regards to assessment sequences. The following section 4.3 classifies and analyses the different ways of getting to a first assessment where gaze is not used as a mobilising resource.

4.3 Different ways of getting to a first assessment

When an assessment is produced, it can refer to a past event or object/person that is not in the immediate presence of the interactants, or it can be about an event that is happening in that moment or an object/person that is right there and then. The data for this study was gathered from participants who were instructed to say what they thought about the food they were tasting. That meant they had to assess the food as they were tasting it. In this chapter we begin to see the particulars of assessing when assessing is the task at hand and part of a larger evaluative practice, but also how "the here and now" brings a number of variables into the activity.

In the data used for this study, first, decisions are made regarding the order in which the participants will taste the different food products. Then, when the participants decide to taste a particular food, before tasting, there are different types of assessments made in relation to preconceptions participants have of the food they are about to try or there might be assessments of weight, smell or appearance. These assessments are produced because what the participants are tasting is an object that can resemble other foods they have experienced, but as an immediate object it can be seen, handled, weighted and smelt, as well as tasted. This variety of possibilities makes the assessment of the tasting experience

much richer in terms of its multimodal conception than the assessment of objects that are not present.

Now, if we focus on the participants, one of the instructions given to them was to eat the same food at the same time and say what they thought of it. This is generally respected, but only in a few cases they would start to chew simultaneously, most of the time there is some delay between who tastes first and who tastes second, and in some cases this delay is deliberate and significant as we will see in section 4.5.1.

Another issue that is relevant in regard to the participants is that they are having a physical experience when they are tasting. Therefore, facial expressions become one of the demonstrable ways of showing that experience. These visual displays of stance can move along a continuum that goes from total dislike to pleasure but also express uncertainty or difficulty in deciphering a certain taste. Facial expressions become relevant interactionally if the other interactant notices the facial expression or if attention is drawn to them by means of gaze or with the use of non-lexical tokens (see Chapter 5 for an analysis of these). When this is the case, we see how intersubjectivity begins to be built by means of mutual gaze and laughter, among other resources, from the first tasting onwards as the interaction progresses (see Section 4.4). Therefore, who gazes at whom, or what, and when, also provides us with some order of analysis that consists of how the gaze indicates: i) "parallel tracks" - where the participants engage in their own exploration and experience of the food or they confirm or disconfirm a quality of the food that has been previously mentioned; ii) shared experience (i.e. the two cases in Section 4.4) and iii) deliberate withholding of an assessment in order to "see'/'hear" the other's experience (Section 4.5).

I analysed these cases considering whether assessments are produced, when only one of the two interactants has tasted the food. I call them single access cases. The other scenario occurs when both participants have access to the food at the same time, this means they are in equal positions to assess. I call these cases dual access. Whether one has tasted before the other is not as relevant in these cases as it is for cases where eye gaze mobilises a first assessment, as in the latter the tasting as well as the first assessment can be held off. For

these dual access cases we see that more than one of these phenomena tend to occur in the same example. This can be explained as there are multiple activities happening such that verbal turns and embodied behaviour can occupy the interaction simultaneously.

What holds these cases together is the fact that there is something else (smelling, dealing with previous talk, or nominating oneself as assessor) that needs to be dealt with. As a consequence, the time when both participants could have been in tune gazing at the other to produce assessments about this particular thing has now passed.

4.3.1 SMELLING

The first finding that holds across many of these cases is that a different property of the food is being assessed while tasting. In some cases one of the participants is smelling the food and assessing the smell while the other has gone ahead to taste it. See the following examples (4.1, 4.2).

In example 4.1, line 01 shows us R eats first at the same time L is smelling the chocolate (bold in transcript below) and the 2.7 seconds where these activities keep happening. R then produces a description of the smell in line 02. Responsive to this, R takes the remaining piece of chocolate he has just started eating closer to his nose, smells it (line 03) and agrees with the minimal acknowledgement token *mm hm* in line 04. It is just when R starts producing line 04 that L begins to taste the food. Then R produces a description of the taste in line 06 recycling L's description from line 02. After this, assessments of the taste are made in lines 08 and 09.

Example 4.1 P2.04_Naranja

```
01          •+†(2.7)
  r  →      >>•eats-->
  l         >> +gazes to food-->>
     →         †smells the chocolate-->
02 L:       tiene? a`ROma a naranja.
              it has  aroma  of orange
03          •(0.8)
  r         •smells the chocolate-->
```

```
04 R:        †mm ´HM,
             mm  hm
  l          †eats-->
05           (0.6)
06 R:        °pth SAbe, (0.2) bastante a *na`RANja;
               it tastes        quite like     orange
                               *gazes to L-->
07           (1.8)*(2.0)
  r           -->*gazes away-->
08 L:        *`Mm. (0.7) está exqui`SIto.
              mm     it's   exquisite
  r          *gazes to L-->>
09           *(0.3)
  r          *gazes away-->>
10 R:        me car`GÓ.
             I  loathed it
```

In example 4.2 R eats first in line 02 (bold in transcript below) about the same time L is still referring to the colour of the liquorice they are eating. L is smelling the food in line 04 (bold in transcript below). L produces a try marked turn about the smell in line 05 and uses eye gaze to mobilise a response from R in line 06. R responds with the minimal token mm in line 07, and although L pursues a response in line 09, she does not get one and proceeds to taste the food in line 10. Eventually it is L who produces the first assessment of taste in line 11 which is challenged by R by means of a repeat of the assessment term and the use of rising intonation in line 13.

Example 4.2 P1.05_Insípido

```
01 R         *+no es común encontrar un caramelo:
               it's not common  to find    sweets
             >>*gazes away-->
  l          >> +gazes away-->
02           •(1.1)
  r →         •eats
03 L:        es que es negro el color del demonio
             it's cause black is  the colour of the devil
04           †(2.5)
  l →        †smells liquorice-->
05 L:        tiene como olor a: (1.4) canela puede ser?
             it has  like  smell of     cinammon it could be?
06           (0.8)+(1.0)
  l       -->+gazes at R-->
07 R:        Mm.
             mm
08           (0.7)
09 L:        el olor?
             the smell?
10           (4.5)+†(1.0)*(2.2)       *(1.3)
  l            -->+gazes away-->
                 †eats-->
  r              -->*gazes to L's side*gazes away-->
```

```
11 L:     es como in+sípido igual.
          it's like  tasteless   anyway
  l          -->+gazes at R-->>
12        (0.9)
13 R:     *insípido?
          tasteless?
        *gazes at L-->>
```

4.3.2 DEALING WITH PREVIOUS TALK

Similarly to the cases we have just seen, in some of the cases studied, before the tasting, sometimes the participants have offered candidate qualities of the food. For example, one of them has suggested that this might taste in a certain way or might have this or that ingredient. So then what happens first verbally is either confirming or disconfirming and rectifying the information as erroneous.

In example 4.3, R has already suggested the food they are about to eat is a pie and that although it appears to be sweet, it does not smell sweet (not shown in the transcript). So both participants have assessed the smell before the tasting. R tastes first in line 01, and produces a turn that confirms the type of food they are eating in line 02 (bold in transcript below) at the same time that L begins to eat. R then produces an assessment of the taste in line 04 describing the food as somehow different to the possibilities he had suggested in previous turns.

Example 4.3 P4.04_Kuchen

```
01          •(7.9)
  r         •eats-->
02 R: →     †esto es un kuchen
            this  is  a  pie
  l         †eats-->
03        (4.5)
04 R:     esto es ácido
          this is sour
05        (0.6)
```

Example 4.4 also shows the confirmation of something said before. R has said she imagines the pie to be sweet because it has sugar on top, and L has mentioned caramel as a possible filling (not shown in the transcript). They begin to eat simultaneously as can be seen in line

01. R is the first to produce a description that confirms the type of food they are eating in line 02 (bold in transcript below). After this, other assessments of taste are produced in lines 04 and 06.

Example 4.4 P3.04_Tartaleta

```
01            †•(3.5)
  L           >>†eats-->>
  R           >> •eats-->>
02 R: →       es *como una mini tartaleta*
              it's like a mini pie
              *gazes at L's side------->*gazes away--->>
03            (2.4)
04 R:         Mm que rica la masa
               mm how yummy the pastry
05            (1.7)
06 L:         es blandita
              it is very soft
```

In example 4.5 L suggests there is cognac in the chocolate and laughs quietly in line 01 at the same time R begins to eat. In line 02 we can see L begins to eat as R begins to shake her head. The first turn after both of them have tasted is R's *naranja* 'orange' in line 03 preceded by and coproduced with head shakes dismissing L's suggestion and rectifying what is in the chocolate (bold in transcript below). R produces a positive assessment of the food in line 05 followed by laughter (line 07). In line 09, L complains that the taste of the mince pie, the food they have tasted before, still lingers in his mouth and he can not really access the taste of the orange chocolate they are tasting now which defers a second assessment.

Example 4.5 P3.05_Coñac

```
01 L:         •es coñac nf nf
              it is cognac
  r           •eats-->
02            (1.3)†*(2.0)
  l              †eats-->
  r               *shakes head-->
03 R: →       naranja
              orange
04            (1.3)*(3.2)
  r               *open palm gesture-->
05 R:         oh: *el mejor final
              oh the best ending
  r                *gaze to L-->
06            (1.2)
```

```
07 R:      hehehe
           hehehe
08         (0.5)
09 L:      pero tengo el sabor todavía del (0.5)
           but I have the taste still of the
10         de las pasas entonces (4.2)
           of the raisins so
```

4.3.3. NOMINATING ONESELF AS ASSESSOR

Another finding across many cases is a sense of urgency in providing the first assessment. This sense of urgency is demonstrated by the fact that the first person who tastes makes a claim of having had an experience through a non-lexical token that then projects an assessment (for a detailed analysis of these, see Chapter 5). Then, they go on to produce that assessment or non-lexical token that might be affiliated to, by virtue of somebody explicitly giving them the slot to do that, like in the case where they ask "did you like it?" (see example 4.8). However, that projection might also be disregarded as the other participant is engaged in some parallel track activity as in 4.6 or does not agree with the stance expressed by the person who produces the non-lexical token as in 4.7.

In example 4.6, R begins to eat before L in line 01 and L is still referring to the colour of the baked beans in line 02. R produces a stretched and creaky token *oh* in line 04 (bold in transcript below) as L is struggling to put food onto her spoon and verbalises this in line 06. At the same time L begins to eat, R produces a positive assessment of the food in line 08 which is also creaky and stretched (bold in transcript below).

Example 4.6 P1.03_Tomate

```
01          *•+†(1.5)
   R       >>*gazes at bowl-->
            •eats-->
   L       >> +gazes at bowl-->
            †stirs food w spoon-->
02 L:      pero estos tienen un color `RAro.
           but   these   have   a   weird   colour
03         (1.4)
04 R: →    †<<creaky>`Oh:.>
                (non-lexical token)
   L:      †tries to get food w spoon-->
05         (3.6)
```

```
06 L:        <<p>Ay no `PUEdo sacar;>
              oh I   can't   get any
07           (1.0)
08 R: →      +†<<creaky>`R*I:co weón.>+
                         yummy mate
             +gazes away------------>+gazes at L-->
  L:         ---------->*gazes away-->
              †eats-->>
09           (1.3)
```

In example 4.7, in line 01 we can see L is trying to spoon the pie (bold in transcript below).
Right after R begins to eat, L appears to remember he is supposed to take the mince pie that
they are tasting out of its tin wrapper as he verbalises this in line 03 in the manner of an *ah*-
prefaced turn equivalent to the English 'oh' token (bold in transcript below). L proceeds to
take the wrapper off the pie (line 04) and takes it to his mouth (bold in transcript below).
As L is biting for the first time, R begins to produce an assessment preceded by the
gustatory *mm* token in line 05. R tries to mobilise an assessment with eye gaze in line 06
and pursues an assessment with a repeat of the gustatory token in line 07 and a repeat of his
previous assessment in a tag question turn in line 09. L's next turn in line 11 is a question
about the filling which defers the proffering of a second assessment.

Example 4.7 P2.05_Relleno

```
01 R:        *•+†<<pp>a VER,>
                  let's see
             >>*gazes at food-->
             >> •opens mouth to eat-->
  L:         >> +gazes at food-->>
   →         >>  †tries to spoon pie-->
02           •(1.5)
  R          •eats-->
03 L: →      <<whispery>ah no se SAca>
                    oh you don't take it off
04           †(3.4)
  L →        †gets wrapper off pie & takes it to mouth-->
05 R:        Mm:: †que RIco;
             mm yummy
  L:         -->†eats-->
06           (1.4)*(0.7)
  R:         -->*gazes at L-->
07 R         Mm::::.
             mm
08           (3.4)*(0.9)
  R:         -->*gazes at food-->>
09 R:        está RIco cierto?
             it's yummy isn't it
10           (3.4)
11 L:        con QUÉ estará relleno?
             what could be the filling
```

Example 4.8 begins with L introducing the food they are about to eat (mince pie) but holding the turn to eat instead in line 01 (bold in transcript below). After taking a bite and chewing in line 02, L herself offers a completion to her held turn in line 03 *como una galletita* 'like a biscuit' (bold in transcript below). After 4.1 seconds (line 04) during which L is tasting and R is getting the pie out of its wrapper, R tastes for the first time and shortly after, L confirms her candidate description of the food of line 03 with the non lexical acknowledgement token *mm* 'mm' (bold in transcript below). After 6.2 seconds in which both participants are eating in line 06, R produces the gustatory token *mm* 'mm' in line 07 while still chewing (bold in transcript below). L asks R whether he liked the food in line 09, which displays her understanding that he is prefacing an assessment which is produced in lines 13 and 15.

Example 4.8 P5.04_Pan_de_Pascua

```
01 L: →    ESto es,
           this is
02          +†(5.9)
   l       >>+gazes down-->
           >> †eats-->
03 L: →    como una galleTIta?
           like a biscuit
04         +(1.8)      +(1.0)   +*(1.3)  +•(1.2)  *
   l       +gazes at R's food+gazes at R+gazes away+gazes at R-->
   r                       *gazes at food----->*gazes away-->
                                •eats-->>
05 L: →    +`Mm:.
             mm
           +gazes down-->
06         (5.8)+ (0.4)  +
   l        -->+gazes at R+gazes at table-->
07 R: →    *ˆMm::.
             mm
           *gazes down--->>
08         (0.6)
09 L:      te gusTÓ?
           did you like it?
10         (0.4)
11 R:      SÍ.
           yes
12         (0.7)+†(7.0)
   l        -->+gazes away-->>
              †eats-->>
13 R:      como el pan de PAScua;
           like christmas loaf
14         (1.4)
15 R:      con PAsas al ron, (0.3) JUNto.
            with rum raisins        together
```

Example 4.8 is not too different from others within the non-mobilising cases because there is the offering of a quality of the food and the confirmation of the speculation of it, although the candidate is produced in two parts, one before eating (line 01) and one after eating (line 03). Then the confirmation is produced by the same participant who has offered the candidate (line 05) and it is also the case that the other participant has only began to taste the food when this confirmation occurs in line 05. What R does after he has tasted is a gustatory token *mm* 'mm' which projects a positive assessment. In this example this is oriented to as such by L who verbally mobilises an assessment in line 09.

This last example shows us that if we pay attention we find that more than one phenomena of the ones described in this section may occur in the same example. It also shows us that in the trajectory towards an assessment, such assessment can be mobilised verbally with or without gaze.

4.3.4 OTHER DIFFICULTIES

What also happens in example 4.6 is L's difficulty in getting food from the bowl. This applies for other cases. Difficulties in getting the wrapper off the food (in 4.7) or even trouble tasting the food because the taste of the food they ate before still lingers in their mouth (also in example 4.5).

From this analysis we can see that the interaction before a first assessment is made can be occupied by multiple phenomena as long as participants are engaged with their own tasting experience (smelling, dealing with difficulties, nominating themselves as assessors) or dealing with previous talk. In the following section 4.4 we see what happens when there is mutual gaze before the production of a first assessment as examples of perfect coordination in the service of affiliation

4.4 MUTUAL GAZE

I would like to introduce the following examples (4.9 and 4.10) in which the eye gaze from one interactant is met with eye gaze from the other, resulting in mutual gaze. These are interesting cases in terms of how affiliation is negotiated and expressed not only through the spoken turns used but also through non-verbal behaviour. With the mutual gaze and the participants electing to make their assessment projectable through their facial expression, there is an understanding from the faces that there is something good or there is something wrong about the food, a common ground. That is basically what the participants know at that point, but they do not know what is the exact property they both have liked or disliked about the food. That negotiation begins afterwards as tasting is a subjective experience after all.

Example 4.9 is one that we already looked at in Chapter 3 (example 3.16) as a case in which an assessment in second position is formatted as a first. Now, I focus on how a shared understanding is displayed by different multimodal resources, and in particular, how mutual gaze is used in the service of affiliation. The extract begins with L and R tasting buttery toast with Marmite. L begins tasting slightly after R (1.6 seconds exactly). During the 7.2 seconds (line 01)in which both participants are chewing, both of them are gazing away. At this point both interactants have tasted the food and are in equal positions to assess. As R begins his assessment in line 02, he gazes at L (see figure 4.2). The voice quality of the assessment produced by R in line 02 is creaky throughout and smiley in the production of *rica* 'yummy' (see figure 4.4). Amidst the production of R's assessment from line 02, L visibly swallows and starts proffering an assessment in overlap (line 03). In Chapter 3, I claimed that this assessment in second position is formatted as a first because the non-lexical token *oh* (a marker of stance in Spanish) marks the assessment as independent from the first. Nevertheless, this assessment being a repeat of R's assessment in terms of syntactic structure and lexical choice is also a way to affiliate with R's stance. L gazes at R as she produces this assessment which results in mutual gaze (see figure 4.3). The second syllable in *rica* 'yummy' in line 03 is produced with laughter, after which both interactants laugh at the same time while still engaged in mutual gaze, reaching a maximal

point of affiliation (lines 4 and 5, figure 4.5). R's smiley production in line 02 invites laughter. It could be that the gaze and smile offer the opportunity to laugh, that is, the eye gaze makes the smile visually available. This example where L has access not only to the talk produced by R, but also to the facial expressions available through the mutual gaze and suprasegmental features of the spoken material, illustrates well the multiple cues available to affiliate with and use as part of marking affiliation.

Example 4.9 P1.04_Pan_con_mantequilla

```
01              •*+†(1.6)    •(0.4)+ (6.8)
   r:        >>•smells food•bites & chews--->
             >>*gazes away--->
   l:          >>+gazes down---->+gazes away--->
              >>†bites and chews--->
02 R:     <<creaky>*oh la weÁ><<smiley>†#ric[a:.    ]>#
               oh the shit       yummy
             --->*gazes at L--->
   l:                              --->†swallows--->
  fig:                              #fig 4.2     #fig 4.4
03 L:                        <<creaky>[+oh la •#weá] RI<<laughing>ca.>>
                               oh the shit   yummy
                             --->+gazes at R
   r:                                --->•chews--->
  fig:                               #fig 4.3
04 L:     [hahuhu+hu]
           hahuhuhu
             --->+gazes away--->
05 R:     [huhu*huhu]#°hh†h
           huhuhuhu
           --->*gazes away--->
   l:              --->†chews--->
  fig:             #fig 4.5
06        (0.4)
07 R:     <<smiley>oye está ex*+quiSIto.>
           hey  it's  exquisite
                        --->*gazes at L--->>
   l:                    --->+gazes at R--->
08        +†•(2.2)
   l:     +gazes down--->>
          †swallows--->>
   r:      •chews--->>
```


Figure 4.2 R gazes at L in line 2 of ex. 4.9

Figure 4.3 L gazes at R in line 3 resulting in mutual gaze of ex. 4.9

Figure 4.4 R smiles at the end of *rica* 'yummy' in line 2 of ex. 4.9

Figure 4.5 Laughter and disengagement from mutual gaze in line 5 of ex. 4.9

Example 4.9 is a maximal example of affiliation within my data. Table 4.1 provides a graphic representation of the vocal and non-vocal components of this sequence. Time in the interaction progresses from top to bottom of the table. As we can see, the participants taste at around the same time, they achieve mutual eye gaze and the smiles are visual indicators of liking the food, the assessments have the exact same design and voice quality and the participants laugh in overlap as they disengage from the mutual gaze. This goes to show that affiliation around the experience of the food is actually being sought almost in

stages and through the use of different resources both in terms of the vocal and non-vocal design.
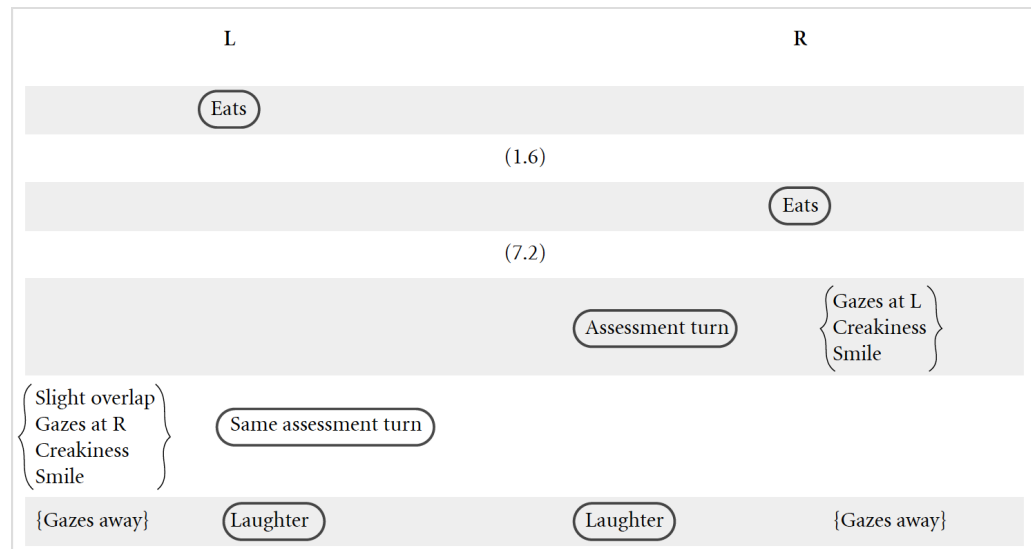
Table 4.1 Multimodal resources used for affiliation in ex. 4.1.
Time in interaction runs from top to bottom.

In the next example (4.10), the way in which the interaction unfolds in terms of gaze behaviour is similar to the one in 4.9 in that the participants engage in mutual gaze. However, if we were to look at levels of affiliation on a continuum, this example would be lower than the previous one as here the gaze helps to establish whether there is likely to be affiliation and in that sense, the gaze is almost like a pre (Schegloff, 2007:28). It is testing the waters as the facial expressions project what type of assessments are to come. This is likely to be because as it turns out, the participants do not have a positive stance towards this food.

Example 4.10 P2_03_Húmedo

```
01              +†*•(0.3)          †(0.3)
  l:       >>+gazes at food--->
           >>†drops crumbs on plate†takes food to mouth-->
  r:       >>*gazes at plate-->
            >>•grabs food-->
02 R:      a +VER.
           let's see
  l:       ->+gazes away-->
03         (0.3)†•(0.7)*(0.6)      •(3.5)+(2.6)    +(1.0)
  l:         -->†bites & chews-->
                          -->+gazes down+gazes away-->
  r:        -->•takes food to mouth•bites & chews-->
              -->*gazes away
```

```
04          +#(0.2) *#(0.7)
  l:        +gazes at R-->
  r:             *gazes at L-->
 fig:        #fig 4.6 #fig 4.7
05 R:       •ha[hahaha]ha ha ha
            hahahahaha    ha ha
            •stops chewing-->
06 L:        [haha#ha]+
              hahaha
               -->+gazes at food-->
 fig:          #fig 4.8
07          †(0.4)
  l:        †swallows†
08 L:       creo que ESto *•no me gustó tanto.
            I think that this I didn't like   so much
  r:              -->*gazes at food-->
                  -->•chews-->
09          (1.4)
10 L:       +es como HÚmedo.
            it's sort of moist
            +gazes at R-->
11          *(0.7) #  (0.4)
  r:        *gazes away-->
 fig:           #fig 4.9
12 R:       •no es *como HÚmedo.=
            it's not sort of moist
              -->*gazes at L's side-->
            •talks with mouth full
13          =ES como:, •(0.8)+(0.7) *RAro.
             it's sort of             weird
                       -->*gazes at L-->>
                -->•swallows•
  l:               -->+gazes at food-->>
14          (0.7)
```


Figure 4.6 L gazes at R in line 4 of ex. 4.10

Figure 4.7 R gazes at L in line 4 resulting in mutual gaze in ex. 4.10

Figure 4.8 Laughter from L and R (lines 5 and 6) in ex. 4.10

Figure 4.9 L's right hand gesture for texture (line 11) in ex. 4.10

Example 4.10 comes from a place in the interaction where the participants are trying Marmite on buttery toast. In line 2 R produces *a ver* 'let's see' as a transition to the actual tasting of the food.

In the time accounted for in line 3 (8.7 seconds), L bites and starts chewing the food and R does the same 1.3 seconds later. At the beginning of line 4, L gazes at R (figure 4.6) and 0.2 seconds later R gazes at L (figure 4.7) resulting in mutual gaze. This is followed by shared laughter from both interactants (lines 5 and 6 figure 4.8). Considering taste is a primarily subjective sensation and experience, mutual gaze is the foundation for a mutual understanding before the assessments are even produced, they turn and laugh in a perfectly coordinated manner before the assessments are proffered. The faces give hints of what kinds of assessments to expect, in this case negative ones (see figure 4.6, 4.7). In line 8 L produces a subject side assessment that does not specify what it is he does not like about the food he has tried. The negotiation starts here, as there are many lexical choices for a possible assessment. As R does not produce a second assessment following L's in line 8, L pursues a response with another assessment about the texture of the food *es como húmedo* 'it is sort of moist' in line 10 after which L does a hand gesture that is not in word search position but indicates the assessment is related to the texture of the food and suggests that

the assessment produced might not be accurate (see figure 4.9). R disagrees in line 12 by repeating the assessment introduced by a negative particle after a 1.2 seconds gap, the length of this gap might be related to the dispreferred practice of disagreeing, however it is also the case that the participants of this interaction are tasting food so chewing delays actions at times. This dispreferred disagreement could be triggered by the feature used by L in his assessment, as if *húmedo* 'moist' were not relevant to the shared agreement expressed earlier by means of gaze and laughter. Let us consider here that both in Spanish and in English the word *húmedo* 'moist' does not seem to convey any positive or negative connotation. R begins to introduce a new assessment in line 13 with *es como* 'it's sort of', however R struggles to find an appropriate term hence the 1.5 seconds pause before the word *raro* 'weird' in the same line that is certainly not more specific than *húmedo* 'moist' and only accounts for the inability to describe what is the downside of the food. After this, the interactants continue to produce more specific assessments not shown in the transcript.

In 4.10, we can see that eye gaze not accompanied by talk works in the service of affiliation and predisposes the types of assessment that will be produced by both interactants. The mutual gaze provides a turning point in the interaction in terms of what came before (getting ready to do something) and what comes after (the negotiation of what is the property that has caused the dislike).

The analysis of these two examples of mutual gaze serves to unveil the significance of the cases we will see in the next section, where there is somebody deliberately withholding either the tasting or the production of an assessment and then using eye gaze in order to mobilise the other person to produce one. As we have seen, there is the possibility for participants to coordinate the tasting so that they achieve mutual perception of the food at the same time. I claim that the deployment of eye gaze serves affiliation. Both in terms of what it stands for as a mobilising resource but also in terms of what it allows the participant to see from the other, namely, facial expressions and gestures. Knowing what the other person is demonstrably experiencing at that point in the interaction establishes the possibility of assessments going in one direction rather than another.

In the following section, I introduce the patterns of organisation found where gaze alone mobilises a first assessment.

4.5 WHO GOES FIRST? GAZE MOBILISING AN ASSESSMENT

The actual tasting of the food turns out to have more complexities than one would expect. One participant might start eating first because the dish is closer to them and the other might withhold the eating for this reason or because, as they sometimes verbalise it, they want to see the other person's reaction. In some other cases, both participants eat the food at around the same time.

In this section, I look at gaze behaviour in relation to assessments. In accounting for the structural organisation of how gaze works in assessments, there are many contextual cues to consider. First, I pay attention to who tries the food first and therefore, gains primary access to assess. We also need to know who assesses first and how they do it (verbally or non-verbally).

To analyse these examples interactionally, I focus on the eye gaze before the assessments are produced and pay attention to how gaze and assessments are responded to in terms of sequential organisation and preference.

Epistemics play an important role in the proffering of assessments. In Chapter 3, I demonstrated that work can be done to mark the assessment in second position as independent from the first, after having tasted the food. In the next few sections, I take a step back in the unfolding of the tasting activity and I look at what happens right before the assessments are produced. If we consider that none of the participants has tried the foods in front of them before, I can start from the premise that neither of them is better placed than the other to assess these foods. However, there are cases where one interactant deliberately chooses not to taste the food at the same time as the other participant, that fact places them in different epistemic positions to assess.

There are two patterns of organisation where eye gaze alone – without accompanying speech – is used as a resource to mobilise a first assessment in the service of affiliation. The two patterns are:

1) Single access: In this pattern, one of the participants has not tasted the food and gazes at the other to see their reaction. We see that in cases this is even verbalised by participants saying 'I want to see your reaction first', for example. After seeing the other participant's face they proceed to taste the food. This deliberate choice to place themselves in second position to assess has obvious consequences in the levels of access. For instance, the interactant who places themselves in second position might become predisposed to tasting in a more affiliative way based on whether the other has expressed a positive or negative stance towards the food.

2) Dual access: In this pattern, both participants have tasted the food at the same time or with a slight delay which places them in equal epistemic positions to assess the food. What we see in these cases is that one of the interactants gazes at the other and mobilises a first assessment. The choice of going in second position to assess provides the possibility to monitor the projection of the stance of the assessment to be produced and it does indeed provide the opportunity for that speaker to affiliate with the prior.

Section 4.5.1 focuses on single access cases in which one one of the two interactants has tasted the food and uses eye gaze to mobilise a first assessment.

4.5.1 SINGLE ACCESS

In terms of sequential organisation, this first pattern found for gaze organisation can be described in general terms as:

i)   one participant tries the food first (i.e. one gains access to the assessable first);

ii) the other participant opts to wait;

iii) that same participant gazes at the other participant who has already accessed the food;

iv) there is noticing of the gaze and a response (verbal or non-verbal) from the gaze

recipient

v) an assessment is made by the gaze recipient.

The examples that follow illustrate this pattern.

In example 4.11, the first issue is that the food is on R's side of the table, therefore R offers

first to give food to L in line 1. As an offer that expects a response it has speaker gaze among

other mobilising features. L refuses the offer (lines 2, 4, 7;) which in this case illustrates how

offerings work, accepting an offer is not always the preferred response (Schegloff, 2007:60).

In this case the food is in front of R so the easier option is for R to have some and then pass

to L. Rejecting the offer needs to be considered alongside who actually makes the first

assessment. This can be understood as a practical issue, otherwise L could have appeared to

be putting her needs ahead of his. But it can also be understood as L's holding off from

tasting separately to her rejection of the offer because it is nevertheless a choice to reject the

offer. As R starts tasting the food, L watches the food going into R's mouth as can be seen in

figure 4.10, R chews, gazes back (see figure 4.11), and smiles, L smiles back and reaches for

the food. L's holding off and monitoring of R's reaction puts her in second position for

eating and assessing. When L smiles her access to the beans is through R. Her smile shows

some sort of anticipation as if L is going to enjoy what she is going to eat which only occurs

after R produces the positive assessment *es rico* 'it's yummy' in line 11 (figure 4.12). Finally

L agrees in line 14 with the gustatory token *Mm* and *sí* 'yes' after some delay that can be

accounted for as L is only tasting the food then.

Example 4.11 P4.01_Yo_parto_después

```
01 R:      +†ya te doy *coMIda altiro?+=
             ok do I give you food straight away
           +>>gazes to L --->
            †holds spoon close to bowl--->
   l               *gazes to R----*
02 L:      =no no* NO.
            no no   no
            r -->*
03         •(0.5)
   l       •picks up spoon & holds it--->
04 L:      tú prueba ese y yo:,=
           you try    that and I
05 R:      =YA
            ok
```

```
06          (0.3)
07 L:       yo PARto después.
            I  begin  afterwards
08          (1.3)†*(1.0)                 †*(0.9)+(0.7)*•(0.6)+(1.4)
   l          --->*gazes at R's spoon->*gazes at R-*gazes at bowl--->
                                              --->•grabs bowl--->
   r                                     --->+gazes at L--+gazes at bowl->
              --->†takes food to mouth†bites & chews
  fig          #fig.4.10 #fig.4.11
09 L:       <<pp>a VER yo.>
            let's me see
10          (2.7)
11 R:       #es RIco,
            it's yummy
  fig       #fig.4.12
12          (0.3)•(0.4)+(0.2)            •(0.6)
   l          --->•takes food to mouth•bites & chews--->
   r                   +gazes to L--->
13          +(2.6)
   r        +gazes to bowl--->>
14 L:       *Mm: SÍ,
             mm yes
            *gazes to R--->>
15          (0.7)
```


Figure 4.10 Single access in ex. 4.11 (steps 1, 2, and 3)
i) one interactant tries the food first
ii) the other interactant opts to wait
iii) that same interactant gazes at the one who has tasted the food

Figure 4.11 Single access in ex. 4.11 (step 4)
iv) there is noticing of gaze and response (verbal/non-verbal) from the gaze recipient

Figure 4.12 Single access in ex. 4.11 (step 5)
v) an assessment in made by the gaze recipient

In the previous example 4.11 there was the possibility that holding off the tasting was promoted by one participant's ease of access to the bowl. In the next example 4.12, we see one participant's intentionality being made explicit by overtly saying that they want to see the other person's face first.

In line 1 of example 4.12, R glances at the pie L is holding and then overtly gazes at L. L opens his mouth in an attempt to bite the pie but abandons the action when he perceives the gaze from R (see figures 4.13 and 4.14). Then L gazes at R and uses the imperative *come del tuyo* 'eat from yours' in line 2 and gazes down to the pie. R comes in in overlap with an account (line 3) that verbalises her intention of witnessing L's reaction (that is, seeing L's facial expressions to know whether he likes the food or not), combined with a repetitive hand gesture retracting and stretching her fingers towards L, pointing at him (see figure 4.15). R gazes back at L when she utters *tuya primero* 'yours first', then she gazes at the food (line 4). L does a repeat of his previous turn this time not gazing at R's face but gazing at the pie on the table, so there is a shift in focus that is not only marked by the different prosody of these two turns (lines 2 and 5), but also by a shift in the object of gaze. After this, R grabs a piece of pie, she looks at it and then gazes back at L. Then she drinks some water and utters line 10 *pa cambiar el sabor* 'to change the taste' to account for her action. L acknoledges with the minimal agreement token *mm* in line 12. R inquires about the taste in line 14 in the form of a request for an assessment that has interrogative morphosyntax, interrogative prosody, speaker gaze. In terms of epistemic access, R knows L has tasted the pie so he is in a position to provide an assessment. Hence, *eso es dulce?* 'that is sweet?' pursues a verbal response and gets confirmation as L repeats the assessment term of R's request *dulce* 'sweet' in line 16. L makes a further assessment in line 18 as the sequence progresses.

Example 4.12 P6.02_Come_del_tuyo

```
01          +•(2.3)               #•(0.4)    #*(0.7)
  r         +>>gazes at L--->
  l           •takes pie to mouth •holds pie & moves it around--->
              *>>gazes down--------------->*gazes at R--->
 fig                              #fig.4.13  #fig.4.14
02 L:       come [del TUyo ] poh.
                 eat  from yours  then
03 R:            [es que he](0.2) #yo veo la *reacción TUya primero,
                 it's that hu     I  see the  reaction   yours  first
```

```
  l                                         -->*gazes down--->
 fig                              #fig.4.15
04        +(.)
  r       +gazes at food--->
05 L:     COme del †tuyo;
          eat   from yours
  r               -->†reaches for pie & holds it--->
06        •(1.0)
  l       •takes pie to mouth--->
07 R:     ((clears throat))
08        •(0.8)*(0.7)+(2.2)              +(1.6)     *+(0.3)
  l       •bites and chews
             -->*gazes at food------------------>*gazes down--->
  r               -->+gazes at L's food+gazes at L+gazes away--->
09        †(2.8)                          †(0.7)    *†(2.1)
  r       †takes glass of water to mouth†drinks water†puts glass down--->
  l                                            -->*gazes down--->
10 R:     †pa cambiar el saBOR.
           to change   the taste
          †takes pie to mouth
11        (0.3)
12 L:     mm
          mm
13        (0.3)
14 R:     •eso es DULce?
          that is sweet?
  l       •gazes at food--->
15        +(0.7)     †+(2.0)•(0.9)
  r       +gazes at L+gazes down
               -->†bites and chews--->
  l                   -->•swallows--->
16 L:     •DULce.
           sweet
          •holds pie & moves it around--->
17        +(3.4)•(0.7)   +(0.6)
  r       +gazes at food+gazes down--->
  l          -->•takes pie to mouth--->
18        BUEno,
          good
19        (0.3)*(1.1)•+ (0.6)      +
  l        -->*gazes down--->>
                  -->•bites & chews--->>
  r               --+gazes at L+gazes at food--->>
```


Figure 4.13 R's gaze from line 1 in ex. 4.12

Figure 4.14 L's noticing of R's gaze resulting in mutual gaze (line2) in ex. 4.12

Figure 4.15 Hand gesture in 'I see your reaction first' (line 3) in ex.4.12

From the examples in which gaze is used as a resource to mobilise an assessment, this is the only one in which the gazer is asked to try the food herself, after which she produces an account for her gaze in line 03 and a subsequent request for an assessment in line 14. By redoing the action, and from the verbalisation of what she intends to do with her gaze, there is robust evidence to say that what the gaze is doing is seeking an expression that projects a positive or negative stance as for the gazer it is visible that the gaze recipient is eating.

Example 4.13 differs from the two previous ones in that there are assessments about the colour of the assessable and its resemblance to another food prior to the tasting. Nevertheless, this example matches the 5-step sequence we have identified in the previous examples. The participants start building a negative stance towards this food before trying it by saying they should have left some bread to go with these mushy peas they are about to

taste and then R points to the colour in line 01. When R is proffering the assessment in line 01, L starts tasting the food and R gazes at L (see figure 4.16). At the end of her turn R gazes at the assessable in front of her bringing the spoon towards her mouth but instead of tasting the food, she gazes back at L (see figure 4.17) and looks at his facial expressions which are neutral, and do not express any positive evaluations. Then R starts laughing and points at him to signal she is laughing at his reaction to the food as can be seen in figure 4.18, then she finally tastes the food. Towards the end of the assessment made by L in line 05, L gazes at R as can be seen in figure 4.19. L starts an account of his opinion with a further assessment in line 07. The lexical item he uses to assess the peas is the made-up term *insaboro* which is a regularisation of the word *insípido* "tasteless". R initiates repair with a repeat of the made-up word in line 8 as she gazes at L and then asks whether that word exists in line 11. There is never mutual gaze. L's turn in line 12 confirms the use of the made-up word. Both parties start laughing at the same time which acknowledges L's dismissal of his error and his standing by the use of the made-up word as an appropriate one. At the same time, the joint laughter interrupts the progression of the assessment sequence. L gazes at R at the beginning of the laughter and then looks away as he paraphrases the word in line 16.

Example 4.13 P3.02_Insaboro

```
01 R:        +†*•las cosas ver#des •no me: (.) *LLAman la atención
             the green  things  do not    call   my attention
             >>+gazes at L--->
              >>†holds spoon close to mouth--->
  l          >>*gazes down----------------->   *gazes at spoon
               >>•eats----------->  •savours & holds spoon close to mouth--->
 fig              #fig.4.16
02           *(0.4)#(0.2) *+ (1.9)
  l          *gazes away->*gazes down--->
  r                   --->+gazes at L--->
 fig             #fig.4.17
03 R:        ha::#*ha ha
             ha   ha ha
  l           --->*gazes away
 fig            #fig.4.18
04           +(1.1)•(0.2)*(0.4)†(.)•(0.2)+†(0.5)*(0.4)
  r          +gazes down                 +gazes away--->
                       --->†eats----->†savours & holds spoon close to mouth->>
  l               --->*gazes down---------->*gazes away--->
             --->•eats---------->•savours & holds spoon close to mouth--->
05 L:        es como comerse una *PLAN#ta.
             it's like  eating   a plant
                             --->*gazes at R--->
 fig                               #fig.4.19
06           (1.8)+ (1.1)
  r:          --->+gazes at spoon--->
```

```
07 L:      en un *•principio es como insaBOro? (0.2) pero con (0.4)
             at the beginning   it is like  untasty          but with
               --->*gazes at bowl--->
               --->•spoons food--->

08 R:      es +insaboro?
           it's untasty?
           -->+gazes at L--->

09         (.)

10 L:      *•[AH?   ]
             huh?

11 R:        [eXISte] esa pal*a[bra?
              does  that  word   exist?
    l      *gazes at R----->*gazes away--->
           •holds food close to mouth--->>

12 L:                     ↑↑[no sé *pero es insaBOro.
                            I don't know but it is untasty
                               --->*gazes down--->

13         (0.4)

14 L:      he  *[ha:]
           he ha ha
           --->*gazes at R--->

15 R:         [hu:] [ha ha     ]
              hu    ha ha

16 L:           *[no tenía +saBOR.]
                  it didn't have taste
           --->*gazes away--->>
     r                   --->+gazes at spoon--->>
```


Figure 4.16 R's gaze in line 1 of ex. 4.13

Figure 4.17 R's gaze in line 2 as L is tasting in ex. 4.13
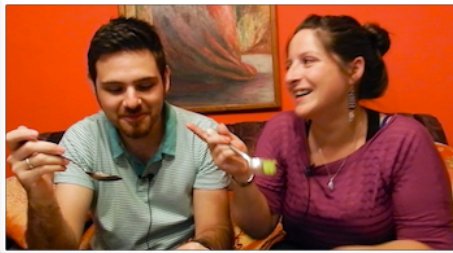

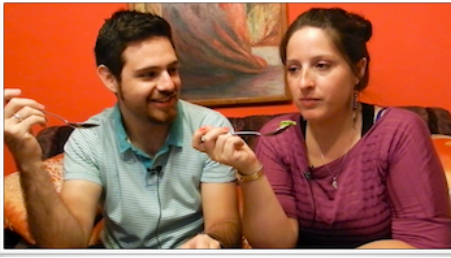Figure 4.18 R's gaze, pointing and laughter in line 3 of ex. 4.13

Figure 4.19 L's gaze at the end of his assessment in line 5 of ex. 4.13

Interactionally, in the previous cases, one participant gazes at the other to see their reaction before tasting the food themselves. Sometimes, this is verbally expressed as well. There are some explicit formulations of the order (words like *primero* 'first' and *después* 'after'). As can be seen in example 4.12 this is also a form of 'doing' mobilising as the gazer displays an expectation (a non-verbal request) for their interlocutor to make a first assessment, and again perhaps not verbally, but a projecting expression by means of facial gestures. Facial expressions are preferred if the participant is engaged in the eating activity.

There could be a number of explanations to why interactants deliberately put themselves in second position to assess. They might be reluctant to try food they have not tasted before or they might have preconceptions or likings of these foods. There might also be interactional reasons arising from offers to pass objects for example, which has implications in terms of preference. When we see the kind of engagement in the action, it is very clear that one of the participants is engaging with food immediately and the other is not. The action is eating, then the sequentiality of these things might be different in terms of what happens before and after. For example, having the possibility of equal access vs having to eat from a bowl which produces a linearisation of the tasting. But, even if they respond to different things, there are still accounts being produced in relation to going second.

As I will show in the next chapter, in the cases I studied, facial expressions seem to be considered a first cue to assessing. However, these facial expressions are not assessments in their own right. This is evidenced by interactants' treatment of facial expressions as projecting an assessment rather than delivering an assessment. This works in the service of affiliation and the preference for agreement in the production of assessments. Nevertheless,

in all these cases, it is the gaze recipient who assesses first. Being the gaze recipient and noticing this gaze mobilises the production of a first assessment.

The analysis of examples in this section has shown that there is an organised way in which participants can mobilise a first assessment from their interactant. One of the participants tastes the food first, while the other opts to wait. The participant who is waiting gazes at the one tasting the food. The interactant notices the gaze and produces a verbal or non-verbal response. Finally an assessment is produced. This choice of placing oneself in second position to assess has an impact on the epistemic access of that interactant, but also predisposes them to taste in a more affiliative way as they have access to the stance expressed by their interlocutor both by means of facial expressions and verbally.

4.5.2 DUAL ACCESS

The following section shows the second pattern of gaze mobilising an assessment. These cases are called dual access as both interactants taste the food at around the same time but one rescinds their chance to go first in assessing by mobilising a first assessment from the other by means of gaze.

The following are examples of this second pattern found for gaze between interactants. The sequential structure for these cases goes as follows:

i)   mutually try the food (i.e. both gain access to the assessable at the same time)

ii) one participant mobilises a first assessment through the use of gaze

iii) a first assessment is produced by the gaze recipient

iv) the other participant does a second assessment.

In previous turns from example 4.14, not shown in the transcript, the interactants have been looking at the assessable, mushy peas. In line 25 L produces *esto es* 'this is', whose syntactic and prosodic design invites R not only to respond but to inspect and to engage in the tasting which he has not done until this point. During the long 19 second pause (lines

32 and 33), L tries the peas slightly before R, but in figure 4.20 they can be seen eating at the same time. L then gazes at R after R tastes the food (see figure 4.21). R maintains a neutral face expression. L looks away and pulls a face that expresses lack of enthusiasm. This could potentially be a first projection of an assessment but it is not made relevant to the interlocutor. L tastes some more food and gazes at R for longer this time. As L starts looking away, R produces line 29 (*arvejas* 'peas') while nodding and gazing at the food (shown in figure 4.22) and L gazes back at R. It is a confirmation, but at the same time you see how these *arvejas* is enriched by the fact that R has tasted them. *Arvejas* is produced orienting to the fact that L has mentioned that before but now doing a very different action, so this is not merely a repeat but implying "just, that" or "I have nothing more to say about that" and registering all R has experienced during these 19 seconds. In terms of assessments, it is interesting to say the name of the ingredient or product instead of using a descriptor, it tastes of peas and nothing more than peas.

L agrees with *mhm hu*, smiles and nods as well (see figure 4.23). This could be, only confirming R's claim from line 29. However, there could be a reading of the smile as saying something about the plainness of peas or about not having an assessment to make about them. R maintains his gaze on the food while R turns her gaze to the food as R offers a more canonical assessment in line 38.

Example 4.14 P5.03_Puré_de_arvejas

```
21 L:      YA;
             ok
22         (1.0)
23 L:      †proBEmos esto;
            let's try   this
           †reaches for spoon & spoons food--->
24         (2.3)
25 L:      esto es:,
           this is
26         (2.6)†(0.6)
 l             †takes food close to mouth
27 L:      puré de:,
           mash of
28         (1.5)
29 L:      arVEjas.
           peas
30         (1.9)
31 L:      •<<p>CIERto?>
```

```
                 right
     r          •reaches for spoon & spoons food--->
32               †(5.8)•(1.0)                 •(1.1)#(3.0)    # +(2.6)
     l                                                        +gazes at R--->
                 †bites & chews--->
     r                    •takes food to mouth•bites & chews--->
     fig                                      #fig.4.20 #fig.4.21
33               +(3.6)           +(4.0)
     l           +gazes at food+gazes at R--->
34 R:            #<<p>ar+VEjas.>
                     peas
                 #fig.4.22 +gazes at R-->
35               (0.3)
36 L:            #mhm hu
                  mm hm
     fig         #fig.4.23
37               (0.8)
38 R:            creMOso,
                 creamy
39               (0.7)
```


Figure 4.20 i)both try the food at the same time in ex. 4.14

Figure 4.21 ii)one participant mobilises a response though gaze in ex. 4.14

Figure 4.22 iii)a response is produced by the gaze recipient in ex. 4.14

Figure 4.23 iv)the other participant agrees/disagrees in ex. 4.14

In example 4.15, both interactants are looking at the assessable, Marmite on buttery toast. L begins a TCU in line 2 *pan con* 'bread with' that is collaboratively completed by R with *algo* 'something' in line 3. It is clear at that point they do not know the food they are going to taste, which is reinforced by L's turn in line 5. L starts tasting the food as R is looking at it and takes a small piece from the toast to taste it, both are eating at the same time (see figure 4.24). L's facial expressions are neutral and he gazes at R in line 9 (see figure 4.25). R perceives the gaze and only moves her eyes, not her face, towards L as she produces line 10 (see figure 4.26). L shifts his gaze to the food, then looks ahead, at this point R sniffs the bread. L looks back to R's toast and glances at her quickly as he produces line 13, then he focuses on his food again.

In this case, there is one participant taking the lead, initiating the action with an announcement of what they are about to eat with the syntactic and prosodic features (low rising final pitch and silence) of a TCU that is seeking collaborative completion.

Example 4.15 P3.03_Cuático

```
01            +†*(1.5)
  l       >>+gazes at dish--->
          >>†moves dish to centre of table--->
  r        >>*gazes at dish--->
02 L:     pan con, (0.4)
          bread with

03 R:     ALgo.
          something

04        (.)

05 L:     vamos a VER †que cosa es.
          let's   see  what thing this is
                  --->†grabs food--->

06        *•(1.3)
  r       *gazes at food--->
           •grabs food--->

07 L:     <<pp>(xx xx) +•este>
             xx xx this
                   --->+gazes at food--->
  r                --->•tears a piece w right hand--->

08        (0.6)+†(1.0)     +(0.5)•#(0.8) +(2.6)
  l       --->+gazes away+gazes at food+gazes away--->
          --->†bites & chews--->
  r                      --->•bites & chews
 fig                          #fig 4.24

09        #+*(1.1)      #*•(0.5)
  l        +gazes at R
  r         *gazes away-*faces forward w eyes towards L--->
                   --->•holds food close to mouth--->
 fig      #fig.4.25    #fig.4.26

10 R:     tiene  man*teQUIlla.
          it has butter
                  --->*gazes at food--->
```

```
11          (0.2)*(.)•(.)+(1.6)    +(1.4)
  r          --->*gazes away--->
               --->•bites & chews--->
  l               --->+gazes away+gazes at food--->
12          +•(0.8)*   †•(0.4)
  l          +gazes away
  l              --->†holds food in hand--->
  r             *gazes down--->
                    •sniffs food-•chews--->
13 L:       +<<breathy>es CUÁtico.>
            it is weird
            +gazes at R--->
14          (2.4)
```


Figure 4.24 Both eating at the same time in ex. 4.15

Figure 4.25 L gazes at R in line 9 in ex. 4.15

Figure 4.26 R's eyes towards L in the first assessment (line 10) in ex. 4.15

In examples 4.14 and 4.15, one interactant initiates the interaction with an announcement of what they are about to eat with the syntactic and prosodic features of a TCU that is seeking collaborative completion. In example 4.14, the same participant completes her own turn, but in example 4.15 the interlocutor completes the turn.

The cases in this section demonstrate there is an organised way of mobilising a first assessment from a coparticipant by means of gaze even when both interactants have tasted the food. The sequential structure of these cases implies that they mutually try the food, then one participant mobilises a first assessment by means of gaze, the gaze recipient proffers an assessment, and the coparticipant responds with a second.

In terms of the first assessments produced, sometimes canonical assessments are found, but at other times what we encounter are descriptors that are clearly talking about the food, for example 'it has butter', that does not have the structure 'The toast is buttery' (see Methodology section for "subject side vs object side" assessments).

Interactionally, the pattern shows that one participant gazes at the other, regardless of who has tasted the food slightly first, both have access to the assessable at around the same time. One of the participants gazes at the other and mobilises an assessment that is produced by the gaze recipient. In terms of the competitive activity of eating, both participants are engaged in it, so the use of gaze is better explained from the side of the one who gazes as this participant can continue to eat while putting pressure on the other to produce a first assessment.

4.6 SUMMARY

One of the recurrent topics throughout this thesis is how sequences are initiated, what comes before a spoken FPP. This chapter shows several ways for doing that. Most of the examples we saw in section 4.3 had in common that the participants were experiencing the tasting in parallel tracks and they engaged with different aspects of the tasting or dealt with previous talk.

This chapter also showed the way in which interactants are trying to establish not only agreement but coming to a point where they display to each other that they had a shared experience of the food. This is what explicates the negotiation of the properties of the food

they liked or disliked. It is not simply about whether the participants have liked the food or not, but whether they have experienced the same.

Finally, we saw that almost in half of the cases in the collection one of the interactants deliberately holds off the production of a first assessment and in most of the cases they hold off the tasting as well. This resource is in sequential terms at least multipurpose. Eye gaze can be used in service of affiliation and as a resource for mobilising a first assessment. This chapter also shows that the gazer displays an expectation for their interlocutor to make a projection of positive or negative stance by means of facial expressions and a a first assessment. The main difference about the patterns found is the way the interactants position themselves in terms of their access to the assessable. In the first pattern, one participant deliberately decides to taste the food after the other and uses gazes to see the facial gestures that express a reaction to the food before trying the food themselves. In the second pattern, both have tasted the food and one participant gazes as a means to mobilise an assessment. In both patterns, gaze can be considered a request for an assessment.

Stivers and Rossano (2010) argue that speaker gaze is one of the features that is commonly present in turns that perform canonical first pair-part actions. This argument could be applicable to my data if we consider gaze alone (when not accompanied by speech) as a request for an expression or an assessment, equivalent to the verbal request for an assessment.

The findings of this study contribute to the unexplored domain of pre-assessments and how assessments come to be and the interactional processes through which people mutually claim that they are having a shared experience. I have also shown the sequential positioning of gaze as a mobilising (perhaps requesting) tool in conversation and improve our understanding of language as a multimodal phenomenon.

In order to be made relevant, facial expressions need to be seen by another interactant, i.e. gaze from a coparticipant needs to be directed towards the facial expression. In the next chapter (5) I analyse facial expressions and non-lexical tokens to see their roles in

expressing as stance and projecting an assessment and to explore how these are positioned in relation to the sequential organisation of talk.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, I explored different ways in which assessment sequences are initiated. These ranged from participants being engaged with different aspects of the tasting or dealing with previous talk to holding off the proffering of a first assessment and holding off the tasting as well. I also explored the role of eye gaze in displaying an expectation for the interlocutor to visually display some sort of stance. This implies that the co-participant needs to see the facial expression for it to have interactional relevance.

This chapter explores a phenomenon that also occurs before assessments are produced. I analyse non-lexical (and a few lexical) tokens in turn-initial position, and as standalone tokens in the conversational environment of assessments.
The research questions that motivate this chapter are:
What are the multimodal resources used in the production of these tokens?
How do participants in conversation make sense of these tokens?

I attempt to answer these questions by combining the methods of CA with those of interactional linguistics and the study of embodied interaction. This means I have coded these tokens in terms of their sequentiality, i.e. sequential position, position in the turn, turn action and related sensorial experience. I have also coded for the tokens' compositionality, this includes the following categories: phonetic properties, facial expressions, head movement, hand gestures and speaker and recipient gaze.

The findings show that in relation to their position within the turn, from the 99 tokens analysed, 73 are in turn-initial position, 21 are standalone tokens, 3 occur after a quotative and 2 occur in turn-final position. In terms of sequential position, 55 tokens occur in first pair parts (FPP), 21 in second pair parts (SPPs), and 2 in third position. The 21 remaining tokens cannot be classified according to sequential position because they correspond to the

standalone tokens and these sometimes occur in overlap with turns that are part of an ongoing adjacency pair that is related to some other action, so they occur in parallel tracks. I focus my attention on the two main big groups, that is, tokens in turn-initial position and standalone ones in the environment of conversational assessments.

The analysis of the examples in the collection reveals that these tokens have a clear interactional function in the context of assessments, namely, the projection of the valence of the upcoming assessment turn. This projection arises from the combination of a number of different multimodal resources. Towards the end of the chapter, I present an analysis of these tokens using the idea of prosodic constructions (Ogden, 2010). The main premise is that participants in conversation make sense of their interactional meaning in a compositional way. This means that there are verbal and embodied resources that are intertwined in the design and projection of actions, in this case, assessments, in turns at talk, and these resources are available for the interactants to anticipate the stance of what is coming next.

5.1.1 STRUCTURE OF CHAPTER

The chapter is organised as follows: Section 5.2 focuses on some of the literature for response cries, interjections and non-lexical tokens in interaction. Section 5.3 shows the findings for the coding done of the tokens in the collection (turn-final tokens and those in quotative turns are excluded due to the small number). Section 5.4 shows the analysis of cases that illustrate the interactional function of turn-initial, and standalone in the environment of assessments. In section 5.5, I set up a discussion of how these non-lexical tokens can be understood in interaction and propose a formal way of representing the underlying prosodic construction. Finally, some concluding remarks are made in section 5.6.

Non-lexical tokens have been studied for a long time, with a variety of different names and an equal variety of functions (or the lack thereof) assigned to them. One of the pioneers in this area is Goffman (1978, 1981) who studied what he referred to as 'response cries'. When referring to response cries, Goffman (1978:787) claims that they violate the interdependence between adjacency pairs as they emerge at "peculiar and unnatural" places of the talk with an effect on communication but not on dialogue.

Goffman (1978: 800) asserts that response cries are exclamatory interjections that are not full-fledged words:

> These non-lexicalized, discrete interjections-like certain unsegmented, tonal, prosodic features of speech-comport neatly with our doctrine of human nature. We see such 'expression' as a natural overflowing, a flooding up of previously contained feeling, a bursting of normal restraints, a case of being caught off-guard.

My main interest is to see how the tokens I analyse in this chapter behave as socially situated objects. Some traditional linguistic distinctions made to categorise interjections are useful in identifying and explaining why these tokens range from non-lexical to lexical tokens. These tokens have traditionally been studied as part of the periphery of language mainly because they present irregularities in spelling and in phonotactics in relation to the particular language in which they might occur.

Leech and colleagues (1982:53) include as interjections words like *ugh*, *phew*, *oh*, etc, together with swear words and greetings. Ameka (1992:105) proposes a categorisation of interjections that consists of primary interjections and secondary interjections. Primary interjections refer to 'little words or non-words' that can function as an utterance in their own right such as *oh* or *wow*. These *true interjection*s are produced immediately and spontaneously as responses. Ameka (1992:109) argues that greetings, which can be considered formulae, have a number of differences of phonological and morphological

order that do not make them part of this category of primary interjections. It is also the case that formulae, unlike *true interjections*, are produced intentionally and are socially expected as reactions to situations. The other category Ameka (1992:111) recognises is secondary interjections that are words with an independent semantic value but when used on their own can express a mental attitude or state. This category includes alarm calls and attention getters such as *help* or *hey* and swear and taboo words like *damn.*

Ameka (1992:113) proposes a further classification of interjections in terms of their specific communicative functions and types of meaning they predicate. These are three categories called expressive, conative and phatic. The first one, expressive interjections, are described as "the vocal gestures which are symptoms of the speaker's mental state" and within these, there is a further division between the emotive ones that "express the speaker's state with respect to the emotions and sensations they have at the time". e.g. *yuck!* 'I feel disgust', and the cognitive ones that express the "knowledge and thoughts at the time of utterance". e.g. *aha* 'I now know this'. The second category is conative interjections which refer to expressions aimed at an auditor either getting their attention or demanding an action or response. e.g. *sh!* 'I want silence here'. The last category is phatic interjections that aim at establishing and maintaining communication, those generally called backchannels, for example, *mhm, yeah.*

An important point that Ameka (1992:114) makes is that a particular item could have multiple functions, for example, an expressive interjection which is not directed at an addressee, could have a cognitive element associated as its emission could prompt a response, so it does not only express an emotion but also a change of state for example.

Ward (2006:129) claims that in American English sounds like *h-nmm, hh-aaaah, hn-hn, unkay, nyeah, ummum, uuh, um-hmuh-hm, um and uh-huh* "appear not to be lexical, in that they are productively generated rather than finite in number, and in that the sound-meaning mapping is compositional rather than arbitrary". Although this refers to the idea of compositionality, Ward does not consider co-occurring embodied behaviour and only mentions that gestures often co-occur with non-lexical tokens and that there may be the

same underlying mental processes in the production of non-lexical tokens, gestures and the rest of verbal language (Ward, 2006:169).

Conversation analysts have also paid attention to response cries and have paid particular attention to the affective stance they achieve such as surprise, disappointment, or empathy (Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 2006; Couper-Kuhlen, 2009, 2012a; Reber, 2009, 2012; Heritage, 2011; Golato, 2012).

Wilkinson and Kitzinger (2006) show how response cries should not be understood as 'visceral'/not calibrated to the sequential organisation of interaction. Their argument contrasts with some of the views discussed above about these tokens being produced immediately and spontaneously as responses.

Some authors have paid attention to how these tokens are placed within the larger sequence. Goodwin (1996: 394) proposed the following form for the production of response cries: [Triggering event] . [Response cry] . [Elaborating sentence]. In their study of gift openings, Good and Beach (2005:585) identified the following sequence: [Triggering event (opening of gift)] . [Enthusiastic response cry] .[Positive assessment] . [Elaboration sequence=Thanks]

Gardner (2001) also analyses tokens in terms of their sequential position and focuses on eight types of *mm*. In responsive position, one of the types the author (ibid.) identifies is *mms* doing assessments. These are characterised by a rise-falling intonation. And sequentially, they are described as following another assessment, prior to own assessment, following other speaker's expression of inner state, and in the environment of 'involving' topics (expressing affiliation). From the non-responsive tokens, degustatory mm is described as a response to a non-talk stimulus (pleasure in eating or the prospect of it).

Non-lexical tokens in this study are the ones that occur as part of assessment actions. Because they can occur as continuers, acknowledgements, to mark incipient speakership, as hesitation markers, etc. I focus on those that occur within assessment sequences.

5.3 PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS: POSITION AND COMPOSITION

This section presents the results of the descriptive analysis:. Section 5.3.1 shows the types and number of turn-initial and standalone tokens, their sequential position (FPP, SPP, third position) and the sensorial experience to which they relate whether taste, smell, looks, or non-sensorial such as evoking, self-assessment or other-assessment.

Section 5.3.2 presents the number of turn-initial and standalone tokens in relation to the prosodic parameters of voice quality, airstream mechanism, pitch contour, pitch height in relation to the speaker's range, loudness and length.

Finally, section 5.3.3 shows the number of turn-initial and standalone tokens that feature different facial expressions, head movements, hand gestures and direction of speaker and recipient gaze.

The collection comprises 73 turn-initial tokens and 21 standalone tokens.

5.3.1 SEQUENTIAL ASPECTS

The most frequent among the turn-initial tokens is *mm* which prefaces 36 turns (49%), followed by *oh* which prefaces 9 turns (12%). This *oh* is a stance marker in Chilean Spanish closer to what Golato (2012) has described for German by claiming that *oh* is used to embody an emotion felt by the speaker. So the *oh* tokens in this collections are not to be confused with the change-of-state token *oh* (Heritage, 1984, 2002; Heritage & Raymond, 2005) that in Spanish is produced with the token *ah*. What follows are a few cases of turns prefaced by *nasal laughter, oy, uh, ay, ouh, mm hm* and *mm mm*. The rest of the tokens are one-off productions.

In relation to the sequential position of the 73 tokens in the collection, 53 tokens occur as FPPs, 19 in SPPs and 1 in third position. The tokens identified vary in form and degree of

lexicality, they range from nasal laughter to more lexical items like swear words[4]. I have decided to include tokens such as *oye* 'hey', *bueno* 'well' and swear words because they occur in the same position as some non-lexical tokens such as *oh* and at the same time they help inform my analysis in terms of the action they perform and stance they bring to the turn (see example 5.4 in this chapter for a detailed analysis). In the following table (5.1) I have listed all turn-initial tokens in the collection.

Table 5.1 Turn-initial and standalone tokens in the collection

Turn-initial token	Number of tokens	Standalone token	Number of tokens
mm	36	mm	13
oh	9	oh	4
nasal laughter	3	argh	1
oy	3	duah	1
uh	3	uh	1
ay	2	wow	1
mm hm	2	-	-
ouh	2	-	-
mm mm	2	-	-
bwe	1	-	-
gah	1	-	-
ŋo	1	-	-
puaj	1	-	-
uy	1	-	-
oye 'hey/listen'	3	-	-
bueno 'well'	1	-	-
chucha (swear word)	1	-	-
puta (swear word)	1	-	-
Total	73	Total	21

Mm is the most frequent turn-initial and standalone token (14/21, 67%). This is followed by *oh* with 4 tokens (19% of cases) and then one-off productions of *argh, duah, uh* and *wow.* Lexical tokens such as *oye* 'hey/listen' or swear words, only occur in turn-initial position.

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[4] The swear words in this collection, *chucha* and *puta*, have nominal meanings but used interjectionally, both can be translated as 'fuck' or 'fuck it'.

As I mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, these 21 tokens cannot be classified in terms of their sequential position as they are not always acknowledged or occur amidst another ongoing adjacency pair. The third and fourth column of table 5.1 show the standalone tokens in the collection and their number of occurrence.

5.3.2 SENSORIAL AND EXPERIENTIAL ASPECTS

In terms of the sensorial experience after which the turn-initial tokens were produced, the majority were produced in relation to the taste of the food (53 cases), followed by smell (5 cases) and looks (2 cases). A significant number of tokens were produced in relation to a memory evoked by the food (11 cases). Only 1 token was produced prefacing an assessment about the co-participant (other-assessment) and 1 token prefacing an assessment about the own speaker (self-assessment). This is illustrated in the figure below (5.1).

Figure 5.1 Sensorial experience and other prompts for turn-initial tokens
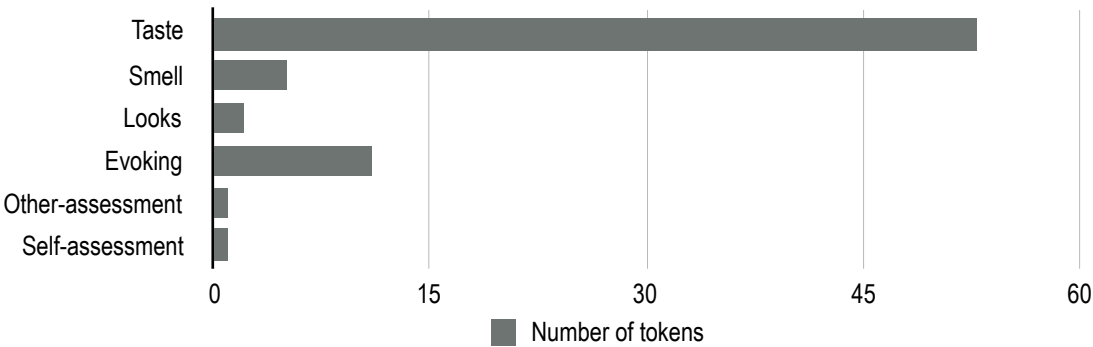
The vast majority (17/21) of the standalone tokens were produced after tasting. Another 2 were produced after smelling and 2 more in relation to a memory prompted by the food (evoking). The following figure (5.2) shows this distribution.

Figure 5.2 Sensorial experience and other prompts for standalone tokens
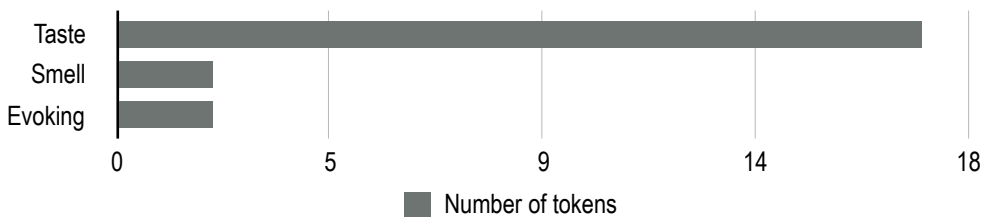
When comparing the two groups of turn-initial and standalone tokens, we can see that for both collections, the majority of tokens are produced in relation to taste. The main difference between the groups is that no standalone tokens occur in relation to the looks of the food, or in relation to the interactant or the self.

5.3.3 PROSODIC DESIGN

At the phonetic level, voice quality, airstream mechanism, pitch contour, pitch height in relation to the speaker's range, loudness and length were analysed using parametric listening techniques (Kelly & Local, 1989) and corroborated with acoustic analysis whenever possible using PRAAT (Boersma & Weenink, 2015). (See Chapter 2. Methodology, for an explanation of the analysis conducted in this section).

The results for voice quality show that for turn-initial tokens, modal phonation is used in 43 out of the 73 cases (59%). When there is a non-modal voice quality, the majority of the cases (57%, 17/30) are creaky. Seven tokens have glottal closure in their onset (23%), a few present some sort of laryngeal or guttural quality or tension and the rest are breathy or whispery, as can be seen in table 5.2

For the airstream mechanism used in the production of these tokens, the large majority are pulmonic egressive (69 tokens), 2 tokens are nasal egressive which correspond to the two nasal laughter tokens and 2 other have ingressive airflow (table 5.2).

Table 5.2 Voice quality and airstream mechanism features of turn-initial tokens

Voice quality	Number of tokens	Airstream mechanism	Number of tokens
Modal	43	Egressive	69
Creaky	17	Nasal egressive	2
Glottalised	7	Ingressive	2
Laryngeal/Guttural	4	-	-
Breathy	1		
Whispery	1		
Total	73	Total	73

In the case of standalone tokens, we can see that 33% are produced with modal voice (7 tokens). Another 6 tokens are produced with creaky voice (29%) and this is closely followed by 5 cases produced with glottal closure in the onset (24%). Finally, there are 2 breathy tokens and 1 produced with laryngeal constriction. This can be seen in table 5.3 below. In relation to the airstream mechanism used in the production of the standalone tokens, all 21 have egressive airflow (table 5.3).

Table 5.3 Voice quality and airstream mechanism features of standalone tokens

Voice quality	Number of tokens	Airstream mechanism	Number of tokens
Modal	7	Egressive	21
Creaky	6	Nasal egressive	0
Glottalised	5	Ingressive	0
Breathy	2	-	-
Laryngeal/Guttural	1	-	-
Whispery	0	-	-
Total	21	Total	21

A comparison between turn-initial and standalone tokens reveals that the whispery voice quality does not occur in standalone tokens and neither do nasal egressive or ingressive airflow sounds.

The first column of table 5.4 below shows that regarding the pitch contour of the turn-initial tokens, the highest number is for rise falls with 24 tokens which stand for 33% of the tokens, followed by low falls with 18 tokens (25%). There are 10 tokens with a low rise contour (14%), 7 are level (10%), and a few tokens are either high rise, mid rise or fall rise, no tokens had a mid fall contour. Of the 73 turn-initial tokens, 5 are ingressive or nasal egressive and not analysable in terms of pitch.

In relation to the F0 range of the speakers, 27 turn-initial tokens have an average pitch in the speaker's range (37%), 25 tokens are high in the speaker's range (34%) and 21 tokens are low in the speaker's range (29%). See second column of table 5.4.

In terms of loudness for the turn-initial tokens, 33 (45%) have an average volume in relation to the speaker who produces it, 26 are loud (36%), and 14 are quiet (19%). See third column of table 5.4.

In relation to length, 47 out of the 73 turn-initial tokens are long (64%), this means either a vowel or a nasal sound is stretched. What is categorised as average are realisations of the token where the vowel or nasal sound is shorter that 200 milliseconds. See fourth column of table 5.4.

Table 5.4 Pitch contour, F0 range, loudness and length of turn-initial tokens

Pitch contour	Number of tokens	F0 height for speaker range	Number of tokens	Loudness	Number of tokens	Length	Number of tokens
Rise fall	24	Average	27	Average	33	Long	47
Fall rise	2	High pitch	25	Loud	26	Average	26
Rise	16	Low pitch	21	Quiet	14	-	-
- Low	10	-	-	-	-	-	-
- Mid	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
- High	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fall	19	-	-	-	-	-	-
- Low	18	-	-	-	-	-	-
- Mid	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
- High	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Level	7	-	-	-	-	-	-
No contour	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	73	Total	73	Total	73	Total	73

For the standalone tokens, we can see in the first column of table 5.5 that the highest number of tokens have a low falling pitch contour (8 tokens equivalent to 38%). These are closely followed by 6 tokens with a rise falling contour (29%). Three tokens are level (14%), 3 are high falls (14%) and a one-offs has a low rise contour. There are no tokens with a fall rise, mid rise, high rise, mid fall or no contour information.

In the second column of table 5.5, we can see information regarding the pitch height of the standalone tokens in relation to the speaker's range. A high number of tokens have a low pitch (9/21, 43%). The same number have an average pitch for the speaker. Finally, 3 tokens are produced with a high pitch (14%).

The third column of table 5.5 shows the loudness of the standalone tokens in relation to the average for the speaker who produces them. Most tokens (15/21, 71%) are produced with average intensity. Five (24%) are loud for the speaker and 1 is quiet.

The last column of table 5.5 shows the number of standalone tokens that are long and average. More than half of them (57%, 12 tokens) are long, where either a vowel or nasal sound is stretched. The other 9 tokens have an average length (43%).

Table 5.5 Pitch contour, F0 range, loudness and length of standalone tokens

Pitch contour	Number of tokens	F0 height for speaker range	Number of tokens	Loudness	Number of tokens	Length	Number of tokens
Rise fall	6	Low pitch	9	Average	15	Long	12
Fall rise	0	Average	9	Loud	5	Average	9
Rise	1	High pitch	3	Quiet	1	-	-
⁻ Low	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
- Mid	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
- High	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fall	10	-	-	-	-	-	-
- Low	8	-	-	-	-	-	-
- Mid	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
⁻ High	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Level	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
No contour	0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	21	Total	21	Total	21	Total	21

If we compare the turn-initial tokens with the standalone ones, we can see that the highest number of tokens for both groups have either a rise-falling or a low-falling intonation. In both collections, these two contours account for around 60% of the tokens. Also, whereas

the only pitch contour that was not present in the turn-initial group was mid-falling, the standalone collection was less varied and there were several contours that did not occur.

The results for the pitch height of the tokens are dissimilar for the turn-initial and standalone tokens. For the turn initial group, there is an even distribution of pitch heights among the tokens: roughly a third of the tokens has an average pitch on the speaker's range, another third is high-pitched in the last third is low-pitched. For the standalone group, there is an even number of tokens with an average and low pitch, and only a few tokens are high-pitched.

In terms of loudness, the turn-initial tokens show a fairly even distribution between tokens produced with average, high, and low intensity. Differently, almost 3/4 of the standalone tokens are mostly produced with average intensity, a quarter is produced with high-intensity and only one token is quiet.

Finally, the comparison between the length of the tokens between the turn-initial and standalone ones shows that for both groups more than half the tokens have either a vowel or nasal sound that is stretched, i.e. longer than 200 ms.

5.3.4 EMBODIED BEHAVIOUR

As stated in the methodology section (subsection 2.5.3), video analysis was made in ELAN (Brugman & Russel 2004) to accurately identify the co-occurrence (or lack thereof) of relevant non-verbal components in the production of the tokens. I coded for: facial expressions, head movements, hand gestures and direction of speaker and recipient gaze (See Chapter 2. Methodology, for a detailed explanation of the analysis done in this section).

Facial expressions were coded beginning from the eye area where there could be blinks, eyes closed, raised eyebrows or frowning. Around the nose area, what are clearly visible gestures

are nose wrinkles. For the mouth area, there could be smiles or the tongue could be exposed, and the lips can be protruded or pouted. Finally, the chin can be noticeably contracted. Where the tokens were coded 'no facial expression' it is because there was no noticeable relevant facial expression.

It is important to note that for turn-initial and standalone tokens, there are cases in which the whole face is constricted which results in frowning, wrinkling of the nose and in most cases lip protrusion and these have been coded separately. This explicates higher and similar numbers for those facial expressions. See the following figure (5.3) for examples of constricted face.
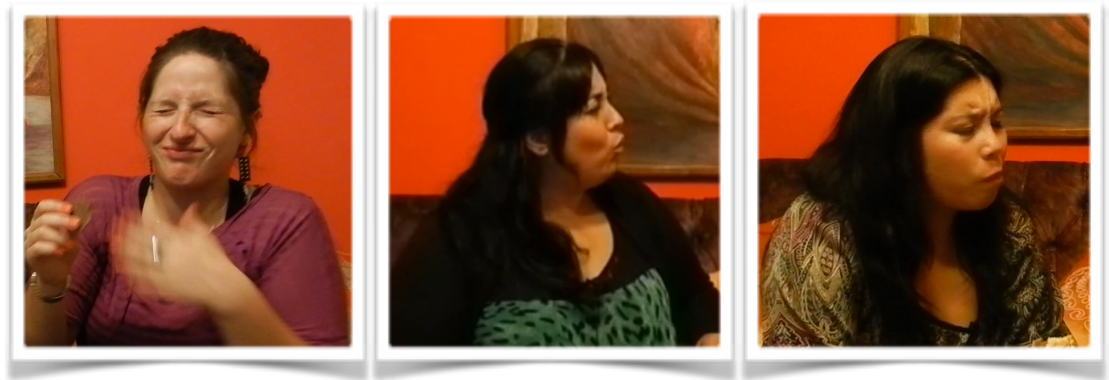

Figure 5.3 Examples of constricted face

Figure 5.4 shows the distribution of facial expressions that co-occurred with turn-initial tokens in the collection. A considerable number of tokens occur with no relevant facial expression, 29 tokens that correspond to 40% of all turn-initial ones. The most recurring facial expression are smiles that occur in 19 cases (26%). This is followed by frowns with 15 tokens (21%). Nose wrinkles and lip protrusion occur a similar number of times, 13 (18%) and 12 (16%) respectively. Eyebrows are raised and the tongue is exposed in 5 cases each (7%). There are only a few instances for eyes closed, blinks, lip protrusion and contracted chin.

In figure 5.4, we can also see the distribution of facial expressions for the standalone tokens. In this case, there is an equal number of tokens with no relevant facial expression and smiles with 7 instances each (32%). This is followed by nose wrinkles with 6 tokens (27%), frowns on 4 occasions (23%) and eyes closed in 3 instances (14%). A few tokens present

blinking or lip pouting and no tokens had the tongue out or contracted chin facial expressions.

Figure 5.4 Facial expressions in turn-initial and standalone tokens
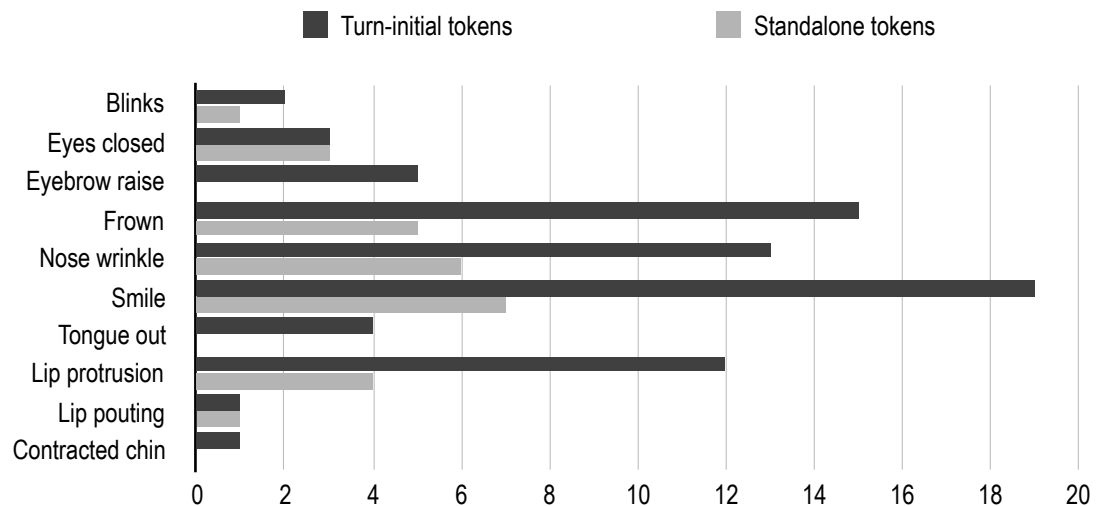
In both, the turn-initial and standalone collections, between 30% and 40% of the tokens did not co-occur with any relevant facial expression. Smiles accompanied the production of the tokens in around 30% of the cases for both groups. Nose wrinkles and frowning were present in around 20% of the cases for both groups as well.

For head movement, I coded for the following noticeable movements: back (the head creates an angle to the back so that the eyes end up looking up), down (the head comes forward and the chin touches the body), lift (the head moves from a down position to the front), nods (the head moves up and down several times), shake (the head moves left and right several times without tilting), toss (the head moves to one side once and suddenly), tilt (the head is inclined to one side once), sideways (the head is tilted to both sides repeatedly), turn (the head is moved away once and to one side without tilting). When neither of these movements occurred, the token was coded as 'no head movement'. When comparing turn-initial and standalone tokens, we can see that no eyebrow raises, tongue out expressions, or contracted chins occur for the standalone tokens.

The following figure (5.5) shows the distribution of head movements for turn-initial tokens. a high number of tokens (27 equivalent to 37%) do not co-occur with a noticeable head movement. For the tokens that co-occur with a head movement, 14% of the cases are head lifts (10 tokens). This is followed by nods and turns that occur 8 times each (11%). Head shakes and tilts are present 5 times each (7%). The head down movement, head toss, and sideways movement appear 3 times each (4%). Finally, the back movement occurs only once.

Figure 5.5 also illustrates the distribution of head movements for the standalone tokens of the collection. A considerable number of tokens (7 which represent a 32%) do not present a noticeable head movement. When a head movement is present, the highest number are turns which occur on 6 occasions (27%). Then tilts and the head down movement occur twice each (9%), The other movements occur once each (5%) with the exception of the back movement that does not occur in this set.

Figure 5.5 Head movements in turn-initial and standalone tokens
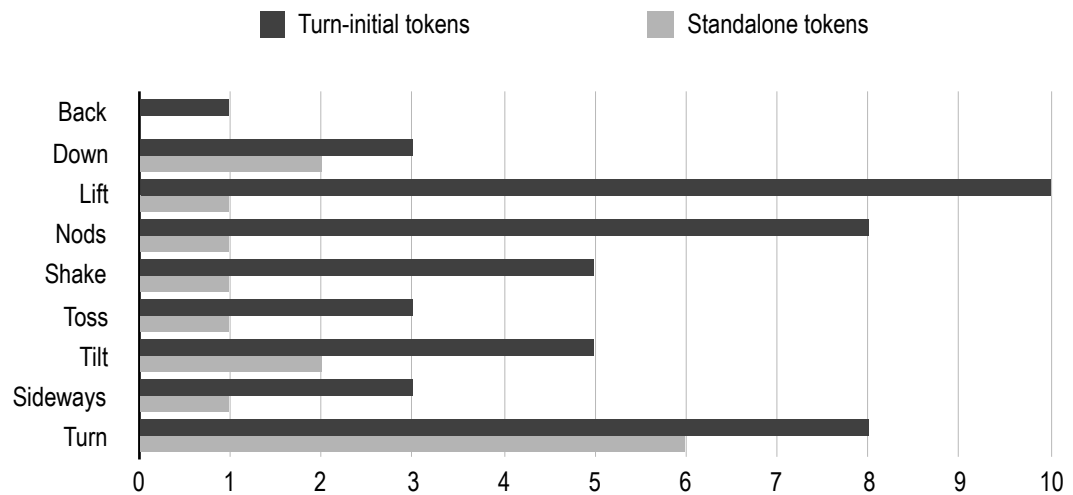
For both the turn-initial tokens and standalone ones, over 30% of them do not co-occur with noticeable head movements. For those cases in which there is a relevant head movement, the findings are different for both collections. While the highest co-occurring head movements in the turn-initial tokens are head lifts, nods and head turns, standalone tokens are mostly accompanied by head turns.

In relation to hand movement, I coded for symbolic co-speech gestures such as fists and open palms, interactions with objects such as the food, a napkin or spoon, rubbing hands, touching face; and 'no hand gesture' for the lack of a relevant hand gesture or resting position.

Figure 5.6 shows the distribution of hand gestures for turn-initial tokens. In 75% of the cases (55 tokens), there is no significant hand gesture. In 5 tokens (7%), one hand touches the face or head. In 4% of the tokens (3 of them) both hands are used to cover the mouth. There is the same number of instances (3 tokens) for handling either food, a spoon or napkin. Fists occur on 2 occasions There are single instances of hand rubbing, leg rubbing, hands lifted from the lap, open palm gesture and finger wiggles. There are no instances of wrist grabbing in this set.

In figure 5.6, we can also see the distribution for hand gestures in the standalone tokens set. In 58% of the tokens (15), no relevant hand gestures co-occur with standalone tokens. There are finger wiggles in 3 cases (14%) and single cases of hands covering the mouth, one hand grabbing the other hand's wrist, handling of an object and hands being lifted from the lap. There are no tokens that present hands to face or head, hand or leg rubbing or the open palm gesture.

Figure 5.6 Hand gestures in turn-initial and standalone tokens
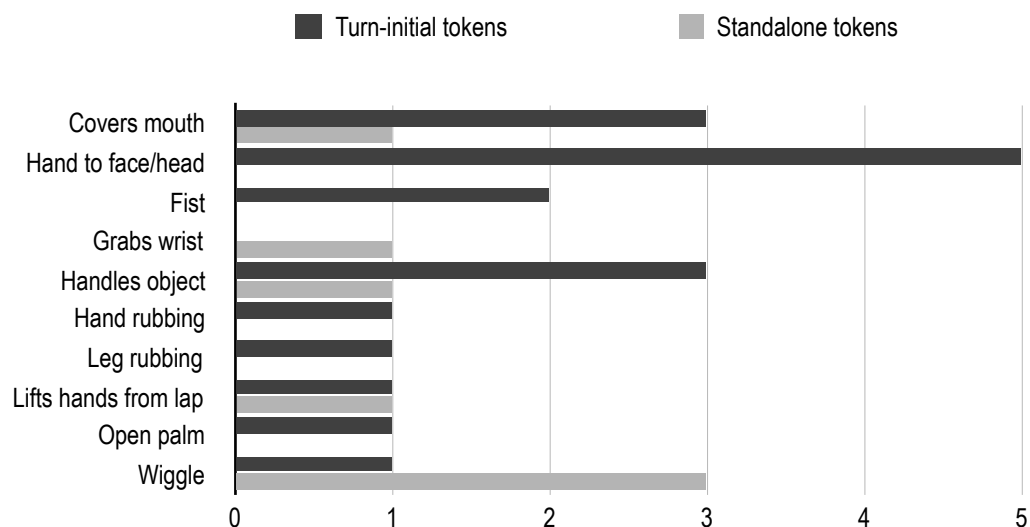
The main finding for both the turn-initial and standalone tokens is that they do not tend to co-occur with hand gestures. When they do co-occur, they are either related to helping in the projection of a stance (hands touching the face or head, covering the mouth, hand or leg rubbing), or related to dealing with some other parallel action (handling food, or other objects).

Finally, I coded for direction of speaker and recipient gaze (to recipient, to speaker, to food, spoon or table, away, up or eyes closed). In the cases where there is a change of gaze such as 'from food to recipient', I coded it as 'to recipient' to simplify the categories.

In figure 5.7, we can see the distribution of speaker gaze in the turn-initial tokens. In more than half the cases (41 equivalent to 56%), the speaker is gazing either at the food, spoon or table when producing the token. In 21% of the cases (15 tokens), the speaker gazes at the recipient. This is followed by 14 instances (19%) in which the speaker gazes away. There are 3 tokens (4%) where the speaker has their eyes closed. Figure 5.8 shows the distribution of recipient gaze for turn-initial tokens. In 44% of the cases (32 tokens), the recipient is gazing at the food, spoon or table at the time the speaker produces the token. In 26 instances (36%), the recipient gazes as the speaker when they produce the token. In the remaining 15 cases (20%), the recipient is gazing away when the token is produced.

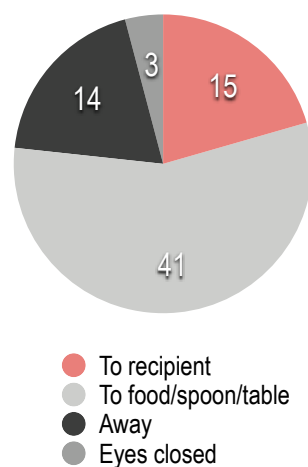Figure 5.7 Speaker gaze in turn-initial tokens of the collection

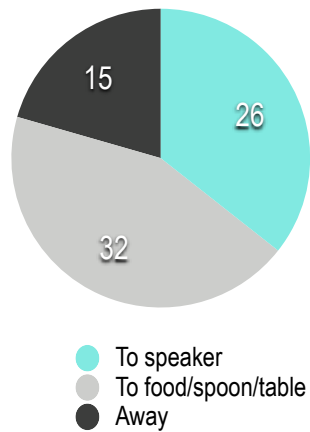Figure 5.8 Recipient gaze in turn-initial tokens of the collection

Figure 5.9 shows the distribution for speaker gaze in the standalone tokens set. In 38% of the cases (8 tokens), the speaker is gazing at either the food, spoon or table when they produce the token. In 6 cases (29%) the speaker gazes at the recipient. In 14% of the instances (3 tokens), the speaker is gazing away. This is followed by 2 cases where the speaker is looking up (that is only a feature present for standalone tokens) and the same number of cases where the speaker has their eyes closed. The following figure (5.10) shows the distribution of recipient gaze in the standalone tokens. In the majority of the instances (14 which represent 67%), the recipient is gazing at the food as the speaker produces the token. In 24% of the cases (5 tokens), the recipient gazes at the speaker and in 2 cases (9%), the recipient is gazing away as the token is produced.

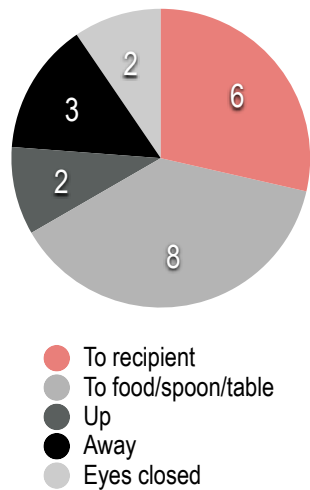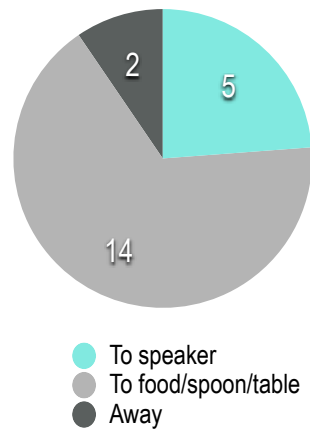Figure 5.9 Speaker gaze in standalone tokens of the collection

Figure 5.10 Recipient gaze in standalone tokens of the collection

When comparing the distribution for speaker gaze between the turn-initial and standalone tokens, we find that the speaker is gazing at the food, spoon or table in a considerable number of tokens. This is followed by the speaker gazing at the recipient, or the speaker gazing away. The smallest number of cases in both groups correspond to speakers closing their eyes during the production of the token. And a new variable is introduced for the standalone group, i.e. the speaker looking up in a couple of cases.

For both collections, the coding of recipient gaze shows similar results. In the majority of the tokens recipients are gazing at either the food, spoon or table. What follows are cases where recipients are gazing at the speaker in around a third of the cases for the turn-initial tokens and in a around a quarter of the cases for the standalone tokens. In both groups, the smallest number of tokens correspond to recipients gazing away.

This section has presented descriptive statistics for the preliminary analysis of the tokens in the two collections studied in this chapter, namely, turn-initial and standalone tokens. This preliminary analysis sheds light on the similarities and differences between these two groups in terms of their sequential aspects, the sensorial experience to which they relate, the prosodic features accompanying the production of the tokens, and the co-ocurring embodied behaviour.

The following section (5.4) presents an empirical analysis of cases from both collections to help us elucidate how the tokens are built compositionally and how participants make sense of them in conversation.

In this section, I illustrate the findings of the coding with representative examples, combining the sequential analysis of these cases with relevant observations about the phonetic design, facial expressions, hand gestures and gaze direction. The aim is to show how participants make sense of turn-initial and standalone tokens in terms of the verbal and co-occurring bodily behaviours, and to ground these observations in an action-driven analysis. I also aim to show that composite utterances can be understood as semiotically multilayered utterances which combine information from several channels.

In the analysis of examples of turn-initial tokens and standalone ones, we see that there is a difference in terms of what it means to make an assessment in relation to the taste where a turn-initial token might project the stance of the token versus the production of a token where the rest of the turn accounts for the production of such token. The latter is similar to what occurs with standalone tokens, where an assessment doing an account does not follow, but we get requests for an account or requests for confirmation. Interestingly, what there is in common between the turn-initial tokens that get accounted for and standalone tokens is that they are produced immediately after smelling or tasting as a reaction to the food. In the cases where the initial token projects a stance to the upcoming assessment, the tasting or smelling has not necessarily occurred immediately before.

The following subsections present examples where a token projects a negative stance (5.4.1) and a positive stance (5.4.2)

5.4.1 Projection of a negative stance

In CA, stance can usually refer to affective stance or to epistemic stance. Epistemic stance refers to the moment-by-moment expression of social relationships in relation to epistemic domains (Heritage, 2013:377). Affective stance is defined as "a mood, attitude, feeling and disposition, as well as degrees of emotional intensity vis-a.-vis some focus of

concern." (Ochs, 1996:410). In terms of the relationship established with the food through the tasting, the definition of affective stance works better for the purposes of this analysis. Therefore, I will refer to negative and positive stance as those that express a positive or negative feeling, respectively, towards the food.

The first set of examples shows cases of tokens projecting a positive stance.

In example 5.1, both participants are tasting Marmite, they have already assessed the food as having a taste of something unknown, bitter, something like cheese, and weird. L has claimed that he is going to try it again as the piece of toast he had before, had too much Marmite on it. R also tries again. Line 01 accounts for the time they spend eating. At this point, R is still puzzled by the taste of the food and so she claims in line 02. This turn is prefaced by the non-lexical token *ay*[5] which has not been included in turn-initial tokens set in this chapter as it does not preface an assessment turn, but the deferral of one. However, L does proffer an assessment in line 04 that refers to not being able to find this taste within the range of known foods to her. Line 06, is another attempt at assessing this food, *pero el sabor es como muy fuerte* 'but the taste is like very strong'. The fact that this turn is prefaced by *pero* 'but' contrasts the previous turns "not knowing" versus "at least I can say it is strong". After a 1.0 second silence, R initiates a turn with the non-lexical token *mm* which is creaky, has a rise-falling pitch contour, is produced with low pitch in the speaker's range (193 Hz at the fall), and is stretched (350 ms) (see figure 5.11). The embodied aspects of its production are constricted face (slight frowning, nose wrinkling and lip protrusion). As R produces this token she is gazing away as L's gaze is directed towards R's side (see figure 5.12). After 1.4 seconds, R begins to proffer an assessment about the smell in line 08, which then gets repaired in line 09, so *es como* 'it's like' is repaired to *llega hasta cierto punto a ser* 'it gets to the point of being', which somehow downgrades the assessment from having the quality per se to perhaps something one could say about it more forcefully, in this case *desagradable* 'unpleasant' (line 09).

This assessment is followed by another turn from R, this time, a subject-side assessment in line 11, that is prefaced by the negative token *no* 'no' which sets the stance for the turn. In

---

[5] Ay : interjection to express many and very different moods (Real Academia Española, 2017)

line 12 L seeks confirmation of R's previous turn and she provides this confirmation in line

13 with the negative token *mm mm.*

Example 5.1 P3.03_08.09_Mm_olor_desagradable

```
01      (6.5)
02 R:  Ay no sé que lo que es
        (NLT) I don't know what it is
03      (0.3)
04 R:  que raro
        how weird
05      (0.5)
06 R:  pero el sabor es como muy fuerte
        but the taste is like very strong
07      (1.0)
08 R:→ #^Mm. (1.4) y el olor también es como: (0.4)
        (NLT)     and the smell too it's like
 fig   #fig 5.12
09      a- llega hasta cierto punto a ser desagradable
        it gets to the point of being unpleasant
10      (1.6)
11 R:  no (.) a mi este no me gustó pa na=
        no I didn't like this one at all
12 L:  =no?=
        no
13 R:  =mm mm
        mm mm
14      (8.5)
```

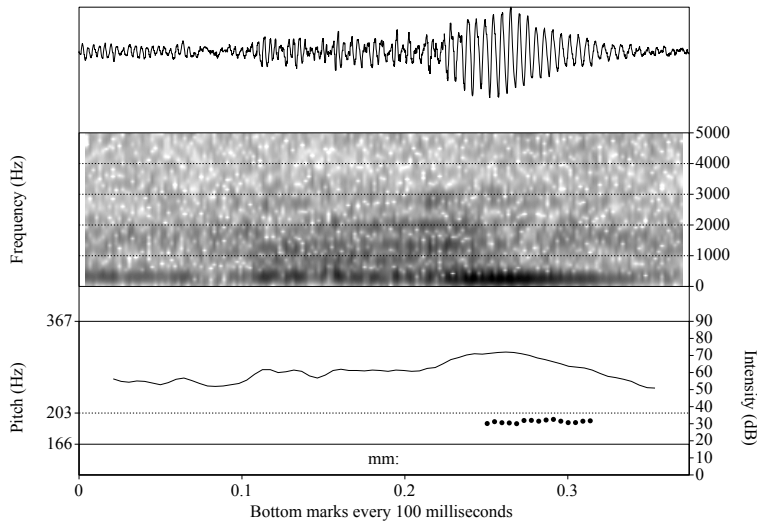

Figure 5.11 Waveform, spectrogram, and F0/intensity trace of R's '^mm:'
Waveform (upper panel), spectrogram (middle), and F0/intensity trace of R's '^mm:'
(Example 5.1 line 08). F0 trace scaled to R's minimum/maximum F0, median marked at 203 Hz.

Figure 5.12 Example 5.1, Line 08; R produces a the non-lexical token, '^mm:'
Note R's constricted face and L's gaze.

In the next example (5.2), the participants have already tasted marmite on buttery toast once. While L has expressed her like for the food, R has said he finds the food sour, to which L has provided an account saying that it is the bread that is sour. So, at the beginning of line 01, L confirms her like for the food. In lines 02 and 03, R resists the idea that the bread is sour in line 02. As R is doing a word search accounting for his position at the end of line 03, L comes in with a different project, that is, that R tastes the food again, which is done with a set of imperatives in line 04. Between lines 06 and 13, there are competing trajectories in terms on how they are going through this experience. L is trying to account for what is going on and R is trying to seek agreement as to what this tastes like or what reason behind that is. The emerging food epistemologies in this interaction are interesting, they try to identify certain relevant variables and isolate them such as the bread, trying to figure how to eat it, how it should be experienced.

Example 5.2
P4.03_05:44_Ácido

```
01 L:  <<p>pero ESto es ri[co.>
           but this is yummy
02 R:                  +*[el PAN no es ácido,
                          the bread is not sour
                       >>+gazes @ beans--->
     l                  >>*gazes @ toast on table--->
03 R:  porque $el pan yo lo ∆proBÉ com:- +(0.3) con el:: #(.)
           because I tasted it with              with the
```

```
                                        --->+gazes @ L--->
                  >>$points @ beans--------------------------#
     l                           >>Δtears toast--->
04 L:  TOma mira.
       take  look
05     +(0.6)
   r    +gazes at toast--->
06 L:  +<<h>aHÍ *Δtiene.>
            there it has
              --->*gazes @ piece she's handing to R--->
               --->Δhands piece to R--->
   r    +gazes @ beans--->
07     +(0.4)
   r    +gazes @ toast--->
08 L:  <<h>PRUEba +eso solo esa [punta.>
           try that only that      edge
   r            --->+gazes @ beans--->
09 R:             [con $el:
                           with the
                         $points @ beans--->
10 L:  +el de $aHÍ tiene más.
       that one there has more
   r   +gazes @ given bread--->
          --->$grabs & holds piece of toast--->
11     (.)+(0.3)*(0.6)
   l         --->*gazes @ her piece of toast--->
   r   -->+gazes @ beans--->
12 R:  ΔpoROto.
       beans
   l   Δgrabs piece of toast & takes it to mouth--->
13     (0.7)+(0.5)†(0.4)$(0.3)+†(0.2)
   r     --->+gazes @ bread----+gazes away--->
              >>†frowns------†
                     $takes toast to mouth--->
14 L:  •$<<h>((oye)) es que.>• (0.3)*Δ(2.8)
          ((listen))  it's that
                                 --->*gazes down--->
       •nose wrinkle---------•
                                 --->Δbites & chews--->
   r      $bites & chews--->
15 L:  a peSAR de- (0.7)*(1.0)    *(1.2)     *†(0.3)
       in spite of
                      --->*gazes @ R*gazes up*gazes @ R--->
   r                                  †shakes head & frowns--->
16     pero me gusTÓ mucho.
       but I liked it a lot
17     (0.8)
18 R:  a MÍ no +me gustó tanto.
       I didn't like it that much
   r       --->+gazes at L--->
19     †(0.2)•(0.2)Δ(.)
   l        •constricts face--->
              --->Δlifts hands from lap--->
   r   †smiles--->>
20 L:→ #<<h><<f>u::h`U.>>=
          (non-lexical token)
   fig #fig 5.13
21 R:  NO2. •+ese peDAzo •Δ+que me diste es [como ((xx xx)) sí
       no  that piece that you gave me is    like  ((xx xx)) yes
          --->+gazes @ toast+gazes @ L--->
   l     --->•smiles------•constricts face--->
                    --->Δcovers face w both hands--->
22 L:→                 #[*<<h><<f>´U:y, este tiene mucho;>>
                                     (non-lexical token) this one has a lot
                       --->*closes eye--->
   fig                 #fig 5.14
23     *(0.5)Δ
```

```
  l    *gazes @ R--->
       --->Δ
24 L:→ #<<h>´Oy, que a? como <<creaky>Á:ci+do;>>•
         (non-lexical token) how s- like sour
                                        --->•
                               --->+gazes @ glass--->
  r
  fig #fig 5.15
25     (0.6)
26 R:  $<<p>no me gustó.>
         I didn't like it
       $reaches for & holds glass--->
27     +(0.8)*(0.6)
  l    --->*gazes away--->
  r    +gazes @ L--->>
28 R:  es como que *•te GUSta; pero: como que NO.=
       it's like you like it      but   like you don't
  l            --->*gazes @ R
                   •smiles--->>
29 L:  SÍ.=
       yes
30 R:  =*SÍ.
       yes
  L     *gazes down--->
31     (.)
32 L:  pero Δdefini TIvamente tiene un sabor como a *como a que:so.Δ=
       but definitely it has a taste like that of like that of cheese
                                        --->*gazes @ R--->>
             Δpoints to toasts w left hand-----------------------Δ
33 R:  =<<p>como a QUEso.>
           like that of cheese
34     $(0.9)
  r    $drinks water--->>
35 L:  <<creaky>como Á>cido. no creo que SEA como más amargo,
             like sour      I don't think it'd be like more bitter
36     es como <<creaky>más Ácido.>
       it's like      more sour
37     (3.0)
38 R:  y eso que a mí me GUStan las <<breathy>cosas ácidas.>
       and considering I like             sour things
39     (1.7)
40 R:  no me gustó TANto así; como que no come<<creaky>RÍA::-> (0.9)
       I didn't like it that much    like I wouldn't   eat it
41 L:  en abun[DANcia; NO.
       in abundance      no
42 R:  [TOdos los días así; en la maÑAna no.
               every day like        in the morning no
```

At the beginning of line 14, R starts to eat the piece of toast that L has handed to him and L begins a new turn that gets abandoned as she also begins to eat in line 14. Chewing is about establishing shared access to and being able to experience the same thing, L seems to be quite careful of how she chooses the bread and makes sure they have the same amount of Marmite this time. The 2.8 second silence in line 14 is a kind of pivotal moment because they both have had a bite and now they are waiting for an assessment to come. L then resumes her turn with *a pesar d*e 'in spite of', then gazes at R, looks up as if she is trying to

find the right words or experiencing the taste, and gazes at R again while R shakes his head and frowns then in line 16, and produces the subject side assessment *pero me gustó mucho* 'but I liked it a lot' while gazing at R. This turn is in the preterit tense because it is the second time they have tasted it, but also because they are are assessing this as a thing that they have not tasted before, so they are forging their own opinion about it. The past tense entails that "this is my verdict of something I never tried before" as a finished action (Serrano, 1995:536).

After a 0.8 second silence, R produces another subject side assessment in second position that disagrees with the prior, while still shaking his head and frowning, and gazing at L amidst the production of the turn. In line 19, R is smiling and after 0.2 seconds, L begins to constrict her face followed by the lifting of both her hands from her lap, and the production of the non-lexical token *uhu* in line 20 which has a high falling pitch contour, is high-pitched in the speaker's range, is loud for the speaker's average intensity, and there is lengthening of the the first vowel. In figure 5.13, we can see the embodied features of its production: L's constricted face and lifted hands, speaker gazing at recipient, and recipient gazing at speaker.

Figure 5.13 Line 20 in ex.5.2

Line 20 is produced in relation to the food there and then and how it develops in the mouth and how L feels it at that moment. It is not only a change of taste but what that entails, there is a change of state from liking the food to perhaps not liking it so much.

In line 21, R produces the negative token *no* 'no' which confirms his dislike for the food, this is followed by an account of having a lot of marmite on the toast. Both L and R are smiling as this turn is produced, presumably because they are beginning to share the same experience. L comes in in overlap and not in a TRP with the account *este tiene mucho* 'this one has a lot', that is prefaced by the turn-initial token *uy* that has a low-rising pitch contour, is high pitched for the speaker's range, is loud for the speaker's average intensity, and there is lengthening of the first vowel. Figure 5.14 shows the embodied aspects of its production: L's constricted face with eyes closed which gets covered with her hands as R is gazing at her.

Figure 5.14 Line 22 in ex.5.2

Some evidence for the claim that line 20 is a response to the food there and then is line 22 which is similar and it comes in in a place where it's not supposed to come, in clear overlap. So far, L has liked the food and has tried to bring R around to liking it. There is the extra marmite on this toast so he can really taste it. However, the taste is also a surprise to her. Hence, the turns in line 21 and 22 do not entirely rule out Marmite as a potentially pleasant food.

After a 0.5 second silence, L produces an assessment of the food as *ácido* 'sour' in line 24. This is prefaced by the turn-initial token *oy* that has low-rising pitch contour and is high-pitched in the speaker's range. In figure 5.15, we can see L's constricted face as L and R engage in mutual gaze during the production of the token. The word *ácido* 'sour' in this turn, is creaky and the first vowel is stretched (this gets done with very similar prosodic features in lines 35 and 36, perhaps implying that it is an unpleasant kind of sour).

Figure 5.15 Line 26 in ex.5.2

In line 26, R follows with a subject side assessment, growing more and more certain that he does not like the food, while reaching for a glass of water. In line 28, R adds a further assessment *es como que te gusta pero como que n*o 'it's like you like it but like you don't, which gets agreement from L in line 29 and *sí* 'yes' from R as a sequence closing third.

At this point in the interaction, it is visible that L and R are aligned with each other's view on the taste. From line 28 onwards, they enter this concluding phase where they start to agree on certain points. In line 32 and 33, they are trying to locate the flavour within a certain realm of taste *como a queso* 'like (the taste) of cheese'. In terms of the food they are eating, Marmite is in that domain of extreme of tastes. Therefore, we need to consider what kind of food it is participants are eating and how they make sense of that kind of food, flavour, texture, etc.

In lines 41 and 42, there are some nuances to that conclusion 'I didn't like it that much like I wouldn't eat it' which gets collaboratively completed by L with 'in abundance'. This works as a subtle conditioning to the liking of Marmite.

In the following example (5.3), the participants are about to try red onion marmalade. They have already made some assessments on the physical aspect of it and have compared the food to black seed squash marmalade, something L claims not to like at all.

Example 5.3

P1.01_Uh_fuerte_oh_me_carga

```
01      (0.4)(0.9)‡  *(0.4)
  r     >>gazes @ pot-->
        >>........‡smells pot-->
  l     >>gazes @ pot*gazes @ R-->
        >>...>
02 R:   +‡*•mira HUEle eso.
           look  smell  that
        +gaze @ L-->
         ‡takes pot to L's face-->
  l     *gaze @ pot-->
      •holds spoon-->
03      (0.7)*(0.3)
  l       -->*gaze @ side
04 L:→ •‡<<creaky><<h><<l>'U:h?>>>
       •...-->
  r    ‡takes pot close to own face-->
05      (0.3)•(0.4)
  l       -->•covers face w hands-->
06 L:→ *huhuhu‡huhuhu la weá FUER+•te.‡[°hhhh
       huhuhuhuhuhu   the shit strong
07 R:             +[huele *a ceBOlla      +en escabeche.]
                     it smells like onion   in pickle
  l    *gaze @ R----------------------*gaze @pot-->
                            -->•,,,-->
  r              -->+gaze @ L   +gaze @ pot--+gaze @ L-->
  r       -->‡smells pot-----------‡stirs pot-->>
08      (0.6)
09 L:→ *<<creaky>`O:h.•+: (0.2)• me CAR•ga.>
                    I  loathe it
       *gaze down-->
                   -->•........•touches forehead•,,,,-->
  r                -->+gaze @ pot-->>
10      (.)
11 L:   *•YA.=
        ok
       *gaze down-->
        •holds spoon-->
12 R:   =*en SErio?=
          seriously?
  l      *gaze @ pot-->>
13 R:   =•no te GUSta?
        you don't like it?
  l      •prepares spoon-->>
14      (.)
15 L:   No.
        no
```

```
16      (0.9)
17 L:   pero hay que proBAR.
        but one has to taste
18      (1.7)
```

From what can be seen in the transcript of example 5.3, in line 01 R smells the food and then suggests L smells it too in line 02 while taking the pot closer to L's face. After smelling the red onion marmalade, L produces the token *uh* in line 04 which is creaky, high pitched in the speaker's range (340 Hz for a 237 Hz median), has a high rising pitch contour, is long (606 ms) and loud for the speaker (76 dB for an average of 64 dB) as can be seen in figure 5.16.
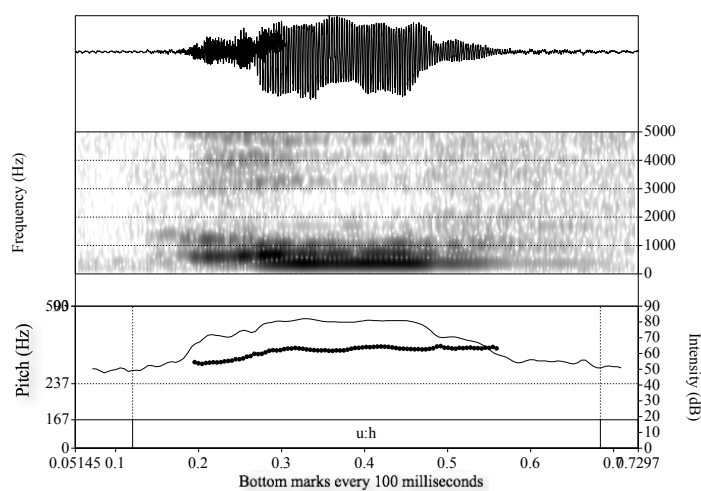
Figure 5.16 Waveform, spectrogram, and F0/intensity trace of L's "U:h?'
Waveform (upper panel), spectrogram (middle), and F0/intensity trace of L's "U:h?' (Example 5.1 line 04). F0 trace scaled to L's minimum/maximum F0, median marked at 237 Hz.

The analysis of facial expressions shows a constricted forehead which involves raised eyebrows and wrinkling the nose, shaking of the head and tossing and covering her face with her hands while the recipient gazes at her as can be seen in the first photo strip (Figure 5.17). This is followed by laughter. This token is a physical reaction to a stimulus in the world at that moment but at the same time it does have assessment-like qualities given by the combination of salient phonetic properties and bodily behaviour. However, for it to be called an assessment in its own right, it would need to provide enough information for the other participant to agree or disagree with it, so it would need to provide a slot for doing that.

Figure 5.17 Embodied behaviour in the production of uh in ex. 5.3

Instead we could say it projects the type of assessment to come, again, considering the way in which the verbal and non-verbal resources are put together in its production. The negative valence of this projection is then asserted with *la weá fuerte* 'the shit strong', a negative assessment in line 06. Although the word *weá* from Chilean Spanish is a swear word that can be used in a positive context as well (see example 3.16 in Chapter 3), the word keeps its pejorative connotation which suggests there is no other word for it or it is an unknown referent. This together with the word strong, and embodied behaviour project a negative stance towards the food.

Then, R produces a simile of the smell in line 07 'it smells like pickled onion'. After a 0.6 second silence in which R keeps smelling the food, L produces the creaky token *oh* in line 09 that is long (643 ms) and has a low falling pitch contour. This *oh* token in Spanish is not equivalent to the change-of-state token 'oh' in English (that is *ah* in Spanish) but an

affective stance token instead. The embodied aspects of its production are constricted forehead which implies frowning, wrinkling the nose. R is also smiling throughout the production of *oh*, leaning forward and covering her forehead with her palm while the recipient gazes at her as you can see in the third picture of the second photo strip on the next page (Figure 5.18). This is followed by the subject side assessment *me carga* 'I loathe it' which is also creaky. While the non-lexical token projects a negative assessment, it is hard to tell what the referent for the assessment is. 'I loathe it' could refer to the whole experience of tasting something you think you will not like. Or it could refer to either the taste or smell of the closest referent "pickled onion' in line 07. In any case, *oh* is not an assessment by itself but projects an assessment.

Figure 5.18 Embodied behaviour in the production of oh in ex. 5.3

L then produces *ya* 'ok' marking readiness to begin eating in line 11. In lines 12 and 13, R challenges L's evaluation with 'seriously, you don't like it?' which tells us that while somehow the referent of the assessment in line 09 might be a puzzle for the analyst, it was not for the recipient of the talk (although lines 12 and 13 do express some surprise about L's opinion). After this, L confirms her position.

Now I would like to compare this *oh* token I have just analysed with a swear word that occurs in turn-initial position before in the same interaction. In the following example (5.4), there is a very similar sequence to the one that unfolds close to the second token analysed in 5.1. This example begins with the participants providing similes for the appearance of the same food item, red onion marmalade. In line 01, L compares it to snail slime and then in line 03 R disagrees and compares it to black seed squash marmalade. Then after a 0.4 second silence, L produces the swear word *chucha* in line 05 which is creaky and has a rise falling pitch contour. As L proffers the swear word, she is smiling, her gaze shifts from the food down while lowering her head, and she begins to raise her hand to touch her head as can be seen in figure 5.19. R gazes at L as she produces the word *chucha*. This is followed by a subject side assessment from L produced immediately after the swear word in line 05. This negative evaluation *me carga la alcayota* 'I loathe black seed squash' is also creaky just like the subject side assessment in line 09 of example 5.1. What is more, what follows in the interaction is a pause, then *ya* 'ok' from L which is used to initiate a new course of action only to be met by R's *en serio* 'seriously?' challenging L's evaluation, just like in example 5.1.

Example 5.4 P1.01_Chucha_me_carga

```
01 L:   [ooh hu hu pare]ce baba de caraCOL, ha ha
          ooh hu hu          it looks like snail slime haha
02      (1.1)
03 R:   NO:. (.) paREce una mermelada como: la de alcayota.
          no it looks like a marmalade like the one of black seed squash
04      (0.4)
05 L:→  <<creaky>^CHUcha. me `CARga la alcayota.>
          shit I loathe black seed squash
06      (0.7)
07 L:   YA.=
          alright
08 R:   =en SErio?
          seriously?
09      (.)
```

```
10 L:  no me PUEde gustar la alca[yota.
```
I can't seem to like black seed squash

Figure 5.19 Embodied production of the swear word in line 5 ex. 5.4

In this example, the swear word projects a negative stance partly because it can have a negative connotation which is what gives swearing the possibility of being insulting. However, more importantly, there are prosodic (creakiness, rise-falling pitch contour) and embodied features (smile, gaze shift, head touching) of its production that are used in the same way as in examples of non-lexical tokens (such as the *oh* in 5.3). This further supports the claim that these tokens are built off different multimodal resources for the sake of meaning making.

From these examples analysed as projecting a negative stance, I usually found the combination of prosodic features such as creakiness or high pitch with embodied features such as face constriction with includes nose wrinkling and lip protrusion, and also head movements with gaze shifts. These resources tend to occur in combination with the non-lexical token to display the negative stance towards in relation to what has been taste and also projecting a stance to the assessments that follow if that is the case.

5.4.2 PROJECTION OF A POSITIVE STANCE

The following are two examples of non-lexical tokens projecting a positive stance. These are two instances of *mm*, one in turn-initial position and one as a standalone token. A further example with *oh* in turn-initial position and projecting a positive stance was analysed in the two previous chapters, as example 3.16 and 4.19.

Example 5.5 is a case of the *mm* token that has been previously analysed from the perspective of how the assessment produced in second position (line 06) is marked as independent from the first (Chapter 3, Example 3.15) and also as how one of the participants orients to previous talk (Chapter 4, Example 4.4). However, in this chapter I focus on the first assessment produced in line 04 that is prefaced by the *mm* token. Before the beginning of this extract, the participants are about to taste mince pies and they have made some remarks about the shape and some guesses about what this could taste like (sweet) or what filling it might have (caramel). They begin to eat at the same time as can be seen in line 01. Both participants are gazing away as they eat and both of them gaze to their own pies after 1.5 seconds. After 1.6 seconds, L frowns which potentially orients to the contradiction between what he is tasting and the guesses they had previously made. After 1.1 seconds, R frowns and wrinkles her nose before producing a confirmation of the type of food they are eating in line 02, 'it's like a mini pie'. R's gaze is directed at L's pie as she produces line 02 and L moves his eyes but not his face towards R's side. They keep chewing in silence after this. All this time L has maintained his frowning and 2.4 seconds into this silence in line 03, he raises one eyebrow in a further display of the unknown flavours he is tasting. In line 04, R produces an *mm* token that is creaky, high pitched in the speaker's range (264 Hz for a 203 Hz median), it has a low falling contour and is long (315 ms) as can be seen in figure 5.20. R's facial expressions at the time of producing the token are frowning and lip protrusion (see figure 5.21). R's gaze is directed at the food in that moment and L's gaze is towards the table. There is a 1.4 second silence after the *mm* token and before the assessment *que rica la masa* 'how yummy the pastry' is produced also in line 04. R continues to frown during the silence and assessment, but the lip protrusion is dropped after the *mm* token is produced. L shifts his gaze towards the food at the beginning of R's

assessment in line 04. They keep chewing in silence for 1.5 seconds, after which L stops

chewing and proceeds to make an assessment in second position that is marked as

independent from the first (for an analysis of this, see Chapter 3, Example 3.15).

Example 5.5 P3.04_09.16_Mm_rica_masa

```
01      (1.5)   +*(1.6)†(1.1)•(0.5)         •(.)
  l     >>bites & chews--->
        >>gaze away+gaze @ food
             >>---†frown--->
  r     >>bites & chews--->>
        >>gaze away-*gaze @ food
                >>---•frown & nose wrinkle-•
02 R:   *+es `COmo una mini+ tartaleta.
         it's  like a mini      pie
        *gaze @ l's pie--->
  l     -+eyes to r's side-+gaze @ food--->
03      (0.6)*(0.3)+(0.8)†(0.7)†(.)
  l         --->+gaze away
              ---->†-----†eyebrow raise--->
  r     --->*gaze @ food--->>
04 R:→ •<<creaky><<h>`Mm:.>  •†(1.4)+que rica la `MAsa.>>•
          mm           how yummy the pastry
  r    •lip protrusion & frown•frown--------------------•
  l                   --->+gaze @ food--->
  l              --->†
05      (1.5)≠(0.2)
  l    --->≠stops chewing--->>
06 L:   es blan+`DIta.
        it is very soft
           --->+gaze away--->>
07      (4.4)
```
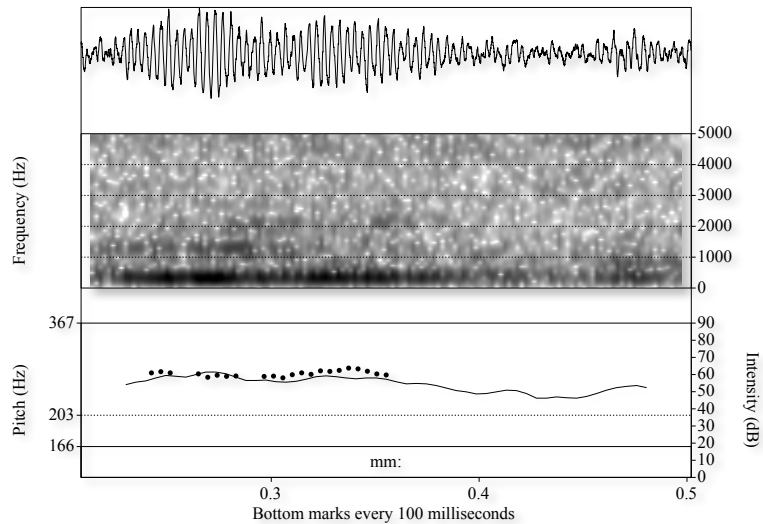

Figure 5.20 Waveform, spectrogram, and F0/intensity trance of L's 'mm"
Waveform (upper panel), spectrogram (middle), and F0/intensity trace of L's 'mm' (Example 5.5 line 04). F0 trace scaled to L's minimum/maximum F0, median marked at 203 Hz.

Figure 5.21 R's frowning and lip protrusion during 'mm' in line 04 of ex. 5.5

The next example (5.6) shows an instance of a gustatory token in non-response position, projecting a positive assessment. Before the example, L tastes the mince pie first; then R tastes it. L takes a napkin to wipe his mouth, signalling that he is finishing eating. This also signals that his mouth is not engaged with food anymore and therefore, he is available to speak, which in this context makes relevant an assessment as a next action. While still chewing, he produces *mm* in line 02, then he wipes his lips with the napkin. The token has a rise-fall intonation contour, has a duration of 567 milliseconds and ends low in the speaker's pitch range. At line 04, L asks R whether he liked it, which displays her understanding that he is ready to make an assessment. The next sequence at lines 08-24 is an attempt by both speakers to find common ground on which to assess (see the work of Liberman (2013) on coffee tasting), by comparing what they have just eaten with other foods they are familiar with. In other words, *mm* is placed at a point in the ongoing activity where an assessment is both a relevant and possible next action, and L and R treat it as a preface to this activity.

Example 5.6 P5.04_12:06_Pan_de_pascua

```
01      (5.8)+ (0.4)  +
  l    -->+gazes at R+gazes at table-->
02 R: →ˆMm::.
        mm
        >>gazes at napkin--->>
03      (0.6)+
  r    ---->+---->
04 L:  +te gus&TÓ?
        did you like it
```

```
            &smiles---->
   r    +gazes at table
05     (0.4)
06 R:  •SÍ. •&
       yes
       •nods•
   l   ----->&
       -->@grabs pie----->
07     (0.7)+(7.0)
   l   @retracts body to eat pie
   r   ---->+gazes away
08 R:  como el pan de PAScua;
       like christmas fruit cake
09     (1.4)
10 R:  con PAsas al ron, (0.3) JUNto.
       with rum raisins together
11     (3.5)
12 L:  `Mm:.=
       mm
13 R:  =poDRÍA ser un-
       it could be a-
14     (0.9)
15 L:  ˆMm::.
       mm
16     (1.8)
17 L:  SÍ=
       yes
18     =TIENe como:-
       it has like
19     (0.6)
20 L:  como unas MEZclas, (2.8)
       like some mixtures
21     parecidas al PAN de pascua;=
       similar to a christmas fruit cake
22     =PEro: (1.5)
       but
23     me GUSta más esto parece,
       I like this more it seems
24     (2.2)
```
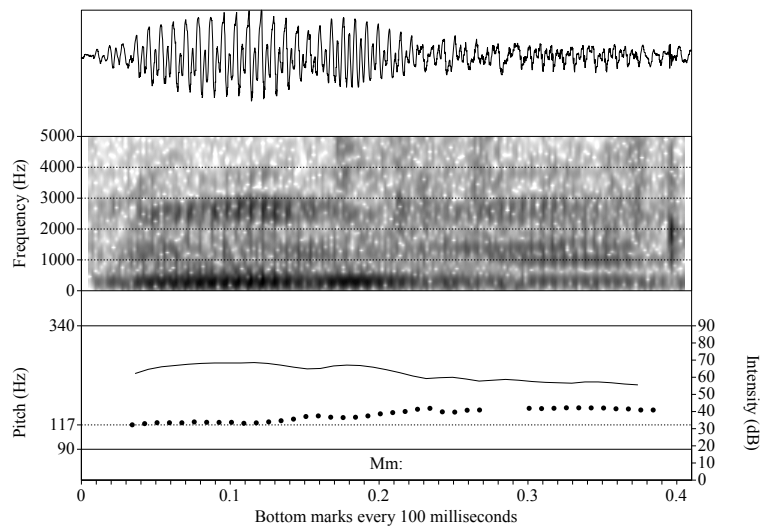

Figure 5.22 Waveform, spectrogram, and F0/intensity trance of L's 'mm"
Waveform (upper panel), spectrogram (middle), and F0/intensity trace of L's 'mm' (Example 5.6 line 04). F0 trace scaled to L's minimum/maximum F0, median marked at 203 Hz.

Figure 5.23 R produces a gustatory token '^mm' in line 1 of ex.5.6.
Note the neutral facial expression.

These two examples that project a positive stance are cases of the mm token. In 5.5, the token is creaky and accompanied by frowning and lip protrusion. These are some of the features found for projecting a negative stance as well, however, the creakiness in this case occurs in combination with high pitch and there is no nose wrinkling, so the groupings are not the same and tell us that they are not randomly put together either. In example 5.6, there is a quite neutral facial expression accompanying the token mm, but its rise-falling intonation and length are prominent. This case also prompts some reflection about gustatory *mms* that we know from the literature (Gardner, 2001) to be more recognisable from prosodic features than other tokens. In this example, L is not gazing while R produces the *mm* token, but she does orient to its gustatory nature by seeking confirmation about whether R has liked the food or not. However, it is also the case that L does not take *mm* as a positive assessment for granted, so even when we encounter more recognisable tokens, these do not seem to be considered a turn in their own right.

5.5 DISCUSSION: TOKENS AS MULTIMODAL PROSODIC CONSTRUCTIONS

The following figure (5.24) is a sketch based on the idea of prosodic constructions (Ogden, 2010). The sketch provides an account of a token like the ones I have analysed in this

chapter. It is a type of linguistic sign that contains information about its form (lexical or non-lexical), possible sequential locations (FPP, SPP, pre, etc), its prosodic design (voice quality, airstream mechanism used, F0 range, etc), and embodied features of its production (gaze, face and hand gestures, etc.).
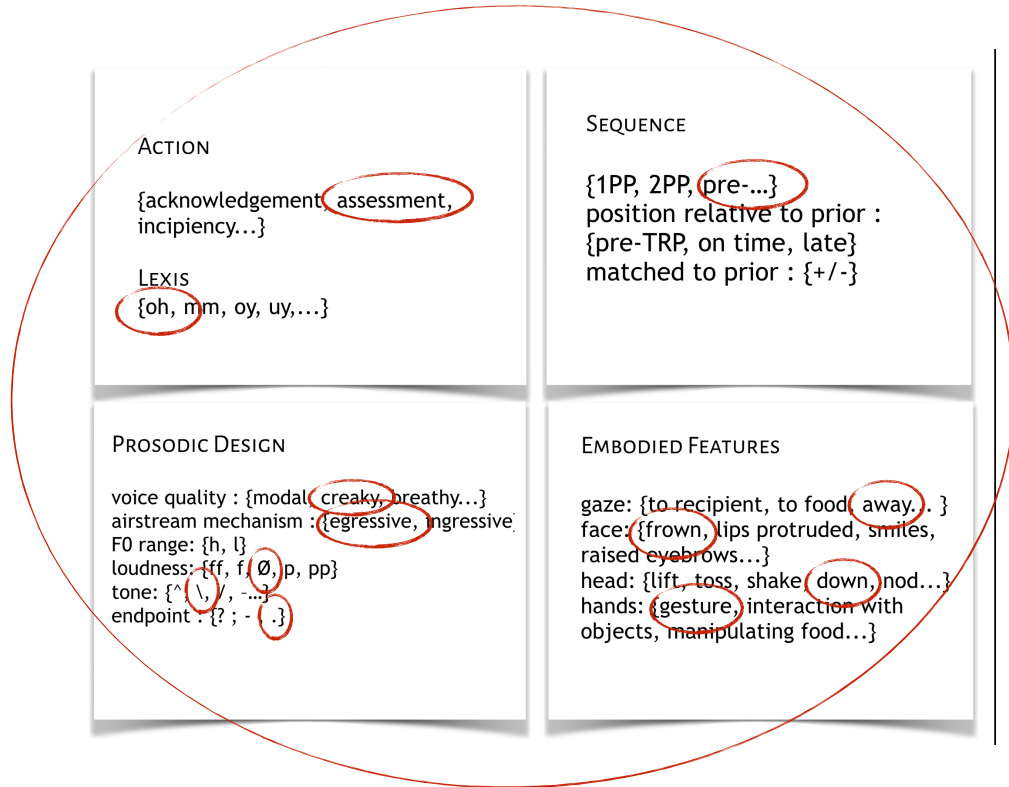

Figure 5.24. Sketch of tokens based on the concept of prosodic constructions (Ogden, 2010)

González Temer and Ogden (2015) claim that such structures are massively underspecified for non-lexical tokens, but "a token" in situ would contain information from many different sources. For instance, in example 5.3, since *oh* in that example is in pre-beginning position, the construction for *oh* is embedded in a bigger one which relates to the other on-going activities, but at the same time we have access to information from multiple multimodal resources.

This is how tokens like *oh* can be considered multi-functional; and this also explains how one-off productions are still understandable: the particular combination of phonetic, sequential and gestural events may be unique, but the component parts are not.

I claim that non-lexical tokens should not be considered assessments in their own right. Some of the arguments for this claim are the following. First, they do not establish the possibility of a conditionally relevant next turn from a respondent, such that the next turn should be a second assessment. What they get instead are requests of confirmation, but not agreements or disagreements. Second, many of the turn-initial tokens are in run-through productions with the rest of the turn that is indeed an assessment. They are a unit and the token is turn-initial to that unit. Third, non-lexical tokens, especially as standalones, are sometimes not part of the verbal behaviour, and therefore they do not fit the sequential organisation of talk. They are responsive to a stimulus in the world, in this case, the food. For them to fit as a turn, they would need to be made interactionally relevant, that is, the person who produces them would need to produce them willingly and make it available for the coparticipant who would have to have access to the visual and prosodic aspects of its production. This could generate the possibility for them to be agreed with or not.

Non-lexical tokens are, more often than not, one off productions that put together resources from different modalities, and this is how participants in interaction make sense of them as well, by looking at them as composites.

This chapter has also demonstrated that the compositional way of using and understanding these tokens bear relations with how we project stance, which is at the service of affiliation, and logically has outcomes in terms of preference and the progressivity of talk. While there are complex behaviours, some of them at least can be shown to be consistently related in a pattern of mutual expectation.

5.6 Summary

In this chapter, I have provided an account of the multimodal resources used in the production of non-lexical tokens in conversation. I have shown how verbal and non-verbal practices are intertwined in the design and projection of assessing as an activity over several turns at talk.

I have shown how the sequential positioning of 'non-lexical tokens', in conjunction with aspects of phonetic design and co-occurring non-vocal behaviours, forms an essential part of the way in which the token is interpreted in context by participants in interaction. I have proposed that instances of these tokens in use can be modelled as multimodal constructions which include information about action, linguistic design, and non-vocal features. This is offered as way of starting to formalise this, in a way that offers linguists a representation that integrates semiotic channels.

Finally, I have focused on how these practices evolve over time, and how they are positioned sequentially; this is another semiotic channel beyond the mere verbal/non-verbal, and it is actually something entirely social and necessarily interactional.

The first thing I needed to do when I decided to work with assessments was to look at how they were done in this data, which provides the first account of how assessments are done in Chilean Spanish. The basic question of how assessments are formatted in the data led me to findings about much more complex issues such as how language is embedded within a wider physical world, how people anticipate one another's behaviour through gaze and "sounds" and the range of resources that they use to project their interactional activities.

In this concluding discussion, I explore key themes that were present across the analytic chapters. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 have demonstrated how participants in conversation deploy a range of resources from different channels to initiate and design their own assessment turns and mobilise assessments from another interactant. In this chapter, I show how the findings from these previous chapters hold together as ultimately, the major questions that drive the analysis of the data in these chapters inevitably lead us to the same interactional constraints. In the next sections of this chapter, I focus on each one of these constraints in the following order. First, in section 6.1, I refer to epistemics, paying particular attention to epistemic access, epistemic independence, and epistemic primacy. In section 6.2, I focus on the concept of multimodality. Then, in section 6.3, I discuss the concepts of stance and affiliation and their relationship to the findings of this thesis.

Finally, I present some contributions of this study, as well as limitations and future directions.

6.1 EPISTEMICS

The analysis done for Chapter 3 revealed that there are many syntactic structures that can be used in assessments and that would still contain an adjective in their formulation. When we look at adjectives it is clear that in relation to tasting, words like 'sweet' or 'bitter' acquire their meaning through the interactions. The interactants negotiate their meaning in

relation to a particular food. For instance, the valence of something as sweet depends on whether 'sweetness' is agreed by the participants as a good quality in this food they are eating.

These decisions are also shaped by the culinary customs of a certain culture that tell you where in the taste palette a certain food belongs. For example, there are foods that are always - traditionally - eaten in savoury preparations. In Chile, beans are always eaten in savoury preparations, so baked beans present a "surprising" sweet taste.

Another finding in Chapter 3 in relation to epistemics, was the production of assessments in second position that were formatted as first assessments. The fact that these assessments are produced as unilateral independent ones, draws attention to tasting as a subjective experience. However, this is true for the assessments that occur right after the tasting, or right after the first sensorial encounter with the food. As the tasting of a particular food continues, other, more canonical assessments, are produced. This relates to the preference for progressivity in the interaction, so as participants move towards the ending of a certain tasting, there is a search for consensus that aids the transition from one tasting to the next.

The main research question of Chapter 4 deals how the interactants get to a first assessment. An important variable for the analysis of the cases presented in this chapter is whether one participant had tasted the food before the other, or both participants tasted at the same time, as this has implications for who gets to assess the food first.

The analysis in Chapter 4 also showed that participants got access to food in different ways. This allowed me to explore the more general mechanisms by which they get access to the assessable. This in turn allowed me to explore processes of access, and assessing, such as smelling and then tasting, but crucially, how assessment sequences are launched.

In terms of how one gets to first assessment, two patterns of gaze organisation were identified. The first one, single access, is characterised by one speaker withholding the

tasting and withholding a first assessment and at the same time mobilising the first assessment from the other speaker by means of gaze. In the second pattern, dual access, the two participants had tasted the food at the same time or with very little delay, which has the outcome of placing them in equal positions to assess the food in terms of epistemic access. In this case, eye gaze this used to mobilise a first assessment from the other speaker.

The literature on eye gaze and assessments (Stivers & Rossano, 2010) demonstrates that gaze is used to mobilise responses. The findings of Chapter 4, show that gaze can also be used to mobilise initiating actions and that this is one of the ways in which assessment sequences can be launched (and moved forward), while at the same time relinquishing one's epistemic rights.

6.2 MULTIMODALITY

Across many examples in this thesis, we can see that simple adjacency pairs of assessment/ second assessment as shown by Pomerantz (1984) were relatively rare in my data. In cases where I did find such pairs, I could also point to features of the second assessment that actually brought them off more as first assessments. Participants were able to use gaze as a resource to mobilise a first assessment from the other, thus choosing to position themselves as second. This shows that this can be achieved through gaze and that the ordering of assessments relative to each other can be managed by either speaker when there is equal access to the assessable.

On the verbal level, there is a choice for syntactic structures, lexical and non-lexical components, and prosodic features. On the non-verbal level, eye gaze, facial expressions, hands gestures, head movements, and body posture are used interactionally and concurrently with the verbal information. The use of these different resources depends on sequential organisation, but it is also finely tuned with parallel or competing activities that take place in a world where we are constantly interacting with objects in our environment. Participants in conversation can be operating on parallel tracks in some dimensions but

then they unite in the verbal channel through their need to orient to the rules that govern sequential organisation.

Goodwin (2000:1519) claims that as analysts, we can investigate how interactants use these conversational resources as we have "access to a variety of sign systems with structurally different properties". While this is true, and this is how it comes to be that conversation analysts can come up with very similar findings on the same piece of data, what is even more interesting is that participants in interaction orient to these same resources and make sense of them.

Chapter 3 showed that if the participant's mouth was engaged with food, or they were not able to access the taste of the food, this had an impact on the delay with which the second assessment would be produced. There were several examples in which the first assessment turn and the second assessment turn were not immediately adjacent, and in some cases, there were very long sequences between an FPP and the SPP. In those cases, there was always some problem with one of the participants not being able to access a taste of the food at the time the first assessment was produced.

In Chapter 4, we found that the fact that there were parallel activities occurring in the interaction could have an import in the way the tasting developed. For example, while one participant was tasting the food, the other might be smelling it. Hence, the assessments that interactants produced were related to the smelling and not the taste. Another possibility was that while one participant was tasting, the other was dealing with some previous talk. In these cases, that previous talk had to do with some other quality of the food such as the appearance or guesses about what the food my taste like.

6.3 STANCE AND AFFILIATION

In Chapter 4, we saw that the speaker could nominate themselves as the first person to assess by producing a non-lexical token that claims to have had an experience with the food

and projects either a stance or an upcoming assessment. However, this stance is not always affiliated with or at least acknowledged because the other participant may be engaged in some parallel activity.

There were cases when participants did experience a particular tasting at the same time. In these cases, the interactants perfectly coordinated the tasting and managed to perceive the food at the same time. Mutual gaze here was used as a way of monitoring the stance projected by their facial expressions, and this established the direction in which the assessments could be produced, whether positively or negatively valenced.

In Chapter 5, I combined the methods of CA with those of interactional linguistics to provide an analysis of tokens that occur in turn-initial position, and also as standalone tokens. The tokens range from non-lexical vocalisations to swear words. The collection considered the function that these tokens have in projecting a stance in relation to the upcoming assessment, or projecting a stance in relation to the tasting experience per se. Either way, such projection of a stance can be affiliated or disaffiliated with, and in this sense, it contributes to the progression of the talk.

One of the most important findings in Chapter 5, is that in the case of turn-initial tokens, the relationship between the token and the assessment turn is not always of the same kind. There are certain tokens that preface the turn and do project a stance towards what is coming next. We find that common tokens of this kind are 'oh', 'mm' and swear words. Just as swear words can be used to display a positive or negative stance, tokens such as 'oh' and 'mm' can function in either direction. The analysis of examples showed that the cues that help display a stance and help participants make sense of these tokens, are a number of phonetic and embodied resources that speakers resort to and overlay in a compositional way.

In other cases, the assessment turn serves as an account for the production of the token. These tokens tend to be prosodically more salient than the ones I have just described above. The embodied aspects of their production also show a higher number of co-occurring

features, i.e., more concurring facial expressions, hand gestures, and head movements take place.

6.4 CONTRIBUTIONS OF STUDY

This thesis makes three important contributions in the field of CA.

The first one is to the study of assessments in the Spanish language. There is an incipiently increasing number of conversation analytic studies that have considered different varieties of Spanish spoken in Latin America (Vasquez Carranza, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016,), and Spanish spoken in the United States (Raymond, 2014, 2015, 2016). To my knowledge, this is the first study of Chilean Spanish using these methods.

The second contribution is the novelty of studying food assessments among non experts. There are a number of studies that focus on food assessments produced in institutional contexts, such as wine or coffee tasting (some of them are mentioned in subsection 1.2.6 of Chapter 1). There are other studies that have considered food assessments as they are produced within larger interactional sequences and their functions associated with their occurrence in different sequential positions and their place in the larger interaction (as seen in subsection 1.2.5 of Chapter 1). By studying food assessments in a type of interaction where there are constraints on the occurrence of other types of actions, it is possible to pay attention to the resources that speakers turn to in order to format their assessments. We have shown that the preference for agreement may hold, but this will be constrained by the speakers' epistemic access. We have also shown that speakers will relinquish their rights to assess first which suggests that we may need to take a more nuanced view of preference structure.

The third contribution of this thesis is its focus on how assessments come to be. There are many studies of how other actions such as requests and offers are initiated (see Drew and Couper-Kuhlen, 2014; Kendrick & Drew, 2016a, 2016b; Curl, 2006). However, little attention has been paid to how assessments emerge in interaction and what bearings this

brings to the unfolding of the larger evaluative sequences such as those in the present data.

The findings so far suggest that participants do not make sense of these tokens based solely on the prosodic features of the token or solely on their embodied characteristics – gesturing during telephone conversations proves that non-verbal behaviour is not done to be seen – which proves speakers draw resources from different channels in their turn construction and design.

6.5 Limitations and future directions

The analysis done in Chapter 5 reveals that systematic clusters of verbal and nonverbal behaviours are actually very rare. In particular, I have not explored all the possible combinations of features and values, nor matters of timing. Perhaps a quantitative analysis of the co-occurring verbal and non-verbal behaviours and features would provide a clearer idea of what goes with what. However, for this argument to hold, I would need a considerable amount of data.

Considering that much work remains to be done, this thesis contributes to what is known about the deployment of vocal and non-vocal resources in spontaneous, mundane face-to-face interaction. Social action is seen as central, so a good deal of work goes into understanding the mechanisms by which social actions are conveyed; this leads us naturally to explore connections between linguistic and non-linguistic modes of communication.

APPENDIX A: GAT 2 TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

Sequential structure

[ ]	Overlap and simultaneous talk
[ ]	Left bracket – start of overlap, right bracket – end of overlap
=	Latching, immediate continuation with a new turn

In- and outbreaths

°h / h°	In-/out-breaths respectively, 0.2-0.5 sec duration
°hh / hh°	In-/out-breaths respectively, 0.5-0.8 sec duration
°hhh / hhh°	In-/out-breaths s respectively, 0.8-1.0 sec duration

Pauses

(.)	Micro-pause, below 0.2 sec
(0.5) /(2.0)	Measured pause indicated by seconds

Duration

:	Lengthening of sound/syllable, 0.2-0.5 sec
::	Lengthening of sound/syllable, 0.5-0.8 sec
:::	Lengthening of sound/syllable, 0.8-1.0 sec

Accents/prominence

acCENT	Accented syllable in capital letters
ac´CENT	Rising pitch contour
ac`CENT	Falling pitch contour
ac¯CENT	Level pitch contour
acˇCENT	Falling-rising contour
acˆCENT	Rising-falling contour

Turn-final pitch movement

?	Rise to high

,	Rise to mid
-	Level
;	Fall to middle
.	Fall to low

Other conventions

ˀ	Glottalisation
↑	Pitch step-up
↓	Pitch step-down
((head-move))	Non-verbal/non-spoken productions or events
(yes)	Candidate hearing
(he/you)	Possible candidates
<<p >word >	Describing loudness, speech rate and voice quality, and indicates where it starts (<< >) and ends (>). Codes: p – piano, pp – pianissimo, f – forte, ff - fortissimo, all – fast, lento – slow

The following conventions developed by Lorenza Mondada (2014).

Multimodal conventions

* *	Gestures and descriptions of embodied actions are delimited between
++	two identical symbols (one symbol per participant)
Δ Δ	and are synchronized with correspondent stretches of talk.
*--->	The action described continues across subsequent lines
---->*	until the same symbol is reached.
>>	The action described begins before the excerpt's beginning.
--->>	The action described continues after the excerpt's end.
.....	Action's preparation.
----	Action's apex is reached and maintained.
,,,,,	Action's retraction.
ric	Participant doing the embodied action is identified when (s)he is not the speaker.
fig	The exact moment at which a screen shot has been taken
#	is indicated with a specific sign showing its position within turn at talk.

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